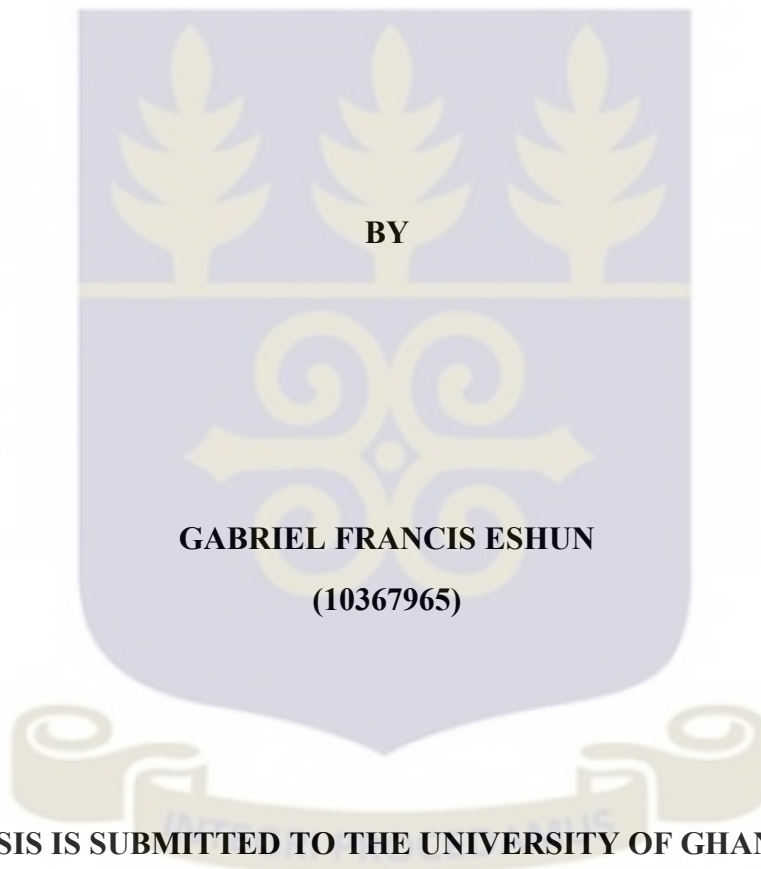


**SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**

**PROMOTING FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS IN GHANA-A COMPARATIVE
STUDY OF THE MEDIA IN THE 2008 AND 2016 ELECTIONS.**



**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF
M. PHIL DEGREE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

JULY, 2018

DECLARATION

I, Gabriel Francis Eshun, do hereby declare that except for references to other people's work which have been duly cited, this dissertation, titled **“Promoting Free and Fair Elections-A Comparative study of the Media in the 2008 and 2016 Elections”** is my own original work and that it has not been presented in whole or part for any degree at this University or elsewhere.

.....

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Date.....

ABSTRACT

The conduct of periodic free and fair elections is gradually becoming the norm rather than the exception in most developing parts of the world including Africa and Ghana. Ghana's successful conduct of seven multiparty democratic elections resulting in three alternations of power has surpassed the two-turn over test espoused by Huntington. This has also recognised the country as a democratic torchbearer on the continent. In all these elections, the role of the media has been very pivotal in guaranteeing the success and the sustainability of the democratic process. Articles 162 & 165 of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana emphasizes the watchdog role of the media which is very fundamental in ensuring accountability and responsibility of the government to the people of Ghana. The repeal of the criminal libel law in 2001 has ensured the growth and entrenchment of the Ghanaian media as a key stakeholder in the democratic process. An extensive examination of the role of the media in the electoral process in Ghana is thus deemed necessary in order to ascertain the extent to which the media has been able to contribute to the promotion of free and fair elections over the period. By employing the methodological approach of content analysis of some selected major newspapers, this study attempted to compare the 2008 and the 2016 general elections in Ghana in a bid to find out the commonalities and differences of the role played by the media in these elections and how it has contributed to the growth and advancement of democracy over the period. Findings from the study indicated that whereas coverage of both the state and privately-owned media was reflective of the critical indices of free and fair elections espoused by Goodwin-Gill, the latter was excessively partisan while the former exhibited a certain level of objectivity.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the Supreme God, whose will sustains our lives on this earth. It is also dedicated to my loving mother Baaba Korsah Addison who has been the pillar of my life and my brothers Tony, Percy and Theophile for their encouragement and support in this academic pursuit.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDD.....	Centre for Democratic Development
CODEO.....	Coalition of Domestic Electoral Observers
CSO.....	Civil Society Organisations
EC.....	Electoral Commission
EU EOM	European Union Election Observer Mission
GBC.....	Ghana Broadcasting Corporation
GJA.....	Ghana Journalists Association
HROSCE.....	Human Rights of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
IIDEA.....	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IPU.....	Inter-Parliamentary Union
NAB.....	National Accreditation Board
NCA.....	National Communications Authority
NCCE.....	National Commission for Civic Education
NDC.....	National Democratic Congress
NDP.....	National Democratic Party
NMC.....	National Media Commission
NPP.....	New Patriotic Party
ODI.....	Office for Democratic Institutions
SPSS.....	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
SRT.....	Social Responsibility Theory

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background

Elections, as a process of choosing leaders, have increasingly gained currency among states around the globe. As an important tenet, the holding of periodic election is critical in any democratic process. This is so because elections enable citizens to decide whom they want to manage the affairs of their state. It is this role, and others played by elections, that some scholars have had the cause to describe elections as *sine qua non* in a democracy. While some view elections as important linkage between citizens and the political system, there are others who believe, they are a means by which citizens choose their leaders and governments that they want to direct the affairs of the state. (Hooghe & Stiers, 2016; Teshome, 2008). That said, the role of elections in providing legitimacy to existing governments cannot be overemphasised.

Though elections are considered important ingredients in democracies, not all of them are worth their salt. Mention can be made of elections held in former Soviet republics and other parts of the world, including China. Indeed, elections in those countries were not only controlled by the states, but also did not have the full inputs of the electorate. Diamond (2002) characterizes such regimes as “hybrid regimes”; explaining that they are composed of both democratic and authoritarian features.

The above discussion brings to the fore the question of free and fair elections. Norris (2014) and Powell (2000) underscore the importance of free and fair elections in a democracy. They express the view that the majority of citizens are increasingly recognising the importance of democratic elections. For an election to be regarded as free and fair, there must not only be competition within the political system, but also participation by way of universal adult

suffrage, which ultimately provides legitimization of the entire democratic process (Lindberg, 2006). Corroborating the ideas of Norris and Powell, Goodwin-Gill (2006) maintains that the concept of free and fair elections must be considered from the viewpoint of international law and human rights, as well as practices within the international arena. He developed ten indices of free and fair elections, which include: electoral law and system, constituency delimitation, election management and the right to vote. The rest are voter registration, civic education and voter information, candidates, political parties and political organization, electoral campaigns, balloting, monitoring and declaration of results, and complaints and dispute resolution. These indices have become important frameworks by which free and fair elections can be studied and assessed. The framework, has since its development been adopted by members of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) in Paris, in 1994.

One of the institutions that support democratic elections in the state is the media. It provides education and information about elections, serves as platform for political parties to carry their messages to the electorate, and monitoring of elections on the day of voting, among others, have contributed to the important place the media occupies in a democracy (Asah-Asante, 2004). It is this role of the media, which has made it an important link, between the people and their candidates (Votmer, 2006). As the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) observes, the media has three important functions during elections. These are the watchdog role and the responsibility of serving as a platform for campaigns, as well as, giving voice to the ordinary citizen (IDEA, 2015:8).

Following the restoration of democratic rule in 1992, Ghana has organised seven major elections, which took place in 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012 and 2016. With the exception of the 1992 elections which was mired in controversies leading to its boycott by the opposition parties, the rest were generally considered free and fair with losers willingly accepting defeat and congratulating the victors. As the elections pronounced as free and fair,

the 2000 and 2008 elections were unique in the sense that political power alternated between the two leading political parties, that is, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). Due to the litany of irregularities that had characterised elections in countries such as Nigeria, Kenya and Zimbabwe, expectations were high for the state to conduct free elections in the country in order to redeem Africa's image as a condition where elections lead to violence and even civil wars.

Though the media's role in these elections was tremendous in providing electoral education and information for the people to enable informed choices to be made, the performance of some of sections of the media left much to be desired. For instance, during the 1992 and 1996 elections, professionalism and objectivity were absent in its work. Whilst the private media was in opposition to the ruling government, the state-owned media became a tool of the government providing it with more coverage than that for the opposition parties (Boadu-Ayebafoh, 2001; Asah-Asante, 2007).

With the growth of democracy in the Fourth Republic leading to the repeal of the repressive criminal libel and seditions laws in 2001, Ghana's media landscape has greatly expanded with the 2017 Freedom House Report describing the country as having one of the freest media on the African continent.

Now the question is: what contributions have the media made towards the attainment of free and fair elections in the country?

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Before the re-introduction of democratic rule in the Fourth Republic, concerns were expressed about whether the country could hold successful elections given the long stay of the military in power (Arthur, 2010) and, in particular, whether the media would be free and contribute their quota towards free and fair elections in the country (Gyimah-Boadi, 2000). Bratton and van de Walle (1997) describe Ghana's first power alternation through relatively peaceful elections as rare in sub-Saharan Africa. Ghana has had seven successful elections under the Fourth Republic, which have resulted in alternation of power between the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC), in 2000, 2008 and 2016. According to Bratton (2004), alternation of power is useful as it strengthens institutions, particularly in emerging democracies. He observes that alternation of power from one democratically elected government to another tends to raise optimism among the electorate as well as make them more critical of governmental actions. Even though a number of factors were responsible for the success of those elections, the media's role in ensuring the success of those elections cannot be overemphasised. Apart from educating the citizens, the media provided the electorate with information on issues concerning the electioneering process which enabled them to make informed choices. Though the contributions of the media towards free and fair election in the country appears to be significant, very little can be said about the extent of literature on the subject. Even the available literature, has focused on very limited issues such as voter perceptions, voter behaviour and voter choices as well as political communication. Evidence of this could be seen in the recent studies by Danquah (2016) and Afful (2016), which tend to focus attention on voter perception and political communication, social media and election campaign and party financing.

In the area of methodology, most of the studies focused on surveys and interviews. Studies that relied on content analysis were limited to few variables, which do not clearly, and accurately,

determine the true extent of the media's contributions towards free and fair elections. This study seeks to rely on content analysis, particularly the use of coding guide, to measure all the critical and non-critical indices of free and fair elections as outlined by Goodwin-Gill in both the 2008 and 2016 elections.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The study has three-fold objectives. These are to:

- Examine how the media (state and private owned) covered both the 2008 and the 2016 elections taking into consideration the critical indices of free and fair election.
- Determine the similarities and differences between the two media houses with regard to their coverage of the 2008 and the 2016 elections.
- Assess the impact of media's coverage on the two elections

1.3 Research Questions

Broadly speaking, the study seeks to find out how the media has been able to promote free and fair elections in Ghana, by examining its' role in the 2008 and the 2016 elections. The specific questions that would guide the study are outlined below:

- What is the level of media freedom in the country?
- To what extent did the freedom influence the 2008 and 2016 elections
- Which media (state or private) covered the two elections relying on the indices of free and fair elections?
- To what extent did the media's coverage of the two elections a reflection of the indices of free and fair elections?

- In what ways did both the state and privately owned media cover the two elections?

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study is significant. By identifying the major challenges facing the media in the cause of promoting free and fair elections, the study seeks to contribute effectively towards expansion of the frontiers of the country's electoral process and strengthen current efforts at democratic consolidation.

1.5 Scope of the Study

This study is seeking to examine issues surrounding the conduct of both the 2008 and the 2016 elections in Ghana in terms of how free and fair the media has been, by analysing media content within the specified period with a view to identifying their contributions to the conduct of free and fair elections.

1.6 Operational Definition of Concepts

For purposes of ensuring clarity and understanding of the issues, a number of concepts have been employed and defined below:

1.6.1 Free and Fair Elections

Goodwin Gill (2006) is of the opinion that the authority of the government in any state can only derive from the will of the people as expressed in genuine, free and fair elections held at regular intervals based on universal, equal and secret suffrage. In this study, free and fair

elections will refer to elections in democratic systems in which all those entitled to vote are able to make their choice willingly and competing political parties and candidates have an equal right to contest and campaign for electoral support from the electorate with the absence of intimidation, force or coercion.

1.6.2 Media

In a general sense, the media refers to any medium or channel of communication that allows transmission of messages. For the purposes of this study, media will include the following forms of communication that is the traditional media being radio, television, print publications, newspapers and the new media, that is internet and social media networking applications.

1.6.3 Political Parties

Downs (1957) defines a political party as a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election. Other scholars see a political party as an organised group of persons with common political objectives and ideals that is seeking to influence public policy by getting its candidates voted into office. In this study, political parties will refer to individuals running for office as well activities engaged in by political parties, which include campaign activities and all the means of mobilization of members, and the methods used in garnering support from voters.

1.6.4 Critical Indices of Free and Fair Elections

Goodwin-Gill (2006) identifies ten indices of free and fair elections. Five of these indices have been selected to be used for this study and they are explained as follows:

1.6.4.1 Electoral Campaigns

Electoral campaign, according to Kavanagh (1995), encompasses all the activities and processes engaged in by political parties, candidates, as well as special interest groups to seek electoral support in a bid to win political power. However, in this study electoral campaign is concerned with programmes and events such as political party rallies, campaigns and all activities directed at voters by the political parties and candidates that contested the 2008 and the 2016 elections in Ghana.

1.6.4.2 Balloting, Monitoring and Results (BMR)

Goodwin-Gill (1994) explains balloting as relating to location of polling stations and its accessibility by voters; presence of well-trained electoral officials as well as party representatives; and the secrecy of the act of voting, including the security of the ballot box. Monitoring and results, according to this same author, include ensuring that ballot boxes are empty before voting starts, secured when voting ends, secured in transit and the process of tallying votes that gains the trust and confidence of the electorate. We will adopt the above definition for this index.

1.6.4.3 Election Management

Election management, according to the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (2014), refers to an organisation with the singular purpose and the legal mandate to manage all the requirements necessary for the conduct of elections. The necessary requirements are determining who an eligible voter is, receiving and validating the nominations of electoral participants, conducting polls, counting and tabulating the votes. Election management under this study is in reference to the administrative and oversight body that supervises the conduct of elections in Ghana. The focus of this study will be whether the Electoral Commission, as an institution, was able to preside over the conduct of free and fair elections. Of much importance to this study will also be how adequately electoral officials and agents were trained to ensure an incident-free election during the period under study.

1.6.4.4 Voter Registration

The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (2012) recognises voter registration as a set of records of all eligible voters to vote in a particular election. In this study as well, voter registration is the requirement that an individual, otherwise eligible to vote, register on an electoral roll before they will be permitted to vote. We will examine the activities of the Electoral Commission in Ghana during the period of the voters' registration, to find out if all eligible voters had the opportunity to partake in the process.

1.6.4.5 Civic Education and Voter Information

As an index of free and fair elections, civic education and voter information are concerned with how information is provided to voters in order for them to be educated about their rights and responsibilities during the electioneering period. The activities of the constitutionally mandated body in Ghana, National Commission on Civic Education and other relevant stakeholders will come under the spotlight.

1.8 Organisation of the Study

This study is organised into five main chapters. Chapter One which is the “Introduction” deals with issues such as background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives, significance and scope of the study.

Chapter Two focuses on the review of the literature. This Chapter is organized along three thematic areas namely, studies on media, studies on elections and studies on media and elections.

Chapter Three presents the theoretical framework as well as the research questions that will guide the study.

Chapter Four centres on the methodology. It discusses all the necessary procedures for the conduct of this study. It begins with a discussion on the debates that surround the use of secondary and primary sources of data, which explains the choice of a particular method of data collection for the study.

Chapter Five presents the data analysis of the work with a discussion on the findings of the study, summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations if any.

1.9 LOCATION OF THE STUDY IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

The comparative study of how the media has promoted free and fair elections in the 2008 and the 2016 elections in Ghana will help contribute to the democratic development of the country. This falls within the sub-group of comparative and development politics in the field of political science.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This Chapter looks at the existing literature concerning the problem under consideration. To carry the review of the literature to its logical conclusion, this Chapter is organised along three main lines as follow:

- I. Studies on the Media;
- II. Studies on Elections; and
- III. Studies on Media and Elections

2.2 Studies on the Media

In his work on the media, McQuail (1977) highlights the different effects the media has on democratic society. He observes that in a democracy, the media tends to give more attention to those with political power than the rest of the society. This, he notes, brings about diversion of the media's attention to very pertinent issues confronting society than those the media wants the society to focus on. He identifies a number of implications associated with such role of the media. Foremost among them is the media's ability to confer status on those it deems fit in society. The second implication relates to the capacity of the media as an effective tool for persuasion or mobilization. The third implication deals with the ability of the media to bring into sharp focus certain aspects of public life, which hitherto, had been relegated to the background.

Though the study by McQuail is limited to social influences by the media, the relevance of this work cannot be overemphasized as it touches on the effectiveness of the media as an important institution in electoral democracy. We will augment this information with an analysis on how the media has contributed to free and fair elections in Ghana since 2008.

Schrum (2002) focuses his study on the cognitive effects of the media. He explains cognitive effect of the media as representing the relationship between an individual and a particular medium of information such as radio, television or newspaper. He claims that media content, format and presentation have drastically changed in recent times due to the introduction of

numerous programmes by different media outlets. This development, he claims, has somehow affected the world view of people around the globe with regard to media effect. He sees the relationship between individuals and the media from two perspectives. Firstly, the media shapes the thoughts and perceptions of individuals and secondly, the media content is determined by the preferences of its audiences.

This study is important in that it educates us on how media contents affect individuals' perceptions about issues. This information will assist us in examining how the media covered the two elections using the indices of free and fair election.

Weiss (1966) examines the influence of the media on voters' behaviour. He maintains that apart from interest, taste, outlook and values, the media in the modern state influences voters' behaviour, particularly during elections. He observes that the media is able to achieve this by focusing its attention on information that voters receive about elections and how such information influences the choices of the electorate. According to him, it is based on the information that the electorate receive from the media that enable them to decide on which of the information best addresses their needs and interests.

Though the work by Weiss primarily centres on voter behaviour, that is, an area which is outside the focus of this study, we believe that the work by Weiss is of importance to this study in the sense that the knowledge that the study provides, particularly regarding issues which relate to the dynamics of media influences on voter behaviour, will equip us to better understand how each of the two media houses, that is, state and privately-owned media covered the 2008 and 2016 elections.

Newton (1999) focuses his study on the media and its ability to influence democratic societies. In his view, the media through its role is able to cause political apathy and alienation within the society. He refers to this attitude of the media as "mediamalaise". He added that

“mediamalaise” comes about as a result of the content it produces or the influence such content has on voters. Besides, Newton also traces the cause of “mediamalaise” to the recent improvement in educational levels in some state, which according to him, tends to shape how the media informs, educates and mobilizes people for political effect.

The nexus between democracy and the media makes Newton’s work relevant to this study even though the work is too general. We acknowledge that media influence on democratic societies is important and the explanation and analysis by Newton will assist us to determine how much influence the Ghanaian media wielded over the electorate in the choices that they make, especially in the 2008 and 2016 elections.

Mazzoleni (1987) examines the role of the media in elections. His study sought to investigate how the media behaves during electioneering campaigns in Italy. He undertakes this exercise by analysing how information and propaganda influence electoral outcomes in Italy. He observes that in the past the media was traditionally controlled by the political parties, but his study shows that this trend was gradually changing. Mazzoleni attributes this to factors such as changes in the Italian political scene and secularization of politics in the country. The others are the crisis of the mass party and the increased commercialization of broadcasting. Findings from his study indicate that political party influence on the media was waning with the media now having the tendency to set the agenda for elections as opposed to the political parties.

This study provides useful insights on the role of the media in elections in Italy. It also highlights how propaganda and information contribute to shaping electoral choices in that country. However, the role of other factors aside propaganda and information are not explored. This study will go beyond this to discuss the role of the media in Ghana’s elections of 2008 and 2016 with particular reference to variables such as balance, objectivity and factuality,

which are important standards in news reporting and how such standards contribute to ensuring free and fair elections.

In her studies on the role of the media in deepening democracy, Coronel (2004) identifies various linkages between media and democracy. She identifies three ways in which media promotes democracy and these include: provision of education and information and the monitoring of actions of government. She observes that factors such as repressive laws and governmental controls are the main causes of problems for the media in the cause of performing its duties. He notes that the above problems have the ability to promote democratic decay, cynicism, loss of public confidence, particularly in the media and other democratic institutions, in the state, which ultimately lead to democratic breakdown.

The above study elaborates on how the media generally contributes to strengthening democracy in countries around the globe. However, it fails to identify the specific roles the media plays towards the attainment of free and fair elections. This study seeks to fill this gap by identifying the specific roles the media played in ensuring free and fair elections in Ghana. In spite of these shortfalls, Coronel's work serves as an important reference point to our study.

Sussman (1979) is interested in how advancement in information and communication technology affects media operations. He argues that threats to free and fair use of the media increases when there is improvement in information and communication technologies. He opines that shortage in the flow of information and communication in the state is more pronounced in developing ones than those in the developed world. He blames the problem on how the media is used and abused in recent times in society. He maintains that the increasing advancement in information and communication technology has made the media more effective and efficient in carrying out its roles.

The study provides a general overview of how information and communications technology impacts on the media. It also provides some useful insights into the use and abuse of the media in society. However, the media's role in elections is not explored. Our study will go a step further to assess the impact of the media's coverage on the two elections

In a study on democratization in Africa, Lardner (1993) identifies the convergence of three elements in relation to the media on the continent. Among the elements he identifies are expansion of the media, increasing role of the media in the democratization process and the role of technology in the democratic process. He maintains that colonialism and cold war are among some of the most important factors which have brought about the current centralized and state-controlled media on the continent of Africa.

Continuing, he acknowledges that technology has redefined the existing relationship between the media and government on the one hand and the media and society on the other. He notes that in present times, the media is able to link up directly with the society without experiencing censorship from government. He attributes this development to the advancement in information and communication technology, which are said to be working against state boundaries and thereby making it possible for information to be decentralised.

The above study by Lardner focuses on developments within the media landscape that has contributed to the growth of democracy on the continent. The study is quite general and does not explore the specific role played by the media in contributing to free and fair elections on the continent. Our study seeks to correct this by examining the level of media freedom in the country and how it impacted on the coverage of the two elections

McCombs and Shaw (1972) are interested in examining the agenda-setting function of the media and how it shapes public opinion. They argue that the agenda of the media can be deduced from the pattern of coverage they maintain over a period of time. The two scholars

explain that media contents that are presented to the public for consumption are borne out of interactions between the people and journalists. It is such contents that McCombs and Shaw maintain are likely to shape and influence its consumers.

The study above on the agenda-setting role of the media is of much importance to this study, however it is not the focus of our work. Our study is interested in using empirical data in determining what extent the media's coverage of the two elections mirrored the indices of free and fair elections.

Altheide (1989) focuses his study on the roles played by the media in the day to day experiences of human beings. He holds the view that the media is of great cultural significance in Europe because it has a lot of influence on everyday interaction with regard to how people speak, listen, perceive and intend what is being communicated. According to him, the problem of understanding the cultural effects of the media in Europe had not been appropriately dealt with. He opines that media operations are cultural specific and as such determines its own logic and grammar, which are defined media formats. He defines media formats as involving procedures and rules for defining, selecting, organising and presenting information.

The study above, which examines the role of the media in our daily interactions is too theoretical and descriptive. It also focuses on media developments in Europe, which may not accurately reflect the situation in Africa in general and Ghana in particular. However, our study focuses on the Ghanaian experience. The knowledge that will be gained from this study will go a long way to assist us in understanding the issues under consideration in the two elections.

In his study on how to build an independent media in Africa, Martin (1992) addresses two main issues namely, media's contribution to information liberalization and what constitutes independent media. According to him, the media in Africa has a dual role to play regarding its

contribution to the growth of democracy on the continent. Among the roles the media is expected to play are its ability to freely and fearlessly speak out about issues affecting society and acting as a tool to mobilize and inform citizens about their rights and obligations.

He holds the view that there are excessive media controls by governments on the continent of Africa. He notes that by the principle of independence of the media, it requires that the media be free from state control and coercion. He calls for legal and constitutional measures to protect media practitioners to enable them function effectively. This, he says is the only way to building an independent and pluralistic media on the continent.

The study offers a general overview of how the media helps in building a plural and independent society in Africa. It also examines effective ways by which media practitioners can be protected from state or governmental control. Our study will discuss, in particular, the traditional roles of the media in the 2008 and 2012 elections while exploring how media freedom in the country influenced the work of journalists in ensuring free and fair elections in the country.

In a related study, Asare (2009) explores the connection between the liberalisation of the media and democracy in Ghana. According to him, Ghana's transition to democratic rule in the Fourth Republic has paved the way for the growth of various media outlets, leading to an increase in both print and electronic media. He says this has positioned the media in a way that it has been able to carry out its function as the fourth realm of the estate. His study, which adopts the methodological approach of interviews and focus group discussions, reveals that the media to a large extent has been able to play its democratic role in the country by educating the people, providing them with information and helping them to understand emerging political developments and ensuring their active participation in governance. He observes that the growth of Ghana's democracy has created an environment of peace, freedom and development;

a situation that makes it possible for the country to be regarded as a shining example of democracy in West Africa, which is mostly noted for civil wars.

The above study examines the conditions which have contributed to the growth of media and democracy in the country. It focuses on how the media has transitioned to the present time. Our work will draw a lot on the media and democracy discussion. We will also identify what can be done to improve media performance in the coverage of elections in the country

Nyarko (2016) examines the contention between newspaper publishers and operators of electronic media, that is, radio and television. His study seeks to find whether the recent phenomenon of newspaper reviews by the electronic media promotes or undermines the fortunes of those who produce the newspapers. He identifies the important role newspapers play in setting agenda for the state. His study reveals that the review of newspapers by the electronic media has negative consequences on the fortunes of the newspapers as it does not only undermine the reading habit of the public, but also contributes to the low patronage of some of the newspapers. He was quick to identify unprofessionalism and poor quality contents as some of the factors that militate against low patronage of the newspapers in the country.

This study above is important as it identifies the crucial role played by newspapers in setting of the agenda for the state during elections. However, the study did not tell us how the agenda setting role of the media contributes to free and fair elections in the country. Our work will draw from this and assess how the media made use of Goodwin-Gill's indices to guide its coverage of the aforementioned elections.

Arthur (2010) also examines the role and contribution of the media towards the consolidation of Ghana's democracy. He contends that the country has made enormous progress towards achieving consolidation of its democracy. But he identifies a number of challenges that need to be addressed in order to protect the gains so far achieved. Among the challenges he identifies

include, sensationalism and lack of professionalism, especially during electioneering campaigns. He notes also that through its watchdog role, the media has been able to contribute effectively towards the consolidation of the country's nascent democracy. He states instances where the media had mounted pressure on government to rescind certain decisions, which the media considers as not in the public interest. Typical of this was the intended sale of Ghana Commercial Bank in 2003 by the government of the New Patriotic Party (NPP). He concluded his study by stating that the expansion of the media landscape in the country has made information available to the citizens to enable them participate actively in the political process of the country and also holding governments to account for the stewardship of their office.

The study by Arthur has brought to the fore the importance of the media's role in ensuring democratic consolidation. The study has also highlighted the role of the media in promoting political accountability. Our work will draw on the lessons learnt from this work in our effort at studying which of the media outlets contributed effectively towards free and fair elections in the two periods.

2.3 Studies on Elections

Shedding light on democratic elections, Howard (2004) explains that for an election to be deemed as truly democratic, three conditions must exist. Firstly, there must exist a real choice for both the parties and candidates in the election. Secondly, the state must ensure equal playing field for both the incumbent and opposition parties to enable them conduct their campaigns, hold meetings and communicate to voters as freely as possible. Thirdly, there should be rules in place to define the conduct of the elections and also enable voters know who to vote for, how to vote and the importance of voting in general. Concluding, Howard maintains that if the above conditions are met, the government that will emerge will be a legitimate one.

The study by Howard basically centres on elections. It underscores the importance of elections in a democracy. The insights gained from this work will be used to guide the study.

Heywood (2013) views elections as an indispensable aspect of the democratic process. To him, elections epitomize democracy in practise. He views representation as central to democratic systems, arguing that it enables politicians to act in a responsible manner.

This study affirms the fundamental role played by free and fair elections in a democracy. Even though opinion is divided as to the exact role elections play in a democracy, it cannot be denied that free and fair elections is one of the cornerstones of democracy. Our study draws from this position in analysing the extent to which the media performance reflected Godwin-Gill's indices of free and fair elections in the two election periods.

In a related study, Goodwin-Gill (1994) focuses his attention on free and fair elections. He identifies ten indices for measuring free and fair elections. Among them are electoral campaigns, balloting, monitoring and results, political parties, election management, voter registration, civic education and voter information which has been identified by this study as the critical indices. The rest are electoral law and system, constituency delimitation, complaints and dispute resolution and the right to vote. His study touches on the variables and framework for assessing constitutes free and fair elections.

This work is very useful because it provides us with the basis for measuring free and fair elections, which is a critical component of our study.

Examining democracies around the globe, Diamond (2002) views elections as crucial to the survival of every democracy. He notes that elections provide the necessary condition for the electorate to determine their leaders periodically. According to him, though elections are important in democracies, they do not necessarily guarantee the attainment of democracy, arguing that there are non-democratic regimes which rely on elections to give legitimacy to

their rule. He describes such regimes a “hybrid”. According to him, hybrid regimes have both democratic and authoritarian features. He distinguishes between electoral democracies and electoral authoritarianism.

Though the above study distinguishes democracies from electoral authoritarianism, the discussion is too broad in scope. However, its focus on democratic electoral systems will serve as a useful guide for this study, which seeks to examine and analyse the media’s contribution towards free and fair elections, especially in the periods mentioned above.

In a comparative study of some developed countries, Choe (1997) examines the role of free and fair elections in democracies. He questions how free and fair elections can be measured. He argues that there is no definite mechanism for the measurement of free and fair elections and expresses the view that the independence and impartiality of judicial bodies and electoral administrators are part of the necessary condition for such measurement. He proposes a three-stage model for measuring free and fair elections and these are pre-election stage, election stage and the post-election stage.

The above study by Choe highlights the necessary requirements for assessing free and fair elections. It also dilates on the maintenance of democratic order. Notwithstanding the strengths of this study, it merely discussed elections in general without taking into consideration other variables such as the media and its effects on elections. With the focus on the 2008 and 2016 elections, this study seeks to examine how the content of the country’s media helped in the electoral successes of the years mentioned.

In their view, Schmitter & Karl (1991) discuss issues of democracy and elections. According to them, there are efforts by scholars to equate elections with democracy. They argue that though elections are central to democracy, they occur at specified intervals, where citizens are given the opportunity to choose amongst the alternatives, which are offered to them by the

political parties. To them, though there are different forms of democracies around the globe, the scholars maintain that certain features are common to them. Notable among the features are consensus, participation, responsiveness and checks and balances.

The work by Schmitter and Karl is important to our study since it touches on democracy, one of its tenets is election, which is part of the subjects under consideration. Our work while acknowledging this important tenet of election, will assess how it was influenced by both the state and private-owned media in the coverage of the elections aforementioned.

The study by Hooghe and Stiers (2016) provides understanding on how elections boost political trust in political systems. One of the political systems the scholars focus their attention on is proportional representation. The aim of their study is to find out how electoral participation affects political trust in Belgium. To them, when elections are conducted in a free and fair manner, the entire electoral process is strengthened and legitimised. Viewing election as a zero-sum game, the scholars argue however that the best way to handle such situation is through proportional representation. The study of the scholars reveal that the winner-loser effect associated with elections in Belgium appears to be insignificant and that there is a high level of trust among voters with regard to the country's political system.

The study emphasizes the important role elections play in building trust among the electorate. Even though the study focused on Belgium, our work will make use of some of the idea of the study to knock to shape our discussion and analysis of the problem that is being examined.

The work of Wotjasik (2013) highlights the functions of elections in democratic systems. He holds the view that the exercise of legitimate power can only be attained through competitive selection of elected representatives, in which all eligible adults are given the opportunity to take participate in the electoral process. He holds the view that when elections are held on free

and fair manner, they are likely to promote not only stability within the democratic system, but also a means by which leaders of public institutions can be voted into office.

Wotjasik's study underscores some of the functions of elections in democratic systems. However, this study is interested in how the media promotes free and fair elections, within the broader democratic system and not necessarily in any particular electoral system.

Adejumobi (2000) discusses elections in Africa. He expresses doubt that elections in Africa can contribute to the growth and development of democracy on the continent. He says factors such as vote rigging, violence and annulment of electoral result have the potential of militating against the growth of democracy in Africa. He however argues that if certain conditions are met, elections will contribute to the development of democracy in Africa. Some of the conditions he identifies are rule of law, constitutionalism, an impartial election management body, free press, an independent judiciary, empowered civil society organisation and improved economic conditions.

The above study outlines some of the very pertinent issues that must be addressed for elections to play a meaningful role in democracy on the continent. He however maintains that apart from the scant attention the study gives to elections, the better part of Adejumobi's study generally fails to address the most important aspect of the problem under consideration. Our study is not just interested in elections *per se*, but the extent to which media freedom has influenced free and fair elections in Ghana, especially during the above mentioned periods.

Sharing similar view with Adejumobi, Boafo-Arthur (2006) expresses doubts about the predictability of African elections. He says certain factors including the following make it possible for elections to be doubted in on the continent. Among some of the important factors he identifies are high levels of illiteracy, ethnic proclivities, religious attachment and

personalities. He argues that all these factors work effectively against successful elections in the country.

The study by Boafo-Arthur explains the conditions that make it possible for people to cast doubts over the success of elections in Africa. Though free and fair elections constitute an important part of our study, the work by Boafo-Arthur fails to include a discussion on some of the ingredients of free and fair elections, which includes the media. Our work will fill this gap by adding to the information by Boafo-Arthur, an analysis on the media's input in the 2008 and the 2016 elections in Ghana as well as how the coverage of the elections reflected the indices of free and fair elections.

In analysing the 2000 elections in Ghana, Gyimah-Boadi (2001) emphasizes the importance of that election to the country's efforts at firming its nascent democracy. He attributes the success of the elections to the peaceful transfer of power from the incumbent to the opposition. He observes that the stakes in the said elections were very high since the election constitutes an important test on whether the incumbent National Democratic Congress (NDC) government will voluntarily hand over power to the opposition if it loses the elections. Continuing, Gyimah-Boadi expresses the hope that the alternation of power from the incumbent to the opposition in the elections will sustain people's hope about the workability of the constitutional term limits for executive heads of state. He also touches on the role the media plays in the elections by monitoring the electoral process from campaigns to the voting itself. He concludes his study by cautioning the new government to put in measures to effectively deal with the growing economic challenges, high levels of unemployment and corruption in the country, arguing that the inability of the government to deal with challenges head on will have negative consequences for the country's consolidation efforts.

The above study by Gyimah-Boadi examines the dynamics that led to Ghana's first alternation of power in 2000. It also touched on the challenges that faced the country's democracy. Though the study also highlighted the important role the media played in the elections, it failed to address the problems that confronted the media in the elections. We will fill this lacuna by examining the problems that confronted the media and how they were dealt with.

Adams and Agomor (2015) examine elections and voting behaviour in Ghana. The work of the two scholars is an attempt to find out what determines voter choices in the country by examining data from six national elections, that is, from 1992-2012. The study reveals among other things that even though political parties base their campaigns on issues, they sometime express their messages in the form of emotions. The work also discloses that campaign messages and ethnic background of presidential candidates influence the choice of most voters in the country. Their study further reveal that patronage politics and pragmatic policies play a significant role in determining the outcome of elections in the country.

The study by Adams and Agomor focused on elections and voter behaviour in the country. It also deals with factors that influenced voter behaviour in elections. Since our study is partly based on elections, it will not be out of place to rely on this study, except that our emphasis will be on impact of the media on the two elections.

2.4 Studies on Media and Elections

Undertaking electoral analysis around the globe, the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IIDEA) identifies four important roles the media plays during elections. First, it relates to the watchdog role of the media, which involves the monitoring of the performance of the government by the media. Second, it deals with the media acting as a platform for the execution of political campaigns by the political parties. Thirdly, it involves the most important issues the media wants our society to consider during elections. Fourth, it

deals with the education that the media provides for the electorate during elections. Besides, the organisation further underscores the contributory role of the “new media”, that is, the internet and the social media in electoral processes. In this connection, the IIDEA explains the changes the new media brings to the elections in terms of the expansion of the means of communication.

The above study by IIDEA is very important to our work because part of its focus is on elections. Besides, the work also touched on the role played by the media during elections. Though the study by IIDEA is general and not specific to Ghana, our work will rely on some of the lessons from this study in our bid to understand the extent of media freedom in Ghana and how it influenced media coverage of elections, particularly those held in 2008 and 2016.

In a related study, Ansolabehere, Behr & Iyengar. (1991) focus their attention on media messages and how they influence the decisions of voters, particularly in the United States from the 1950s to recent times. The scholars draw attention to the changes that the media has been able to bring to bear on American elections in recent times. They identify the role of the media in the development of electoral strategies and campaign messages. The scholars argue that the success of any political campaign depends on media campaign or strategy adopted and this, according to them, has the potential of influencing voter behaviour. Ansolabehere et al observe that in recent time there has been an increase in media-related spending by political parties and candidates running for political office. They attribute this to the important role the media plays in political campaigns.

The study is important in that it sheds light on the media, messages and voter choices. It pays attentions to the media’s contribution to elections, which is part of the issues our study looks

at. The linkage between the indices of free and fair elections and how the media contributed to them will be covered in our work.

The study by Stromback and Dimitrova (2005) is basically on elections. It compares news coverage in the United States with Sweden. They conclude that while in the United States people perceive politics as a strategic game, in Sweden, it is seen as an issue-driven programme. They also note that words and actions influence news stories more in the US than Sweden.

The above study sought to compare newspaper contents of the US and Sweden. It also looked at factors that influence newspaper contents in the two countries. Though our study looks at contents of two Ghanaian newspapers, namely *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide*, emphasis will be placed on how they covered the election using the indices of Goodwin-Gill for the analysis and interpretation of the central problems to this work.

Voltmer and Schmitt-Beck (2006) explain the contradictions between normative and empirical contributions of the media towards the functioning of democracy in the modern state. They argue that it is the duty of the media to inform citizens about political developments in their society so as to enable them participate effectively in politics. They however criticize the media for abandoning its role and instead, engaging in sensationalism and promotion of hostility among politicians. The scholars argue that for the media to play an effective role in the democratization process, it must disseminate quality information as a means of mobilizing citizens to participate effectively in politics.

Though the study highlights some of the ways the media can contribute to democratic sustenance, however the study is quite general and does not indicate the specific means by which the media can contribute towards that. Our study addresses this problem by finding out the impact of media coverage on the two elections. We will attempt to determine the similarities that existed between the ways the two media houses covered the elections.

Jacobs and Shapiro (2005) are interested in examining the dynamics surrounding poll results and its ability to predict election results in the United States. With a focus on the 2004 Presidential elections these scholars highlight three main ways by which polls impact on elections. These are the accuracy of polls, press coverage of the results of the polls and the use of polls by political actors. According to them, prior to the 2004 US Presidential elections, many critics doubted the ability of polls to accurately predict the margin of victory by George Bush, but in the end pollsters were vindicated. They attributed this to the shift from telephone surveys, which had been in use for over two decades to the use of internet surveys and automated polls. This, in their opinion, brought some speed and accuracy with which data is collected. These scholars further contend that, the media's interpretation of poll results often than or not distracted voters. This emanates from the media's inability to interpret accurately exit polls at times. Finally, they are of the opinion that political parties are adopting the use of polls as a means to mobilize support from the electorate.

The study by Jacobs and Shapiro focusing on how polls are able to predict election results looking at the American experience will offer some guidance. However this study is interested in the Ghanaian experience, particularly how the media is able to promote free and fair elections in the country.

Stromberg's (2001) study centres on the connection between media and information. He argues that for governance to be effective, the media must provide quality information to enable voters to make informed choices during elections. Some of the important issues the study touches on are those related to wealth creation and distribution, size of the government sector, rent and corruption, effectiveness of lobby groups and political business cycle. His study also adds to the proof that the media is an important transmitter of information from the source to the recipient, which in this case includes voters. He however expresses worry that even though the media has the duty of monitoring politicians on behalf of the people, the same media has in

recent times depended heavily on politicians for much of their information; and this, he notes, sometimes affects the effective operations of the media in the state.

The study by Stromberg examines the connection between information dissemination by the media and the effects that it has on voter decisions. The aspect of the study concerning the media is of great importance to our work since it serves as background for understanding how the media operates in a democracy and the role it plays in promoting various tenets of democracy, particularly elections using the indices of free and fair elections

In her study of six post conflict states in Central Africa, Frere (2010) examines the role of the media and how it impacts positively on free and fair elections in these countries. She notes that due to the conflicts in the said states, the media has not been able to build the capacity to be able to play its monitoring and educative role as effective as possible to aid the people in making political decisions. Other factors he identifies are the causes of this development are the problems associated with the media's close association with the political elites and executive control of the state-owned media. Others factors he identifies are lack of professional ethics in the work of media practitioners and publication of issues which have the potential of inflaming passions in the state.

The study by Frere highlights some of the general challenges faced by the media in the coverage of elections on the African continent. However, the specific solutions to these problems have not been explored. Our study intends to discuss the problems faced by the Ghanaian media in the coverage of free and fair elections while exploring how these problems were dealt with in the two elections aforementioned.

Gyekye-Jandoh (2014) underscores the importance of free and fair elections as well as freedom and independence of the media. According to her, there has been a marked improvement in the quality of elections in some African countries since the third wave of democratization in Africa

and cites Ghana, Malawi and Zambia where the countries concerned have been able to change governments peacefully and frequently through free and fair elections. She observes that in those elections, the losers have on their own accord accepted defeat and congratulated their victors. As regards the media, she observes that the institution has not only been somehow free from governmental control as some of the obnoxious laws militating against the media have been removed, but also been able to hold governments accountable for their actions and inactions. In spite of the above improvements, Gyekye-Jandoh believes there is the need to further improve the practise of democratic rule on the continent by building and strengthening democratic institutions and tenets.

The study by Gyekye-Jandoh highlights how free and fair elections have contributed to the growth of democracy in some African countries. Even though she identifies the media as one of the key institutions that contributes to the firming of democracy, she fails to provide the specifics of how the media does this. Our study will fill this void by looking at how the media has been able to promote free and fair elections during the 2008 and the 2016 elections in Ghana.

In his studies on the media and elections in Nigeria, Issa (2016) acknowledges the pivotal role of the media in the country's democratic elections. He observes that since introduction of democratic rule in the country in 1999, the media has become one of the important institutions in the state because of its role in setting the agenda for political discourse and debates as well as mobilizing people for participation. According to this scholar the media in that country is gradually taking on its social responsibility role by holding public office holders accountable. He cites some political developments that have resulted from campaigns waged by the media such as the aborted third term attempt by Olusegun Obasanjo and the management of the illness of the late Umaru Yar' Adua. In spite of these positive developments, Issa acknowledges that the media was still constrained by certain challenges which include the erratic of stakeholders

such as politicians and political parties. The other challenge outlined is the ownership pattern and competing interests of the media industry in that country.

The study by Issa assessing the role of the media in Nigerian elections would offer some useful guide to our study, however, it fails to provide any primary data to back any of his assertions. Our study will remedy this by examining media content in Ghana during the 2008 and the 2016 elections to find out how it contributed to the conduct of free and fair elections.

In a similar study, Olowojolu (2016) discusses the role of the media in the 2015 Nigerian Presidential election. He notes the positive role of the media in the elections and argues that such role goes a long way to strengthen the frontiers of the country's democracy. He identifies issues the media highlight in the elections as important for the electorate in deciding the outcome of that election. Apart from the traditional media, he also touches on the contribution of the "new media", that is internet and social media in the elections, arguing the media's role encourages effective participate in the electoral process. He, however, cautions the media to shy away from information that has the potential of promoting hatred for the people and undermining the political stability of the country.

The above study highlights the role played by the media in ensuring peaceful and democratic elections in Nigeria. However my study is not only interested how the media ensures peaceful and democratic elections, but how media content actually promotes democratic elections focusing on the critical indices of free and fair elections in Ghana.

Temin & Smith (2002) affirm the important role the media played in the 2000 elections in Ghana. They say despite some problems associated with the coverage of the elections, the election seeks to improve upon the performance of the previous ones. They indicate that the media on the day of the elections put in a number of mechanisms to enable it monitor the

elections throughout the country by exposing all the weakness associated with the electoral process for the Electoral Commission and other stake holders to address.

The study is very instructive as the two main variables in our work hinge on the main themes of the scholars' work, that is, the media and free and fair elections. We have however criticized the study for its inability to indicate the specific problems that confronted the media during the 2000 elections and how they were addressed. For purposes of carrying out this study to its logical conclusion, we will depend on the knowledge obtained in the study by Temin and Smith to understand the level of media freedom in Ghana and how they shaped media coverage of the two elections in the 2008 and 2016.

Sharing similar views with Temin and Smith on the 2000 elections in Ghana, Gadzekpo (2001) lauds the role of the media in the elections. She notes the importance of the elections saying it marks the country's first test at alternation of power. She identifies some of the roles the media played leading to the success of those elections. Notable among them are fair and objective coverage of the political parties and their candidates and the provision of useful information regarding some of the electoral irregularities for the Electoral Commission (EC) to deal with. According to her, even though the media faced various challenges in the elections, some of which included intimidation by the ruling government, it was still able to contribute its quota to the success of the elections. She, however maintains that the media's efforts alone did not ensure free and fair elections. To this end, she mentions the role of election observers such as Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) and a number of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) who also played very important roles in the elections.

The study by Gadzekpo provides some insights on the media's contributions towards the 2000 elections. However, the media's role in the 2008 and 2016 elections has not been explored. Our

study will discuss the role of both state and private-owned media in the two elections and how such contributions strengthen the country's democratic experience.

Yayoh (2006) dilates on democratic rule and elections in Ghana. He notes the gradual improvement in role of the media in the coverage of elections in the country. According to him, the liberalization of the media landscape has played a significant role in contributing to the growth of democracy in the country. He, however, acknowledges some shortfalls of the media such as the partisanship and biasness in their coverage of the elections.

The study by Yayoh focuses on the transitions that the media has been through over the years in the country and may offer some valuable guidance. This study however is interested in developments within the Fourth Republic, specifically how the media contributed to the conduct of free and fair elections during the 2008 and the 2016 elections.

Afful (2016) is interested in finding out how the media in Ghana covers electoral campaigns. His study centred on the trend in campaign coverage during the 2008 and the 2012 elections. According to him, stories published by the press during campaign periods mostly emanated from speeches of candidates thus lacking critical scrutiny. This, according to him, raises questions about the capacity of the press in the country to play its role effectively in the democratization process. He attributes this canker to "soli" journalism which resulted in "protocol" journalism. He describes this as a situation where journalists are given some monies by candidates or political parties in a bid to elicit favourable coverage as well as publication. Findings from his study indicate that the state media remained largely impartial during elections and media coverage as well during the electioneering period was issue based. Additionally, there existed a certain level of media bias as well as politicians paying money to journalists for coverage.

The study by Afful which is focused on the explanation of the trend in coverage of the 2008 and the 2012 elections in Ghana remains quite an important guide to this study. However our study will go beyond explaining the trend in campaign coverage of the media by examining how the media covered the indices of free and fair elections focusing on the 2008 and the 2016 elections.

Moehler and Conroy-Krutz (2016) examine how partisan media exposure affect political engagement in fledgling democracies. They explored this from two perspectives which is the psychological and behavioural during the 2016 electioneering period in Ghana. According to them, partisan media which is often bias may either mobilize political participation or foster apathy and dampen participation. They, however, are of the view that this did not translate into increased behavioural engagement. Findings from their study revealed that both partisan and non-partisan media led to greater interest in politics. The study also revealed that media bias against an individual's partisan preferences reduced political participation.

The above study centres on how political participation is affected by partisan media in Ghana and will be of use to this study. However, our study is interested in how the media in Ghana has been able to promote free and fair elections focusing on the 2008 and the 2016 elections.

Writing on the crucial role of the state media in ensuring the conduct of free and fair elections Prempeh (2000) outlines some important measures that Ghana must be adopt for democracy to be strengthened. These include allocating equal time of coverage for all competing parties and not using the state media to advance any partisan agenda of any particular political party. Additionally, since the state media is the property of citizens, it is improper and unfair to allow a particular individual or political party to exploit these resources, Prempeh added. His study which took place prior to the 2000 general elections also highlights the point that, the constitutional provision of Article 55, section 11, of the Constitution: "*The State shall provide*

fair opportunity to all political parties to present their programs to the public by ensuring equal access to the state-owned media.” must be emphasized.

The study by Prempeh examining how the state media ensures the conduct of free and fair elections would offer some useful insight to this work. However, our study will go beyond what has been done by the above scholar to find out how both state and non-state media promotes free and fair elections with emphasis on the critical indices of free and fair elections in Ghana.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine the theoretical framework for the study. It will be done by looking at the following aspects of the theory: general assumptions, features, strengths and weaknesses.

We will also consider how the theory is applied to the problem under consideration.

3.2 Social Responsibility Theory (SRT)

This study will depend on the Social Responsibility Theory (SRT) of the media as the theoretical framework for guidance. The theory which emerged in the mid-20th century is mostly adopted by developing and least developed countries. It started from Europe and took shape with the Hutchins Commission, which was later to be transformed into the Commission on the Freedom of Press that began in the United States in 1947. The theory was first propounded by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1956) in their seminal work entitled *Four Theories of the Press*.

The SRT of the media operates on the premise that the media has an obligation to society, to serve the public good rather than that of its owners (Nerone, 1995; Picard, 1985). The theory states that the media has a responsibility to preserve democracy by properly furnishing the public with information that will enable the public to effectively respond to its needs (Purvis,

2001). According to this theory, the media upholds free expression and press freedom though it admits that press freedom is not absolute (Siebert et. al., 1956)

Six important tasks are ascribed to the media under this theory. First, the media must be a platform for discussion, provision of information and an avenue for public debates to take place as a means of keeping up to date with developments in the political system. Another task that must be performed by the media is to keep the public enlightened in order to enable them adequately partake in the governance process. The third task to be performed by the media is to safeguard the rights of the individual by serving as a watchdog over the actions of government. Advancing the economic interests within the state by bringing together buyers and sellers is another task to be performed here by the media through the important function of advertising. The fifth vital task to be performed by the media under this theory is the provision of entertainment. Finally, the theory tasks the media to build financial capacity in a bid to remain insulated from the pressures of special interest groups.

The SRT requires the media to be responsible to society first by promoting accountability in order to ensure democratic endurance. The theory strongly advocates for private ownership of media as a safeguard against any form of governmental control over the media. The private owners must as well be responsible in the publications and conform to ethical guidelines. Another assumption of the theory is that it enables democracy to flourish. This is because the media does not encourage any form of authoritarianism apart from democracy and participatory governance which the theory upholds.

As a democratic institution, the media must be independent of government and have a voice of its own. It should have the freedom to do anything but this freedom must be exercised within ethical standards. The media's primary responsibility has to be towards the interest of the public as such public involvement in the activities of the media is very essential. This is because by

the assessment of the collected feedback from the public, the media is able to factor in the views of the public in their work. According to Karikari (1999), media's content under this theory must primarily be of public interest. Whereas the Libertarian theory of the press perceives freedom of expression as a "natural right", the social responsibility theory sees it as a "moral right" and thus places a duty on the media to assist in keeping watch over existing standards of morality in society. When the media is able to adhere to this principle then it is acting in a socially responsible manner. For this to be done, media must set boundaries within itself in order to be ethical. These boundaries must be respected by all practitioners and act as a means of self-regulation (Nerone, 1995). Media establishments must have a written or an unwritten code to guide its affairs and as well act as the required standards for all practitioners to uphold. The theory further holds that false interpretation of information must be avoided and rather maintain high standards of professionalism and quality information for dissemination by the media. The theory is also of the assumption that media must keep the government on its toes and help it to get better by criticizing its roles and policies as well as actions and inactions. Another feature of the theory is of the notion that media must create awareness amongst the public of social problems confronting society because by so doing, it is making society a better place by assisting to eradicate social problems. The theory also advocates for a pluralistic media. According to this feature, the media must appreciate diversity and accord equal opportunities for diverse groupings to express their opinions on issues which affects their interests. It must eschew any form of biasness towards any minority grouping. The media as well must work primarily in the interest of society and must act in ways that bring benefits to the society. It must avoid actions or behaviour, which has the tendency of invoking conflicts in society.

Some scholars are of the view that SRT has brought about significant changes to the way the media publishes news from objective reporting to interpretative reporting, unlike in the past

where facts were merely presented and left for the audience to do self-interpretation leading to a plethora of issues and challenges.

A major advantage of the SRT is that it helps in avoiding wars and conflicting situations. This assertion is shared by Chebii (2014) who expresses the view that the media can be seen as a positive force when it engages in civic education, promotion of peace, fair coverage of political campaigns and fair coverage of contentious issues.

Another strength of this theory is that it holds public opinion in high regard as well as working in the interest of the public good. Middleton (2009) identifies the inseparable communication cycle between the journalist and its audience and is of the opinion that this is the “fundamental principle of the media’s obligation to fulfil public interest, which also lies at the basis of the social responsibility theory”.

The tendency of press houses and media institutions not to monopolize the information marketplace due to the existence of laid down rules, regulations as well as ethics to guide their actions is also one of the identified strengths of the theory.

The SRT is highly appreciative of pluralism and diversity of news and people.

On the other hand, the theory has been critiqued in some ways. The vagueness and ambiguity of ethics, which also differs from case to case makes it very difficult to live by these ethics at times.

Another critique of the SRT is that the theory thrives in a liberal or democratic environment but in the case of most of the African countries attempting to adopt this theory, are inherently authoritarian or quasi democracies (Ochilo, 1993).

Another flaw with this theory is the difficulty to determine who puts in place the clear standards and principles as has been expressed by Severin & Tankard (2001) that how does the media act in a socially responsible manner by determining what is newsworthy or not.

The SRT holds that the media is free but have an accompanying obligation to serve and uphold the public good whereas the state has the responsibility to safeguard the public interest. The National Media Commission (NMC) has been tasked by Article 165 of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana to ensuring that the media performs its watchdog role to the utmost effect.

When the media in Ghana is able to promote free and fair elections, it would be undertaking its social responsibility function, which is also captured in Article 162, clause (5) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana requiring the media to uphold the responsibility and accountability of government to the people of Ghana.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the study design, data collection methods and analysis. It also highlights the data collection procedure adopted for the study.

4.2 Scope of the Study

The study examines two newspapers in Ghana in a bid to find out how they covered both the 2008 and the 2016 elections using the indices of free and fair elections developed by Goodwin-Gill (1994). These elections have been deemed crucial because they represent the second and third alternations in power since the country was ushered into the Fourth Republic.

The use of newspapers for the study is important because in recent times, most of the stories carried by the electronic media, that is, radio, television and the internet, are obtained from the newspapers. This implies that newspapers play a very important role in setting the agenda for other media outlets to follow.

The study is a comparative analysis of both the 2008 and the 2016 elections and how they have been covered by the media using the indices of free and fair elections. This has been deemed necessary due to the alternation of power that resulted from these elections thus the role of the

media must be examined to bring to bear its contribution towards the growth of democracy in the country over the period.

4.3 Research Design

The study employs the mixed method approach of data collection involving documentary reviews, content analysis and in-depth interviews. According to Creswell (2013) mixed method is a research approach in which researchers collect, analyse and integrate both qualitative and quantitative data in a single study or in a sustained long-term program of inquiry to address their research questions. Other scholars are also of the view that mixed method research enables a researcher to gain different insights into a peculiar issue.

4.4 Population and Sample

The population for this study is the entire publications of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* within the period of May to December 2008 and 2016. Both dailies appear six times in a week from Monday to Saturday. Over the periods under review, each daily published 192 issues. This gives a total population of 768 issues.

4.4.1 Sampling Technique and Sample Size

The sampling technique adopted for this study is purposive sampling. This has been identified as the most appropriate means to arrive by the required information due to the nature of the study. Selection will be limited to publications on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. The choice of these days is appropriate because the publication on Mondays tends to capture all the issues

and events that occurred over the weekend. Besides, the weekend is also the period during which most campaign events take place. Events and stories in the midweek and weekends are captured in the publications of Wednesday and Friday respectively. This method of data collection makes it possible for all the issues relevant to the study to be captured. By applying this sampling procedure, we will arrive at a sample size of 384 issues. This sample size represents 50 percent of the population under study which is more than the 10 percent accepted standard in social science research to enable a researcher to make valid and reliable generalizations to the population (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007). For the in-depth interviews, five (5) senior journalists or News Editors will be interviewed in order to elicit their views on the factors that go into the selection of news stories for publication or broadcast, especially during the electioneering period. It must be pointed out that in journalism practice, selection of news is the responsibility of news editors. Indeed, the selection of the news editors from the media houses is due to the experience of the said people have on news production in particular and journalism practice in general. Additionally, three experts from academia with particular reference to those with backgrounds in communication and political science will be interviewed on how the media contributes to ensuring free and fair elections.

4.5 Selection of Newspapers

The basic requirement here is to determine the appropriate newspapers for the study. But, since the primary objective of our work is to find out the influence of the media in free and fair elections of the 2008 and the 2016, it is necessary to focus on newspapers with adequate coverage of political stories in order to achieve this objective.

The National Media Policy report by the National Media Commission (NMC), that is, the institution responsible for ensuring media standards in the country, indicates that there are

currently over 450 registered newspapers in the country (NMC, 2014) even though not all of them consistently appear on the news-stands.

Criterion sampling, which is one of the types of purposive sampling outlined by Patton (1990) was used in selecting the newspapers for the study. By adopting a pre-determined category of relevance to the objectives of the study, this approach was adopted. Consequently, the following criteria were set for the selection of the news items necessary for the study:

1. Newspapers which are published on a daily basis
2. Newspapers which focus on governance and political issues
3. Newspapers with a nationwide circulation
4. Selection of newspapers owned by the state as well as private interests.

One state-owned newspaper, the *Daily Graphic* as well as one privately-owned newspaper, the *Daily Guide* were thus selected for the study based on the above criteria.

4.4.1 Daily Graphic

The *Daily Graphic* is the largest and oldest state-owned newspaper in Ghana operated by the Graphic Communications Group Limited (GCGL). It was established in 1950 by the Mirror Group in the United Kingdom, which was headed by Cecil King Jr. The original name for the newspaper was West African Graphic Company Limited.

The *Daily Graphic* had its first issue published on 2nd October, 1950. In 1953, the same company launched the weekly Sunday Mirror, which is presently known as *the Mirror*. The Government of Ghana after independence in 1957 acquired the company, changing its name to Ghana Graphic Company Limited. Acquiring it in 1962 by an Act of Parliament, the Government of Ghana turned the newspaper into a statutory corporation through a Legislative Instrument (LI) 709, in accordance with the Statutory Corporations Act, 1964 (Act 232). Thus,

it came to be known as Graphic Corporation. The statutory Corporations Act, 1993, (Act 46) which enabled the conversions of state corporations into public limited liability companies under the Companies Act, 1963 (Act 179) allowed the corporation to undergo this conversion in 1999 resulting in the renaming of the company as the Graphic Communications Group Limited. The Daily Graphic is currently the largest state owned newspaper with a nationwide circulation of 200,000 copies daily.

4.4.2 Daily Guide

The *Daily Guide*, published by the Western Publications Limited is the biggest privately owned newspaper in Ghana. It is one of the most widely read papers in the country with mission to promote democracy in Ghana through objective and creative journalism as well as to inform, entertain and educate its readers. According to Danso (2012) the *Daily Guide* is the most widely read private newspaper with current circulation figure of around 60,000 copies daily in all the ten regions of the country. It was also the most ardent critic of the government prior to the 2016 general elections.

4.5 Data Collection Methods

4.5.1 Primary Data

Primary data for the study will be collected using structured interview guide for the specified respondents.

4.5.2 Secondary Data

Secondary data will be collected from existing documents such as newspapers, books, reports and articles because information from these sources are directly documented. The study will

seek to examine the content of these documents and their suitability for the study. The method to be employed to undertake this task is content analysis.

4.5.3 Content Analysis

Content analysis is generally, a widely accepted method applied to texts by journalists, linguists, communication and scholars within the social sciences. According to Rose, Spinks and Canhoto (2014) content analysis is a systematic, replicable analysis of text through the application of a structured, systematic coding scheme, involving the classification of parts of a text from which inferences can be made from the message content. Similarly, Kerlinger (1986) sees content analysis as a method of studying and analysing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables. This method of analysing data provides valuable insights into a subject matter over time through analysis of texts.

4.5.4 Coding Instrument

In order to collect, organize and interpret the required data, a coding instrument was developed based on the definitions outlined below.

Name of Publication: It relates to the newspapers used in the study.

Length of Story: This determines the space apportioned to a story being used for the study.

Story Enhancement: It relates to whether pictures or illustrations accompany the stories to be used in the study.

Sources of Story: This refers to the original provider of the information which serves as the basis of the story, whether it relates to an individual, group or organization. It helps in the

determination of the sources used by both the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* in their coverage of election-related issues.

Content of Story: It deals with election-related messages contained in the story.

Type of Story: As an important component of the coding guide, this portion of the instrument focuses on whether the story being considered is a feature, editorial, letter or a straight news story so that it can easily be selected and placed on the code.

Placement of Story: It is another important aspect of the instrument which helps, among other things, to determine the page on which stories that are being considered appear. The essence of this is to determine whether a story is prominent or not.

For example, front page, middle page, back page or other, where most prominent pages are the front, middle and back page respectively. Karikari (2003) maintains that stories captured in the front, back and centre pages of newspapers are what the papers deem to be prominent.

Political Party of focus: This determined the political party with which the story focused on. For instance whether NPP or NDC.

4.6 Method of Data Analysis

4.6.1 Primary Data Analysis

Primary data will be collected through the use of an in-depth interview technique and it will be analysed using the stated research questions and objectives of the study.

4.6.2 Secondary Data Analysis

Secondary data collected from the newspapers will be analysed using content analysis and statistical tools such as frequency distribution tables, cross-tabulations and charts. The data that will be obtained from this process will be subjected to the analysis of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

4.7 Study Limitations

The number of interviewees for the study were few and purposely chosen as such results may reflect some biases and personal opinions of the individuals interviewed. The only primary data collected for this study were the interview results as such interviewing eight respondents may be limited. Additionally relying on secondary data may also have the disadvantage that its purpose for collection may perhaps differ from the objective of this particular study. Time and financial constraints emanated due to the large nature of the secondary data used for the study.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

The importance of ethics in any research work cannot be ignored. According to Walliman (2016), ethics are the rules of conduct in a research work. During data collection and analysis, ethical norms were greatly adhered to, especially the ethical issue of informed consent. Israel and Hay (2006), state explicitly that, “informed consent means that participants need first to comprehend and second to agree voluntarily to the nature of the research and their role within it”.

The respondents for the study were first informed through telephone about the study after which letters of introduction from the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana indicating that information provided was solely for academic purposes. Prior permission was

also sought from participants who allowed for their interview to be captured on voice recorder. Participants were also assured of their anonymity and confidentiality thus personal or demographic information related to participants was not collected. This supports the assertion by Steinar (1996) that anonymity and confidentiality of participants in a research work must be greatly adhered to.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter examined the methodology used in the study. It highlighted the scope of the study, research design and the sampling procedure. The criteria for the selection of newspapers for the content analysis as well as selection of respondents for the in-depth interview were also examined. The various data collection methods and analysis procedures that were employed were also highlighted.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS, SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed analysis of the results based on documentary reviews, content analysis and in-depth interviews that were used to gather data on how the Ghanaian media promoted free and fair elections, particularly during the 2008 and 2016 elections. The chapter is organised based on the research objectives of the study. The study was guided by six research questions which are as follows:

1. What is the level of media freedom in the country?
2. To what extent did the media freedom influence the 2008 and 2016 elections?
3. Which media (state or private) covered the two elections relying on the indices of free and fair elections?
4. To what extent did the media's coverage of the two elections a reflection of effective and fair coverage of the indices of free and fair elections?
5. In what ways did both the state and privately owned media cover the two elections?

5.2 Media Freedom in Ghana

Media freedom in Ghana prior to 1992 was nothing to write home about. This is because there were a lot of restrictions on the country's media. The government at the time relied on repressive and obnoxious press laws which had been in existence since the colonial era to limit the activities of the media. Notable among them were seditious and criminal libel laws. However, in 2001, upon the assumption of power by the New Patriotic Party (NPP) under the leadership of John Agyekum Kufour, both the criminal libel and sedition laws were repealed, thus paving the way for the liberalisation and expansion of the media landscape. Scholars such

as Arthur (2010), Asare (2009) & Koomson (2013) acknowledge the enormous freedoms currently enjoyed by the media in the country. For Arthur and Asare, though the freedom has led to the expansion of the media landscape and allowed the media to be more critical of actions of government, it has also been criticised for allowing the media to be partisan and unprofessional. For aligning itself with political parties, the media has been accused of compromising its oversight role. Responding to the criticism, a professor of communication, Nana Essilfie Conduah expressed the view that it is wrong for media houses to be politically aligned, arguing that it has a moral obligation to serve the interest of the public rather than its owners or financiers, a view shared by Shardow & Asare (2016) that media independence in the country is greatly threatened by its ownership. It is against this background that people are calling for restrictions on the media as captured in the 2018 Afro-barometer report conducted by the Centre for Democratic Development (CDD), which revealed the desire by a section of the citizenry for restrictions to be imposed on the media to safeguard the country's nascent democracy. That said, all the people who were interviewed for this study acknowledged the existence of media freedom in the country, thus making it possible for the media to ply their vocation freely in the country. Making reference to article 162 of the 1992 Constitution, which guarantees the freedom and independence of the media, the respondents observed that the free nature of the media landscape has led to the expansion of the country's media frontiers. Notwithstanding the above problems and its effects on media practice in the country, the respondents maintained that the liberalized media landscape has been extremely beneficial in terms of its contribution towards promotion of democratic practice in the country, arguing that it has been able to hold government accountable for its actions and inactions, a situation that has contributed to the country being regarded as the torchbearer of democracy on the continent of Africa.

Having explained the state of the media freedom in the country before the 2008 elections, it is important to shed light on the two elections under consideration. In fact, the 2008 general election was very important to the country's democratic practice. It represented the second successful transfer of power from an incumbent government to an opposition political party. Huntington refers to it as the two-turnover test, which in a way represented the attainment of a level of stability with regard to the democratic promotion and sustenance of the country. Unlike the 2008 elections which took place without any significant event, the 2012 elections ended in a controversy, which resulted in the NPP challenging the results of elections at the Supreme Court. Though the Court rejected the petition of the NPP, it however, directed the EC to undertake a number of reforms, which eventually had far reaching implications for the 2016 elections, a process the media fully participated as a key stakeholder.

5.3 Media Coverage of the Indices of Free and Fair Election in 2008 And 2016 Elections

The study revealed that during the 2008 and 2016 elections, a total of 1,958 stories were published by both Daily Graphic (state-owned newspaper) and Daily Guide (private-owned newspaper). Out of the lot, *Daily Graphic's* share was 1,105 with 673 and 445 of them published during the 2008 and 2016 elections respectively. On the other hand, *Daily Guide* had 853 stories produced in the two election years with the paper publishing 432 stories in 2008 and 421 in 2016. Despite the high number of stories published by the *Daily Graphic* in the two elections, a sample of 96 issues was, however, selected from each of the newspapers in the two electoral periods. This means that the sample size determined for the two newspapers were the same. That said, the high number of stories published by *Daily Graphic* during the 2008 and 2016 elections was due to the fact that the newspapers have more pages than Daily Guide.

While the total number of pages for the *Daily Guide* is **16**, the *Daily Graphic* has **46** pages. Also, the former has special pages that are dedicated to the coverage of politics, a feature that is absent in the latter.

Table 5.1 Coverage of the Media in 2008 Elections

		Name & Year of publication		Total
		Daily Graphic	Daily Guide	
		2008	2008	
	EC	433 (64%)	280 (65%)	713
Indices of free and fair elections	BMR	17 (3%)	60 (14%)	77
	EM	81 (12%)	48 (11%)	129
	VR	48 (7%)	4 (1%)	52
	CEVI	94 (14%)	40 (9%)	134
Total		673 (100%)	432 (100%)	1105

Source: Field Study, 2018

Table 5.2 Coverage of the Media in 2016 Elections

		Name & Year of publication		Total
		Daily Graphic	Daily Guide	
		2016	2016	
	EC	236 (53%)	296 (73%)	532
Indices of free and fair elections	BMR	35 (8%)	16 (3%)	51
	EM	66 (15%)	40 (10%)	106
	VR	17 (4%)	31 (7%)	48
	CEVI	91 (20%)	23 (7%)	114
Total		445 (100%)	406 (100%)	851

Source: Field Study, 2018

5.3.1 Electoral Campaign (EC)

The Electoral Campaign (EC) was the single most important issue that occupied the attention of the two newspapers during the two electoral periods. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 show that both the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* gave high coverage to stories relating to that. For example, in 2008, *Daily Guide* recorded an average of 280 (65%) stories. *Daily Graphic* on the other hand, did 433 stories on the issue. The figure translates to 64 per cent coverage. The pattern of coverage did not change much during the 2016 elections. *Daily Guide* maintained its lead in the coverage of EC. Throughout the period, the paper gave the index an average coverage of 53 per cent. Though the figure recorded by *Daily Graphic* was the least among the two newspapers as well as the two electoral years, it is by far the largest among the remaining four indices.

Table 5.3 Placement of Stories in the Daily Graphic-2008 Elections

		Placement of story			Total
		Front page	Back page	Middle page	
Indices of free and fair elections	EC	25 (4%)	0	407 (60%)	432 (64%)
	BMR	2 (0.3%)	0	15 (3%)	17 (3%)
	EM	12 (2%)	0	69 (10%)	81 (12%)
	VR	9 (1%)	0	39 (6%)	48 (7%)
	CEVI	5 (1%)	0	89 (13%)	94 (14%)
Total		53 (8%)	1 (0.1%)	619 (92%)	673(100%)

Source: Field Study, 2018

Table 5.4 Placement of Stories in the Daily Graphic-2016 Elections

		Placement of story			Total
		Front page	Back page	Middle page	
Indices of free and fair elections	EC	22 (5%)	1 (0.2%)	210 (47%)	232 (52%)
	BMR	10 (2%)	0	25 (6%)	35 (8%)
	EM	24 (5%)	1 (0.2%)	41 (10%)	66 (15%)
	VR	4 (1%)	0	13 (4%)	17 (5%)
	CEVI	7 (2%)	0	84 (18%)	91 (20%)
Total		67 (15%)	4 (1%)	373 (84%)	444(100%)

Source: Field Study, 2018

Table 5.5 Placement of Stories in the Daily Guide-2008 Elections

		Placement of story			Total
		Front page	Back page	Middle page	
Indices of free and fair elections	EC	54 (12%)	10 (2%)	214 (51%)	278 (65%)
	BMR	16 (4%)	0	44 (10%)	60 (14%)
	EM	0	0	48 (11%)	48 (11%)
	VR	4 (1%)	0	0	4 (1%)
	CEVI	4 (1%)	0	36 (8%)	40 (9%)
Total		78 (18%)	10 (2%)	342 (80%)	430(100%)

Source: Field Study, 2018

Table 5.6 Placement of Stories in the Daily Guide-2016 Elections

		Placement of story			Total
		Front page	Back page	Middle page	
Indices of free and fair elections	EC	32 (7%)	27 (6%)	240 (58%)	299 (71%)
	BMR	16 (4%)	0	15 (3%)	31 (7%)
	EM	2 (1%)	0	38 (9%)	40 (10%)
	VR	9 (2%)	0	22 (5%)	31 (7%)
	CEVI	0	0	23 (5%)	23 (5%)
Total		61 (14%)	27 (7%)	333 (79%)	421(100%)

Source: Field Study, 2018

In terms of placement of stories, Tables 5.3 and 5.5 show that in 2008, both the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* did a number of stories relating to EC. The front, middle and back pages (that

is, the three important pages) of *Daily Guide* received a total of 278 (65%) stories with *Daily Graphic* also producing a total of 432 (64) stories for the said pages. Both the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* dominated their middle pages with average stories of 407 (60%) and 214 (51%) respectively. Similarly, in 2016, *Daily Guide* improved its performance on the coverage of issues relating to EC. It published a total of 299 (71%) stories for the three most important pages of the paper. *Daily Guide* on the other hand, trailed with 64 (52%) stories which were placed in the said pages. Like 2008, both newspapers placed most of their stories in the middle pages to be followed by the front and the back pages. Though the stories in the back pages of the two newspapers generally received scant attention, the worse was recorded by *Daily Graphic* subsequently. It placed only one (0.2%) story on the back page throughout the 2008 electoral period.

Table 5.7 Prominence of Coverage by Daily Graphic of Political Party Activities in the 2008 Elections

		Political Parties			Total
		NPP	NDC	Others	
Placement of Stories	Front page	45 (10%)	38 (9%)	17 (4%)	100 (23%)
	Back page	14 (3%)	11 (3%)	7 (1%)	32(7%)
	Middle page	115 (27%)	120 (28%)	65 (15%)	300 (70%)
Total		174 (40%)	169 (40%)	89 (20%)	432(100%)

Source: Field Study, 2018

Table 5.8 Prominence of Coverage by Daily Guide of Political Party Activities in the 2008 Elections

	Political Parties	Total
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		NPP	NDC	Others	
Placement of Stories	Front page	45 (17%)	25 (10%)	10 (4%)	85 (31%)
	Back page	0	0	0	0
	Middle page	120 (43%)	65 (23%)	10(4%)	193 (69%)
Total		165 (60%)	90 (33%)	20 (8%)	278(100%)

Source: Field Study, 2018

Table 5.9 Prominence of Coverage by Daily Graphic of Political Party Activities in the 2016 Elections

		Political Parties			Total
		NPP	NDC	Others	
Placement of Stories	Front page	30 (13%)	40 (17%)	15 (7%)	85 (37%)
	Back page	3 (1%)	7 (3%)	4 (2%)	14 (6%)
	Middle page	50 (22%)	60 (26%)	23 (10%)	133 (57%)
Total		83 (36%)	107 (46%)	42 (18%)	232(100%)

Source: Field Study, 2018

Table 5.10 Prominence of Coverage by Daily Guide of Political Party Activities in the 2016 Elections

		Political Parties			Total
		NPP	NDC	Others	
Placement of Stories	Front page	72 (24%)	40 (13%)	22 (7%)	134 (45%)
	Back page	0	0	0	0
	Middle page	80 (27%)	47 (16%)	38 (13%)	165 (55%)
Total		152 (51%)	87 (29%)	60 (20%)	299 (100%)

Source: Field Study, 2018

In terms of prominence, *Daily Graphic* accorded NDC more stories than *Daily Guide* to the NPP. Table 5.7 shows that in 2008, with the exception of other political parties, *Daily Graphic*

provided almost equal coverage for both NPP and NDC. For instance, during the elections, *Daily Graphic* gave prominence to both NPP and NDC stories by giving them 10 and 9 per cent coverage respectively in the front page of the paper. The middle pages attracted more coverage than the front pages. Both parties received an average of 28 per cent coverage in the middle page. Compared to the NDC's there were slight changes with regard to the coverage given by *Daily Guide*. The paper accorded the NPP with 17 per cent coverage as opposed to 10 per cent for the NDC. Other political parties received only 10 per cent coverage in the front page. Unlike *Daily Guide*, Table 5.9 shows that *Daily Graphic* gave slightly more coverage to NDC than it did for the NPP in the paper's front page. In 2016, while the paper placed 45(17%) stories of the NPP on the front page, it published only 25 (10%) stories about the NDC on its front page. Other political parties had only 10 (4%) stories placed on the paper's front page. The pattern of coverage did not change much in the course of the election. Though the NDC had slightly more coverage than the NPP in the said paper, only 3% of the stories relating to NDC was published in the front page of the Daily Graphic newspaper. The NPP on the other hand, was given only 1% of the stories in the paper's back page. The rest of the parties were given two per cent coverage of their activities on the back page. With regard to the middle page, *Daily Graphic* gave the NDC 26 per cent coverage, while the NPP had only 22 per cent of its campaign activities published. Meanwhile, the *Daily Guide* during the 2016 elections gave NPP 24 per cent coverage on its front page. The NDC on the other hand, received 13 per cent of the paper's coverage on the front page. The rest of the other political parties was given only seven per cent coverage in the paper's front page. No story was featured on the back page for either NPP or NPP. As regards the middle page, NPP was given 27 per cent coverage with NDC having about 6 per cent coverage of its issues. Other parties received just 13 per cent coverage of its activities.

Table 5.11 Coverage of Political Parties

		Name of publication			Daily Guide 2016
		Daily Graphic 2008	Daily Guide 2008	Daily Graphic 2016	
Coverage of Political Parties	NPP	296 (44%)	283 (65%)	174 (39%)	295 (70%)
	NDC	276 (41%)	130 (30%)	191 (43%)	118 (28%)
	Others	101 (15%)	22 (5%)	80 (18%)	8 (2%)
Total		673 (100%)	435 (100%)	445 (100%)	421 (100%)

Source: Field Study

In 2008, total of 552 stories were published in relation to both NPP and NDC. Of this number, *Daily Guide* allotted 283 (65%) stories to the campaign activities of the NPP. This particular publication was 50 per cent more than what the paper published about NDC. It must be pointed out that most of the stories published by *Daily Guide* which relate to NPP were in the form of straight news. The rest of the coverage was in the form of editorial (7%), feature article (9%) and letter to the editor (8%). Also, the newspaper published a number of advertisements that sought to promote the course of the NPP. *Daily Graphic* on the other hand gave 296 (44%) coverage to the NDC. Throughout the year, *Daily Graphic* produced less news stories about the NDC than it did for the NPP. In 2008, while the NPP received 246 (37%) stories, the paper gave NDC an average coverage of only 230 (34%) stories. Besides, the paper provided almost equal coverage for the two parties with respect to editorials, features and letters. It was only in advertisement that little difference existed. The *Daily Graphic* published more advertisements that sought to promote the interest of the NPP than the NDC. According to Table 5.10, during the 2016 elections, *Daily Guide* gave NPP more publications than NDC. The paper allocated 110 (26%) stories to the NPP. Meanwhile, NDC received only 10% coverage from the newspaper for the party's activities. As the campaign activities progressed, the paper gave more

publications to the NPP than NDC, particularly with regard to editorials, features, letters and even adverts. *Daily Graphic* on the other hand, gave almost equal amount of coverage to both NPP and NDC with regard to editorials, features, news stories, letters, among others. The rest of the political parties received little attention from the two newspapers. Table 5.11 shows that in 2008, both the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* did only 101 and 22 stories respectively. In 2016, *Daily Guide* favoured the NPP more than the NDC in terms of coverage of its election campaigns. While *Daily Guide* provided 70 per cent coverage for the NPP, *Daily Graphic* discriminated against the NDC with 65 per cent coverage of its campaign activities. In 2008, apart from 22 (5%) news stories that the paper did for the other parties, it gave zero percentage coverage to the NDC in terms of editorials, feature articles and letters. As regards adverts, the paper published those ones that sought to promote the interest of the NPP other than the NDC. On the other hand, the *Daily Graphic* published only 0.3, 1, 11, 1 and 0.2 issues in the form of editorial, feature, news story, letter and advert respectively. In 2016, though a number of stories were published for the other political parties, the percentage of coverage was very little for both papers.

Table 5.12 Extent of Coverage of Political Parties by Daily Graphic in 2008

	Type of Story					Total
	Editorial	Feature	Newstory	Letter	Advert	
NPP	5 (0.5%)	10 (1%)	246 (37%)	20 (3%)	15 (2%)	296 (44%)

Extent of Coverage of Political Parties	NDC	4 (0.4%)	12 (1%)	230 (34%)	25 (4%)	5 (0.5%)	276 (41%)
	Others	3 (0.3%)	8 (1%)	75 (11%)	13 (1%)	2 (0.2%)	101 (15%)
Total		12 (1%)	30 (3%)	551 (82%)	58 (8%)	22 (6%)	673 (100%)

Source: Field Study, 2018

Table 5.13 Extent of Coverage of Political Parties by Daily Guide in 2008

		Type of Story					Total
		Editorial	Feature	Newstory	Letter	Advert	
Extent of Coverage of Political Parties	NPP	30 (7%)	40 (9%)	130 (30%)	34 (8%)	50 (11%)	283 (65%)
	NDC	10 (2%)	12 (3%)	68 (15%)	20 (5%)	20 (5%)	130 (30%)
	Others	0	0	22 (5%)	0	0	22 (5%)
Total		40 (9%)	52 (12%)	244 (51%)	54 (12%)	70 (16%)	435 (100%)

Source: Field Study, 2018

Table 5.14 Extent of Coverage of Political Parties by Daily Graphic in 2016

		Type of Story					Total
		Editorial	Feature	Newstory	Letter	Advert	
Extent of Coverage of Political Parties	NPP	16 (4%)	30 (7%)	93 (21%)	23 (5%)	12 (3%)	174 (39%)
	NDC	19 (4%)	25 (6%)	97 (22%)	20 (4%)	30 (7%)	191 (43%)
	Others	12 (3%)	14 (3%)	39 (9%)	7 (2%)	8 (2%)	80 (18%)
Total		47 (11%)	69 (16%)	229 (52%)	50 (11%)	50 (11%)	445 (100%)

Source: Field Study, 2018

Table 5.15 Extent of Coverage of Political Parties by Daily Guide in 2016

		Type of Story	Total
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		Editorial	Feature	Newstory	Letter	Advert	
Extent of	NPP	50 (12%)	35 (8%)	110 (26%)	40 (10%)	60 (14%)	295 (70%)
Coverage of	NDC	10 (2%)	16 (4%)	42 (10%)	30 (7%)	20 (5%)	118 (28%)
Political	Others	0	0	5 (1%)	1 (0.2%)	2 (0.5%)	8 (2%)
Parties							
Total		60 (14%)	51 (12%)	157 (37%)	71 (17%)	82 (20%)	421 (100%)

Source: Field Study, 2018

As regard the type of stories published by the newspaper, Tables 5.12, 5.13, 5.14 and 5.15 shows that in both 2008 and 2016, most of the stories *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* published about EC were in the form of straight news. *Daily Graphic* produced 456 (68%) stories for the subject of EC. Similarly, *Daily Guide* dedicated half (59%) of its contents to the publication of straight news. Editorials, feature articles, letters and advertisements regarding the EC attracted very little or no attention by the two newspapers.

Table 5.16 Types of Story and Content of Daily Guide in 2016

		Content of story					Total
		EC	BMR	EM	VR	CEVI	
Type of story	Editorial	13 (3%)	0	0	0	3 (1%)	16 (4%)
	Feature	14 (3%)	2 (0.5%)	0	0	10 (2%)	26 (6%)
	Newstory	180 (43%)	7 (1%)	2 (0.5%)	42	126 (25%)	315 (75%)
	Letter	12 (2%)	1 (0.5%)	5 (1%)	0	5 (1%)	23 (5%)
	Advert	2 (0.5%)	0	39 (9%)	0	0	41 (10%)
Total		221 (52%)	10 (2%)	46 (12%)	42(10%)	144 (24%)	421(100%)

Source: Field Study, 2018

Table 5.17 Type of story and Content of Daily Graphic in 2016

		Content of story					Total
		EC	BMR	EM	VR	CEVI	
Type of story	Editorial	17 (4%)	18 (4%)	0	0	1 (0.3%)	36 (9%)
	Feature	47 (11%)	17 (4%)	0	0	6 (1%)	70 (16%)
	Newstory	144 (33%)	46 (10%)	6 (1%)	1 (0.3%)	125 (28%)	322 (72%)
	Letter	6 (1%)	0	0	0	0	6 (1%)
	Advert	0	0	9 (2%)	0	1 (0.3%)	10 (2%)
Total		214 (48%)	81 (18%)	15 (3%)	1 (0.2%)	133 (30%)	444(100%)

Source: Field Study, 2018

Table 5.18 Type of story and Content of Daily Graphic in 2008

		Content of story					Total
		EC	BMR	VR	EM	CEVI	
Type of story	Editorial	1 (0.2%)	10 (2%)	0	6 (1%)	1 (0.3%)	18 (3%)
	Feature	2 (0.5%)	12 (2%)	0	8 (1%)	0	22 (3%)
	Newstory	456 (68%)	62 (9%)	4 (0.5%)	13 (2%)	63 (9%)	598 (89%)
	Letter	3 (0.4%)	17 (3%)	0	10 (2%)	0	30 (4%)
	Advert	1 (0.2%)	0	4 (0.5%)	0	0	5 (1%)
Total		463 (69%)	101 (15%)	8 (1%)	37 (5%)	64 (10%)	673 (100%)

Source: Field Study, 2018

Type of story and Content of Daily Guide in 2008

		Content of story					Total
		EC	BMR	CEVI	EM	VR	
Type of story	Editorial	8 (2%)	0	0	0	0	8 (2%)
	Feature	10 (2%)	0	0	0	0	10 (2%)
	Newstory	214 (50%)	12 (3%)	0	164 (28%)	22 (5%)	390 (91%)
	Advert	0	0	22 (5%)	0	0	22 (5%)
	Letter	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		232 (54%)	12 (3%)	22 (5%)	142 (33%)	22 (5%)	430(100%)

Source: Field Study, 2018

5.3.2 Balloting, Monitoring and Results (BMR)

Balloting, Monitoring and Results (BMR) is one of the indices used in this study. Neither *Daily Graphic* nor *Daily Guide* gave significant coverage to it during 2008 and 2016 elections. In 2008, *Daily Graphic* gave 14 per cent coverage to BMR. The rest of the coverage on the issue did not exceed 9 per cent for the two newspapers. Evidence of this could be seen in Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3.

Under BMR, coverage was done in the form of editorials, feature articles and straight news. Like EC, news stories dominated the contents of both *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide*, but received very little or no percentage score in the two electoral years. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 show that none of the coverage given to news stories by both *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* went beyond 10 per cent during the two elections. Editorials, feature articles and letters received scant or zero attention throughout the election years. The advertisements that were put in the newspapers did not further the course of the party or give information about any of the indices neither were they meant to crowd the advertising space in order to eliminate their competitors. In recent time, political parties and politicians have resorted to the buying of advertising space in the media in order to sell their messages to the electorate and also deprive their opponents space to enable them carry their messages across to the electorate. The consequence of this strategy has led to most media houses reducing spaces that could be devoted to editorials, feature articles and news stories, among others. Sometimes, stakeholders like the Electoral Commission, civil society organisations and others place advertisements in the media promoting or giving information about some of the issues under consideration. In 2008 and 2016, both the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* recorded no significant form of advertisement from the above mentioned sources.

Both *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* consistently continue to show little interest for issues relating to BMR. They gave the subject of BMR little or no prominence in the middle and front pages of their newspapers. In 2008 for instance, *Daily Guide* gave the issue a low percentage score of 10 per cent. The next important page which focused on the issues was the front. It gave four and less than one per cent coverage to the issue in the front pages of *Daily Guide* and *Daily Graphic* respectively. The back pages of the two newspapers received zero per cent coverage for BMR. Tables 5.14 and 5.15 show that in 2016, both papers put emphasis on their front pages and went ahead to place, though scant stories, on such pages. An average of six and four per cent coverage was given to stories placed in the middle pages of both *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide*. The next important page for both the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* was the front, but it received very little attention. The back pages of the two newspapers continued to record zero coverage for the subject BMR.

5.3.3 Electoral Management (EM)

An examination of the issues relating to Electoral Management (EM) produced an interesting outcome. Table 5.1 indicates that while in the 2008 elections, the third most important issue for the *Daily Graphic* was EM, however, it attracted only 12 per cent coverage. Similarly, the *Daily Guide* gave just 11 per cent coverage for the issue. In 2016, the paper gave EM an average coverage of 12 per cent. But in 2008, both the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* featured an average of 15% and 10% coverage respectively.

Like EC and BMR, issues relating to EM received poor attention in both the 2008 and 2016 elections. In 2008 for instance, with the exception of *Daily Guide*, *Daily Graphic* gave 28 percentage coverage to issues relating to EM. The coverage took the form of straight news stories. Editorials, features, news stories and letters received poor coverage ranging from two to zero per cent. Tables 5.12, 5.13, 5.14 and 5.15 indicate that apart from adverts, editorials, feature articles news stories and letters recorded between five and zero percentage coverage. At this time, political parties had begun to use advertisements to communicate with the electorate and their opponents.

Tied to the above, is the issue of placement of stories in the newspapers. In the two elections, the middle pages of the two papers became very important means by which the subject EM was placed. In 2008 for instance, *Daily Guide* placed 48 (11%) stories in the middle page of the paper. No story was placed in the front and back pages of the paper. In 2016 too, issues relating to EM received little or no attention of two stories (1%) and 38 (9%) stories in the front and middle pages respectively. Except an insignificant coverage of one (0.2%), no story was published at the back page of the paper.

5.3.4 Voter Registration (VR)

Issues relating to Voter Registration (VR) were part of the important indices necessary for achieving free and fair elections, but both the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* failed to give prominence to the issue. Though in both the 2008 and 2016 elections, the Electoral Commission did not give adequate time for the registration and revision of the voters' register, the little opportunity that was given to the people by the Electoral Commission to undertake the exercises was not utilized properly by both the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* as the two

newspapers gave a paltry of seven and one per cent coverage respectively to the subject in 2008. Table 5.2 indicates that in 2016, both the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* did not pay attention to VR. The former and the later newspapers published only 17 (4%) stories and 31 (7%) stories respectively relating to VR.

As usual, the item that gained prominence during the 2008 and 2016 elections was straight news stories relating to EM. While the *Daily Guide* in 2008 wrote 4 (1%) stories relating to VR, the *Daily Graphic* produced only 48 (7%) stories in this regard. Likewise, in 2016, *Daily Guide* featured most of its news stores in the middle and front pages. In both the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide*, stories relating to VR only had one and 6 per cent coverage.

5.3.5 Civic Education and Voter Information (CEVI)

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 indicate that in the 2008 and 2016, *Daily Graphic* gave more prominence to CEVI than *Daily Guide*. In 2008, while *Daily Graphic* published 94 (14%) stories about CEVI, *Daily Guide* had 40 (9%) stories relating to the subject. Similarly, during the 2016 elections, *Daily Graphic* devoted 91 (20%) stories to CEVI with *Daily Guide* publishing only 23 (7%) stories in all.

Table 5.3 shows that in 2008, only one percent of front page coverage was given by *Daily Graphic* with regard to CEVI. The other item the paper paid attention to is straight news. In all, 63 (9%) stories were produced to reflect the issue about CEVI. The rest of the items received no coverage whatsoever. In 2016, both *Daily Guide* and *Daily Guide* dominated their contents with straight news stories concerning CEVI. In the case of *Daily Graphic*, it did an average of 126 (25%) stories. Meanwhile, *Daily Graphic* in respect of CEVI published three editorials. Besides, 10 feature articles were written about CEVI. That said, five letters were also written by readers concerning CEVI. The use of advertisement by politicians and

stakeholders did not mean much for the newspaper as it gave it zero per cent coverage. In 2016 however, *Daily Graphic* recorded 125 (28%) news stories in favour of CEVI.

Tables 5.3, 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 show that stories on CEVI were mainly placed in both the front and middle pages of both the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide*. In 2008, the *Daily Graphic* placed more stories about CEVI in its middle page than it did for *Daily Guide*. Out of 94 stories, the paper devoted 89 (13%) stories to the middle page of the paper. *Daily Guide* on the other hand, gave eight per cent prominence of its stories on CEVI in the middle page of the paper. In the case of the front page, both papers devoted one per cent coverage of the subject to their front pages. In 2016, the best coverage was seen in the middle page of *Daily Graphic* where 84(18%) coverage reflecting the issues about CEVI was placed. There were scant or zero coverage of the issue in the front and back pages of the two newspapers.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This is the final chapter of the study. It presents the summary of findings, conclusion as well as recommendations for future study.

6.2 Summary of Findings

This study sought to examine how the media in Ghana is able to promote free and fair elections. This was done by comparatively analysing the 2008 and the 2016 elections which represented the second and third alternations in power of the country's fledgling democracy. By selecting five indices out of the ten propounded by Goodwin-Gill (1994) as a framework for assessing free and fair elections in democratic electoral systems, the study sought to compare media coverage in the 2008 and the 2016 general elections in Ghana. The five selected indices identified as the critical indices of free and fair elections include election management, electoral campaigns and voter registration. The rest are civic education and voter information, balloting, monitoring and results and political parties.

In an attempt to carry out this study to its logical conclusion, the following questions guided this work: how the Ghanaian media covered both the 2008 and the 2016 elections taking into consideration the indices of free and fair elections; the level of media freedom in the country and how the freedom influenced the 2008 and 2016 elections; the media that covered the two elections relying on the indices of free and fair elections; ways in which both the state and privately owned media covered the two elections; measures to improve media performance in the coverage of elections in the country.

From the findings, it emerged that both the state and private media covered the two elections relying on the critical indices of free and fair elections as indicated. The state media however covered the critical indices more elaborately than the private media. The content of the

private media focused more on electoral campaigns and political parties as findings from the content analysis revealed.

The study also revealed that the Ghana has one of the freest media environments on the African continent. This was confirmed by the recognition of the country by the World Press Freedom Index as having the freest media on the continent for the year 2018. This was made possible by the invaluable role played by the media in in the conduct of seven democratically held elections which has resulted in three peaceful alternations in power. Press freedom enabled adequate scrutiny of candidates and political party manifestoes during the 2008 and 2016 elections. It also allowed the media to monitor effectively the entire electioneering process from the pre-election, the actual election and the post-election stages.

On the subject of how the state and private media covered the two elections, it emerged that whereas the coverage of the private media revealed extreme partisanship, the state media on the other hand reflected a certain level of objectivity. This was indicative of coverage of both the 2008 and the 2016 elections.

In terms of challenges confronting the media in election coverage in Ghana and how to tackle those challenges, the following were identified: harassment and brutality of personnel during coverage of elections and election-related activities such as political campaigns; inadequacy of personnel to effectively monitor the over 29,000 polling stations due to their geographic locations; extreme partisanship by some private media due to ownership thus affecting the fairness, objectivity and accuracy of the news covered; and unprofessionalism on the part of certain media personnel. The measures identified for mitigating the identified challenges above include the following: streamlining the training of students and prospective media personnel by GJA and NMC to ensure uniformity in how training institutions train professionals; organising training and refresher programmes for media personnel to ensure

enhanced capacity in modern trends of election coverage; media personnel adhering to the standards and ethics of the journalism profession; investment into resources and logistics needed for effective election coverage by media owners; and adequate remuneration of personnel to prevent influence and inducement by political parties and candidates.

6.3 Conclusion

This study examined how the media in Ghana is able to promote free and fair elections by comparatively analysing the 2008 and the 2016 elections. Analyses of the two newspapers revealed how the state and private media covered political issues in the electioneering period. It also shed light on some of the challenges encountered by the Ghanaian media in the coverage of elections.

The study established that the media environment in the country was very free which enabled media practitioners to carry out their social responsibility function of holding government accountable as enshrined in Article 162 of the 1992 Constitution of Republic of Ghana. It was also established that the critical indices of free and fair elections espoused by Goodwin-Gill as a framework for assessing democratic elections was reflective within the content of both the state and private media even though it was more elaborately reflected in the state media.

6.4 Recommendations

To ensure the active participation of the media in our democratic dispensation, the following recommendations have been made based on the findings of this study:

- The state media especially radio and television must have mechanisms in place to distinguish between government activities and ruling party activities as a means of curbing incumbent abuse which has been an accompaniment of state media irrespective of the government in power. This requires a form of gate-keeping to ensure that content published promotes the national interest rather than a party's interest when such situations arise.
- There is also the need to reduce the excessive partisanship which this study has found to be a dominant feature of some sections of the private media. This will enable these media houses to promote an agenda that will seek the overall interest of the citizenry as advanced by the social responsibility theory.
- The NMC and NCA as a regulatory bodies must be empowered to carry out its constitutionally mandated role of sanctioning media houses found to be flouting the law as a means of bringing some sanity into the media terrain.

6.4.1 Recommendations for future studies

The increasing role of the “new media” and dependence of a majority of the voting public on these sources for information calls for further studies to explore emerging issues such as “fake news”. Social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook have witnessed increased dependence by the public for news concerning politicians, political candidates and the electioneering process. We are increasingly seeing politicians also making their presence felt on these platforms in a bid to reach sections of the public. In the view of media influence in elections, we suggest to take a view at current unravelling global affairs.

Social media has transitioned from a paradigm of “Global Equality in speech” to a tool for targeted advertisements; utilised for malicious intent in electioneering.

Important to consider is the recently unveiled Cambridge Analytica scandal and the direct reference to Kenya's recent election and the anti Odinga sentiment made prominent by maliciously targeted ads.

Interesting to note in the case of the USA is the fact that Barack Obama was the first politician to promote data science as a viable tool for the facilitation of democracy in election messaging. Fast forward to 2016 and we find the overwhelming global sentiment towards Russian manipulation in US election messaging. In view of rapidly advancing technology and increasingly manipulative algorithms that harvest data and facilitate the targeting of specific messages to defined profiles, how best can the global community respond to the increasing threats to democratic process by malicious content dissemination.

What is the way forward for protecting Ghanaian public interest in the wake of fake news?

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APPENDIX A

CODING INSTRUMENT

TECHNICAL DATA

Electoral campaigns (EC)

Balloting Monitoring and Results (BMR)

Election management (EM)

Voter Registration (VR)

Civic Education and Voter Information (CEVI)

Name of Publication- V1

Length of Story-V2

Story Enhancement-V3

Sources of Story-V4

Content of Story-V5

Type of Story-V6

Placement of Story-V7

Size of Story Heading-V8

Political Party of focus- V9

CODING KEY

V1-Name of Publication- Daily Graphic =DGR, Daily Guide =DGD

V2-Length of Story- Full page =1, Half a page =2, Quarter page =3, Other=4

V3-Story Enhancement- Colour =1, Black and White =2, None =3

V4-Sources of Story- Individual =1, Group=2, Organisation=3, Other=4

V5-Content of Story- Information=1, Education=2, Advertisement=3, Other=4, Campaign message=5

V6-Type of Story- Editorial=1, Feature=2, News story=3, Letter=4, Advert=5

V7-Placement of Story- Front-page=1, Back page=2, Middle page=3, Other=4

V8-Size of story heading- large=1, medium=2, small=3

V9- Political Party of focus-1=NPP, 2=NDC, 3=Other Parties

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

This is an academic exercise being conducted by a Master of Philosophy Student from the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, on the theme “Promoting Free and Fair Elections in Ghana. A comparative study of the media in the 2008 and the 2016 elections”. Information provided shall be kept confidential and used for academic purposes only. Your participation is highly valued. Thank you.

1. Does the media in Ghana operate in a free environment?
2. What must be done by the media to ensure free and fair elections in Ghana?
3. Has the media in Ghana been able to promote free and fair elections?

How will you rate coverage of the following by the media during the 2008 and 2016 elections?

- a. The electoral commission and its management of the pre-election, election and post-election processes.
 - b. Activities of political parties as well as individuals running for public office.
 - c. Electoral campaigns embarked on to solicit voter support from citizens.
 - d. The voter registration process
 - e. Voter information and civic education
 - f. Balloting by the candidates, monitoring of the actual voting process and when the results started being announced by the electoral commission.
4. Is the Ghanaian media responsible by adequately keeping the public informed?
 5. What are some of the major hurdles faced by the media in the promotion of free and fair elections in Ghana?
 6. In what ways can the media in Ghana contribute to the firming of the conduct of democratic practise?
 7. What are the factors that determine how the media gives coverage during the electioneering period?
 8. What are some of the general challenges faced by the media during coverage of elections in Ghana and what are the measures put in place to remedy them?

APPENDIX C

SAMPLES OF
ELECTION-
RELATED
STORIES
ANALYSED

Ghana's GDP underestimated
Turn to Page 3

ELECTION 2008
36 DAYS TO GO
LET our political parties back their words and pledges with deeds to make Ghana a country free of violence.

Ghana to invest \$4bn in aluminium industry
Turn to Pages 16 & 17

Daily Graphic

GHANA'S BIGGEST SELLING NEWSPAPER SINCE 1950

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 2008. NO. 17953 PRICE: 70GP



Govt to exceed projected revenue

Story: Kate Baaba Hudson

THE government is on target to exceed its projected revenue of GH¢3,543.42 million, in spite of the global economic slowdown that has hit economies across the world.

The positive indicators followed the collection of GH¢2,660.28 million as of the end of September, this year.

The Executive Secretary of the Revenue Agency Governing Board (RAGB), Mr Harry Owusu, who said this at the 2nd Taxpayers Awards ceremony at the Banquet Hall of the State House in Accra, disclosed that the gradual reduction in the tax rates over time had improved compliance of taxpayers, pushing the contribution of tax to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) from 17.22 per cent in 2001 to 19.1 per cent at the end of last year.

"Collections as of September 30, 2008 stood at GH¢2,660.28 million and by all indications we will exceed the projected revenue of GH¢3,543.42 million for the year," Mr Owusu stated.

The Graphic Communications Group Limited
Continued on Page 3

Photo: PATRICK FYNN
Mohammed Awal (2nd right), Managing Director of the Graphic Communications Group Limited, displaying the plaque to the company won. With him are Mr K. Baah-Adade (left), General Manager, Finance; Mr Kwesi Asare (right), General Manager, Marketing and Public Affairs, and Ms Kate Baaba Hudson, Education Page Editor of the 'Daily Graphic'.

FAIRNESS, PLEASE

Suspect not Baah-Wiredu's daughter

Family of the late Minister of Finance and Economic Planning, Mr Kwadwo Baah-Wiredu, has said that a suspect in a kidnapping case who Daily Graphic bears the name Felicia Baah-Wiredu, is not a member of the family.
The family said it had no knowledge of the said girl, who is currently on the run.
In a separate reaction to a front page story carried by Daily Graphic of Friday, October 31, that some individuals allegedly hired a 42-year-old Israeli businessman to kidnap Baah-Wiredu, into the country and later kidnap him.
When Daily Graphic visited the residence of the businessman in Accra yesterday morning, his widow, Mrs. Baah-Wiredu, who looked visibly disturbed, said she had received numerous phone calls to clarify the issue.
She said the only member of the family whose name bears any resemblance to that of the suspect was Felicia, who is a Level 400 student of the University of Ghana and who had no knowledge of the alleged kidnapping case.
While Daily Graphic was speaking to the family, Mrs. Baah-Wiredu, who had some few weeks to start her first term Lectur 470 examination, called home to also inform about a series of calls she had received on the

Parties demand of EC, media & security agencies

Story: Charles Benoni Okine

POLITICAL parties contesting this year's general elections yesterday argued three institutions — the Electoral Commission (EC), the media and the security agencies — to help create an atmosphere for free and fair elections in December by demonstrating fairness to all.
While committing themselves to ensuring peace wherever they found themselves on the political platform, they said the role of the institutions was crucial and therefore urged them to eschew par-

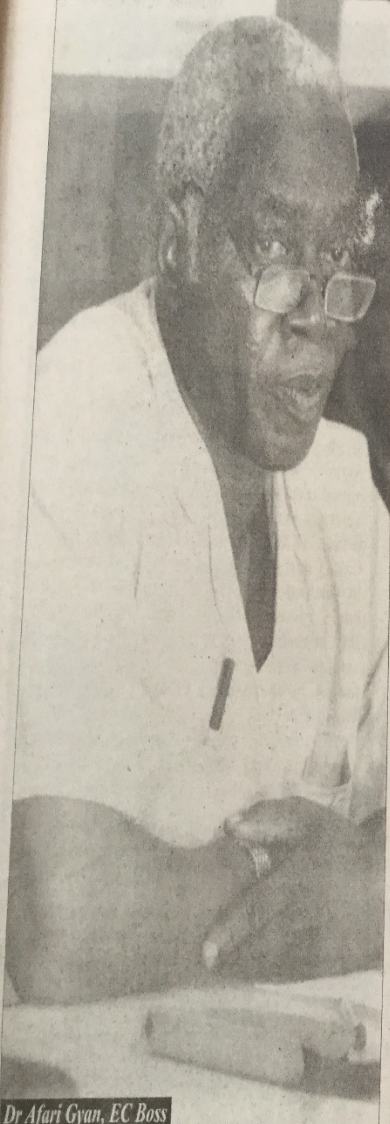
tiality and instead demonstrate absolute neutrality.
The parties, represented by either their presidential candidates or running mates, made the call at the Editors Forum in Accra, which was meant to provide a common platform for all the leaders of the parties to commit themselves to peace before, during and after the general elections.
Party leaders who attended the forum included Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, the presidential candidate of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), Mrs Petra Amegashie, running mate to the presidential candidate of the People's National Convention (PNC), Mr John Dramani Mahama, running mate to the presidential candidate of the

Continued on Page 3

Thursday, November 13, 2008

REFERENCE LIBRARY

DAILY GUIDE PAGE 17



Dr Afari Gyan, EC Boss

'Voters Without Cards Can Vote'

From Thomas Fosu Jr.,
Koforidua

REGISTERED VOTERS who have either lost or misplaced their voter ID cards would be allowed to vote in the forthcoming general elections.

The acting public relations director of the Electoral Commission (EC), Mr. Christian Owusu-Parry, who disclosed this at a capacity building workshop for selected journalists in the Eastern region at Koforidua on Monday, said voters who fall into this category would only have to report to their polling stations for the polling assistants to confirm whether their names and corresponding pictures are in the register to enable them to vote.

He pointed out that people who have the right to vote should not be disenfranchised in any way and that the opportunity must be given to all registered

voters to exercise their franchise.

"We will create a level playing field for all stakeholders in this election because we want this election to be the one that can never be disputed," he stated.

Mr. Owusu-Parry entreated all voters to find out whether the ballot paper which would be given to them is validated with an EC stamp before thumbprinting it.

He stressed that every voter who goes to the polling station to cast his vote would have his name ticked in the register to indicate that the person has voted.

"We are also planning to apply the indelible ink which now has higher silicon content quite differently from the previous ones so that people cannot clean it after voting."

It was hinted that voters may even have to dip a finger into the ink as a sign of having cast their vote.

Mr. Owusu-Parry advised party agents as well as voters to be very vigilant on voting day, adding that any complaints of electoral malpractices should be reported to the presiding officer at the station who would also forward the complaints to the EC for the necessary action to be taken.

"It would be advisable for party agents to also report very early by 6.30am to the polling stations because the sealed papers and boxes would be opened 30 minutes before 7am for the necessary documentations to be done by the election officers," he said.

Mr. Owusu-Parry spoke against the habit of some parties and their candidates moving around polling stations with machomen to terrorise voters, saying it is against the electoral law to do that.

"We would not tolerate machoism at the polling stations and are warning the parties to desist from

that because we will hold any party or candidate responsible for such illegal action."

The acting public relations officer also appealed to journalists and media personnel who would be covering the elections to be very circumspect in their reportage and use the correct language.

"We want journalists to always get certified results from the presiding officer before they can announce it as provisional results."

The Deputy Eastern Regional Commander of Police, Rev. ACP David Ampah-Bentin, who also spoke at the workshop, said the police are adequately prepared to ensure peaceful elections.

According to him, more police personnel would be posted to flashpoint areas to ensure good security while operational centres would also be established at all the polling stations to respond to any emergency situation.

Nana Averts Bloodshed

From Fred J.A.
Ibrahim Jr., Kumasi

THE NEW Patriotic Party (NPP) presidential candidate Nana

NPP Bekwai Constituency primary, as their MP but vote for Nana Addo in the presidential polls.

Information reaching

Senaky Replies Ashaiman MP

From Razak Mardorgyz
Abubakar, Ashaiman

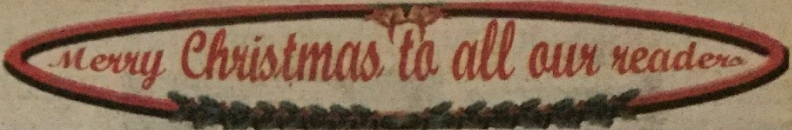
that as the operations manager of Senaky Ltd, clients who did not know his

number of unemployed people in the area and would help bring about

had a lot of young men who were into sports and that he would encourage

Your Daily Graphic

Our popular Daily Graphic will not be on the stands tomorrow. But it will be back on Saturday, Dec. 27, 2008, with a special issue devoted to the presidential run-off. Book your copies.



Daily Graphic

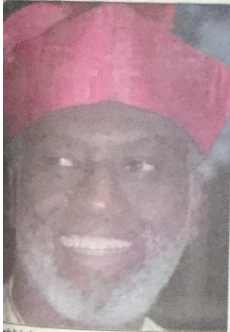
GHANA'S BIGGEST SELLING NEWSPAPER SINCE 1950

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 24, 2008. NO. 17999 PRICE: 70Gp

Sunday's presidential run-off

IT MUST BE PEACEFUL

• *Clergy appeal*



Bishop Charles Palmer-Buckle

Story: **Caroline Boateng**

LEADING members of the clergy in the country have expressed wishes of goodwill for the Christmas and hope for a peaceful presidential run-off on Sunday.

Christmas, the world-wide celebration of the birth of Jesus Christ, will be marked tomorrow and on that occasion some religious leaders in the country have expressed their goodwill wishes, saying that they hope that Ghanaians will put up a more exemplary performance during the run-off.

The General Secretary of the Ghana Pentecostal Council (GPC), Apostle Ekow Badu

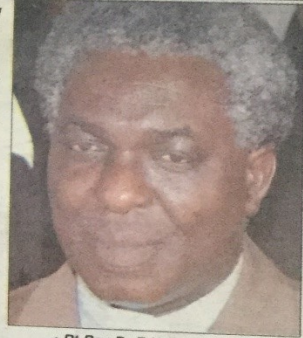
Wood, expressed the hope that Ghanaians would have a good Christmas and the best of progress in the years ahead.

He said Sunday's run-off and the fact that this year's Christmas festivities seemed to be on a low key because of that showed the importance Ghanaians placed on the election of a leader for the country.

Apostle Wood, therefore, charged politicians to render "a gift of a clean campaign to Ghanaians", particularly in the Christmas season.

He added that since the country had performed creditably in the December 7 elections, it was important for all to do much better during the run-off.

The Metropolitan Archbishop of Accra and



Rt Rev Dr Frimpong-Manso

Continued on Page 3

No cause for alarm

Story: **Albert K. Salia**

National Security Co-ordinator, Dr Sam G. Amoo has assured all Ghanaians, particularly those who claim their lives have been threatened, that everything is being done to protect and their lives.

and everybody should feel free and go about their duties without let or hindrance in order to bring peace and goodwill of Christmas.

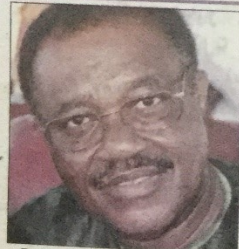
• *National Security chief assures*

Reacting to the alleged threat on the life of the ace gospel musician, Philipa Baafi, whose hit song, "Go High", is the New Patriotic Party's (NPP's) campaign song, Dr Amoo told the *Daily Graphic* in an interview that those spreading threatening text messages to a section of the society, particularly the clergy, judges, journalists and musicians, because

of their perceived support for a particular political party were faceless cowards who were bent on creating insecurity in the country.

The alleged threat on Philipa, which was allegedly sent to her via her mobile phone from mobile phone number 0241559084 on Sunday,

Continued on Page 3



Dr Sam Amoo - Security chief

TAMPICO
Irresistible!
New Island Flavour

Season's Greetings

FanMilks

More than 300,000 living with HIV/AIDS
Turn to Page 3

ELECTION 2008
5 DAYS TO GO
GHANAIANS are peace-loving people. Let this be amply demonstrated on December 7.

Ghanaian wins 'Face of Africa' contest
Turn to Pages 31

Daily Graphic

GHANA'S BIGGEST SELLING NEWSPAPER SINCE 1950

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 2, 2008. NO. 17979 PRICE: 70Gp

The December 7 general election

'ONE-TOUCH'

Story: Kobby Asmah

THREE political parties have each predicted a one-touch victory in Sunday's general election.

They are the New Patriotic Party (NPP), the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the People's National Convention (PNC).

However, the Convention People's Party (CPP) and the Democratic Freedom Party (DFP) say they will cause a stir that will force the polls into a run-off.

With barely five days to the elections, the chairman of the NPP, Mr Peter Mac Mami, and the NDC's, Dr Kwabena Adjei, as well as the flag

• NPP, NDC, PNC predict but CPP, DFP promise a run-off

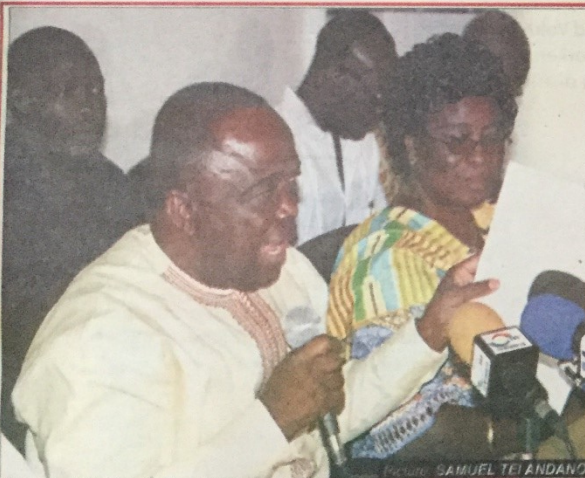
bearer of the PNC, Dr Edward Nasigre Mahama, are highly optimistic that their parties will win in the first round.

Dr Paa Kwesi Nduom, flag bearer of the CPP, and Mr Emmanuel Ansa-Antwi of the DFP are of the view that the elections would go into a run-off and their respective parties will eventually win

the polls. According to the flag bearers of the CPP and DFP no political party could win the elections in round one, but Dr Kwabena Adjei of the NDC however says, "anybody who thinks there will be a second round in this year's elections is an arm-chair analyst".

While Mr Manu of the NPP predicts a 'touch' presidential victory and an increase in parliamentary seats from their current 128 to 146 Adjei points out that Ghanaians have decided go for a change in government and that the N

-Continued on Page 3



• Mr Safo Kantanka, the Deputy Chairman of the Electoral Commission in charge of Operations, stressing a point at the press conference in Accra. With him is Nana Amba Eyiaba I, a member of the commission.

Only thumbprint acceptable — EC

Story: Charles Benoni Okine

ONLY the impression of the thumb is prescribed for marking the ballot papers for preferred candidates as 12.4 million registered Ghanaian voters queue across the country on Sunday to elect a new President and members of a new Parliament.

The Electoral Commission (EC) made that categorical statement yesterday and pointed out that it would not accept any finger impression apart from that of the thumb on the ballot paper on voting day, a position which departs from the EC's earlier stand that any mark on the paper was acceptable.

Addressing the media in Accra, a Deputy Chairman of the commission, Mr Safo Kantanka, explained that the earlier position had changed because the various parties contesting the elections thought otherwise.

He, however, said those who, for some reasons, had no thumbs would be allowed to use any finger upon agreement with the various polling agents and the Presiding Officers.

"At the last Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) meeting, it was agreed that only thumb should be accepted in accordance with electoral laws of the country," he explained at news conference called to throw more light preparations towards Sunday's elections.

Mr Kantanka said the commission he have gone ahead with the earlier position but parties were of a contrary view and noted "we agreed to avoid any problems in that regard."

He warned that the EC would not enter any acts that would result in serious problem any polling station.

"Those who attempt to frustrate the election officers will be handed over to the security agencies for action because we do not want any fusion that might cause problems during polling," he added.

Mr Kantanka said any person with any problem should report to the Presiding Officer

for the necessary action to be followed to

-Continued on Page 3

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DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

Daily Graphic

GHANA'S BIGGEST SELLING NEWSPAPER SINCE 1950

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 9, 2008. NO. 17986 PRICE: 70GP



• Boniface Sadique — NPP



• Hajia Alima Mahama — NPP

BIG GUNS FALL

• In Election '08

Story: Kofi Yeboah

JUST like the Biblical mantra - "How hath the mighty fallen!" - a large number of incumbent Members of Parliament (MPs), including very prominent ones, fell casually to the thumb of the electorate in last Sunday's elections.

The most prominent among them are the First Deputy Speaker, Mr Freddie Blay, the Second Deputy Speaker, Alhaji Malik Al-Hassan Yakubu, the Minister of Works, Housing and Water Resources, Alhaji Abubakar Sadique Boniface, the Minister of Information and National Orientation, Mr Stephen Asamoah-Boateng, and the Minority Spokesperson on Finance and MP for Lawra/Nandom, Dr Benjamin Kumbur.

Mr Blay lost his Elembelle seat to Emmanuel Kofi Buah of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), while Alhaji Al-Hassan Yakubu lost his Yendi seat to Mr Sulemana Ibn Iddrisu Jar, also of the NDC, who polled 10,831 votes against the incumbent's 10,214.

Mr Asamoah-Boateng surrendered his Mfantseman West seat to the NDC's Aquinas Quansah by 12,511 to 15,985 votes.

Until last Sunday, the popularity of Alhaji Boniface in Salaga was incontestable but he succumbed to Ibrahim Bey Abubakari of the NDC, losing the seat by 16,033 votes to 19,079.

The Minister for Public Sector Reforms, Mr

• Continued on Page 3



• Freddie Blay — CPP



• Abuga Pete — NDC

Wait for official results — Afari-Gyan

THE Chairman of the Electoral Commission (EC), Dr Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, has assured Ghanaians that the results of last Sunday's elections will be made public soon after they have been received and authenticated at the commission's headquarters in Accra.

In a statement issued in Accra yesterday, Dr Afari-Gyan said it was premature at this time for anybody to talk about delay in releasing the results of the election.

"I sincerely hope that politicians, journalists and commentators will make mature and informed statements, in relation to the election results. In this regard, I consider it to be unprincipled for any person to regard the same action to be imprudent when it is done by someone else but all right when it is done by himself/herself," he remarked.

The statement by Dr Afari-Gyan was in apparent reference to claims by the two major political parties, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) that they had both won the elections.

The EC Chairman had indicated previously that the results of the elections would be officially declared within 72 hours of the end of voting. At the time of issuing the statement, it was barely 24 hours after the close of the polls.

In the earlier events, the NDC and the NPP contested the outcome of last Sunday's elections even before the EC officially declared the results.



• Afari-Gyan — EC Chairman

Certified EC results — Pages 14 & 35

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DAILY GUIDE

Big In News, Big In Spread

NO. 269/08 THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 2008 70GP

ZU-ZA VRS CAPE VARS

CENTRAL EC
TRANSFER OF VOTES

IS STILL YOU WANT TRANSFER WHAT VOTE?

OH! I'M BEING WANTED

CENTRAL ZU-ZA

AKOTA

THRILLER IN TAMALE

Candidates In Hot Exchanges

The presidential candidates pledging their commitment to peace at the Tamale debate yesterday

MP Guns Down Robber

— See stories on page 3 —

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DAILY GUIDE

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See stories on page 3



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Saturday, November 1, 2008

'Bloated Register Won't Affect Elections'

From Thomas Fosu Jr.,
Koforidua

THE DIRECTOR of Elections at the Electoral Commission (EC), Albert Kofi Arhin has given the assurance that the bloated register will not in anyway affect the credibility and integrity of the results of the December general elections.

According to him, the checks and balances in the electoral process coupled with other measures put in place would ensure that nobody of manipulates the system.

"We know that the issues at stake in this general elections are high and we cannot afford to make mistakes, to ensure credible elections," he noted.

Mr. Arhin was speaking at a two-day workshop organised by the EC in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for journalists drawn from the Greater Accra and Eastern regions, at Koforidua at the weekend.

It was under the theme "Responsible Reportage; Key To Credible And Peaceful Elections".

Mr. Arhin indicated that the results forms at the polling stations have some security codes and the agents would be made to sign against the names of the candidates they are representing, before the presiding officer would also sign, after which copies would be given to them.

According to the director of elections, the silicon content of the indelible ink has also been increased to last for more than two months in

order to check multiple voting.

He explained that these improved measures notwithstanding, the electoral process in Ghana can be said to be one of the most open systems in the world.

"We use transparent ballot boxes, indelible ink, coded and serialised ballot papers, independent election officers and assistants while counting is done in the open," he said.

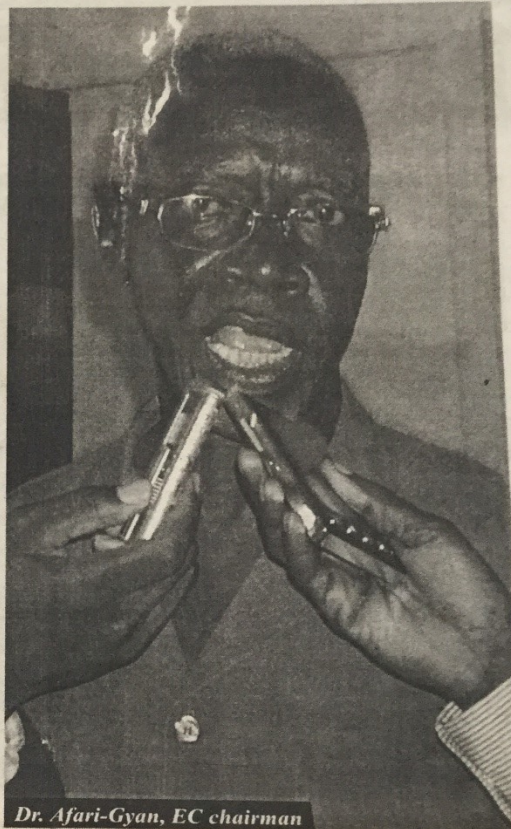
According to him, in some countries in Africa, the counting is done in secret while the returning officer or the presiding officer is a government appointee; in this case a district chief executive.

He pointed out that in Ghana's situation, elections are effectively won or lost at the polling stations and that political parties must recruit trusted and educated agents to monitor the elections for them at the polling stations.

"Our duty as the EC at the headquarters is to tally the figures coming from the constituencies and the regions and we do this in the presence of representatives of political parties at our operation room."

Mr. Arhin said to ensure that the Commission gets independent auxiliary staff it has advertised for the position of returning officers, after which investigations would be conducted into the background of the persons, who would be appointed by the EC and the Bureau of National Investigations (BNI).

He expressed disgust at certain statements by some political parties that the EC



Dr. Afari-Gyan, EC chairman

could aid the rigging of the elections, stressing that the presiding officers are trusted people in the society.

The Public Relations Officer of the EC, Mr. Samuel Yorke Aidoo, who spoke on the importance of the media in the electoral process, said journalists and media men must exercise extreme circumspection and responsibility in reporting on election issues or announcing results.

He observed that a report in bad taste can inflame passions. He indicated that this year's election results would be displayed on electronic boards in all the district and regional capitals.

He expressed regret, however, at the apathy shown by Ghanaians to help the EC remove the names of deceased relations and minors from the voters' register.

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Thursday, September 15, 2016 | Issue 217/16 www.dailyguideghana.com | Ghana's Favourite Newspaper | Price GH¢2.50



President John Mahama



Nana Akufo-Addo

Petroleum Price Indicators (As at 13th September, 2016)

	FBU Effective 16th Sept. 2016 (27th Aug-17th Sep. 2016 Average)	Estimate for FBU Effective 1st Oct. 2016 (12th Sep-26th Sep. 2016 Average)	% Change
Ref. FX Rate (GHS/USD)	0.9407	0.9366	0.38%
Crude Oil (USD/ BBL)	46.90	47.23	0.72%
Petrol (USD/MT)	485.92	492.28	1.30%
Gasoil (USD/MT)	486.14	496.75	0.15%
LPG (USD/MT)	324.28	334.25	3.08%

*FBU - Price Build-Up

See stories on pages 3,6

NPP BLASTS MAHAMA Over Wild Promises

Nana, Prez Pick Forms



Charlotte Osei - EC Boss

NDC Promises 5 More Regions

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The chanting and singing... throughout the entire duration of the function which lasted for about two hours. Addressing the gathering, Mr Ackon disclosed that the completion of the edifice clearly shows that the NDC government is committed to improving the educational

parental neglect, stressing the need for every child to be properly educated. The paramount chief of Kumawu, Barimma Sarfo Tweneboah Kodua, in a speech read on his behalf, called for the provision of decent accommodation for headmasters and teachers in the area.

A group

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'One Area, One Factory, Possible'

FROM LE Joe Awuah
Jnr., Kumasi

THE ASHANTI Regional Chairman of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), Bernard Antwi Boasiako, aka Wontumi, has stated that it is possible for every community in the country to own one factory.

He said those who oppose Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo's promise of 'one district, one factory' are visionless people who don't deserve to be in political office.

"Nana Akufo-Addo's one district, one factory promise is even an understatement because Ghana it stands now has the capabilities to construct one factory in every community to help better the lives of the people.

"I am surprised that the political opponents of NPP who don't have

any idea with regards to how to implement better policies and programmes to initiate new things to develop society are attacking this great vision," he said.

Speaking on *Otec FM*, Wontumi stated that constructing a factory is not a "big deal", maintaining that the NPP would implement that policy with ease when they assume political office.

Chairman Wontumi said each community in the country can produce a unique product for the local and international market when the NPP's vision becomes a reality.

6000 Workers

He disclosed that he (Wontumi) used to employ 6,000 workers in his various businesses, including the manufacturing of vehicles, until the National Democratic Congress

(NDC) government collapsed his businesses.

Wontumi pointed out that he is not rooting for Nana Akufo-Addo for the presidency because "I my love him as a person", but because he (Wontumi) has realised that Nana Akufo-Addo has the vision and knowledge to transform the country.

He, therefore, assured that he would increase his campaign for the NPP until President Mahama and his non-performing NDC and corruption-infested administration has been kicked out of office in December.

Ashanti Seats

The Ashanti regional chairman of the NPP is of the strong conviction that the NPP would win all the 47 parliamentary seats in the region during the upcoming elections, charging his party faithful to campaign vigorously.

Center for Democratic Development
P.O. BOX LG 404
Accra, Ghana

Daily Guide

Monday, July 18, 2016 | Issue 166/16
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2 NDC 'Mugabes' Dumped



Abuga Pele
Gershon Gbediame

NPP New Office Shit-Bombed

111 DAYS MORE GHANA VOTES
2016

EIU TIPS NANA, CLINTON To Win 2016 Polls



Nana Akufo-Addo



Hillary Clinton

See stories on page 3

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Arenyo, the group said, Christoph victims across the country could not retrieve their investments.

"We therefore urge government to bring all the defaulting institutions to book to pay all our bonuses to us as promised because they traded with our monies for years which

criminal scams hit the Brong Ahafo, Upper East and West regions by DKM, God Is Love Fun Club, Jastar Motors and Investments Company Limited among others. Similarly, clients lost a lot of money after they could not retrieve their deposits from these phony institutions. The intuitions were later closed down by the Bank of Ghana.

DAILY GUIDE gathered that Wisdom, after the incident, told some residents in the area that he would marry his daughter since the victim was good in bed.

The actions of the suspect compelled the victim to lodge formal complaint

NMC Records Bias In Election Coverage

BY Derek Maiolo

WITH THE electioneering campaigns gathering momentum, media outlets have an increasingly important role to play in keeping the public informed on which candidates they should vote for.

But a report presented Thursday by the National Media Commission (NMC) in Accra revealed gender discrimination with regards to media coverage of the candidates for this year's polls.

The report indicated that male politicians contesting in this year's crucial elections have received more media coverage than their female counterparts, even though the media, by ethical consideration, are supposed to remain impartial

The Commission presented these findings in a Media Monitoring Report (MMR) that collected data over the past two months from Ghana's major news outlets — *Daily Graphic*, *DAILY GUIDE*, *Joy FM*, and *GTV*, among others.

According to the report, males received 49 percent of media attention while females received just 11 percent.

Using this statistics, Kakra Esamoah, a member of the NMC and presenter of the report, said that a female candidate would have an 11 percent chance of receiving media visibility while her male opponents would have a 49 percent chance, a discrepancy that he lamented.

He said the bias might be a

major reason more women do not win political seats, owing to the lack of female representation in politics.

"Any disproportionate coverage can harm their (women's) campaign and electability," he said. "How do we create an empowered society when our attitude toward visibility is this skewed? Mr Esamoah queried and underscored, "We will get nowhere in the fight towards gender balance if this continues."

Others in the audience questioned whether the issue of female representation in the media is a matter of having fewer female political candidates in the election

than their male candidates, but Mr Esamoah remained resolute that the media has a duty to ensure equal gender representation.

"If the media made more efforts, there would be more coverage of women," he said.

The report also showed a divide between which issues the media cover and which issues matter most to the public.

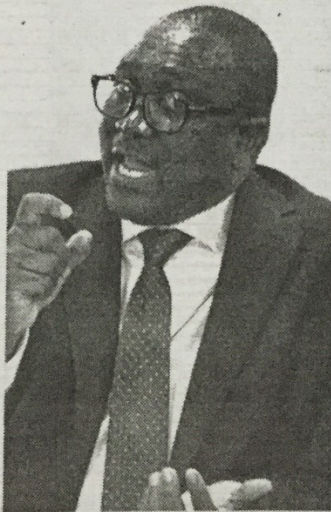
According to the report, the five most important issues for voters are, in order, education, health, employment, agriculture and women and children.

The top five issues covered by the media were, in order, the electoral process, party dynamics, the national economy, international policy and corruption.

Mr. Esamoah was worried that the dissonance between public interest and the topics the media actually focus on might be problems, heading into the November 7 polls.

He also highlighted a statistics that showed that newspapers focused 49% of their content on the NDC party, while the NPP made up 28 per cent of content, and the Electoral Commission (EC), just 3 percent.

With regard to this skewed representation - especially with the EC, which is the actual manager of the election process and thus, an organization that people should be knowledgeable about - Mr. Esamoah said that certain issues and politicians may receive inadequate media attention.



George Sarpong, NMC Executive Secretary speaking to media practitioners

Saturday, June 18, 2016

General News

IEA Fears For November Polls

FROM Ernest Kofi Adu, Kumasi

THERE ARE fears that the Electoral Commission (EC) will not be able to hold free and fair polls this year, the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) has observed.

Prof Joseph Atsu Ayee, a Senior Fellow of IEA, cited lack of transparency on the part of the election management body, the ambitions of the flagbearers of the two leading political parties and the perception that the new EC boss could be easily influenced by a political party as some of the factors fuelling the fears.

Prof Joseph Atsu Ayee, a political scientist disclosed this at the launch of an election and public education campaign of the Christian Council of Ghana.

It was held in partnership with the IEA to educate Ghanaians, especially Christians on the electoral process and their role in the conduct of peaceful elections.

Prof Ayee stated that there was apprehension over whether the 27 electoral reforms ordered by the Supreme Court after the hearing of the election petition were being implemented by the EC.

"One of the most contentious issues as well is the fact that the voters' register is still not finalised," Prof Ayee disclosed, adding that the 2016 elections have become extremely crucial to the democratic dispensation of the country.

For him, it is important for the country to address these concerns in order to maintain Ghana's credentials as one of the best democracies in the world.

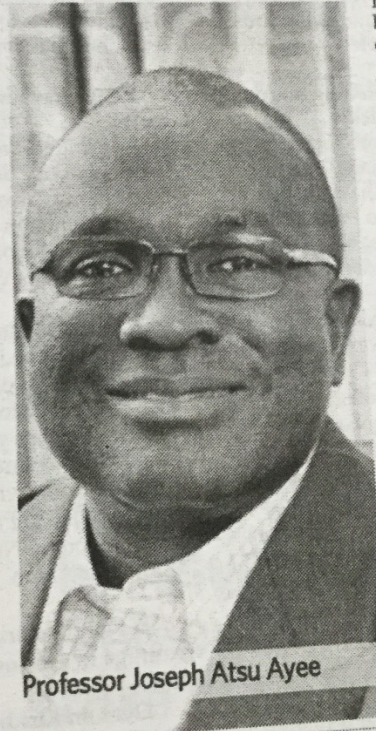
Progress So Far

According to the IEA Senior Fellow, out of the 27 electoral reforms ordered by the Supreme Court, the EC has only implemented one - publishing of a calendar of its activities.

change of the election date from December 7 to November 7 has not been finalised.

He disclosed that while the EC had agreed to appoint professionals as returning officers in all the 275 constituencies, it had failed to communicate to the public in relation to the offer by two professional groups- Ghana Bar Association (GBA) and the Ghana Institute of Chartered Accountants.

Lack of Transparency



Professor Joseph Atsu Ayee

"This sends a signal that the EC is not interested in talking to the citizenry; they rather talk to the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) made up of political parties and whatever they discuss does not get to the ordinary Ghanaian," Prof Atsu said.

He could not fathom why the electoral body has so far failed to inform the public about the implementation of the reforms.

According to him, the perception that the Electoral Commission (EC) is not transparent and does not consult before taking some important steps is dangerous for the nation's democracy.

"If you want to be transparent, bring out information. Withholding information creates a feeling of lack of trust," the IEA Senior Fellow pointed out.

He called on the EC to hold weekly or monthly press briefings to inform the citizens in order to win their trust.

No Credible Register

The political scientist was worried that five months to elections, Ghana has no credible electoral roll to conduct crucial general elections, with several lingering questions begging for answers.

In his view, the issue is a ticking time bomb that ought to be detonated to spare Ghana any electoral violence.

"Public education in this election year has been inadequate. The EC and the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) have not been informing the people on the elections," he said.

He stressed the need for the electoral management body to be forthcoming with information regarding the reforms and its activities.

BECE Candidate Dies

From Daniel Y Dayee, Sunyani
danielyaodayee@yahoo.com

the Methodist Examination Centre where he was writing one of the papers.

Kintampo North District Director
Adama Onk...

IGP To Ban Social Media For Elections

BY AR Gomda

THE INSPECTOR General of Police (IGP) John Kudalor has threatened a social media shutdown during the forthcoming elections, should it become necessary to do so.

His threat was however, met with palpable resistance from a cross-section of his media guests who were at the Police Headquarters for an interaction on how to ensure peaceful elections.

It was Manasseh Azure of *Joy FM* who first counseled him not to tread on that path during the interactive session of the media programme.

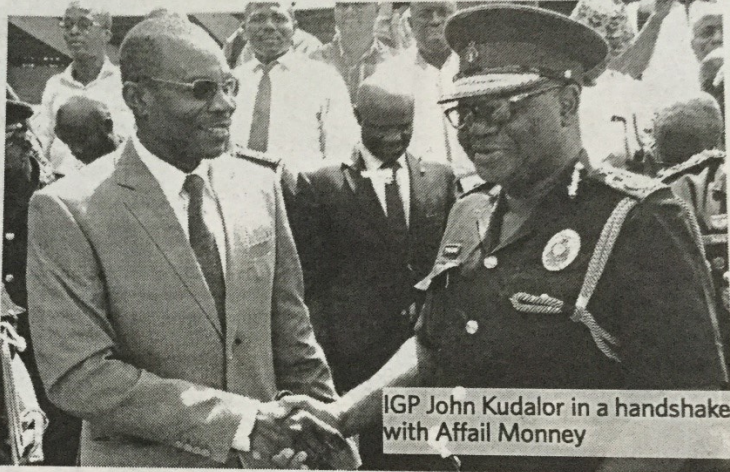
"Don't close down social media; it is not a wise thing to do," Manasseh Azure said, adding that the IGP and his men and women should rather march those who use the social media to cause mischief boot-for-boot.

When the President of the Ghana Journalists' Association, Affail Monney, took his turn at the encounter, he too was opposed to the IGP's threat when he said, "Don't even contemplate shutting down the social media. We get bits of information from these sources."

Social media shutdown is employed by dictators who want to stifle dissenting views like it happened in Uganda during that country's elections.

The IGP was only reading from a script prepared by the authorities who are contemplating shutting down Internet access in order to block access to the social media during the elections.

Yesterday's encounter was dubbed, "Safeguarding Our Democracy: Role of the Media in Peaceful Elections," and as the organizers said,



IGP John Kudalor in a handshake with Affail Monney

it is intended to ensure peaceful elections.

It comes at the heels of an earlier one hosted by the Chief of the Defence Staff (CDS) at the Air Force Officers' Mess, also on a similar subject of ensuring peaceful election and getting the media on board the train.

Representing the CDS at yesterday's function was the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, Brig Gen Sampson Adeti, who is the immediate past General Officer Commanding the Southern Command of the Ghana Army.

While acknowledging the role of the media in ensuring peaceful elections, the IGP said, "The role of the media is perhaps the most crucial of all, especially in this era when any piece of information, whether positive or detrimental, can be disseminated to all corners of the world at a snap of the fingers. What is more, today, many of the media outlets are owned by political functionaries who

use them to pursue their own private aspirations and agenda."

The gate-keeping role of the media, he said, would be in high demand and it behooves practitioners to filter and sift all materials to ensure that what is fed to the public is not that which would inflame passions and cause a breach of the peace.

He charged media persons to avoid being used as spokespersons and phone-in callers for politicians and churn out all kinds of inflammatory statements.

The security services, he said, "are leaving no stone unturned in our bid to secure the elections. In this respect, the National Election Security Taskforce, (NESTF), the body charged with the responsibility of protecting the polls, has been inaugurated far ahead of time, to put measures in place to attain its objective."

Some of the media houses, he added, would be invited to join in some aspects of election training as part of a holistic approach towards successful polls.

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Daily Guide

Friday, May 6, 2016 | Issue 104/16
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Minister's Thugs Beat NPP Aspirant



Martha Kwayie Menu

Nana Gets Doctorate



Nana Akuto-Addo and wife, Rebecca

>>> See stories on pages 2,3

Supreme Court SLAPS HOT EC



Charlotte Osei - EC Boss



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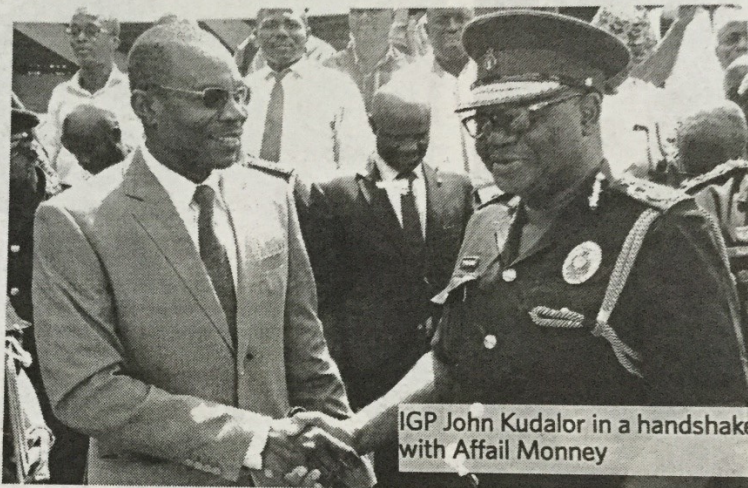
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Some of the media houses, he added, would be invited to join in some aspects of election training as part of a holistic approach towards successful polls.

YESTERDAY, the *Daily Graphic*, the flagship of the Graphic Communications Group Limited (GCGL), held its fifth Town Hall Meeting for representatives of political parties and voters in Accra on the theme: "Good governance, key to development and growth in Ghana".

The Town Hall Meeting series are the GCGL's contribution to deepening our democracy, so that the country continues to be the bastion of democratic governance in the sub-region.

In the fifth version of the meeting the representatives spoke on five thematic areas — infrastructure, energy, job creation, agriculture and education.

Although holding such meetings is not our core mandate, we believe that the initiative is in line with the media's role of educating, informing and entertaining the people.

The Board Chairman of the GCGL, Prof. C.B. Omane-Antwi, said at the meeting, it was the group's civic responsibility.

We so believe that through the

Daily Graphic EDITORIAL

Wednesday, November 30, 2016

Town Hall Meeting - Our contribution to free, fair, peaceful elections

meetings we are able to create a platform for politicians seeking the mandate of the people to communicate their ideals and what they aspire to add to the development of the country.

The meetings also give political parties the platform to pledge peace and sell their messages, as well as discuss some of the major issues which promote good governance.

Prospective voters, on the other hand, are able to both get educated on trending issues and also ask those seeking political office the relevant questions on all pertinent social and

development issues.

Therefore, at the end of the meeting, it is expected that the electorate will be armed with enough information to make informed and insightful choices during the elections.

But while we hold the firm belief that with the right information available to the electorate the right choice of leaders will be made at the elections, we also share in a concern expressed by Prof. Omane-Antwi about the current trend of some religious and traditional leaders openly declaring support for or endorsing some presidential candidates for the 2016

elections.

We believe that just as some groups of professionals, such as members of the security agencies, the Judiciary, the Electoral Commission and journalists, by the nature of their work must not openly declare their political affiliations during the electioneering, so do we expect traditional and religious leaders to do the same.

This is because they are independent arbiters to whom many look up to so they must show maturity and neutrality in their day-to-day activities to keep Ghana in line. Certainly traditional leaders are helping to keep the nation peaceful by ensuring peace in the country. They are not declaring their support for a political party because they will destroy the traditional mechanisms for handling disputes and bring into question the role they are supposed to play. The *Daily Graphic*, therefore, expects traditional and religious leaders to stay neutral to gain the trust of those who look up to them. Ghana will win on Election Day.

... Mohammed.

Prosper Silensor
Attitsoebui, student

Ibrahim Alhassan,
agriculturist

Ibra
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lg

4 Institutions call for peaceful polls

By Political Desk

IN the run-up to the elections, two associations and two civil society entities have all called for peaceful elections. The four are the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA), Ghana Bar Association (GBA), and the Civic Forum Initiative (CFI) and the Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG).

GJA on polls

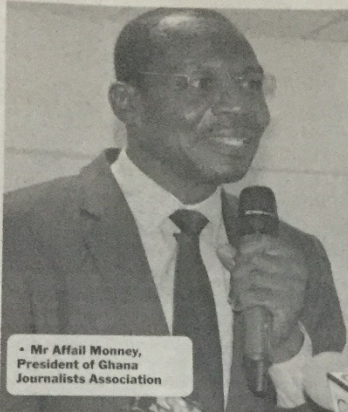
THE GJA urged the media to uphold decorum and circumspection in their coverage of the presidential and parliamentary elections.

The association says both conventional and social media needed to serve as guardians and promoters of free, fair, credible and peaceful elections.

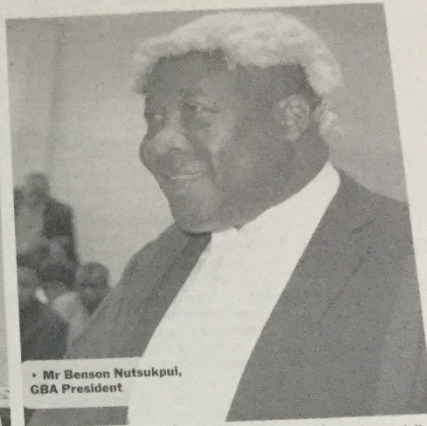
A statement signed by the GJA President, Mr Affail Monney, said throughout the coverage of the polls, journalists must at all times cross-check every piece of information that they received and be fair to all subjects of the news.

"They should not report hearsay as facts even if they emanate from party officials. This equally applies to those operating on social media," the statement said.

The statement also urged all stakeholders, particularly the Electoral Commission (EC), political parties, the electorate, and indeed civil society, to accord all media professionals, particularly journalists in their line of duty, the necessary assistance, so that they can give their best.



• Mr Affail Monney, President of Ghana Journalists Association



• Mr Benson Nutsukpui, GBA President

It also called on political parties to impress upon their supporters to desist from any acts of provocation or attacks on media personnel in their line of duty, as had been the case in the past.

Furthermore, the GJA advised media personnel on assignment to walk away from any violent provocation or physical attacks and report the incident immediately to the police, the National Media Commission (NMC) or the GJA.

GBA on elections

The GBA has also called on presidential candidates and their

supporters to desist from acts that would adversely affect the country's peace.

It also urged the candidates and their supporters to demonstrate maturity and responsibility in their utterances before, during and after the elections.

The GBA in a statement issued in Accra yesterday and signed by its President, Mr Benson Nutsukpui, also cautioned the media to show maturity and

responsibility on the airwaves and the various media platforms for mass communication in order to preserve the peace.

"The GBA cautions the general public against the dangers in circulating falsehood and inciting the public by the use of social media and also entreat the citizenry to be wary of postings on social media aimed at inciting them to violence," it noted.

It further pleaded with Ghanaians to demonstrate respect for the rule of law by being law-abiding before, during and after the elections.

The GBA urged Ghanaians to once more demonstrate to Africa and the world Ghana's democratic credentials, its love for peace and resolve to be governed by the rule of law.

"We trust that as Ghanaians, we shall all put Ghana first in all endeavour before, during and after the elections and rededicate ourselves to our democratic processes with a strong sense of ensuring peace within the nation," the statement added.

CFI/IDEG

The CFI and the Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG) on the other hand have congratulated Ghanaians on how they have conducted themselves so far in the 2016 electoral processes.

It said Ghana had attained global recognition as far as multiparty elections were concerned and had scored high democratic credentials on the continent.

"We have also demonstrated capacity in managing six presidential

and parliamentary elections peacefully in a row since 1992," it added.

It, however, said "as we go to the polls tomorrow, we urge all citizens to remain calm and exercise their franchise in accordance with the electoral laws".

It cautioned the youth particularly, to desist from practices likely to undermine democracy and threaten the stability of the country's multiparty system.

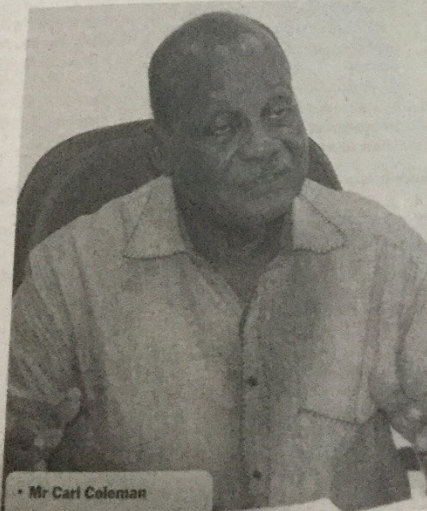
The CFI and IDEG also urged the youth to take responsibility for the protection and promotion of their own democratic rights and future ambitions by refusing to be manipulated by politicians who may be pursuing their own self-interest as they induced them to engage in acts of electoral violence.

They said elections may be turbulent or peaceful depending on whether or not they were perceived as enhancing or hindering the fulfilment of the democratic aspirations of the electorate and citizens in general.

They therefore called on all Ghanaians to commit themselves to upholding clean elections and avoid electoral malpractices".

They also reminded all to support the National Elections Security Task Force and the Police in their tactical operations in safeguarding the elections for a credible outcome.

They further called on the police in particular to exhibit impartiality, professionalism and take a proactive stance in ensuring that cases were swiftly and thoroughly investigated and prosecuted where necessary.



• Mr Carl Coleman

#GHANAVotes2016

'Respect different political views'

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President Mahama doing the Usain Bolt sign as the crowd cheers him on. Picture: EBOW HANSON

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Retain NDC to consolidate gains — Prez Mahama

1 DAY MORE TO ... DECEMBER 7
Election 2016

PPP, CPP, PNC round off campaigns — Pages 20, 21 & 64

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News



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Technology (KNUST) and Institute of Sanitation and Waste Management (AISWAM) at Adjingassu in Accra has graduated.

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Media against the stage

...ia house that uses its platform to foment trouble in the run-up to the November 7 elections.

— Page 68

Sports
Ready to work hard

...POOL manager ... Klopp played ... Gerrard returning ... Premier League club ... ing role and said he ... be given "room to ... o jump in and leas ... ing new".

— Page 70



• Dr Papa Kwesi Nduom — PPP



• Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings — NDP

3 Parties cry foul

• Claim elections may not be free, fair

By Political Desk

THREE of the political parties contesting this year's general election have expressed concern that the presidential and parliamentary elections will not be free and fair.

According to the Progressive People's Party (PPP), the People's National Convention (PNC) and the National Democratic Party (NDP), "free and fair elections do not happen on voting days; they happen only if a number of things are in place and are guaranteed for the benefit of all the players".

In a statement signed by the flag bearers of the three parties — Dr Papa Kwesi Nduom of the PPP, Dr Edward Nasigiri Mahama of the PNC and Mrs. Nana



• Dr Edward Nasigiri Mahama — PNC

• Continued on Page 76

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Ward-Brew goes to court to stop December polls Page 16
Lawrence Nkem - In critical condition

Woman burns husband, brother-in-law Page 85

16 DAYS MORE TO ... Election 2016

Zoomlion commits to keep Ghana clean, green, healthy Page 85

Peace Council calls for harmony

Story on Page 3

The Most Rev. Prof. Emmanuel Asante

Among political parties, expresses worry over clashes between NDC, NPP

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News



Some party supporters jubilating at Nana Akufo-Addo's residence shortly after he had been declared the President-elect. INSET: Nana Akufo-Addo delivering his victory speech. Picture: SAMUEL TEI-ADANO

Akufo-Addo our next President • I'll not let you down, he assures Ghanaians

By Edmund Smith-Asante, ACCRA

PRESIDENT-ELECT Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo has given a solemn pledge to be President for all and not let any Ghanaian down in the discharge of his duties.

"I will do all in my power to live up to the hope and expectation of all Ghanaians," he said.

Delivering his maiden speech after being declared the winner of the 2016 Presidential Election at his Nima residence in Accra yesterday, he said there had never been a more humbling moment in his life and, therefore, thanked the good people of Ghana for their support.

Flanked by his wife Mrs Rebecca Akufo-Addo,

his running mate, Alhaji Dr Mahamudu Bawumia, his campaign chairman, Mr Peter Mac Manu, and a host of senior party executives, he said he had received a congratulatory message from the incumbent President and National Democratic Congress (NDC) presidential candidate, Mr John Dramani Mahama.

"At 7:55p.m., the President of the Republic, His Excellency John Dramani Mahama, called me to congratulate and wish me well. I also thanked him for his contribution to the welfare of Ghana. I told him his contribution to Ghana was not yet over," he stated.

He also thanked the President for his graceful gesture and assured him of his cooperation for a successful transition.

I also received words of congratulation from my competitors. "I am grateful to them," he stated.

On how he was declared the winner in the presidential election, Nana Akufo-Addo narrated, "The Chairperson of the Electoral Commission, Mrs Charlotte Osei, has tonight at 8:45p.m. declared the winner

of the 2016 Presidential Election with 5,716,026 representing 53.85 per cent of valid votes cast and I am grateful."

He thanked God for granting victory to him and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) which he leads.

For those who had given him invaluable advice, including former presidents Kufuor and Rawlings, former UN Secretary General, Mr Kofi Annan, Otumfuo Osei Tutu, the Asantehene, the Chairman of the NPP Council of Elders C. K. Tedom, Captain Kojo Tsikata, General J. B. Danquah, among others, he thanked them and expressed the conviction that, "I can count on you for your continuing counsel."

He further thanked the religious leaders, notably the National Chief Imam, Sheikh Dr Nuhu Sharabutu, Rt. Rev. Professor Emmanuel Marrey, Pastor Mensa Otabil, Archbishop Duncan-Williams, Apostle Opoku Onyinah, Rev. Owusu Bempah, and Prophet Ebenezer Boakyie Yiadom, among a host of others, saying "I am deeply grateful to them all."

He also thanked members of the

media for their continuing engagement in serving the public interest as well as the international observer groups.

Particularly of mention was the Electoral Commission under the Chairperson, Mrs Osei, for the orderly manner it conducted the 2016 election. "The EC under its new leadership should be congratulated. She and the Commission have allayed the fears of many," he asserted.

In the view of the President-elect, the 2016 elections had contributed to the democratic accountability in Ghana, and he was full of praise for the election management body.

He also lauded the security services for helping to organise a peaceful poll, saying "that is what the nation expects of them."

While acceding to the fact that members and supporters of the party could jubilate, he cautioned moderation and orderliness, reminding them of the fact that the NPP was a law-abiding political party.

Quick Read

Abayman Savings & Loans

President-elect Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo has pledged to be President for all Ghanaians including those who did not vote for him during the election.