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PRIVATE MEDIA ANALYSIS IN CONTEMPORARY GHANA

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ABSTRACT

This study discusses contemporary media in Ghana and details the development of independent newspapers and radio in comparison with state-owned newspapers and radio. There have been many published works on Ghana's media over the past thirty years. Yet, there have been no recent reports in the past few years, especially regarding the growth of independent media. This thesis provides information on independent newspapers and radio in 2009. This study incorporates a literature review of media findings before 2009 and aims to fill in missing information that exists with contemporary Ghanaian media. The research for this study was conducted in-country via an ethnographic approach. I spent three months in Ghana interviewing and observing media personnel, government officials, academics and citizens of Ghana. Through my research, I explore how media operates in Ghana currently. This study incorporates my findings, of both independent and state-owned newspapers and radio, and details the successes and failures these media face.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

A nation's mass communications system is a mirror image of a nation's political and economic structure. Newspapers, radio, television and other media don't operate in a vacuum; their content, their reach, their freedom and their audiences are determined by the context of the nation in which they operate (Hachten, 1971). In capitalist societies, most media are private, with different voices representing a marketplace of ideas. In communist systems, media are owned by the government, used to promote and sustain that government. In developing countries, and in Africa, media is often determined by what type of society exists. Media represent a powerful instrument within nations and cultures and can transcend borders, social classes and literacy.

Since 1992 and the founding of its new constitution, Ghana has flourished as a parliamentary democracy. Its economy and its media have become part of neo-liberal policies. The country includes new marketplaces for ideas and entrepreneurship, despite the fact that it still remains an impoverished nation.

Prior to its independence in 1957 and its constitution in 1992, Ghana experienced a fluctuating media system. Most of Ghana's early 20th century media were controlled by the state, an approach taken by Ghana's first president, Kwame Nkrumah, to promote national development and unity. From Nkrumah's administration until the late 1980's, the country was subjected to a series of military coups, which disrupted Ghana and its media. Press problems were due partly to political constraints, but more so to economic and social deprivations (Hachten, 1975).

In 1992, Ghana's new constitution was approved, and multiparty politics were restored under the leadership of Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings. Chapter 12 of the Constitution of Ghana

guarantees the freedom and independence of the media (Constitution, 1992). In this new democratic dispensation, President Rawlings lifted the newspaper licensing law and allowed for the reemergence of a private press (Hasty, 2007).

African political leaders have long recognized the importance of public communication and have tried in various ways to enlist the assistance of the media to speed national development and political integration (Hachten, 1975). Such has been the case in Ghana. State control of media advances national development programs, and in the case of newly independent states, promotes nationalism. However, state control of media has led to censorship, physical harassment, legal prosecutions, dismissals of editors, newsprint allocations and self-censorship in independent media. In 1959, under Nkrumah, journalists feared and hesitated to use their right of freedom of speech, although the constitution guaranteed this right for them (Jones-Quartey, 1974).

Many journalists, lawyers and educated Ghanaians believe in the concept of independent and critical journalism (Hachten, 1975). Independent media blossomed during the administration of John Kufour, the years 2000 to 2008. As president, he advocated free expression, political pluralism and independent media as important elements of a liberal democracy. However, Ghana's private press still faces adverse conditions: high printing costs, lack of equipment, exclusion from state functions, hostile or fearful sources and difficult access to timely news (Hasty, 2007).

1.1 Objective of Study

The intent of this study is to observe independent media in Ghana's age of neo-liberalism, specifically radio and newspaper. Over the past several decades, Ghana's media have grown exponentially, particularly in the private sphere. Throughout the 1950's and the Nkrumah

era, there was only one major independent newspaper, the *Ashanti Pioneer* based in Kumasi, and it faced a series of setbacks with jailed journalists and poor funding. Since the early 1990's, Ghana's independent media have included a wide range of daily and weekly newspapers, as well as a variety of radio stations, broadcasting in multiple languages.

Many private institutions struggle in their competition against state media, which receives greater funding and greater access to state news. The majority of newspapers in Ghana are actually privately owned, yet are poorly capitalized as their publishers are either ex-journalists or people with political interests and weak financial support (Asante and Gadzekpo, 2000). For this reason, many private publications are not registered with any ministry or regulatory body, and it's hard for Ghanaians to keep track of independent media (Asante and Gadzekpo, 2000). There has been little research or effort to analyze the privatization of Ghana's media over the last twenty years. The goal of this study is to examine these independent radio and newspapers in Ghana, how they have been shaped within the neo-liberal context and how they operated in the year 2009.

1.2 Ghana

The Republic of Ghana is a constitutional democracy with ten administrative regions. Its total area is slightly smaller than the state of Oregon. Ghana was formed from the merger of the British colony of the Gold Coast and the Togoland territory in 1957, becoming the first sub-Saharan country in Africa to gain its independence. Its new constitution was approved on April 28, 1992. The nation's official language is English with literacy reaching 57.9 percent, but there are more than 50 different indigenous languages (CIA, 2009). The population is 23 million, and 50 percent live in urban areas as of 2008 (CIA, 2009).

There are three major political parties in contemporary politics: National Democratic

Party (NDC), National Patriotic Party (NPP), and Convention People's Party (CPP). Currently, the NDC is the ruling party as President John Atta Mills won the December 2008 election. The NDC has been less favorable with independent media than its predecessor, the NPP, under John Kufour. The December 2008 election was a major event in shaping current state and independent media in Ghana. With the NDC victory, many media switched their allegiances to the party, in hopes of receiving better funding and access to state functions.

As the only sub-Saharan African nation to transition peacefully from one party to the other, for a second time, Ghana is in a unique position as a leader for democracy on the continent. It is rare for a country in Africa to allow oppositional voices in media, yet Ghana's constitution actually provides for this. Article 3 states, "There shall be no impediments to the establishment of private press or media; and in particular, there shall be no law requiring any person to obtain a license as a prerequisite to the establishment or operation of a newspaper, journal, or other media for mass communication or information" (Constitution, 1992).

1.3 Newspapers and Radio

Throughout Africa, radio is recognized as the least expensive and most effective way of reaching people, particularly the uneducated and those who live in the most remote areas. There are around 2.5 million wireless sets and more than 64,000 loudspeaker boxes in Ghana (Hasty, 2007). As a result, pluralism in radio would tend to have a greater impact on cultural development (Karikari, 1994). A vast majority of radio stations have come into operation in the past decade, and as of 2006, 130 radio stations officially had been granted licenses to operate, most on the FM frequency (AMDI Ghana, 2006).

In contrast, newspapers are associated with the more literate, educated classes. Yet, newspapers have played a role in Ghana much longer than radio. In the early 19th century, the

first newspaper, the *Gold Coast Gazette*, which was run by the governor of the Gold Coast, tried to suppress the political aspirations of native elites by securing their loyalty and conformity within the colonial system (Hasty, 2007). Since their inception, newspapers have continuously played a vital role in the political development of Ghana.

In studying privatization of media in Ghana, there are several important questions that must be asked. If state-owned media have greater access to government news, how do independent media report on the dealings of government? Is there a hierarchy in media between state and private media, or even amongst private media themselves? In analyzing both radio and newspapers, it's also important to investigate the differences between the two media. How do independent radio compare to independent newspapers? What's the relationship between these media?

1.4 Preview of Study

For this study's plan of research, media privatization is observed through radio and newspapers. The research for this study encompasses both secondary and primary sources. While little data exists on independent media, there is an array of research available on Ghana's full media history and other West African media. This study has the potential to expand this existing research by specifically focusing on the private players for radio and newspapers.

More importantly, this study will not only analyze these private media in Ghana, but it will analyze these media in context and comparison to state-owned media. Private newspapers will be analyzed in comparison to state-owned newspapers, and private radio stations will be analyzed alongside state-owned radio stations.

These media will be analyzed according to their presence in Ghana, their audience, their content and their funding. It is important to note that Ghana's population is concentrated in the

urban areas, which exist along the coast and in the southern, central regions. Therefore, it's important for this study to consider the implications of geography in analyzing independent media. Both urban and rural settings will be observed in connection to the radio stations and newspapers that exist there.

This study will also incorporate an ethnographic approach to analyzing independent radio and newspapers. This study incorporates personal observations and interviews that were conducted in-country for three months during the spring of 2009. Ethnographic research enabled me to analyze Ghana's media system by understanding its culture. While a similar study could have been conducted without such research, it would have lacked specific knowledge of Ghana's society and how its people receive and perceive media.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter examines the literature that has been published on Ghana's media, and more specifically, those sources that discuss Ghana's private media versus its state-owned media, from its beginnings to contemporary times. One of the most important aspects of this review is to acknowledge what has already been published about Ghana's private media and to discover if any gaps in information still exist with the latest published information. This review was conducted with the hopes that this author's personal experience in Ghana could provide insight to any missing facts in the information reviewed.

To understand contemporary newspapers and radio in Ghana, the history of its media must be examined. Independence in media followed decades of state-owned news, and it is impossible to study contemporary private media without studying the history of state-owned media. This chapter details the history of newspapers and radio in Ghana, the laws that have developed in regards to their regulation, and the current status of both media, as studied in current publications.

2.1 History of Newspapers in Ghana

The former Gold Coast was one of the birthplaces of African media. It was in British West Africa that black Africans themselves first published their own newspapers for fellow Africans (Hachten, 1971). Modern journalism began in Ghana in 1822 at the ancient capital, Cape Coast, when the Governor of the Gold Coast, General Sir Charles MacCarthy, launched an official newspaper, the *Royal Gold Coast Gazette* (Jones-Quartey, 1974). This newspaper served as the semi-official organ of the colonial British government in Cape Coast. Its goal was to provide information to European merchants and civil servants in the colony, and it aimed to promote literacy and rural development among mission-educated Africans (Hasty, 2007). The

first truly indigenous newspaper, the *West African Herald*, was established there in 1857 (Domatob, 1987). Historians explain the indigenous enthusiasm for newspapers as an overall strategy by native elites to gain political power in Ghana (Hasty, 2007).

In the mid-19th century, the *Accra Herald*, a publication started by Charles Bannerman, the son of the British lieutenant governor, and a princess from the Asante royal family, circulated to 300 subscribers, two-thirds of whom were African (Hasty, 2007). The success of this newspaper stimulated a proliferation of African-owned newspapers in the late 19th century. In 1874, the Gold Coast's first African-owned, fully printed newspaper, the *Gold Coast Times*, began circulation and was produced in Cape Coast for eleven years (Jones-Quartey, 1974). Early Gold Coast weekly newspapers were critical of the colonial government, denouncing specific officials and opposing policies (Hasty, 2007).

The *Gold Coast Leader* became the outstanding newspaper of the early 20th century period, lasting until 1933. Alongside the newspaper during those thirty years were about eighteen other newspapers and journals; six were recorded as being founded and run in Accra and three in Cape Coast (Jones-Quartey, 1974). The gentlemanly style of the 19th century newspapers soon transformed into full-blown anti-colonial protests in the 1930's; many newspapers demanded citizens be given political rights, improved living standards and self-government (Hasty, 2007). As the political agenda of these newspapers changed, the newspapers began reaching out beyond elites, appealing to rural leaders and the urban poor (Hasty, 2007). The 1930's and 1940's newspapers reflected the movements against colonial authority. In 1948, the political activist Kwame Nkrumah began the *Accra Evening News*, which demanded "Self-Government Now!" (Hasty, 2007)

In 1957, Kwame Nkrumah became the first president of Ghana. One of his major goals

was to unite the former colony and promote national development through its media outlets. Nkrumah placed great emphasis on mass communication and was the first African leader to bring the major media under his personal control, launching the first state-owned newspapers (Hachten, 1975). At independence, four newspapers circulated in Ghana, and by a few years, Nkrumah controlled them all. He saw media as an important instrument of state authority using newspapers as propaganda to build national unity and popular support for his new government's development projects (Hasty, 2007). Nkrumah expanded the British-initiated government information services, developed radio broadcasting and initiated a television service before he was deposed (Hachten, 1975). He orchestrated a state information apparatus through a network of institutions that included the Ministry of Information, Ghana News Agency, Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, and his own press, Guinea Press Limited, which published two daily papers, one free weekly paper and several specialized publications (Hasty, 2007).

Previously, in 1950, the London Daily Mirror Group headed by the British newspaper magnate Cecil King established *The Daily Graphic*, which sought to maintain a policy of political neutrality, emphasizing objective reporting (Hasty, 2007). As a newspaper with Western origin, *The Daily Graphic* sought to position itself as the most professional newspaper in the Gold Coast (Hasty, 2007). In 1962, the government of Ghana acquired the West African Graphic Limited, the *Daily Graphic's* new parent company, which was later converted into an autonomous limited liability company in 1999, subsequently changing the company's name to the Graphic Communications Group Limited (Daily Graphic, 2009). In 1963, Nkrumah purchased the newspaper, incorporating it into his state apparatus. *The Daily Graphic* has since remained an organ of the ruling party. Its current website notes that the state holds "100% shares" (Daily Graphic, 2009).

While state-owned media was the trend of the mid-20th century under Nkrumah's rule, private media were in existence. The Kumasi-based *Ashanti Pioneer*, founded in 1939 by John and Nancy Tisboe, which was once at the forefront for self-government and independence, was defiant in the 1950's and 1960's, characterized by its regional opposition to Nkrumah (Hasty, 2007). After subjecting the newspaper to repeated censorship, Nkrumah shut down the independent paper in 1962, quickly rushing a bill through parliament to ban it (Stokke, 1971). Its editor was detained for seven months, and its city editor spent four and a half years in prison for criticism against the government (Hasty, 2007). Some of the *Pioneer's* political commentators also found themselves in self-imposed exile (Stokke, 1971). Nkrumah rejected the commercialism of the private press as politically irresponsible and he often harassed the private papers. Nkrumah put forth efforts to monopolize newspapers in Ghana and restrict the flow of dissenting news abroad. The ban on the *Ashanti Pioneer* was lifted after Nkrumah was overthrown in 1966 (Stokke, 1971).

Ghanaians understood the need for an opposing voice in media not long after Nkrumah left. Paul Ansah of the University of Ghana said, "... if after independence these above-mentioned evils persist in our societies, why should the press, which proved an effective weapon for fighting against them in colonial times be considered an inappropriate tool now?" (Domatob, 1987, p.5) In 1966, the National Liberation Council (NLC) overthrew Nkrumah and took a libertarian approach to news media, releasing independent journalists from jail, closing down state propaganda instruments and lifting forms of censorship and bans on foreign journalists (Hasty, 2007). This overthrow forced most media to change their editorial positions overnight and begin criticizing the Nkrumah reign (Hasty, 2007). While the NLC publicly encouraged constructive criticism and free flow of information, major newspapers continued to experience

indirect forms of state patronage and influence (Hasty, 2007).

In the 1970's, the National Redemption Council (NRC), led by Colonel I.K. Acheampong, overthrew a civilian government under Kofi A. Busia. *The Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times* newspapers were supporting the Busia regime, and following the 1972 coup, they quickly denounced Busia and shifted their allegiance to the new NRC occupants of Christiansborg Castle, Ghana's seat of government (Hachten, 1975). Top editors of the newspapers were fired and replaced by journalists considered friendly to the new regime (Hachten, 1975). The new NRC military government inherited the same media system that Nkrumah had put together, holding the two major daily newspapers (*Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times*), the GBC radio service reaching 700,000 receivers, a single television channel that went out to 16,000 sets, and the Ghana News Agency (Hachten, 1975). As reported at the time, Ghanaian journalists did not dig out news about government affairs, but instead reported the information the ruling party, the NRC, wanted publicized (Hachten, 1975).

In 1981, Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings seized power from the democratically elected government of Hilla Limann. Following Nkrumah's precedent, Rawlings summoned the media to actively promote ideals of the ruling party, and editorial policies of state media were strategically shaped to suit the interests of the new regime (Hasty, 2007). Throughout the 1980's, state media applied a variety of techniques of official and unofficial censorship: repressive laws, public intimidation and harassment, bans on oppositional publications, and arrests and detention of dissident journalists (Hasty, 2007). In order to avoid harassment, many independent newspapers avoided politics altogether and focused on sports reporting (Hasty, 2007).

By the 1990's, independent newspapers such as *The Independent*, *The Ghanaian*

Chronicle, *The Free Press*, and *The Statesman* gave a voice to the angry opposition that was previously repressed, prompting Rawlings to denounce private media as politically irresponsible and selfishly motivated by profit (Hasty, 2007). However, in 1996, circulation figures for the *Ghanaian Chronicle* were at 40,000, *The Independent* at 35,000, and *The Free Press* at 70,000, showing that independent numbers were steadily increasing (Hasty, 2007).

Through the 1990's, the two state daily newspapers, *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times*, continued to represent the interests of Rawlings' ruling party, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) (Hasty, 2007). In 1996, during the presidential campaign, *The Daily Graphic* regularly featured front page stories celebrating the Rawlings' administration, which were accompanied by large, color photos depicting Rawlings wielding a pickaxe or driving a bulldozer to launch some new development project (Hasty, 2007).

Ghana's newspapers reflect a long history of state-owned publications, with the ruling parties exerting full control and influence on leading print media. Only recently has there begun a shift to more independently-owned newspapers.

2.2 History of Broadcasting in Ghana

Broadcasting in Ghana has a shorter history, but is no less important. Broadcasting's mission takes off where print media are inadequate; it reaches wider audiences in a variety of languages and exhibits flexibility in programming and immediacy in contact (Domatob, 1981). Radio is often seen as Africa's most effective mass medium and the major hope for reaching the largely uneducated, rural masses. It has remained the only true mass medium in Africa because of its ability to cope with problems like language multiplicity, illiteracy and poor infrastructure (Domatob, 1981).

The first established radio station was born in the Gold Coast in July 1935 (Domatob,

1981). The Gold Coast Governor, Sir Arnold Hodson, made the first broadcast to 300 subscribers in Accra; British engineers had previously installed radio equipment in the city for this (Karikari, 1994). This first station was a small wired relay station, ZOY, designed to transmit BBC programs to colonial residents and native elites (Hasty, 2007). The service soon extended to Kumasi, Sekondi, Koforidua and Cape Coast, providing information and entertainment while countering the anti-colonial campaigns of the nationalist press (Hasty, 2007).

In 1939, the British government provided funds for the building of a better, more up-to-date radio house and purchased a new transmitter to carry programs to the country and neighboring West African territories (GBC, 2009). In 1954, the Gold Coast Broadcasting System was established by the government, later becoming the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) after independence (Hasty, 2007). Kwame Nkrumah, similar in keeping with his stance on newspapers, rejected the concept of commercial and independent broadcasting. He felt such broadcasting could lead to a misuse of electronic media totally controlled by buyers and sellers with no regard for the educational and cultural roles they should play (Karikari, 1994). News on the radio was almost always “official” government news (Hachten, 1971, p.22).

In 1958, a third broadcasting house was built, and in 1960, Dr. D.F. Coleman was appointed the first Ghanaian Director of Broadcasting (GBC, 2009). GBC news bulletins faithfully imitated the formal BBC style; several headlines were read first, then individual items, and then back to the main points (Hachten, 1971). The 1960’s experienced a rapid change in GBC broadcasting. In 1965, Ghana Television was inaugurated along with rural broadcasting, and in 1967, commercial broadcasting introduced additional shortwave radio (GBC, 2009). In 1986, GBC began broadcasting in FM in the Accra-Tema metropolitan area with assistance from

the German government (Hasty, 2007). GBC opened new FM stations throughout Ghana in the late 1980's and early 1990's: Radio GAR in Accra, Garden City Radio in Kumasi, Twin City FM in Sekondi-Takoradi, and Volta Star Radio in Ho (Hasty, 2007). In 1988, the government also established Apam FM station to broadcast development-oriented programs as a supplement to its literacy project (Karikari, 1994). As of 1994, radio was using about six of Ghana's fifty languages for local programming including Akan, Ewe, Ga, Dagbani and Hausa (Karikari, 1994).

When broadcasting equipment became digitalized and less expensive, the government began to allow the establishment of independent radio and television stations (Njogu, 2009). However, despite a new, liberal constitution in 1992, President Rawlings refused to grant licenses or allocate frequencies to private radio stations until the mid-1990's, maintaining a monopoly on broadcasting with the state-owned GBC (Hasty, 2007). When William Hachten visited GBC in Accra, the station was fenced with barbed wire and was heavily guarded by armed soldiers behind sandbagged barricades, a tribute to the political importance of radio in the 20th century (Hachten, 1971).

The first of several independent radio stations, established in 1994, was the "pirate" station known as Radio Eye (Njogu, 2009, p.169). In 1995, the government began allocating licenses and frequencies through the Frequency Registration and Control Board (Hasty, 2007). The first truly private FM licenses were granted to Radio Univers, the small student radio station at the University of Ghana at Legon, and Joy FM in Accra (Hasty, 2007). As of 2006, there were more than 100 commercial and community-based FM stations (Njogu, 2009).

Similar to the history of newspapers, Ghanaian radio was marked by full government control at its beginning. Like the case for newspapers, the 1990's marked the birth of

independent radio stations.

2.3 Media Regulation

Broadcasting regulation in Ghana has fluctuated since the early 1990's and the implementation of its 1992 Constitution. Regulation pertaining to broadcasting involves audience and public rights and interests, public order and security, professional ethics and standards, broadcasters' rights, and artistic and intellectual property rights and reward (Karikari, 1994). Essentially, two categories of broadcasting require one or another type of regulation: the radio spectrum (frequency), and the output of radio broadcasting (content) (Karikari, 1994).

The Constitution of 1992, Chapter 12, Article 162 states:

“(1) Freedom and independence of the media are hereby guaranteed.

(2) Subject to this Constitution and any other law not inconsistent with this Constitution, there shall be no censorship in Ghana.

(3) There shall be no impediments to the establishment of private press or media; and in particular, there shall be no law requiring any person to obtain a licence as a prerequisite to the establishment or operation of a newspaper, journal or other media for mass communication or information.

(4) Editors and publishers of newspapers and other institutions of the mass media shall not be subject to control or interference by Government, not shall they be penalized or harassed for their editorial opinions and views, or the content of their publications.

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

(6) Any medium for the dissemination of information to the public which publishes a

statement about or against any person shall be obliged to publish a rejoinder, if any, from the person in respect of whom the publication was made” (Constitution, 1992).

Article 163 also provides the opportunity for independent media to flourish: “All state-owned media shall afford fair opportunities and facilities for the presentation of divergent views and dissenting opinions” (Constitution, 1992).

In addition to the provisions instituted by the constitution, Ghana’s government also established, through an act of parliament, the National Communications Authority (NCA) in 1996 (NCA, 2009). This additional regulatory body was created to regulate communications by wire, cable, radio, television, satellite and similar means of technology for the orderly development and operation of efficient communications services in Ghana, and to provide for related purposes (Asante & Gadzekpo, 2000).

The NCA also became responsible for the allocation of frequency spectrum for broadcasting (AMDI, 2006). The NCA authorizes the use of frequencies for the operation of radio and television (NCA, 2009). Licensing is the process of legally being authorized to operate a communications installation in Ghana (NCA, 2009). The NCA grants two types of licenses for the operation of telecommunications services: Class I: Fixed telephony services, cellular telephony services, carrier services; and Class II: Paging services, VSAT services, dealership services, private radio networks (NCA, 2009). Licenses are awarded for seven years for an initial fee of \$5,500; in addition, an annual broadcast fee is collected and distributed to the Copyright Society of Ghana to remunerate artists and musicians (Hasty, 2007). There is a constitutional guarantee for the NCA to be independent of government rule, but its licensing procedures have been shrouded in controversy due to arguments over why some licenses are granted and why some are not (AMDI, 2006).

According to the National Communications Authority Act, the NCA shall establish and monitor the implementation of national communications standards and ensure compliance accordingly; formulate a strategic plan; grant communication licenses; regulate and monitor licensees and holders of frequency authorizations; ensure fair competition amongst licensees, operators of communication networks and service providers; classify communication services; and determine applications for communication licenses including frequency authorizations (2008). The NCA provides for the wide variety of media and audiences in Ghana. The NCA in its functions must have regard to the needs and interests of people with disability, the elderly, low income earners, the opinions of consumers and members of the general public, and the interests of both urban and rural dwellers (NCA Act, 2008). It must also have regard to the principles of transparency, accountability, proportionality, consistency, the protection of the interests of consumers or users of communications networks and services, quality of service and value for money, and the promotion of competition in the provision of communication services (NCA Act, 2008).

The governing body of the NCA includes the chairperson, the Director-General, one representative of the National Security Council, one representative of the National Media Commission, one representative of the Ministry of Communications, one person with experience and expertise in communications, and three other people appointed by the President, at least one of whom must be a woman and each of whom has knowledge or expertise in electrical engineering, law, business or public administration (NCA Act, 2008).

The National Media Commission (NMC) was created as another independent regulatory body to promote and ensure the freedom and independence of media; to ensure high journalistic standards in mass media, including investigating, mediating and settling complaints made against

or by the press; and to insulate state-owned media from government control (Constitution, 1992). The NMC was created in 1993 as an addendum to the constitution. Article 172 of the Constitution states, “Except as otherwise provided by this Constitution or by any other law not inconsistent with this Constitution, the National Media Commission shall not be subject to the direction or control of any person or authority in the performance of its functions” (Constitution, 1992).

The NMC is composed of members of several groups of civil society, fifteen members in total: nine are chosen by various journalism, communications and public service associations; two are appointed by the President; three are nominated by Parliament; while the chairman is elected by the rest of the commission (Constitution, 1992). The NMC mainly serves as an independent regulator to monitor and receive complaints about the media. The Constitution and the NMC Act give every Ghanaian one of two options: either to complain directly to the Commission or go to court for redress where they feel wronged by media (Asante & Gadzekpo, 2000). The NMC also appoints members to the Boards of Directors or governing bodies of state media, and regulates the registration of newspapers (Hasty, 2007).

The NMC’s “Handbook on Broadcasting Standards” also calls on broadcasters to promote both local programming and national identity as part of cultural and social development; to promote national development; and to promote participation of marginalized people in national decision-making (AMDI, 2006).

In 2000, the Ghanaian government introduced a new National Media Policy to outline the state of Ghana’s media as it entered the new decade. Its mission is “to promote and ensure a free, independent, dynamic and public-spirited media that will provide access for all people to participate freely, fully and creatively at the community, national and global levels in the

expression, exchange and discussion of knowledge, information and ideas, and the management and operations of the institutions thereof so as to build a just, prosperous and equitable nation enriched by diversity and informed by values, and to interact as equals and to mutual benefit with other citizens of the world” (National Media Policy, 2000). The Policy aimed to use the power of media to address the educational, health and other basic development needs of the country.

The National Media Policy recognizes media as a public trust with social responsibility regardless of ownership (public, commercial/private, or community) and encourages a safeguard for pluralism and transparency in media (2000). It similarly acknowledges a marginalization of local culture and local language because of market forces, and it acknowledges the influence of foreign media in Ghana, which it says, leads to exclusion of the majority population from participating in the national discourse (National Media Policy, 2000).

The latest regulation update for Ghanaian media has been the passage of the Electronic Communications Act of 2008. This Electronic Communications Act reinforced the National Communications Authority (NCA) with the authority to regulate the radio spectrum for use by broadcasting organizations and providers of broadcasting services, and charge fees that it determines for a frequency authorization (2008). The Act also gives the NCA the authority to conduct research into the social, economic, cultural and technical issues relating to broadcasting to guide the NCA in carrying out its mandate (Electronic Communications Act, 2008).

The act reinforces the authority of the NCA to determine applications for licenses in a non-discriminatory and transparent manner. Licenses must include requirements for effective and efficient use of scarce resources; duration of license; build out of licensee’s network and geographical and subscriber targets; information given to the NCA for regulatory and statistical

purposes, obligations for customer services, provision of services to persons with disability and other social responsibility obligations; contribution towards the provision of universal service and access; payment of license fees; and control of anti-competitive conduct on the part of licensee (Electronic Communications Act, 2008). Licenses must include the allocation to use by the licensee; the transfer and the renewal of the license; and change of ownership in the shareholding of the licensee (Electronic Communications Act, 2008). The NCA may also adopt policies to cater to rural communities and for this purpose may waive fees wholly or in part for the grant of a frequency authorization (Electronic Communications Act, 2008).

Ghana's leadership has also played a role in changing the media landscape. At the start of the 20th century, Ghana's president, John Kufour, began allowing and favoring independent media. He repealed a criminal libel law in 2001 that brought expansion in the media landscape with a plethora of new radio stations and newspapers coming into existence (AMDI, 2006).

The Constitution of 1992 and its subsequent regulatory measures, the National Communications Authority, the National Media Commission and the Electronic Communications Act, have provided independent media with more protective legislation.

2.4 Media in Contemporary Ghana

The current state of Ghanaian media has changed drastically since the state-controlled era of Kwame Nkrumah, and it has even expanded greatly over the last several years. In examining current newspapers and radio in Ghana, we find that most publications focus on distinct elements: their presence in Ghana (also known as their geographical spread), the audience, the content and the funding.

Ghana's news media have long been and are still widely seen as concentrated in urban areas and cities. Mass communications are urban phenomena because in Africa the city is the

center of life for the social and political leadership (Hachten, 1971). Cities provide citizens with daily newspapers, both local and foreign ones, a good reception of radio broadcasting, and a variety of movie houses, while magazines and books are readily available to literate people in government and commerce, and to foreigners. However, these urban media consumers are only a small fraction of the total population in any African nation (Hachten, 1971).

Typically, in Africa, the typical news audience member lives in an urban center, usually the capital, is a young male under 24 years old, and is a student, a white collar employee or in a professional or managerial position; the clearest indicator of a heavy media consumer is education (Hachten, 1971). As of 2006, Ghana had only 24 percent newspaper readership among its adult population, a low number compared to other sub-Saharan countries, such as Nigeria and Cameroon (AMDI, 2006). A copy of *The Daily Graphic*, the major state paper, sells for 1,500 cedis or about USD \$0.20 while most of the private papers, such as *Ghanaian Chronicle* and *The Independent*, are priced at 1,000 cedis, USD \$0.13 (Hasty, 2007). Minimum wage in Ghana is 5,500 cedis a day so most urban working people and rural farmers cannot afford to buy newspapers on a regular basis (Hasty, 2007). Furthermore, foreign news sources do exist in the cities for wealthier audiences: *Time* and *Newsweek* at larger news kiosks, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* in major hotels, BBC broadcasts on GTV (Ghana's Television Service), and CNN for cable subscribers (Hasty, 2007).

2.4.1 Newspapers in Ghana

Newspapers differ from radio in that almost all are published in the language of the state, English, with few exceptions (Hasty, 2007). This may explain why newspapers in Ghana have been regarded as media for society's elite and literate. Newspapers have grown in large numbers since the 1992 Constitution. In 2006, there were 11 national dailies, 67 national weeklies, 23

regional dailies and 5 regional weeklies (AMDI, 2006).

The Graphic Communications Group Limited, which is still currently owned by the government, publishes *The Daily Graphic*; *The Mirror*, a popular weekend paper; *Graphic Sports*, a popular sports paper; *Graphic Showbiz*, an entertainment publication; *Junior Graphic*, a children's paper; *Graphic Advertiser*, a paper for small scale advertisements; and *Graphic Nsempa*, a community paper for the Brong-Ahafo and Ashanti regions (Daily Graphic, 2009). The Graphic Corporation, funded by the state, provides its newspaper staff with all necessary equipment for production. There are roomfuls of computers, company vans, access to world news services, sophisticated color printing, available newsprint and large well-paid staff, resembling the Western newspaper prototype (Hasty, 2007). *The Daily Graphic* and its newspaper group pay as high as USD \$400 per month to each reporter (AMDI, 2006).

State papers such as the *Graphic* benefit in other financial areas as well. In Ghana, newsprint is ordered by a central government agency and allocations are made proportionately based on the newspaper's circulation; preferential treatment is given to the state-owned papers (Asante, 1996). In uncertain political environments, many local businesses are too wary of public association with the opposing party; therefore, they avoid the private press and place their advertisements in the state press (Hasty, 2007). With its increase in funding and up-to-date technology, state papers have a more favorable audience, and advertisers realize they get more features in the state dailies (Hasty, 2007). State media, then, receive the benefit of funding from both the state and commercial sector.

State papers also benefit from their relationship with the ruling government. Reporters, editors and staff for these papers are invited to state functions daily, while independent papers are not. The government plays a role in allying with its media. Reporters invited to state events

receive cash gifts, around USD \$2.50, which is referred to as “soli” for the solidarity that exists between the state and that outlet; the fare is intended to cover the journalist’s taxi ride to and from the function (Hasty, 2005, p. 73). State papers, namely *The Daily Graphic*, assign specific journalists to cover the government’s (also known as the Castle for its location at Osu Castle in Accra) activities each day. Such reporters are expected to cover the intended angle provided by the president or government; if a reporter disobeys, he often faces the wrath of the administration (Hasty, 2005).

This relationship between the government and the state-owned papers presents ongoing problems. The ruling parties forge intimacy through surveillance and invitation to government forums (Hasty, 2005). Castle reporters often hear of internal government strife, but actual stories of such are not well received by Graphic editors who refer to them as “unbalanced” (Hasty, 2005, p.76-77). Reporters for these papers are often tracked during their duties. One Castle correspondent, Maxwell Appenteng, was followed closely by the government, and his journalistic power to report on the government was overpowered by the government’s ability to gather information about him (Hasty, 2005).

Recently, the Ministry of Information aimed to end the favoring trend between state officials and state reporters by establishing a forum for journalists called “Meet the Press” where government ministers would hold regular, scheduled, open question-and-answer sessions (AMDI, 2006). This initiative sought to increase transparency and accountability in the reporting of state affairs (AMDI, 2006). President Kufour’s administration, from 2000 to 2008, increased the access of independent media to government affairs. In 2001, Kufour welcomed both state and private media to Castle Osu (Hasty, 2007).

About 40 newspapers are published on average in Ghana with the number of

independents growing yearly. Approximately 16 independent newspapers provide national political coverage (Hasty, 2007). With few exceptions, private papers are produced in Accra and circulation is concentrated there as well, though major independents can be found regularly in Cape Coast, Kumasi and Tamale (Hasty, 2007). One of the larger independent newspapers, *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, has regional offices in Cape Coast, Kumasi, Takoradi, Koforidua and Ho (Hasty, 2007). Despite certain limitations, a few private newspapers are published outside the capital, including *Ashanti Pioneer* in Kumasi and *The New Ghanaian* in Tamale (Hasty, 2007).

Despite their growing number, independent newspapers face a variety of problems that state papers rarely encounter. Since 1993, the price of newsprint has increased over 300 percent, making it difficult for private papers to turn a profit and stay in business (Hasty, 2007). As a result, a vast majority of private papers come and go, and the numbers for how many actually exist fluctuate from source to source. Private papers, too, struggle financially with their staff. On average, journalists are better paid than the average school teacher; however, some weaker private papers start journalists at lower rates, some three times lower than those paid at the *Graphic* (AMDI, 2006). Another major bone of contention exists between the private press and the government because the private press has been excluded from the Castle press corps throughout history (Asante & Gadzekpo, 2000). Rural, private newspapers also face the burden of running news organizations with little to no formal training. Almost all editors of rural newspapers in Africa are self-taught. In 1982, only two editors of rural newspapers were trained journalists, one being the editor of *Kpodoga*, Ghana's rural paper published in Ewe (Ziegler & Asante, 1992). Despite these setbacks, the private press and foreign news correspondents' outgoing information is no longer censored (Hasty, 2007).

Most independent papers struggle mostly with their credibility. Some of the more

respected private papers are *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, *The Free Press*, *The Statesman*, *The Voice*, *The Independent*, and *The Daily Guide* (Asante & Gadzekpo, 2000). Two main genres of private weekly papers have emerged: the highly politicized newspapers, dubbed opposition papers because of their highly critical anti-government stance; and the gossipy, color sheets that serve up a steady diet of personality, sex scandals and sensational stories (Asante & Gadzekpo, 2000). Due to the come-and-go flow of private papers, many are regarded as simple human interest tabloid papers designed to sell as many copies as possible without regard to actual news. Exclusion of private journalists from state sources and their lack of access to wire service has forced these journalists to design this alternative set of journalistic techniques including anonymous sources and popular rumor (Hasty, 2007). One such paper is *People & Places*, which focuses on scandals, personality profiles, gossip and entertainment (Asante & Gadzekpo, 2000). Even so, journalists in the private press, while competing against one another, still express a sense of solidarity against the state press (Hasty, 2007).

Independent newspapers, despite recent growth, still face numerous complications including poor government access and limited resources, such as financing and technology. These problems have led to credibility issues within the private media sphere.

2.4.2 Radio in Ghana

Unlike newspapers, radio easily overcomes great distances, is easily and cheaply received, and listeners do not need to be literate. It is said since Africans cling to their oral traditions, the spoken word offers the best results, and radio is usually a person's first contact with mass communications (Hachten, 1971). While newspapers have neglected local languages, many FM radio stations have introduced very popular local-language programs – particularly popular are the call-in programs where disc jockeys and callers alternate between local languages

and English in discussion of local, national and global events (Hasty, 2007). Since World War II, there has been an influx of Western music and art, especially from the U.S., into Ghana and its radio entertainment programs (Njogu, 2009).

In a BBC survey taken in the early 1990's, respondents voted radio over print as their choice of medium, with daily listening twice as high for men than for women, and higher in rural areas than urban. Peak listening hours occurred in the morning, lunch and evening hours, and all coincided with news programs in English (Karikari, 1994). Weekly figures show that 90 percent of the adult population participates in heavy radio listening (AMDI, 2006). FM is the most used reception platform with 82 percent of the population receiving radio via FM (AMDI, 2006).

Twelve FM stations currently operate in Ghana. Most focus on musical entertainment, but many have news programs and talk shows for discussion of current events in English and Twi (Hasty, 2007). The most popular FM stations in Accra are Joy FM, Groove FM, Vibe FM, Gold FM and Radio Univers at the University of Ghana at Legon (Hasty, 2007). Like newspapers, most radio stations are concentrated in the capital. However, state-operated radio stations exist throughout the country. The GBC notes its regional FM affiliates: Garden City Radio FM in Kumasi, Radio Central FM in Cape Coast, Twin City Radio FM in Sekondi-Takoradi, Sunrise FM in Koforidua, Radio B.A.R. FM in Sunyani and Brong-Ahafo, Radio Savannah FM in Tamale, U.R.A. Radio FM in Bolgatanga and Radio Upper West in Wa (GBC, 2009).

The Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC), also known as Radio Ghana, remains Ghana's most prominent broadcasting source and has always geared itself towards public service. Its mission is to provide credible, reliable and quality broadcasting; promote national consciousness, integrity and a strong sense of national identity; and "to be the authentic and

trustworthy voice of Ghana” (GBC, 2009). Since the 1990’s, with the development of larger transmitters, GBC signals have been available to the country’s entire population (Karikari, 1994). GBC has the only national network of radio stations. GBC operates two nationwide shortwave radio channels. Shortwave radio is accessible for developing nations such as Ghana because receivers can be battery operated and portable, used in places where Internet or satellite technology is unavailable, and it has the ability to travel thousands of kilometers.

GBC, while once under full state control, has started to move towards independence and commercialism. Currently, its website notes one of its goals is “to undertake viable commercial activities that promote the aspirations of the Corporation” (GBC, 2009). State ownership ensures resources, but makes it hard for the GBC to establish itself as an independent voice as it’s been seen as a mouthpiece of the state (AMDI, 2006). GBC is good enough to exist without government favors, but whether or not it will truly become independent will depend upon the caliber of its Board of Directors and top management, positions usually dominated by presidential nominees (Karikari, 1994). GBC does receive funding through various commercials. In 1985, 95 percent of its income came from the government. In 1992, television and radio advertisements accounted for 950 million GHC (Karikari, 1994). Radio is favored more for its announcements, while television is favored for its advertisements (Karikari, 1994).

GBC’s two channels are GBC Radio 1 and GBC Radio 2. GBC 1 is multilingual. The more commercially-oriented English-only GBC 2 is restricted to the Accra region. All other state-run GBC affiliates broadcast at the district, regional or local level (AMDI, 2006). A significant amount of GBC programming content is devoted to news and many of the programs are locally produced, which explains why the indigenous languages are used most frequently on GBC 1 (Asante, 1996). GBC 1 has sought to inform Ghanaians, who live in rural areas and who

can't speak English, about national events (Karikari, 1994). GBC 1 carries a few English programs that include news and commentary and excerpts from Ghanaian newspapers and school broadcasts; funeral announcements are made in the indigenous language (Asante, 1996). As of the mid-1990's, GBC 1's most frequent programs included news, entertainment and culture, and community information (Asante, 1996). Both GBC 1 and GBC 2 operated for 15.5 hours on weekdays and 17.5 hours on weekends (Hasty, 2007).

Since the 1990's, private radio stations have started to spread throughout the country. Private stations can be undertaken by individuals, religious groups, benevolent societies, professional organizations, other interest groups and non-governmental organizations (Karikari, 1994). Some current private radio stations in Accra include Joy FM, Happy FM, Peace FM, Choice FM, Vibe FM and Adom FM.

The typical financial support for radio stations came from three sources: some license fees, commercial advertising, and direct subsidies from the government (Hachten, 1971). However, private stations do not receive government support. Obvious sources for such stations are revenue from advertising or contributions from religious congregations (Karikari, 1994). One studio manager, Osabutey Anni, from Radio Valco at the University of Cape Coast, said he wouldn't want funding for his station if it meant the station would be remote controlled by its donor (AMDI, 2006). Advertising in Ghana is seen as a form of entertainment: humor and music are identified as two main factors in recurring ads (Karikari, 1994). Advertisers for radio use creativity based on indigenous ad practices such as the barker styles of a Fante trader (Karikari, 1994).

Private radio stations face further problems aside from funding. Actually, many newer, private stations offer better pay than GBC (AMDI, 2006). Independent stations must compete

with professional standards, uphold community standards, guarantee the reliability of their programs, produce a real economic and political atmosphere conducive for the expression of views, maintain a balance between public service and entertainment, and demonstrate the ability to communicate with the audience (Karikari, 1994). In Ghana, privatization of radio stations has increased the number of disorderly but highly interactive talk shows in which managerial control and traditional norms of respect have been brushed aside (Njogu, 2009). Like private papers, radio stations must also remain aware of the political environments in which they broadcast. As recent as 2009, a major Northern region station, North Star Radio, was ordered to shut down by the regional police commander after its staff were arrested following a controversial press conference (Daily Guide Politics, 2009).

Community radio has been another major player in broadcasting. Community radio stations are generally owned by the community or run by a non-profit organization that either reflects the interests of a specific community or reflect a high degree of participation by that community (AMDI, 2006). In 1978, the first community radio station, U.R.A. Radio, was established in Bolgatanga (Karikari, 1994). It was intended to serve the Upper East and Upper West regions with information in the local languages; programs included agricultural practices, sanitation, nutrition and family planning (Karikari, 1994). Then, in 1983, the School of Communication Studies at the University of Ghana began a rural community broadcasting project supported by UNESCO with its FM transmitter reaching a 30 kilometer radius (Karikari, 1994). It, too, included programs on agriculture, health care, environment, sanitation and culture.

Currently, there are no legislative provisions that specifically support community or alternative media even though there are several community-based FM stations (AMDI, 2006).

The African Media Development Initiative implemented a case study of one community radio station near Tamale, Simli Radio, which was established in 1996 (AMDI, 2006). The goal of Simli Radio was to enhance self-help and self-reliance among rural populations. The station was managed by several local communications experts along with volunteers from the community. Broadcasts included programs on health, education, agriculture, gender and local governance; all are broadcast in the local language, Dagbani (AMDI, 2006).

Simli was able to exist under sponsorships from the Carter Center in the U.S., Danish International Development Agency, Ghanaian Danish Communities Program, and Ghana's Ministry of Education (AMDI, 2006). The station was well-equipped with a fully digitized studio with the latest computers; however, it lacked internet connectivity due to the high cost of broadband. Its most pressing issue was convincing the National Communications Authority to allocate the station its own frequency; it shared with the state-owned Radio Savannah FM (AMDI, 2006). The station briefly shut down from 1999 to 2004 due to application and license fees, but as of 2006, was operating 10 hours per day (AMDI, 2006).

Radio has numerous advantages over newspapers as a news medium. Radio in Ghana can reach the masses and broadcasts in the local languages. However, like independent newspapers, independent radio struggles with many of the same problems, limited access to government, lack of equipment and few financial resources, leaving many Ghanaians subject to the more coordinated state-owned stations.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The core of this study based on in-country research and observations. An ethnographic study was used for a full analysis of Ghanaian newspapers and radio. “It is a family of methods involving direct and sustained social contact with agents, and of richly writing up the encounter, respecting, recording, and representing at least partly in its own terms, the irreducibility of human experience” (Willis & Trondman, 2000).

The use of ethnography, mainly through participant observation, was imperative for understanding and analyzing newspapers and radio in Ghana. I was able to immerse myself in the culture and society of Ghana through employment of the ethnographic method. Being a foreigner in Ghana did not become a disadvantage. On the contrary, the “foreigner” identity allowed me to observe Ghana, its people, its cultures and its media from an outsider’s perspective without favoring any specific group (newspaper, radio station, or political party) over another. The ethnographic approach allowed this study to present both an inside view of the people of and places in Ghana, while maintaining a researcher’s position in analyzing the content without heavy bias or opinion. However, while I intended no bias or opinion, it must be noted that an “outsider” perspective also produces biases of its own. My observations, therefore, may reflect a different perspective than others who observed the same things.

The use of the ethnographic method came as a result of reading the most recent published analysis of Ghana’s media, Jennifer Hasty’s *The Press and Political Culture in Ghana* (2005). Hasty’s book was a result of a year-long dissertation project in Ghana in 1996 followed by subsequent years of research through 2002. Hasty was employed at both an independent newspaper, *Ghanaian Independent*, and the largest state-owned newspaper, *The Daily Graphic*. Hasty’s work at both news organizations and her personal experience in Ghana allowed her to

present a comparative analysis of Ghana's independent and state-controlled press. She was able to observe certain incidents in the daily routine of newspapers, such as the importance of access to government affairs, and could analyze them through both insider and foreigner perspectives.

While she did not set out to use ethnographic methods, Hasty used partial ethnographic techniques in analyzing her experience, by incorporating herself into the culture of each newspaper, as well as noting the differences between Ghanaian and Western media from her outsider's view. As she herself states, "I have continued to interview journalists and editors, conduct research in the archives, work for news organizations, and collect contemporary newspapers" (Hasty, 2005, p.xii).

The Press and Political Culture in Ghana provided me with a base knowledge for Ghana and its contemporary press. I understood the importance of gaining access to newspapers and radio stations as a result of Hasty's experience and in-depth analysis. No other published work has contributed as much information regarding the competition between Ghana's private and state news publications as Hasty's 2005 book. Therefore, I adopted a similar method of access and interview, which provided a more thorough observation of Ghana's media, both newspapers and radio.

3.1 Geographical Study

I traveled to Ghana for three months, from March 9 to June 9, 2009. These three months consisted of travel through much of the country: the Greater Accra metropolitan area and the Eastern, Volta, Central and Western regions. I traveled to and conducted ethnographic observations in cities, rural towns, and several rural villages. However, this study includes an analysis of only two particular geographical areas, Accra and Cape Coast.

As noted in the previous chapter, African media, and in particular Ghanaian media, have

a direct relationship with the regions in which they exist. Urban media and urban audiences cannot be examined within the same framework as rural media and rural audiences. As a developing nation, Ghana still faces technological barriers in its more remote regions. It would be unwise to compare disconnected communities to those that are highly connected to other areas of the country and the world.

The two areas in Ghana observed and analyzed for this project were Accra, the bustling, modern capital city found along the southeastern coast, and Cape Coast, the ancient capital of the Gold Coast colony nestled along the central coast in Ghana's Central Region. While several cities and towns could have been used as core locations of study, Accra and Cape Coast present a lively and contrasting array of media.

As noted in Chapter 2, African media are largely concentrated in the urban centers and cities, where businesses and commerce are most prominent. Accra is the most populous city in Ghana, with approximately two million people. It is the metropolitan center of the West African nation, and thus, exhibits many of the features of a capital city – large, central marketplaces, banks and government ministries, and traffic-filled roadways.

Accra was picked as a location for analysis because of its wide variety of media: newspapers, magazines, tabloid papers, radio stations, television stations and movie theaters. On average, I walked past twenty newspaper stands each day. I also listened to radio stations during most public transportation rides, which played stations on news, entertainment and religion.

The majority of newspapers in Ghana are based in Accra. All the major, daily newspapers are produced in the city – *The Daily Graphic*, *The Daily Guide*, *Ghanaian Chronicle*, *Ghanaian Times*, *Accra Daily Mail* – along with more than a dozen weeklies,

including *Business and Financial Times*, *The Statesman*, *Ghanaian Voice*, *The Independent*, *The Mirror*, *Ghanaian Observer*, *Weekly Spectator* and *the National Trust*. The city is also home to some of Ghana's most popular radio stations: Radio Gold, Vibe FM, Joy FM, Groove FM, Choice FM, BBC World Service Africa, Peace FM, Radio Univers, and GBC 1 and GBC 2.

Ghana is home to more than 50 ethnic groups. Accra is populated mostly by the Ga people, who predominantly speak Twi in the city. However, Accra, being the central city of Ghana, is an international port. Therefore, a majority of its people speak English, Ghana's official language of business and instruction. This is important to note because all newspapers in Accra are published in English, and GBC, Ghana's state-owned nationwide radio station based in Accra, transmits one of its two channels in English.

Cape Coast is a contrast to the bustling, non-stop movement of Accra. With a population surpassing 50,000, Cape Coast represents the idyllic rural town in West Africa without being too remote. Located approximately 165 kilometers west of Accra, about a three-hour ride by public "tro-tro" (Ghana's public van transports), Cape Coast is the capital of Ghana's Central Region.

With a smaller population and different majority ethnic group, Fante, Cape Coast contrasts with Accra in both culture and media. While Cape Coast is growing fast in industry every day, it still represents a more rural, countryside town in comparison to Accra. English is the dominant language of business affairs in Accra, but Fante is the language of choice for most of the people of Cape Coast, underscoring a slight educational (less literacy) and cultural (different ethnic group) variation between the two locations.

Despite its rural setting, Cape Coast is not so remote that it features no major news outlets or mass communications. In fact, over the past decade, the town has seen its media landscape grow rapidly. GBC, the government-based radio network, has its own affiliate there –

Central FM – alongside several growing stations, such as Atlantic FM at the University of Cape Coast and the popular, private station Yes FM. Major, daily newspapers from Accra also filter into the central marketplace in Cape Coast (*The Daily Graphic, the Daily Guide, Ghanaian Chronicle* and *Ghanaian Times*), though there are fewer newsstands for buying and selling them. One limitation of Cape Coast in this study is that there are no locally produced newspapers. However, as of February 2010, the Deputy Minister of Information did grant the new *Central Press* newspaper access to launch in town. This was eight months after I completed my study in Ghana.

For this study's goal of private media analysis, of both newspapers and radio, it would seem unfit to use regions and locations that did not feature both types of media. Thus, Accra and Cape Coast were chosen for comparative analysis because they fit this criteria. However, it is important to note that this study will discuss the spread and reach of Accra and Cape Coast's media into other regions of the country, thereby, presenting a relationship between the locations being studied and the whole country.

3.2 Method of Interview

Before leaving for Ghana, I compiled a list of items that were intended for use during the interviews to be conducted in country. Following the information presented in Chapter 2, I knew several things had to be observed and looked at in order to understand contemporary newspapers and radio in Ghana. I wanted to first observe the following important aspects of each news outlet: the political affiliation of the news organization, its location (along with where it is produced), its audience, its presence and reach in Ghana, its staff and resources, and its financial funding. These variables were central to each interview and observation made in Ghana.

Therefore, I asked the following questions to each news organization observed and

analyzed.

Is this news outlet affiliated with the government (NDC) or independent of government?

Where is this organization based and how far does its presence extend – to just the local area or throughout the country?

How many staff members work for this organization, and are they paid?

What are the resources (technology, equipment, etc.) available within this organization?

How do the resources affect the presence of that outlet in Ghana?

Finally, what is the funding model for this organization (is it funded by the government, by corporations, by private individuals, advertisements, etc.)?

I also observed and spoke with experts outside of media, particularly academics and spokespersons from government communications bodies. Those same questions were asked of the experts as well. The following set of questions were asked when meeting with non-media persons.

How are independent media perceived in Ghana?

How are state-controlled media perceived?

Which news media are more popular?

Do people prefer radio to newspapers or vice versa?

What are the current tensions between private and state media?

What has been the current government's response to growing private media?

3.3 In-Country Observation and Interviews in Accra

I had the fortune of observing and interviewing media and media personnel in both locations of study. In Accra, three newspapers, *The National Trust*, *The Daily Guide* and *The Daily Graphic* were observed and analyzed. Both *The National Trust* and *The Daily Guide* are

independent newspapers, while *The Daily Graphic* is state-owned. Two radio stations were observed in Accra as well, Vibe FM and GBC. Vibe FM is an independent station, while GBC is still state-owned.

In Cape Coast, I observed and analyzed the presence and reach of Accra's newspapers. As was stated above, Cape Coast has no locally produced newspapers, at least during my time there from March 9 to June 9, 2009. In fact, almost every newspaper in Ghana, with the exception of a few minor regional weeklies, is produced in Accra. Thus, newspaper analyses were conducted via their presence and use in Cape Coast. In doing so, I observed the presence of the two major daily newspapers in Cape Coast, *The Daily Graphic* and *The Daily Guide*. It would have been useful for this study to observe a smaller, independent newspaper in Cape Coast as was done in Accra, but as noted, there were no such sources available. Two radio stations were observed in Cape Coast, the independent Yes FM and the state-owned GBC via its affiliate, Radio Central.

Before leaving for Ghana, I made arrangements to follow the private newspaper *The National Trust* in Accra (through the volunteer agency Projects Abroad UK). With the aid of its in-country staff, *The National Trust* approved a multi-week period for me to follow and observe its daily routines as a growing, urban, private paper. *The National Trust* was, in fact, the first news outlet observed and analyzed for this study. This weekly paper, run by the privately-wealthy Theo Alfreds, was observed to be among the struggling group of private weeklies in Ghana.

I had the fortunate opportunity of living with an Australian volunteer, Kate West, who happened to work for Ghana's most popular independent newspaper, *The Daily Guide*. Through personal anecdotes and dinner-time conversations, *The Daily Guide* became a part of the

observations and study for this project. I had the opportunity to accompany West on several of her assignments in Accra, which mostly included sports coverage of Ghana's Black Stars football team and its World Cup qualifying matches. I had the brief opportunity to speak with her sports editor and the newspaper's IT technician who provided me with a more personal view of the staff.

The Daily Graphic was the final newspaper I observed in Accra. For most of March 2009, this newspaper was observed from afar, listening to locals' perspectives of the newspaper and its competition with *The Daily Guide*. However, in late March, *The National Trust's* senior editor and former *Graphic* reporter, Kwame Penni, took me to a government session on commerce with the Ministry of Trade and Industry at Novotel Hotel in Accra, where many public government forums are held. This presented a first interaction with several reporters for *The Daily Graphic* who regularly covered the government's programs. These same reporters invited me to accompany them on several assignments during that week. Most of these assignments were with government spokespeople, particularly the Ministry of Energy, regarding the country's newest pressing issue, oil drilling off Ghana's western coast. I had the opportunity to observe these reporters interacting with President John Atta Mills' new administration, particularly the Public Relations officer for the Ministry of Energy. These were not the top government reporters for *The Daily Graphic*, as they did not have access to cover the Castle's (the president's) daily activities.

Throughout my observations and interactions with these newspapers, and in the following radio observations, ethnographic techniques were kept in mind. While I was granted access to official newspaper routines, I did not become employed by the staff or receive any compensation for my time with them. In addition, by following media personnel in the course of their daily

activities, I was able to observe personal interactions between staff, and between reporters and their contacts. I was able to study the culture of Ghana's media without becoming officially connected to it.

In addition to observing and studying those newspapers in Accra, I had the opportunity to visit and observe the inner workings of Vibe FM, an independent radio station in Accra. As a result of the friendly relationship established between *The National Trust* and I, the Projects Abroad UK staff agreed to an observation of Vibe FM with whom they, too, had a positive working relationship. I was only given one day of observation, but I was able to learn that the station had been in operation for almost fifteen years, since 1996, when it was privately started by two individuals. Since that time, Vibe FM has grown to what it self-describes as the "Soul of the Capital."

Contrary to foregoing personal access to independent media practitioners, I was unable to gain access to GBC headquarters despite many attempts. However, I did have the opportunity to observe and follow several female staff reporters of GBC (in Accra) who were working on a car accident story. I met these reporters while waiting at the GBC building in central Accra. While this lack of access to its central building may contribute to the limitations of study, I was able to gather information regarding the station's operations and control from my interactions with those reporters and many local Accra citizens.

3.4 In-Country Observation and Interviews in Cape Coast

I moved from Accra in mid-April to travel through most of Ghana's southern regions. By late April, I had formally set up living in Cape Coast in the Central Region.

I had the brief opportunity to observe one radio station in person, the independent Yes FM, the "Voice of the Coast," for a one-week period. I had the opportunity to meet most of the

staff, from the station's general manager to its marketing director and its sports program hosts. Most research on Yes FM took place in the studio, observing the news gathering process and its production on air. There was one daily trip into town to observe the lone, local news reporter in her efforts to get a local story on "tro-tro" safety.

The other radio station observed and studied was the GBC affiliate, Radio Central. Like GBC headquarters in Accra, access to Radio Central was not granted for this study. As in Accra, this station was observed through personal interactions with the people of Cape Coast, mainly Ghanaian friends who had no affiliation to either media or the government. In fact, most of the people interviewed in Cape Coast regarding GBC radio were males from the local rugby team and artisans working by the beach. It should be noted, too, that these locals were able to read English and the newspapers.

In addition to following these news organizations during their daily routines, I had the opportunity to meet with several academics, most notably one of the leading professors at the University of Ghana's School of Communication Studies. After a brief trip to the University of Ghana at Legon, Dr. Sarah Akrofi-Quarcoo, a former editor at Ghana Broadcasting Corporation and the president of Women in Broadcasting in Ghana, provided insight into the ongoing privatization of Ghanaian media.

Similarly, I had the chance to talk to several government officials, only one of whom provided up-to-date information about broadcasting, Deputy Director for the Ministry of Information Xola Senaya. His work within the Ministry, and his age (he was a child when Ghana gained its independence and Kwame Nkrumah became president) provided a perspective from President Mills' new administration. He was able to provide information regarding Ghana's government web portal for official state information (www.ghana.gov.gh) and the

Electronic Communications Act from 2000, which as noted in Chapter 2, has since been updated.

3.5 Profile of Media Analysis

As a result of the time spent researching various media outlets in Ghana, this study incorporates a comparative analysis of two news outlets per medium. With the exception of Jennifer Hasty's (2005) book on the subject, few publications have produced information about Ghanaian media, especially private media, over the past ten years. I hope to present an overview of independent media's place in contemporary Ghana. It would be of no benefit to analyze only private organizations without describing their presence in relation to the state-owned outlets with which they co-exist. As has been the case for all of Ghana's media history, it is important to analyze independent or dissenting organizations within the context of the government and its own publications.

The Daily Graphic and *The Daily Guide* were the two newspapers chosen for study. Both are produced in Accra, with *The Daily Graphic* being the leading state-owned newspaper in Ghana and *The Daily Guide* being the leading independent newspaper. The two radio stations chosen for study were GBC 1 and Yes FM. GBC 1 broadcasts nationally, in both English and local languages, and is produced in Accra, while Yes FM is Cape Coast's leading private radio station. It must be noted that GBC 1 is the state-owned channel of GBC. GBC 2 is more commercialized.

It's important to note that that these media are not all produced in the same location in Ghana. Both newspapers are produced and distributed widely in Accra. However, they are circulated daily to Cape Coast, and are therefore, regularly selling newspapers in the town. Similarly, GBC 1 is produced in Accra, but is broadcast throughout the entire country, thus, reaching Cape Coast's population. Yes FM, however, is produced only in Cape Coast and does

not extend outside of the southern Central Region in Ghana.

While more than four media outlets could be analyzed for a study involving media privatization, two of each medium helps keep a sharper focus on the changes and trends in media in Ghana. Their spread across two different geographical areas offers observations into the differences between rural and urban media and the crucial role they play in understanding Ghana's media.

3.6 Collection and Analysis of Data

Throughout the above observations, interviews and encounters, I took detailed notes, using voice recorders and notepads to record information and discoveries. Throughout each interview, I kept in mind the information needed for this study: each media outlet's content and programs, its presence in Ghana, its audience and its sources of funding. Once I collected my notes collected, I labeled them according to which sector of information they fell into so as to better organize the information for analysis.

In collecting data and moving into the analysis phase, it became apparent that this study could not possibly include everything that had been told to or observed by me. Some information provided by interviewees and observed throughout my travels did not fall within the scope of my intent to analyze private media. In deciding what to include for this study, I used only information that related to private media or its state-owned counterparts. Additionally, I only included information relating to newspapers and radio. Several interviewees had much to say about television's role in the media landscape, but that information may be intended for additional studies.

In the following chapter, Findings, one can expect to see an analysis of the two newspapers mentioned above, *The Daily Graphic* and *The Daily Guide*, in regard to the

geographic regions mentioned above, Accra and Cape Coast. They will be analyzed in relation to their content, their presence in those two places, their audience and their financial funding. Similarly, one can expect to see an analysis of the two radio stations mentioned above, GBC and Yes FM. Likewise, they will be analyzed in regard to those two geographic locations and will be analyzed in relation to their content, their presence in those two places, their audience, and their funding.

3.7 Limitations of Study

While examining two locations presents a comparative analysis in understanding a large portion of contemporary Ghanaian media, it in no way presents a full analysis for the media in the entire country. There are, therefore, geographical limitations to this study, as only two locations, out of many in Ghana, are being used for analysis.

I chose to exclude the Northern regions of the country (Brong-Ahafo, Northern, Upper East, and Upper West regions) because I did not travel there extensively or observe media that exist in those locations. Similarly, the Ashanti Region, located in the center of Ghana, is excluded due to the similarities between its capital city, Kumasi, and Accra. Kumasi is the second largest urban center in Ghana, with over 2 million people, and it exhibits many of the same features as Accra. Kumasi has approximately 20 radio stations and its media are comparable to what is present in Accra. I did not feel that Kumasi presented a unique location in addition to what was already being analyzed.

While I did travel to the Western, Eastern and Volta regions, they are not the focus of this study either. The Western Region, including its capital city, Takoradi, did not have many communications outlets. I observed only three radio stations in the city of 300,000, one of which was a GBC affiliate, Twin City FM. Likewise, most of the newspapers read and distributed in

this region are the same as those distributed in Accra and Cape Coast, the major dailies. The Eastern Region, with its close proximity to Accra, offers little variances in media from those of the capital. The Volta Region, on the other hand, with its largest town, Ho, is much more rural than Cape Coast, offering little local media to study or analyze. The only noticeable media outlet in town is the GBC affiliate, Volta Star. While Ho could be used as a more thorough contrast to Accra than Cape Coast, there would be hardly any media to analyze.

This study is also limited to the selected media. I was not able to observe all newspapers and radio stations in Ghana due to constraints on geography, as mentioned above, and time – I was only in country for three months, and there are more than 100 different media outlets. This study obviously excludes many different newspaper and radio media in Ghana. Therefore, the analysis conducted in the following chapters may not reflect the positions of all private and state-owned media in Ghana.

In addition to these limits, I was also hindered by an inability to interview larger numbers of media personnel, government employees, and media academics in Ghana. This was a result of limited access to certain places, including the GBC headquarters in Accra (who did not allow me to enter), and a lack of time. I believe that had I spent more time in Ghana, more information would have surfaced. Similarly, I only interviewed a select number of individuals in Accra and Cape Coast, and only these perspectives are discussed in the findings of this research.

Chapter 4: Findings

This chapter includes the information I observed and discovered while in Ghana. It analyzes the current context within which private newspapers and private radio operate, specifically in Accra and Cape Coast, and report on findings relating to *The Daily Graphic* (state-owned), *The Daily Guide* (independent), GBC Radio 1 (state-owned) and Yes FM (independent). This chapter outlines the findings I made through direct observation of media outlets and via interviews with media personnel, government employees and media academics.

This chapter answers the questions I asked in the previous chapter:

Is this news outlet affiliated with the government (National Democratic Congress) or independent of government?

Where is this organization based and how far does its presence extend – to just the local area or throughout the country?

How many staff members work for this organization, and are they paid?

What are the resources (technology, equipment, etc.) available within this organization?

How do the resources affect the presence of that outlet in Ghana?

Finally, what is the funding model for this organization (is it funded by the government, by corporations, by private individuals, advertisements, etc.)?

The answers to these questions attempt to contribute a greater understanding of private media in Ghana.

4.1 Newspapers in Contemporary Ghana

Newspapers in Ghana are found mainly in urban centers or the central markets of townships. In Accra, newspapers flourish in the central markets, with most people being able to locate a newsstand on every street corner. Likewise, despite their lesser numbers in Cape Coast,

newspaper stands can be found in the center of town, where most commerce and trade is conducted. However, unlike Accra, where many weekly and tabloid newspapers are produced, the news stands in Cape Coast only sell the major daily newspapers, as they are the only ones circulated outside of Accra. Many private newspapers are produced in Accra because the city has more resources, such as technology (internet cafes and print centers) and infrastructure (developed roadways). However, most of these newspapers are unable to circulate outside the city due to poor sales and finances. As a result of expenses for printing and staff salaries, only the larger readership of the capital can support private papers (Hasty, 2005).

An additional problem for private newspapers, and even state-owned newspapers, is a smaller rural audience. Newspapers are read largely by the educated class, who read and speak English. “Newspapers are read by the majority of Ghanaians who can read and write,” said Ministry of Information Deputy Director Xola Senaya, when I spoke with him at his office in Accra. Rural populations in Ghana face greater problems in education, and fewer people speak English outside of the major cities, such as Accra, Kumasi, and Takoradi-Sekondi. “More people read them in the city,” he said.

Many Ghanaians read the two largest daily newspapers, *The Daily Graphic* and *The Daily Guide*. These two newspapers have the most printed content, averaging between fifteen and thirty pages, whereas smaller weekly newspapers average five to seven pages.

Most newspapers are read widely at their newsstands, where people come to stand and read the daily headlines. “Many people read newspapers at stands without buying them,” said Kojo Djan, a resident of Accra who lived next door to me for a month and spoke with me on numerous occasions on his way to work. An average newspaper costs \$0.40 to \$0.70 USD. With a per capita income at \$1,500 USD, and 28 percent of the population falling below the

poverty line, many Ghanaians cannot afford to purchase newspapers daily (CIA, 2009). I observed mainly males and businessmen gathering around these newsstands. Therefore, the gathering of locals at newsstands to read the daily headlines is a tradition common in both Accra and Cape Coast. Few newspapers are bought as a result of this practice and the practice of sharing bought newspapers amongst family and friends.

It is also important to note a change in newspapers since Ghana's presidential election in December 2008. The government transitioned from a New Patriotic Party (NPP) regime under John Kufuor to the National Democratic Congress (NDC) under John Atta Mills. As a result of a changing administration, several newspapers switched their allegiances to the new ruling NDC party, in order to receive funding from and access to the state.

The Daily Graphic, the leading daily newspaper of the government owned by Graphic Communications Group Limited, transitioned from supporting the NPP to the NDC overnight, and other newspapers underwent a similar metamorphosis. Several smaller, weekly independent newspapers had formerly supported the NDC switched their political allegiances to the new administration. Private journalists are excluded from nearly all state assignments (Hasty, 2007). Therefore, shifts in allegiances to the NDC could allow these smaller newspapers, such as *The Insight*, to gain greater access to government affairs in hopes of staying afloat. Senaya said, "Some papers kept their political allegiances through the election. Some papers switched to the NPP to get money." However, these transitions also negate the qualification of such newspapers as independent, and instead, they can become arms of the government.

4.1.1 State-Owned Newspapers

The Daily Graphic is Ghana's leading daily newspaper, having the largest circulation in Ghana, and it is produced in Accra. Since independence, the newspaper has been controlled by

the central government. Currently, it remains an arm of the NDC, the ruling party in Ghana.

The Daily Graphic is fully funded by the current Mills administration via its printing corporation, Graphic Communications Group Limited. In addition to government funding, the corporation also solicits advertisements for inclusion in the newspaper from major Ghanaian corporations, such as Tigo and Zain, two leading cellular phone companies.

The Daily Graphic features local, national and international news, and on average, it extends to thirty pages of print per day. All its content is printed in English, Ghana's official language. The newspaper contains content from all regions in Ghana, using correspondents in other urban areas, such as Kumasi, Takoradi, Tamale and Cape Coast, to report on national events outside the capital city.

The Daily Graphic also features content on sports and culture. Its international news is provided and copied mostly from BBC, Al Jazeera and AP newswires. Due to its reliance on official financial backing, most of the content of the newspaper focuses on government activities, such as development projects, presidential trips and educational programs. "We keep people informed of activities happening in Ghana," said Precious Koranteng-Agyei, one of *The Daily Graphic's* news reporters, who was researching an article about tuberculosis medication when I spoke with her. Xola Senaya of the Ministry of Information said *The Daily Graphic* was the best and most legitimate newspaper available because it puts forth development information, and "it shows how the government addresses the people's rights." The newspaper's editorial content also does not shy away from criticizing the opposing NPP and its leaders. "We try our best to expose corruption and wrongdoings in politics. . . There is always fighting between the NPP and NDC, and we write about when those things happen," said Koranteng-Agyei.

The newspaper has a staff of more than sixty people, and it has resources that many

independent newspapers lack: computers, internet, cameras, and its own printing press (courtesy of the state-owned Graphic Communications Limited). “The *Graphic* has the resources that many other papers don’t have,” said Senaya.

The Daily Graphic is aided greatly by its connection to the ruling NDC party. Its reporters and editors are invited to every government event and forum, unlike smaller and independent newspapers. I had the opportunity to follow independent reporters from *The National Trust* to a potential interview at the Ministry of Energy. The Public Relations Officer for the Ministry specifically indicated that only the major newspapers, such as *The Daily Graphic*, would be invited to its press release that evening. “We don’t always get to go to the major functions,” said Kwame Penni, *The National Trust’s* managing editor, who spoke to me at *The National Trust’s* printing shop in Accra. Staff reporters for *The Daily Graphic* are granted access to government functions and officials that many other newspapers do not have.

The Daily Graphic has a large national reach, circulating throughout Ghana. The newspaper extends to the Western, Central, Ashanti, Volta and Eastern regions. It is widely available in Accra, being sold at every newsstand. *The Daily Graphic* can also be found at the newsstands in Cape Coast. “Everyone has heard of the *Graphic* . . . People who can’t read still know what it is,” said George Ayoola Ladipo, a resident of Cape Coast, when speaking with me at a rugby match in Abura, a town next to Cape Coast.

4.1.2 Independent Newspapers

The Daily Guide is Ghana’s second leading daily newspaper, having a smaller circulation than *The Daily Graphic*, with which it competes in sales year after year (AMDI, 2006). It is Ghana’s leading independent newspaper, with a circulation over 30,000, publishing its entire content in English.

The Daily Guide is often affiliated with the largest minority party, the NPP, and it has been throughout its existence. Despite NPP rule from 2000-2008, the newspaper claims it has always been 100 percent independent. “We have always produced independent stories,” said one of the newspaper’s editors, George Owusu, who spoke with me when on assignment at a football match in Accra’s stadium. This may be a result of its ownership coming from former parliamentarian, Freddie Blay, who is a prominent spokesperson for the CPP (Convention People’s Party), the second largest minority party in Ghana.

However, Kate West, who worked as a reporter for *The Daily Guide* from October 2008 to April 2009 and has since returned to her home country of Australia, said that after the 2008 election and the transition of power, the newspaper lost pages of print and color. This may indicate there was some financial compensation from Kufuor’s NPP administration while he was in power. West said, “The *Guide* outsold the *Graphic* as recent as 2008 but has gone down since.” This may indicate a large shift in readership in favor of *The Daily Graphic* since the 2008 election. This would be consistent with the idea that the majority of Ghanaians favored Mills’ NDC party, thus, electing him president in 2008, subsequently resulting in that majority favoring the NDC newspaper.

Since its inception in 2002, *The Daily Guide* has been owned by a private wealthy family, the Blays, and their publishing company, Western Publications Ghana Limited. The company finances the newspaper through advertising, which takes up full page spreads. “The advertising usually occupies the back page and sometimes overtakes the sports section,” said West. Many of its advertisements are placed by companies located in Accra, and these advertisements target the newspaper’s many readers and subscribers, the middle and upper class social groups. For instance, the back page advertisement for March 25, 2009 featured electronic items on sale from

Skyy Digital. There are also opportunities for companies to advertise on the newspaper's website.

The Daily Guide features local, national and international stories, using BBC, Al Jazeera and AP newswires for its international content. It is known widely as the major competitor to *The Daily Graphic*. Its content opposes much of what is printed in *The Daily Graphic*, often criticizing the Mills administration and its activities. "The *Guide* staff certainly doesn't admire the *Graphic*. . . The *Guide* likes to oppose all of the *Graphic's* favorable articles on government. It is fierce competition," said West. For instance, an article published in *The Daily Graphic* on a Mills' program would be criticized the next day on *The Daily Guide's* front page.

It has a staff of more than fifty personnel (at one point, a reporter mentioned that the full staff extended closer to eighty), and it has correspondents in other urban areas, such as Takoradi-Sekondi, Kumasi and Tamale. There are editors for the separate sections of the newspaper, such as sports and city news. "We have editors for our various sections, but most usually help edit and proofread the entire paper," said Owusu. The newspaper also has the most up-to-date resources for a newspaper, including proper internet, computers and technical support staff.

Unlike many other private newspapers, such as *The National Trust*, which cannot pay all of its staff, *The Daily Guide* is able to pay most of its employees approximately \$300 USD per month. "It's a fairly decent wage for Ghana," said Owusu. Its staff has all had some form of formal journalism training, some even having trained in Germany. West said, "They used to win awards but haven't gotten anything in awhile." Owusu said they are trying to make the newspaper "as similar to a Western newspaper as possible."

Like *The Daily Graphic*, *The Daily Guide* extends beyond the Accra metropolitan area to the southern and centrally-located regions of Ghana: Western, Central, Ashanti, Eastern and

Volta regions. *The Daily Guide* is sold at newsstands in Cape Coast, and both newspapers are the most widely read newspapers there.

The Daily Guide prides itself on freedom of speech. “That is very rare in Africa,” said West. However, the newspaper has also been caught up in scandals of sensationalism and accused of being tabloid-like at times in order to increase sales. In September 2009, a scandal erupted over *The Daily Guide*’s decision to print sexually explicit pictures of children, leading to its condemnation by many journalists and news associations (Gadugah, 2009). After leaving *The Daily Guide*, West said, “I don’t think some of the staff understands that democracy is about protecting people, not putting them out for sale on the front page. . . Many journalists in Ghana, especially for independent papers, feel that pornography and sensationalism are on the only way to sell papers.” Sensationalism remains an area of contention for Ghana’s newspapers, especially with those that oppose the government. Many people accuse these newspapers of failing to check their facts and claim they fabricate stories.

4.1.3 Additional Newspaper Findings

I observed many Ghanaians preferring either to read *The Daily Graphic* or *The Daily Guide* but not both. Fynn Adjei, a resident of Accra who used to work for non-governmental organizations, spoke with me on several occasions at restaurants through a mutual friend. He said, “I usually read the *Guide* first. It’s my preference.” Yet, he also said he has friends who read *The Daily Graphic*. “Ghanaians read both newspapers, but they like one over the other. This is because of their political views,” Adjei said. A neighbor of mine, Alice Addo, who lives in Accra and spoke with me on a daily basis, said, “Ghanaians like the *Guide* or the *Graphic* because they feel that other papers are scandal papers. They feel that smaller papers are less truthful.”

I observed that other private media struggle, with lack of resources, lack of access and a lack of credibility, via sensational and sometimes fabricated stories. *The National Trust* independent newspaper in Accra, while having a very accommodating and friendly staff, was lacking in funds and resources. This newspaper is produced and run by a private, wealthy individual, Theo Alfreds, and his longtime friend, Kwame Penni, who was a former reporter for *The Daily Graphic*. The newspaper was produced from the Alfreds' own home office, which didn't have a computer. Every Wednesday, the newspaper staff, consisting of five reporters, only two of whom received any job compensation, met at a small printing shop to type their articles. The shop's staff would then produce that week's copies for the reporters. After spending close to five weeks living in Accra, I only noticed four newsstands in the center markets that sold this small newspaper. I never observed any Ghanaians buying *The National Trust*, indicating to me that this newspaper had little to no readership.

Additionally, *the National Trust's* staff admitted to writing stories and attacking the NDC in order to increase its sales. Penni said that this was no different than what *The Daily Graphic* does. "Some journalists are paid by the government to write positive stories," he said. *The National Trust* is very emblematic of a group of struggling weekly newspapers in Accra who exaggerate political events with the hope it will increase sales. *The Daily Guide*, despite being criticized recently, has still remained a leading newspaper in Ghana, the model for other independent newspapers to follow. "We wish to be as big as the *Guide*," said Penni.

When meeting Dr. Sarah Akrofi-Quarcoo at the University of Ghana at Legon's School of Communication Studies, she expressed her belief that independent media in Ghana, which she referenced as "commercial media," is the wave of the future, acknowledging a large number of growing private media. This growth may be a result of the liberalization of Ghana's legislation

since the 1992 constitution and the neo-liberal agenda of the Kufuor regime, from 2000 to 2008. Dr. Akrofi-Quarcoo felt there was little chance Ghana would revert back to a non-liberal media system. “Privatization has come to stay as democracy has,” she said. Dr. Akrofi-Quarcoo also said the 2008 presidential election “helped to increase confidence in media because of the diversity and multiplicity of political voices that came out.” However she discussed the controversy of independent newspapers as well. “Independent papers present independent views, some of which are half-truths and not quite as objective because of their political biases,” she said.

Dr. Akrofi-Quarcoo also noted that Ghana no longer talks about state-owned newspapers and media, but instead, refers to them as public media. “Ghana talks about a public media and not state-owned. . . State ownership has lost its place,” she said when discussing media terminology. I, however, question such statements as *The Daily Graphic’s* corporate website claims that the state holds 100 percent shares (Daily Graphic, 2009). Dr. Akrofi-Quarcoo also said that public media “has a greater reach than private media. . . Both print and electronic have a nationwide reach,” she said.

It is also important to note statements made by Xola Senaya, a government official, who said that the government shouldn’t have control of all content in state-owned newspapers, and newspapers should be allowed to expose government corruption and scandal. In speaking with Senaya at his office at the Ministry of Information, he said, “The Ministry is here to ensure a free flow of information of government policies and activities. We have our own press conference room for journalists.” He said the government is “developing better record-keeping systems so that more people can get information. . . The Ministry of Information controls the Government of Ghana web portal. It has press information on developmental stories and government

documents.” Senaya said he believes this will keep the current administration as transparent as possible to all media outlets. However, I note how this may be another attempt by the government to put forth its own agenda in media because it is providing the gateway to state affairs.

When I asked Senaya about his thoughts on state-owned newspapers, he said, “I think it’s healthy for a developing country to have government-funded papers with development information for the people. It is the voice to the people of what government policy is.” However, Senaya also spoke of some concern. “They [state newspapers] shouldn’t necessarily control all content. . . They should allow themselves to expose government corruption. Media should be a watchdog and a priority of the people,” he said.

Senaya also spoke about the role of other communications bodies. “The National Media Commission insulates private papers from government control and regulate media against libel,” he said. However, Senaya also said the NMC has “resource constraints and service conditions . . . They do not have enough people and resources to protect and check all papers.”

“Media are partners of the government to inform people of activities. We get information from other ministries and give it to the people,” Senaya said. In speaking about private newspapers, he said most are “tabloid papers. . . They cover scandal that state-owned papers can’t, but they can exaggerate or fabricate political events. . . Sensational headlines in private papers can be misleading sometimes.”

Senaya also discussed the practice of leading NPP journalists, people who worked for *The Daily Guide*, *The Independent* and *The Statesman*, meeting with one another to discuss stories in coffee shops during the NPP regime under John Kufuor. “NPP journalists would meet in Laboni to talk about what stories they were writing,” he said. Senaya referenced such

meetings as the “journalists’ mafia,” but did not elaborate on similar trends taking place during the NDC reign. He said, “There is always greater opposition to state policy from NPP-allied papers.” Such meetings, regardless of the attendees’ political party, greatly compromise the integrity of independent newspapers in Ghana.

One final finding of importance is Senaya’s fear of polarization of media. “Half favor government, half don’t. . . Most papers are biased and not objective. This is not healthy. . . Journalists are trained to be objective, but now they take political sides. It’s against their ethics,” he said. I observed such a trend taking place between the NDC-allied newspapers and the NPP-allied newspapers, whose content featured back-and-forth fighting on government activities.

4.2 Radio in Contemporary Ghana

Unlike newspapers, radio has the ability to circulate throughout the entire country. I observed that radio is the more preferred method of obtaining news in Ghana. It is more widely available to Ghanaians, with most people being able to listen to radio anywhere they travel: in “tro-tro’s” (Ghana’s public transport vans), in taxi’s, on buses, in stores, and in central markets. Radio can also broadcast in the local languages as well as English, something newspapers do not do. This allows all Ghanaians, whether educated or not, to have access to this medium. This is especially true for the Cape Coast population, which has a lower literacy rate and fewer people who speak English, a result of the smaller number of secondary schools.

Ghana has more than eighty FM radio stations and three shortwave radio stations (CIA, 2009). There are close to thirty radio stations in Accra alone, all of which are FM except for GBC 1 and GBC 2.

4.2.1 State-Owned Radio

Ghana’s largest, most-widely transmitted radio station is Ghana Broadcasting

Corporation's two shortwave channels. GBC 1, also known as Ghana Radio 1, is the leading station, and it is produced in Accra. Since its inception, GBC has been under the control of the ruling government in Ghana. However, in recent years, GBC 2, the GBC's English-only broadcast channel, has begun to commercialize, offering large advertisement placements during its entertainment programs. GBC 1 is still given funding by the current government, but does include some local advertising announcements from businesses in Accra.

GBC 1 broadcasts nationally, via shortwave radio, and features programs broadcast in multiple local languages, including Akan, Dagbani, Ewe, Ga, Hausa and Nzema. GBC 1's programs include local, national and international news, as well as programs on entertainment, music, sports, culture (which includes religious talk), education and national development. GBC 1 obtains some of its national and most of its international news from international newswires and the major daily newspapers, such as *The Daily Graphic*. Programs transmitted in English are its national and international news-oriented segments, while local news, sports, culture, education and development stories tend to be broadcast in the local language. GBC 1's broadcast of development programs in the local vernacular reinforces my belief that the government uses GBC as an outlet to promote its activities and programs to the masses in a language that they understand. I also observed these news programs presenting personal discussion segments of the news by the broadcasters. Many of these segments often led to debates and personal commentary by the reporters.

GBC's staff mentioned to me that its headquarters in Accra had a large staff, of more than forty personnel, and the most up-to-date radio and television equipment. When I asked the one female reporter, Adjua Boateng, who was working there as an internship, about GBC's equipment, she said, "We use computers. We have sound boards. We have our own technical

staff.” However, I observed its reporters using their own cell phones as voice recorders for their interviews.

It must also be noted that aside from GBC 1 and GBC 2, Ghana Broadcasting Corporation has affiliate radio stations throughout Ghana. For instance, in Cape Coast, GBC’s local station is Radio Central, an FM station, in addition to the already existent GBC 1.

Through interactions with many of the local people, including my own host family, it was observed that GBC 1 was dominant in broadcasting. “I think many people trust GBC because they feel it has the best information,” said Kojo Djan. It could be heard in every area of Accra, from the ministry buildings to the industrial area of the city, from the local marketplaces to the radio sets in taxi cabs. Every person I interviewed, in both Accra and Cape Coast, from the average “tro-tro” driver to the local tailor, knew of GBC 1. Grant Appiah, one of my neighbors in Cape Coast, said, “Most people have heard of GBC, but I’m not sure how many people listen to it.” It is interesting to note that many of the local townspeople in Cape Coast preferred the town’s independent radio station, Yes FM, as detailed in the following section.

4.2.2 Independent Radio

Yes FM is Cape Coast’s leading independent radio station, and judging from interviews with many of the local people, seemed to me to be the leading radio station. Yes FM was turned on in most taxi cab rides I took, as well as booming in the center marketplaces on local townspeople’s radio sets. Many of the townspeople also told me that Yes FM played the best music. “People like to listen to Yes FM every day. . . It is always playing where I go,” said Molly Yankey, a resident of Cape Coast, who I spoke with at her home in the town’s center.

Yes FM is known to locals as the “Voice of the Coast” and commonly refers to itself as a community station, hosting programs that apply to the local Cape Coast population. “We host

programs that are not news, but we feel Cape Coast might like them. . . This year, we are having a Mother's Day special program on air," said Nana Ama Mensah, Yes FM's local news reporter, who spoke with me in studio and on assignment in town. However, Yes FM is not a community radio station for it is not owned by the people of Cape Coast, but is instead owned by a separate private company, Yesterday's Pal Company Limited. Community radio stations are owned by the community or run by non-profit organizations that reflect the interests of a specific community or reflect a high degree of participation by that community (AMDI, 2006). I believe that Yes FM refers to itself as community radio because of its focus on the people of Cape Coast in its local news and sports segments. However, contrary to Mensah's statements, it cannot be considered a community station as it is not run by the community. Community radio is also broadcast in the local language (AMDI, 2006). Yes FM, like GBC 1, broadcasts in both English and the local language, Fante, which reaches both the educated and uneducated population in Cape Coast and the surrounding Central Region.

Yes FM has been independent since its creation in 2004, and says it has no affiliation to either of the major political parties. "Most people know us for entertainment, not our political views," said Mensah. The station is currently funded through private investors in Cape Coast, including its general manager and advertisements, and via announcements that are inserted in between songs during music segments. "Our marketing staff types up promotions to be read on air during music play," said Mensah. Most of these announcements come from local businesses in Cape Coast, such as Barclay's Bank and the Melcom grocery store, and they typically have a 30 to 45-second slot on air.

Yes FM prides itself on providing entertainment and sports news to Cape Coast. The station also features national and international news briefs, which are transmitted in English three

times throughout the day: in the morning, mid-day and evening. Its sports program, which is broadcast in the local language, Fante, occurs daily around 4 p.m.

In addition, there is a daily talk segment each day around 10 a.m. This discussion panel consists of the general manager and two people from the local community who discuss the latest local or national news, with topics ranging from politics to religion. This segment is broadcast in Fante and regularly features local ministers.

Yes FM has a staff of 27 people, with a general manager and a marketing staff, which deals with the local advertising and financial investments. It has up-to-date radio resources, including computers, internet, televisions, and a proper radio board. The two female reporters, one of whom is Mensah, who read the national and international news briefs daily, both attended professional journalism school at Ghana's Institute of Journalism. The other reporters, all male, attended some form of higher education as well.

Yes FM focuses heavily on news, sports and entertainment, often using other media outlets as sources for its news segments. Like GBC, most of the national and international briefs are taken and read on air from the leading headlines of the major dailies, *The Daily Graphic* and *The Daily Guide*. "When radio stations read headlines, it may help certain newspapers sell," said Xola Senaya. However, Yes FM read from both state-owned and independent newspapers.

Yes FM has no correspondents outside of Cape Coast, so it relies on these newspapers, as well as the Ghana News Agency newswire, to provide the latest national and international news. "GNA is our access to stories outside of the Central Region," said Mensah. Yes FM's news segments feature few local stories, with most relating to a local sporting event. Unlike *The Daily Guide* and other private newspapers, Yes FM features government development stories on a regular basis, and has indicated that Ghanaians, regardless of their political parties, all care about

national unity. “There is still a huge emphasis on Ghana and its people. . . We focus on development because it’s what is important to the people,” said Daniel Odoum, one of Yes FM’s sports reporters.

Unlike GBC 1, Yes FM only reaches Cape Coast and the surrounding Central Region, a result of its FM license and frequency. However, as noted earlier, its localized production may also contribute to its success, as many Cape Coast locals said they preferred Yes FM because it is the “Voice of the Coast.” Prince Bondzie, a resident of Cape Coast who spoke with me on more than one occasion in my local neighborhood, said, “Yes FM is highly recognized in Cape Coast. Most people love listening to it.” A friend of mine, George Entuah, agreed. He said, “Yes FM is on top here. My family and friends all listen to it.” This may also be a result of its daily music programs, which include a jazz hour, local Ghanaian music, and even some international hip hop songs that are well-known. Bondzie also said, “Yes FM has a good variety of music. It is probably very similar to music in the U.S. They play hip-hop, rap, and reggae.”

4.2.3 Additional Radio Findings

Dr. Akrofi-Quarcoo said, “Radio will probably be most successful in the coming years. . . People in cities use more different types of media because media are urban based, but radio can reach everywhere.” Xola Senaya echoed similar sentiments. He said, “Radio is more important for rural communities because it is a community voice. Radio is more available than paper circulation.”

I observed private radio to have a solid base in rural regions, such as Cape Coast, as well as in Accra. “Less people can read English here. . . Radio is how people get their news,” said George Entuah.

I observed the private Vibe FM in Accra to have similar program structure to Yes FM.

Vibe FM reached only the local population in Accra, and featured local and international news in English, as well as religious, educational, sports and music programs in the local language, Twi. It, too, had female reporters and a full-time paid staff, and the station had updated equipment along with several computers for research and news gathering. Such findings indicate to me that private radio may be more successful than private newspapers, which struggled with adequate resources. It also might indicate that private radio stations cannot exist without being successful because then they won't be able to maintain the equipment necessary to run a station.

4.3 Summary of Findings

As a result of their similar presence in Ghana, *The Daily Graphic* and *The Daily Guide*, have comparable content with one another: local Accra news, national news, international news taken from newswires, development news, sports and culture (religion).

State-owned newspapers have greater benefits in Ghana, having the support and financial backing of the ruling administration. *The Daily Graphic*, as the country's leading newspaper in sales, represents the strong reach of state media in Ghana, extending to all the southern and centrally-located regions. State-owned newspapers, such as *The Daily Graphic*, have the advantage of receiving funds that private newspapers cannot have: funds from the ruling government. Likewise, *The Daily Graphic* is also able to sell advertisements, increasing its profit levels, which provide for the most up-to-date technology and printing resources. With the most colorful print and access to government information, it's no wonder *The Daily Graphic* outsells Ghana's private newspapers.

Despite *The Daily Graphic* having the benefit and backing of the ruling administration, *The Daily Guide* has produced a large and successful independent newspaper via strong advertising and strong resources. Some private newspapers, such as *The Daily Guide*, which

reaches into the same southern and central regions as *The Daily Graphic*, have grown to be among the most successful newspapers in the country. *The Daily Guide* is the second highest-selling newspaper in Ghana behind *The Daily Graphic*. *The Daily Guide*, like *The Daily Graphic*, circulates in Accra and in rural regions throughout the country, such as Cape Coast, and is the country's second-leading newspaper.

Yet, it must be mentioned that not all private newspapers have that same presence in Ghana. In fact, that is why there are a larger number of private newspapers sold in Accra than in rural regions like Cape Coast. Many private newspapers, such as *The National Trust*, only have the resources to print and circulate locally, and sometimes can only print once a week. Newsstands in Cape Coast only sold the major, independent daily newspapers, such as *The Daily Guide*, and there were no locally produced independent newspapers.

Many private newspapers have struggled to find the necessary resources to stay afloat because they do not have the support of and access to the government's resources. Regardless of Xola Senaya's statements that President Mills' government is hoping to become more transparent, independent newspapers still lack access to government affairs. *The National Trust* was turned away from entering and reporting on a forum for the Ministry of Energy. *The Daily Guide* has also lost some of its printing, which reduced the newspaper's size and color print, and therefore, has lost possible content. This created room for the state-owned *Daily Graphic* to publish more content and feature more state-friendly stories. Likewise, several private newspapers are accused of falsifying information in order to make money and sell, creating a perception among Ghanaians that independent newspapers are not credible sources.

The audiences for both sets of newspapers mirror one another. Newspapers are read by the educated citizens. Ghana's literacy rate is 57.9 percent (CIA, 2009). Accra, as the major

metropolitan area, has a higher level of literacy than Ghana's rural regions. The city is home to more schools and universities than anywhere else in Ghana. Having a higher literate population, there are more people who read newspapers in the city than in rural areas, such as Cape Coast. Even so, the readers of newspapers in Cape Coast are still those who can read English. As *The Daily Graphic* is the leading newspaper, with a higher circulation, it is safe to say that more people, in both regions, read this newspaper over *The Daily Guide*, which has a smaller circulation figure.

The content for state-owned radio, GBC 1, is comparable to private radio, Yes FM. Both channels include programs in English and the local language. They also both include news programs, cultural programs, sports programs and entertainment. Even though Yes FM and other private stations have limited access to government resources, Yes FM is not fully restricted. As mentioned earlier, both stations use the daily newspapers, both state-owned and private, to read the national and international headlines of the day. Unlike newspapers, which use their own staff and reporters to find and report stories, radio stations, including the state-owned GBC, rely on the major daily newspapers to find their national and international stories for the day. This is most certainly the case for the private stations, such as Yes FM, which gathers most of its national and international news from already published newspapers. Yes FM must do so as with its smaller staff and no correspondents outside of the Central Region.

GBC 1 and Yes FM have different methods of funding. GBC 1 is funded by the ruling government, repeating the state's control of radio as it has of newspapers (*The Daily Graphic*). Yes FM, meanwhile, is funded by private investors and local business advertisements. Even though Cape Coast has business and commerce, it is still a smaller venue for commercial activities than Accra. The station must rely on private investments for its resources, a struggle

that GBC 1 doesn't have to face.

GBC 1 has a much greater reach in Ghana than Yes FM. GBC 1, as a shortwave radio station, has the ability to reach vast distances, including Ghana's northern regions, distances that FM stations, such as Yes FM cannot reach. GBC 1 is broadcast throughout Ghana, providing all Ghanaians, whether living in urban or rural areas, the opportunity to listen. Yes FM, on the other hand, is only broadcast in the Central Region and mainly to the population of Cape Coast.

The audiences and demographics for both GBC 1 and Yes FM are similar. People who cannot afford radio sets or do not share radio sets with neighbors and friends are restricted and cannot listen to either station. Therefore, they may not be among either audience. GBC 1 and Yes FM, therefore, provide a platform for most Ghanaians to listen, at least those with access to a radio set. Yet, as mentioned earlier, Yes FM is restricted to a smaller audience, that of Ghana's Central Region.

Chapter 5: Analysis and Conclusion

This final chapter analyzes information about the development of private newspapers and radio in Ghana and provides a basis for future study and research.

5.1 Analysis of Newspapers

The liberalization of the media since the 1990's has made operations and development for newspapers, especially independent ones, easier because there are no longer repressive laws or administrations. *The Daily Guide*, thanks to adequate resources, has found success in mainstream Ghanaian media. Yet, strong independent newspapers such as these still trail the success of the government's leading newspaper, *The Daily Graphic* because it has support and financial resources from the government. While Ghana has had success with some independent newspapers, government-owned news still dominates.

Smaller, independent newspapers are further hindered by their perception amongst Ghanaians. Private newspapers and especially private weeklies, such as *The National Trust*, have given a bad reputation to private media because they don't have the necessary finances and resources to put forth legitimate and well-researched articles. Despite *The Daily Guide's* critiques of the Mills' government and its mainstream success, many private newspapers are still regarded by many Ghanaians as tabloids. This may eventually create a perception in Ghana that *The Daily Guide* is the only legitimate independent news source, further enhancing *The Daily Graphic's* control.

Newspapers also fail to reach a large portion of Ghana's population. With a literacy rate at 57.9 percent, a large number of Ghanaians are unable to read newspapers in the English language (CIA, 2009). This creates a divide between Ghanaians and newspapers as a news medium. However, private newspapers are hurt especially worse since they do not have the

secure financing that state-owned newspapers do.

5.2 Analysis of Radio

I conclude that radio continues to be the most successful news medium in Ghana. Radio has the ability to reach and connect with all Ghanaians, as long as they have access to a radio set. Radio can reach all educated and uneducated people in Ghana because the stations broadcast in both English and the local languages. Radio provides news to people who would otherwise not receive it through traditional print media.

Instead of reaching a potential audience of 22 million like GBC 1, private, local radio stations, such as Yes FM, only have the potential to reach thousands of people. State-owned radio stations, such as GBC 1, have the ability to broadcast state-friendly stories to the whole country, while independent stations can only present their viewpoints to a small population, like Cape Coast. Such private stations, which are all FM, cannot compete with the shortwave reach of the government-owned GBC. This certainly inhibits the competition between state-owned and private radio because private radio stations are restricted to smaller audiences.

For this reason, such radio is subject to a hierarchy of media for its national and international news segments. Radio, both state-owned and private, rely on the major daily newspapers for these programs. The “borrowing” of newspaper content for these programs presents several problems for private media. If all media are using and presenting similar stories, the public is left without a variety of national and international news and information, which may lead to important issues being overlooked by the public. This is especially true for independent outlets, which should be questioning *The Daily Graphic’s* content, not reproducing it.

However, the use of newspapers by private radio stations, especially in rural regions, is an attempt to fill the void left by a lack of national access. Radio stations, such as Yes FM, do

not have the national correspondents or access to Accra's administrative affairs to produce their own content. Yet, these stations do produce and report on their own local content, which affects their audience, the Cape Coast population, much more than perhaps a story in Accra.

Yes FM has found success competing with GBC 1 and the Cape Coast GBC affiliate Radio Central. I conclude that private radio can be produced and flourish in rural areas, such as Cape Coast, where few private newspapers can. Although GBC 1 has the backing of the state and can extend throughout Ghana, it is not overpowering Yes FM in Cape Coast. In fact, it can be concluded that Yes FM is more successful in Cape Coast, and private radio stations are more successful in their localized regions because they focus more on the local community. Unlike private newspapers, which are found in limited quantities in rural regions, private radio can compete with state-owned radio on a local level.

5.3 Future of Ghana's Media

While this study did not focus on media aside from newspapers and radio, there remains much room for independent media to grow in Ghana. One important medium that may play into private media's success is the internet. Ghana has more than 300,000 internet users in country (CIA, 2009). As the internet grows in Ghana, it may become another important news medium for Ghanaians to express their independent views and publish them to a larger audience. The internet may also present future problems for newspapers because it can produce news at a faster rate than print media.

5.4 Recommendations

There have been various limitations to this study. Only newspapers and radio were observed, leaving out many other media outlets, which include television, internet, magazines and more. Future research could be done to analyze more private media in Ghana, including

more newspapers and more radio stations as well as additional media.

Another possible route for future research could be the connection between private media and a functioning democracy. I did not have the chance to fully explore the link between private media and the democratic process in Ghana. It would be interesting for future research to be conducted, so that possible connections may be drawn between Ghana's private media success and its democratic electoral success.

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