

ELECTIONS COMMUNICATION GUIDE

Edited by Dr. Gilbert Tietaah



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By

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SECTION A

1.1 Introduction

The public communication activities that are carried out by individuals and groups for partisan political purposes, particularly during election seasons, are referred to as political campaigns; or electoral campaigns. In a multi-party political system of governance, such communication efforts are intended or expected to:

- 1) Afford candidates and parties the opportunity to present to, and persuade an electorate or population, about the superior credentials or manifesto propositions of the candidate and party; and
- 2) Enable the electorate or population to decide who should govern or represent them, based on a free, fair and informed consideration of competing claims and promises.

Central to this process is the instrumentality of information and communication as the so-called oxygen of democracy – and the consequential role of the media in bringing candidates and citizens into contact and conversation about their development needs and priorities. This role has become even more pertinent today – in an era that has been referred to as the information age; in which the media (new and traditional) have become a pervasive and indispensable part of all human interaction and action.

What we can distil from this process is that there are three distinct groups of actors or factors in the elections communication equation:

- (1) parties/candidates;
- (2) public/citizens;
- (3) journalists/media

During election campaign periods, rival political parties and candidates need and seek different forums and public platforms on which to draw attention to themselves, and to sell their messages to the electorate. In this endeavour, the media become a uniquely important ally. Aware of the agenda setting capability and power of the media to give distinctive visibility and influence public opinion, political power seeking parties and candidates need and use the media to explain to the electorate why they are better than their rivals, and what they would do to resolve their kenkey and fish concerns.

Similarly, since a bridge is not crossed in only one direction, the media become the means by which individual citizens and organised groups are able to express their expectations and exact redeemable promises from those who seek their mandate. The electorate also rely on the media for the information they need to form or adjust their opinions, and make choices among the contending candidates and parties.

The media, as an arbiter between candidates and the electorate, enable discussion and debate on the social and economic development options and priorities; such as education, health, employment, and so on. By giving or enabling candidates and citizens access to each other, the media play the uniquely important role of influencing the quality of public discourse, and promoting civic awareness and political participation.

This interlocking relation among candidates, citizens and the media is what promotes the values and expression of freedom and choice, and enables and sustains the culture of democracy, peace and development. .

The reality, however, is that elections in Ghana – and much of the developing countries of Africa for that matter – are not just about the competition of ideas in the so-called marketplace of information and opinion. They are also, inherently and importantly, about the appropriation and allocation of resources. In the developing country context, this collateral consequence of controlling the disbursement of public resources has made electoral contests particularly feisty; even sometimes flagrantly abusive; and contrary to the ethos of decorum that are expected to characterise traditional social and political discourse in Ghana and Africa.

With increasing certitude, successive elections in Ghana have been characterised by the resort to innuendo and even blatant insults – generally intended to provoke antipathy and even sheer hate – towards the political opponent. And there is enough of it to apportion among all the political party functionaries, and their followers and 'serial callers' – but especially between those of the two leading political parties in Ghana: the NPP and NDC.

The Ghanaian media, the metaphorical bridge between these parties and the public, have been widely praised for their role in the relative success of elections under the current (1992) constitution. There are however important fault lines that must be addressed in order to pre-empt the possibility of their exploitation for negative political ends. As the momentum of the campaign process gathers steam, the media have become easy pawns, and even sometimes

witting allies, for the amplification and perpetration of insults and divisive utterances. The examples of how the media in Kenya (in 2007/2008) and Cote d'Ivoire (in 2009/2010) were implicated in the post-election conflicts that afflicted those countries suggest that the role of the media in electoral contests can sometimes be negative. While Ghana has successfully gone through six successive electoral contests since 1992, each ensuing elections (1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012) have been characterised by increasing incidences of the use of hate speech, insults, ethnic/sectarian incitement and other forms of divisive language. The media (radio, television, newspapers and internet) have been the main and most influential platform for the trading of such indecorous expressions and personal attacks.

The Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA) 2012 elections campaign language monitoring project reported a total of 509 indecent expressions recorded on 2,850 programmes from 31 radio stations across Ghana. Items coded as with insulting/offensive comments dominated the range of content categories tallied. The 2012 campaign monitoring project was an intervention that demonstrably helped reduce the incidence of insults in and by the media. The lessons of that experience inspired a renewed commitment by the MFWA to monitor and name and shame the media institutions and party functionaries who might be inclined to peddle insult and incendiary speech during the 2016 elections campaigns. More importantly, the MFWA hopes to contribute towards a culture of civil political discourse and issues-driven elections campaigns.

1.2 Purpose of the Guide

This document provides a brief guide on the principles of the practice of political campaign communication; based, essentially, on experiences from the MFWA monitoring of campaign language on radio. This document, therefore, has two key goals.

First, it serves the interest of disclosure. It brings transparency to the range and nature of expressions that are considered and coded as indecent under the MFWA campaign language monitoring project. Actors within the elections communication chain (parties/activists, media/journalists, public/electorate) thus get to know precisely what is being judged and how a verdict is reached.

Secondly, it serves the interest of advocacy. It offers a way to sustain the campaign for a deliberative, issues-driven, political communication culture in Ghana – a campaign which was initiated by the MFWA in January 2012 under the theme “Promoting issues-based and decent language-campaigning for a peaceful, free and fair elections in Ghana in 2012”. It provides a brief guide on the need for, and ways of, avoiding insults and other indecent expressions in elections-related political communication – and to repudiate those who might indulge in such conduct.

1.3 Actors and Roles in the Political Communication Process

The 2012 monitoring project produced a publication entitled *Watching the Watchdog: Spotlighting indecent election campaign language on radio*. As suggested by the title, the publication was concerned, primarily, with awareness-surveillance – bringing to

stakeholders' attention, the incidence and perpetrators of indecent language in the political campaign process.

The present publication – the Elections Communication Guide – has a more instrumental-surveillance function – enabling stakeholders to appreciate and employ decent language in the political campaign process. This section briefly addresses, in turns, the interrelated roles of political party communicators, the members of the public, and more importantly, media owners and practitioners in promoting civil political discussions, in prosecuting issues-based campaigns and ultimately, in ensuring the efficacy and sustainability of Ghana's democracy. The two documents are complementary, however – and a more comprehensive appreciation and application of decent political communication is gained by reading both publications.

Political Party Officials and Agents

Political party actors and agents have an inherent interest and obligation to contribute to a culture of decent, issues-driven elections campaigns because:

- (1) There is an implicit constitutional obligation on political parties and candidates to contribute to enlightened public opinion and stimulate political participation and democratic governance through the informed consideration of divergent views and policy alternatives (see, in particular, Article 55 (3), (10), (11), (12), (13) in the 1992 Constitution);
- (2) It serves the interests of parties to preserve and promote the efficacy of the democratic system of governance. Political

theorists suggest that an electoral contest that is waged on the platform of insults and personality attacks undermines trust in political leaders, produces a loss of confidence in democratic institutions and results over time in loss of satisfaction with democracy itself; and

- (3) It is a matter of electoral expediency. The resort to incendiary language, or a generally negative campaign pitch does not only lead to the heightening of political cynicism; it also suppresses voter turnout, and terms of electoral outcome, generally produces a boomerang effect – in that it hurts the electoral fortunes of the subject, rather than the object, of the attack.

It has to be acknowledged, that the use of indecent language has a way of inspiring or motivating some members of the electorate. But these are usually the most passionate members or supporters of the party or candidate. They are not (or ought not to be) the primary focus of a public political campaign effort. That would amount to preaching to the converted; they are already inclined to vote for the party. On the contrary, the primary purpose of the political campaign and communication effort is (or ought to be) to persuade or inspire the so-called “floating voters” and, to a lesser extent, those who have a latent leaning towards the party or candidate. For such members of the electorate, insults and personal attacks have a “dumbing down” effect. They may either decline to vote (especially if they must take the trouble to do so) or even turn towards the more rational, and less insulting, alternative message and candidate.

Bottom-line: It pays more for the party and candidate to prosecute a decent, issues-based campaign.

The Electorate and General Public

Democratic citizenship confers on the electorate and members of the public, the obligation to be well-informed of, and participate fully in, decisions and actions that protect and promote the culture of decent, issues-driven elections campaigns because:

- (1) It is a constitutional right and mandate. The opening words of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana repose sovereignty in the citizens “in whose name and for whose welfare the powers of government are to be exercised...” (Article 1 (1), Article 35 (1)). This implies that the authority and legitimacy to govern is the prerogative of the electorate. It is the duty of citizens to assert and exercise this fundamental right to choose their leaders in a free and peaceful manner;
- (2) It serves the interests of good governance to confer the mandate to govern upon candidates based upon a free and objective determination of their strengths; rather than on antipathy or hatred for the opponent, or on subjective or sectarian considerations. As the popular saying goes, “In a democracy, people get the leaders they deserve.” Good governance benefits citizens by ensuring that those who control the public purse do so efficiently and responsibly; and
- (3) It ensures that citizens are able to participate freely in decision making; and to peacefully pursue and exercise their civic and cultural rights and responsibilities under the law. It also ensures that rational debate and decisions produce and promote policies that benefit citizens economically and socially.

Electing candidates to public office is one of the most important decisions the electorate can make. The consequences of the decision are also far-reaching, in that they directly affect the quality of life and rights of citizens. Citizens and the public have more power to contribute to decent political discourse than they seem to acknowledge or exercise. The notion of the “court of public opinion”, and even the practice of public opinion polling, suggest the capacity of the electorate to contribute to decency in electoral campaigns and political communication generally. In practical terms, they can do this by publicly expressing disfavour, or voting against parties and candidates that indulge in insult and hate in their communication – and even the media that repeat and amplify such expressions. They can also denounce other members of the public – including serial callers – who call in to programmes and use foul language. They can also set the agenda of public discussion by actively participating in discussions – questioning, examining and comparing party manifestos and candidates on their attributes and abilities to address the issues that matter most to them.

Bottom-line: Citizens and the electorate can (and should) define the topics and terms of campaign discourse by bringing the weight of their collective voice to bear on the conduct of candidates and the media.

The Media and Practitioners

The media and media practitioners have a particularly important capacity and responsibility to contribute to a culture of decent, issues-driven elections campaigns because:

- (1) It is a constitutional right and responsibility of the media to help the electorate make their political choices through an informed consideration of divergent views and policy alternatives (see Chapter 12, and in particular, Article 163). Furthermore, the report on the Committee of Experts on the 1992 Constitution expressed the expectation that a free and independent media system would enable the dissemination of “different and opposed views” and ensure that “enlightened public opinion is formed and political consensus mobilised” (Report of the Committee of Experts (Constitution), 1991, p. 85);
- (2) It is a key professional journalist obligation. The GJA Code of Ethics contains several articles of faith by which journalists and the media are expected to represent and reflect the public interest (see, especially, Article 1 (i), (ii), (iii); Article 2; Article 3; Article 6; Article 10; Article 11; Article 13; Article 17). This public interest is best served when the media perform their role as the so-called fourth estate of the realm; and
- (3) It is a matter of operational prudence. The media and journalistic practice thrive best in a regime of democratic freedom and social peace. The political history of Ghana shows that media rights, and freedom of expression generally, are the first and perhaps most victimised casualty whenever the peace and constitutional order is subverted. Besides, political communication theorists suggest the possibility of a media malaise effect, which happens when the blatant trading of insults in the media leads to a lack trust and “dumbing down” of the media.

The media are central to the promotion and preservation of a culture of decent campaign discourse. This is primarily because they exercise a gatekeeping function over the number and nature of mass mediated exchanges between candidates and citizens. They can help determine what party activists say and what the audiences read, hear or see. They have the capacity to frame the terms by which candidates define their characteristics and defend their claims; and the perspectives from which citizens are able to evaluate the policies that rival parties and candidates are proposing or opposing. By setting an issues-driven campaign agenda, therefore, the media can contribute significantly to ensuring that the elections campaign process is decorous by disallowing the use of abusive or incendiary language in the media, and by condemning those who use such language on other platforms.

Bottom-line: the media can (and should) contribute to building a culture of civil campaign communication by providing the platform for enlightened engagement and exchange of ideas.

SECTION B

2.1 Definitions and Illustrations of Indecent Expressions

This chapter presents and explains the range of expressions that are considered and coded as indecent. These expressions were identified and developed into a comprehensive Campaign Language Monitoring Instrument with the support of language experts and consultants from the Department of Communication Studies and the Department of Linguistics of the University of Ghana, and the Bureau of Ghana Languages. The expressions were later validated by a public stakeholders' forum made up of representatives from the National Media commission, Ghana Independent Broadcasters Association, Editors Forum- Ghana, Ghana Journalists Association, National Peace Council, Electoral Commission, National Commission for Civic Education, Political Parties, the Media and Civil Society Organisations.

The team of language experts and consultants defined or considered an indecent expression to include any or all of the following:

- a) Any statement or institution that seeks to attack, impugn or damage the reputation of an individual, political party or ethnic group;
- b) Any statement that could provoke the target of the expression to react in an unpleasant or offensive manner;
- c) Any statement that could offend the sensibilities of members of the public.

The nature and type of language – remarks, expressions, comments used in campaign language on radio – were carefully considered as whether the language used is:

- a) Provocative or conciliatory;
- b) civil or controversial;
- c) Insulting and offensive or otherwise;
- d) Capable of provoking or engendering violence (physically, verbally or otherwise) or not
- e) Promoting prejudice/bigotry or otherwise;
- f) Divisive or uniting;

2.2 Categories of Indecent Expressions

The following categories of campaign expressions are defined and operationalised as amounting to indecent language.

A. Insult

These are defined as words, expressions or language meant to degrade or offend others. Insults attack the person using words such as thieves, fools, stupid, greedy bastards, unintelligent people, etc.

B. Hate Speech

These are defined as Insults which are said against a group of people based on their ethnicity, religion, etc. to degrade and/or offend them and hold them out to public scorn and hatred.

C. Ethnic/Tribal Slurs and Stereotyping

These are similar to issues, words, expressions or language which result in hate speech

D. Prejudice and Bigotry

These are defined as remarks that express instinctive views or biases against someone based on preconceived ideas and/or unreasonable dislike for a group of people. Specific examples include the following:

“Ewes are backward and inward-looking.”

“Ashantis are proud people.”

“Akyems are arrogant people.”

“What else do you expect from a Northerner?”

Bigotry also encompasses intolerance of the views of others.

E. Inflammatory Expressions

These are defined as statements likely to provoke anger in others and/or promote violence in society. Specific examples include the following:

“Ghana will burn if we don't win”.

“Ghana will be like Kenya ...”

F. Incitement

These are defined as remarks or statements which provoke immediate action by others and can lead to violence. Specific examples include the following:

“Go and besiege the EC office with implements to prevent our opponents from cheating”.

“Slap any opposition member who annoys you”.

“Confiscate suspicious ballot boxes”, etc.

G. Expletives

These are Swear words or rude and unsavoury expressions unfit for publication/broadcast but used in reference to others, nonetheless.

H. Unsubstantiated Allegations

These are statements or expressions meant to offend and impugn the integrity of a person calculated to bring them to public ridicule usually without evidence.

I. Gender Specific Insults

These are offensive words, statements or expressions directed at someone based on the person's gender and are usually more painful. Specific examples include the following:

“You are a prostitute or a witch”; or

“Only prostitutes enter into male domains”.

“No decent woman will speak the way you speak”.

“Any man worth his salt will be bold enough to enter the presidential race or debate”.

“When we are talking about men, we do not include the likes of you or him”, etc.

J. Divisive Expressions

Any expression that seeks to create division among groups of people or communities on the basis of party affiliation, religion or ethnicity; It could also be based on other such groupings as making allusions to previous conflicts which exist or have the potential to ignite old wars among identified groups of people or create ill-feeling. Specific examples include the following:

“A Muslim cannot be President of Ghana”

“a Fanti cannot lead this nation.”

SECTION C

3.1 Conclusion

Debate and disagreement are an inevitable – and even necessary – part of multi-party electoral contests. At the same time, and especially within the African and Ghanaian social and political milieu, an electoral contest that is waged on the platform of divisive media attacks and blatant insults not only perverts the values of democracy but could ultimately subvert the peace and security of the country. Recent examples of elections-related violence in some African countries provide sufficient grounds for proactive interventions to support and nurture the culture of free, fair and peaceful elections in Ghana. The objective of this document is to contribute to the cultivation and consolidation of the culture of democracy and good governance in Ghana. Specifically, it seeks to complement MFWA's 'name-and-shame' campaign by encouraging and enabling actors involved in the elections/political communication process to disavow incendiary expressions, and adopt instead civil, issues-driven campaign platforms.

Every exercise of the rights of free expression and choice also entails responsibilities. The preceding sections sought to (1) demonstrate the link between the nature of elections campaign discourse and the efficacy and sustainability of Ghana's democracy; and (2) present a breakdown of the nature and components of language – remarks, expressions, comments – considered and coded as indecent in the Language. They emphasised the varied but interdependent roles of the different actors or subjects within the elections communications chain in promoting and practising civility in political campaign process.

3.2 Recommendations

This section provides recommendations on how each of the different groups of actors identified above could contribute towards minimising the incidence of indecent language and institutionalising and promoting the culture of decent, issues-driven campaigns.

Media Practitioners

As early as 1934, Magnus Sampson, probably the first indigenous journalism historian, praised the political role of the Gold Coast press, noting that “it is the press which educates public opinion and which also, by its agitations, is capable of dismissing Governments from power and parliamentarians from their seats.” The following are some recommendations on how media practitioners might contribute to a decent, issues-oriented campaign:

- Establish and explain ground rules on the type and nature of political communication to be allowed/disallowed in the media;
- Exercise professional awareness and diligence in editorial decisions on nature and language of campaign;
Use delay technology or other screening mechanisms to edit or exclude polemical comments/contributions from call-ins, SMS, WhatsApp, Twitter, Facebook or other social media platforms;
- Investigate or challenge communicators to prove unverified controversial or potentially defamatory allegations; or else withdraw such claims and apologise to their victims;
- Exclude party officials and their agents, serial callers and members of the general public who persistently violate ground

rules from future participation in panel discussions or contributions to programmes;

- Endeavour to separate personal sentiments and opinions from the facts and candidates/parties involved;
- Be acquainted with, and follow ethical/professional injunctions of the GJA code of ethics and other guidelines on political communication; such as by the NMC and MFWA;
- Issue the necessary disclaimers and apologies in the event of the use of abusive, divisive or defamatory expressions;
- Include in programming and presentations, campaigns and statements that promote decent election campaigns and repudiate indecent expressions; encourage the public and other political actors to do so.

Political Parties

The resort to mudslinging and other indecent expressions has been established to be a net liability in terms of political support and vote counts. Political communication scholars advise that although in terms of news value, controversy generally draws public curiosity and interest, in terms of electoral outcome, negative strategy harms those who indulge in it. Besides, as the saying goes, “You catch more flies with honey than you do with vinegar.” Political party communicators and their agents can contribute towards the culture of positive, issues-oriented campaign by:

- Focusing primarily on positive attributes of own candidate rather than personal attributes of opponent;
- Comparing and contrasting personal traits and policy positions with those of rival parties and candidates without using indecent or provocative language;

- Acquainting party communicators and agents with issue positions of party and candidates;
- Orienting or training party communicators and supporters on avoiding indecent expressions; including refraining from retaliating to insults and other divisive or provocative expressions;
- Presenting facts/evidence in response to false and misleading claims;
- Asserting the right to rejoinder and apology;
- Employing the complaints settlements/remedies of the NMC, GJA or other recognised intuitions/agencies.

The Electorate and General Public

Political parties and the media both depend upon and respond to the weight of public opinion. The public can discourage or encourage the use of indecent language by and in the media by either lending or withdrawing support for parties/candidates and media/practitioners that use or encourage such expressions. There is a classic metaphor, attributed to Abraham Lincoln, which says that “Elections belong to the people. It is their decision. If they decide to turn their back to the fire and burn their behinds, then they will just have to sit on their blisters.” The following are some ways by which the public might contribute to promoting civility in political campaign communication in Ghana.

- Avoid hate speech via all forms of media – traditional, social media and new media
- Be critical of the nature of communication engaged in by political actors and the media;
- Be critical of indecent expressions uttered by other members of the public

- Express support for parties/candidates and media/programme hosts that promote decent campaigning; express disfavour towards those that use abusive language or hate speech;
- Avoid media and candidates that peddle indecent language;
- Challenge parties/candidates to state policy positions on development priorities; such as education, employment, health, and security.

3.3 Examples of Indecent Expressions Used on Radio

A. Unsubstantiated Allegations

1. “Yɛka awudi sɛm paa kɛsɛɛ a aba Ghana ha a ebi ensi da, yenhunu bi da, ɛyɛ ɛkwan a Mahama faa so kyim President Mills kɔn ekum no. Yɛ ka awudie kɛsɛɛ paa a apue Ghana ha a yenhunu bi da, yen tee ne so mpaninsɛm bi da a ɛnam so maa ɛcause great commotion between the NDC fraternity, ɛmaa Rawlings tee ne ho maa, ne yere tee ne ho kɔte party, today, ɛyɛ ɛkwan a John Mahama and his colleagues ɛfaa so kyim President Mills kɔn ekum no ɛde kɔtoo maternity ward ansa na yede kɔ mortuary...”

(“When we talk about the most heinous crime Ghana has ever witnessed, it is how John Mahama strangled President Mills and killed him. When we talk about the most heinous crime Ghana has ever witnessed which caused so much commotion in the NDC fraternity and led to ex-President Rawlings leaving the party and the wife also leaving to form a new party is how John Mahama and his colleagues managed to strangle President Mills and killed him and sent his corpse to a maternity ward before he was eventually sent to the mortuary.”)

2. “Ɔse yɛfrɛ ne book no...my first coup d'état, na ɛkyerɛsɛ, aban toguo a edi kan. Ɔlauncheeɛ, andi nawɔtwe miensa, andi bosome na y'ɛbuu President kɔn mu aku no”...”me se, I am saying it as a statement of fact sɛ J.E.A. Mills yɛ buu ne kɔn mu.”

(He says the title of his book is my first coup d'état, meaning first overthrow of government. When he launched it, in less

than three weeks or one month, the president's neck was broken and he died. ...I say, I am saying this as a statement of fact that J.E.A. Mills' neck was broken”)

3. “...Efirise wokɔto aba ma Nana Akuffo Addo a, wode nnome aka Ghana..... Nana Akuffo Addo yi a yɛka yi, ɔno na J.B. Danquah ne ne yere kɔɔ ne fie ekɔ dan no 5million dollars ka, ɛda no anadwo no a na owuie...[Last May ɛbe pem this May, enipa atitiriw six ɛna awu NPP mu a nteaseɛ kro koraa ennim..... This is NPP under Akuffo Addo for you. Nti Ghanafoɔ, deɛ yɛka ne sɛ, Nana Akuffo Addo yɛ a curse and ɛnnome to ɔman Ghana.”]

(If you vote for Nana Akuffo Addo, you have unleashed a curse on Ghana. This Nana Akuffo Addo we are talking about is the person whose house JB Danquah and wife went and demanded a 5 million dollars debt he owed them before he died that same night. Last May to this May, six (6) great people have died mysteriously in the NPP. This is NPP under Akuffo Addo for you. So Ghanaians, all we are saying is that Nana Akuffo Addo is a curse to the country Ghana”).

B. Insulting and Offensive Comments

1. “Ye bisaa no sɛɛ w'agye bribe da anaa sɛ ya ma no bribe da, ɔse as a human being?... the man is a dead goat. Nipa no ɔgye to mu sɛɛ ɔye dead goat... enti ɔno koraa ɔte hɔnom no onnim sɛɛ ɔye nipa... ye bisa no asem aah...as a human being? As a dog na ye bisa wo asem, cow, dog, dead goat, John Mahama na ye bisa wo asem...”

(When asked if he had taken a bribe before or if he had been offered one he asked if as a human being? the man is a dead goat! He accepts that he is a dead goat... so even he over there doesn't know he is a human being?... when asked a question you say as a human being? You were asked as a dog, cow, dog, dead goat, you were asked as these things John Mahama")

2. “Na ye bisa no a, ɔse me as a President? As a human being? Na enye human being na aboa na naa ete n'anim hɔ anaaa kraman? Kraman na ete B.B.C hɔ ebisa bisa no nsemsem saa no?”

(And when he was asked, his response was, as president or as a human being. Was he not being interviewed by human being or was it an animal? Was it a dog that was interviewing him at the B.B.C?)

3. “Ministers a mo ye in charge no nyinaa, mo ye tibonkoso. Mo nnim nyansa.” “Mo Agric Ministers ne Agric Colleges Principal ne mo assistants, mo ye mpanintoto. Mo ye abodamfuor. Nyame ntua mo ka. Mese enne meye mo!”

(All the ministers in charge are unintelligent, they have no sense. The Agric Ministers and the Agric College Principals and their assistants are useless. They are lunatics. I say today I'll insult you.)

4. “Na kwasia wei kɔhye mmra ma Ghana a, so just imagine... asem nokwre yento sebe, kwasia wei kɔ tena parliament hye mmra a, na wo be ka kyere me see wo ye parliamentarian enti menbu wo. We are causing financial loss to the state. Se ye wo bebi tese parliament ewɔ Ghana ha, na y'etua sika, taxpayers money, eye kwasia sika na y'etua to have a parliament na ɔmo di

sika na ɔmo akɔ akɔtena baabia sebe, ye treati ɔmo special. Ɔkɔdi nsem hunu koraa, y'ese mma yennkye no because ɔye immune to arrest. eye nkwasiasem; se ye wɔ bebia ye fre no parliament na a member of that parliament no obe gyimi a gyimi a gyimi na yentumi mfre no na yenmbi sa no se opanyin adenti na wo gu parliament enim aseɛ.

(Then this foolish man goes to legislate laws for Ghana, so just imagine.... You don't mince words when you are saying the truth. This foolish man goes to sit in parliament to pass law as a parliamentarian and you say we should respect you. We are causing financial loss to the state. If we have a place like parliament in Ghana and we pay them money, taxpayers money, it is useless money we pay to have a parliament, they squander the money and just go and sit down there, and are given special treatment. If he misbehaves they say he should not be arrested because he is immune to arrest. A place like parliament and a member of parliament goes on fooling, and fooling and fooling and fooling and no one calls him to order that he is tarnishing the image of parliament)

5. “Kennedy Agyapong, sebe, ne nkwasia dea ɔye no krom ha no ... enti nsem fo ne kwasiase m a Kennedy Agyapong ne ne radio station ɔmo keka ne krom hae' mu... Aboa tese Owusu Bempah, Konadu Agyemang, ɔbaa wo ho see acid na aye noo, Maame Konadu, ɔbaa ahoɔyaa...kwasia... ɔbe wu apro...ɔmo ye alliance. Mese, aboa Konadu Agyemang. ..ɔmo ye mmoa, Konadu Agyemang ne Kennedy Agyapong, mmoa.

(Kennedy Agyapong, excuse me, to say, the foolish things he has been doing in this town.... the baseless and foolish things Kennedy Agyepong and his radio station are saying in this town;

animals like Owusu Bempah, Konadu Agyemang, a woman whose skin is like she has been smeared with acid, Maame Konadu, a jealous woman, foolish; she will die and rot..... they are an alliance. I say an animal like Konadu Agyeman.... they are fools, Konadu Agyemang and Kennedy Agyapong are fools.)

6. “The likes of Sammy Crabbe, Nyaho Tamakloe are a disgrace to NPP. Who does not know in this country that Nyaho Tamakloe is a sycophant? We don't have time for this nuisance people of no value.”

C. Remarks Endorsing Violence

1. “Deε meka ne sε, NDC nte aseε plain sε, me Chairman Wontumi se, εda yεkɔto aba no, sε yε block all the social media a... me, Ashanti Region ha, NDCnii bia ɔwɔ polling station bia no mε mayε attacki no.”

(What i am saying is that the NDC should understand plainly that on the Election Day if social media is blocked i will let my people attack all NDC members present at the polling stations.)

2. “Eno na mee ka ama IGP ne Kofi Boakye in Ashanti Region and in Ghana ate aseε sε, when that order is made, another counter order from Yamin and his people will also be made na deε ebesi a ne sε yεn nyinaa obia bε bɔ mmaa but I am saying sε... today let me say this emphatically, Yεde abaa bɔ NDCnii baako a, yεbεbo NPPfuo four. So multiply the number of persons that will be touched by the NPP and multiply it by four in Ashanti Region”.

(And that is why I want the IGP and Kofi Boakye in Ashanti Region and in Ghana to understand that when that order is given, a counter order from Yamin and his people will also be made and what will happen is that everyone will whip someone. Today let me say this emphatically, if one NDC member is beaten, we will also beat four NPP people. So multiply the number of people that will be touched by the NPP by four in Ashanti Region.)

3. “NDC nim sɛ, Mahama nim sɛ ɔbɛloosu enti sesei nea aba ne akeka akeka. Nti intimidation na ɔbɛyɛ 2016. Sɛ yɛn so yegyina yɛn nanso na yɛ face wɔn a, ɛno na Nana Addo kae a, ɔmo se ɔmo nte ase, because me menkɔgyina polling station na wo mma hɔ na wo mmɛhwe me sotrɔ, na ma hwɛ wo kwa. All die be die. Me se meyɛ polling agent anaa sɛ maba as a chairman for Central region, first vice chairman, me kɔ rounds na me kita me accreditation na maba na wobɛka sɛ wo npene wo bɛ bɔ me sotrɔ a, mɛbɔ wo bi. Wode abaa bɔ me a, menso mɛhwehwɛ bi de abɔ wo. Enti until sɛ mmra no bɛ yɛ adwuma no, all die be die.

(NDC is aware, Mahama knows that he will lose so now they are biting and intimidating in 2016. We should also be bold enough to face them, as Nana said and was misunderstood. Because I will not go to a polling station for someone to slap me while i look on. All die be die. If I am a polling agent and doing rounds as Chairman for Central region or first vice chairman with my accreditation and you say you wont allow me and that you will slap me, I will slap you back. If you hit me with a stick, I will also look for one and hit you. Until we enforce the laws, all die be die)

4. “Nti ɔmo bo yen a sese yen bo won bi, am not advocating violence, but wobɔ mmɔdrn na obi de tua woa, reply the person first a, entwen kɔ police station ansana se yabɔ m'asum. Daabi. ɔbɔ wo a bɔ no three times saa na esese eye.

(So if they beat us we have to beat them too, I'm not advocating violence but if someone tries and attacks you, reply the person first, don't wait and say you are going to the police station before that they have slapped me. No! If they slap you, slap the person 3 times)

D. Provocative comments

1. “...Ne papa J.B. Danquah, ɔye senior terrorist, ɔmo mentor , ɔmo mentor. J.B. Danquah senior terrorist, ɔno na ehyee asie. J. B. Danquah huu bomb, na eyi, I.S.I.S. fuɔ kraa ennim bomb...J.B. Danquah terrorist, terrorist.

(J.B. Danquah was a senior terrorist, he is their mentor. J.B. Danquah senior terrorist, he started all these. When J.B. Danquah knew bomb even I.S.I.S did not know bombs)

2. “As for NPP we know them, just like Asiedu Nketsia said, when they start shouting thief! Thief! Be careful for they are looking for something to steal.”

E. Remarks Inciting Violence

1. “I believe de, party biara mmɔ ne ho ban. The party vigilantes no, ewɔ de yehye mu kena. NPP yenpe menyinfo, yenpe

mesiafo a won ani ye den. Afei nso, ntɔkwa hwehwam na NDC ede ba no, yen bɔ yen ho ban, NPPni biara mfa ne ho adwen. Sɛbe, nye kokroko na wɔ de dzi man, ɛna ɛnye macho na wɔde ko. Sɛ pɛgoo na ɔbe nya o, sɛ pin na ebe nya o, sɛ daadze na ɛbe sew o, fa hyɛ wo kotoku mu. All die be die. ɔba na sɛ ɔbɛbo wo a, fa wɔno ma ompira.”

(I believe that all parties should protect themselves. The Party vigilantes should be strengthened. NPP should look for strong men and women. Now we should all protect ourselves because of the interesting fight NDC is coming up with. Because we don't govern a nation with arrogance, and we don't fight with macho. If you get a nail, a pin, or a a metal, sharpen it and keep it in your pockets. All die be die. If anyone comes to beat you, stab him with it)

2. “Sɛ wo wɔ hɔ na machoni bi ba, wo wɔ abaa bi a, na wode adenkyi no, sɛ wo wɔ sikan bi a, fa twa no... because enough is enough”

(If you are there and a machoman shows up, if you have a stick, hit him with it; if you have a knife, slash him with it because enough is enough).

F. Expressions or comments promoting divisiveness

1. “The NDC has our northern brother or son as leader and President but the Akans believe northerners are lepers hence refer to us as “pepefuɔ” who do not count or matter. We must

therefore fight for our place and for our children to show them [Akans] that with our own son who is President we have a stake and we can have our children becoming president again in future”

2. “In fact Mahama is a disgrace to Northerners, excuse my language. President Mahama is a disgrace. Oblock the chance of Northerners to ascend to the highest office of Presidency”

G. Tribal Slur

1. “Yε wɔ Anloga wɔ ha, yε wɔ zongo ade wɔ ha. Baabia yenni nkoa yε Akyemfo branch. Wo deε hwε akuokuo a ewɔ ha nyinaa, w’ahu Akyemfo wɔ Asanteman mu ha baabi? Won mpε nnipa.

(We have Voltarians here, we have Zongo people too here. The only group of people we don't have here is the Akyems'. Have you seen any Akyem group anywhere here in Asanteman? They don't like people).