



WATCHING THE WATCHDOG

Indecent Campaign Language Use on
Radio During Ghana's 2016 Elections

Edited by
Gilbert Tietaah



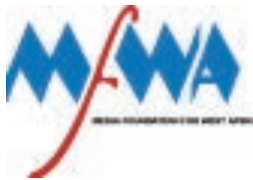
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FOREWORD

Within the last two decades, nearly all countries in Africa have transitioned from despotic military regimes to constitutionally elected civilian governments. Admittedly, there continue to be legitimate concerns about the quality and credibility of elections in most African countries. Elections in Africa have also proven to be one of the most potent triggers of violence and conflicts on the continent. Indeed, many African countries have suffered from elections-related conflicts, which have had devastating consequences.

Despite the acknowledged problems associated with elections in Africa, there is near consensus that the solution to the electoral challenges does not lie in a return to military rule. Instead, the shortfalls in the quality and credibility of elections are what should be continuously examined and addressed.

One of the major positive outcomes of the democratisation process in Africa has been the emergence of a flourishing, pluralistic media environment. In nearly every African country today, there are multiple and diversely-owned media organisations. Such a media landscape would typically help to stimulate public debates and expression of divergent views; foster public participation in governance processes; and inspire a culture of social accountability. In other words, a vibrant, pluralistic media nurtures and strengthens the fundamental pillars that make democracies thrive.

There is no doubt that the media in Africa have over the years contributed significantly to governance processes on the continent. In the context of elections, however, the media are widely perceived as being part of the problem rather than enablers and facilitators of credible, violence-free elections. This perception is born out of past elections-related violence

in places such as Côte d'Ivoire and Kenya in which the media were found culpable of being among the instigators of violence.

Also, during electioneering periods, it is common to find several media organisations becoming tools for vitriolic partisan propaganda, platforms for hate speech, avenues for ethnocentrism and other forms of inflammatory campaign communications that tend to instigate mistrust, inflame tensions and sow the seeds for potential elections-related conflicts.

Given their nature as channels of mass communication, their power to influence public opinion and the potential for them to be used as platforms for prompting electoral violence, how the media conduct themselves or are used by political actors during electioneering periods must be of significant concern to all. In other words, while the media play their role as watchdogs, it is important to watch how they play that role.

In this light therefore, during the 2016 elections in Ghana, the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA) continued with and expanded on an initiative it piloted during the country's 2012 elections of monitoring, documenting and disseminating information on incidence of abusive campaign language in the media.

A total of 16,006 programmes were monitored on 70 radio stations across the country. Persons who used abusive campaign language in the media were publicly named through periodic reports that were widely publicised. The reports also named the political party affiliations of those who were cited. The media organisations on which abusive campaign language were used were also named alongside journalists or programme presenters who either used abusive language themselves or allowed abusive language on their programmes.

By the end of the intervention, there had been a 72 per cent reduction in the incidents of abusive, pro-violence campaign language and messaging on radio. While most of

the initiatives undertaken by other organisations focused on promoting peaceful elections, the campaign language monitoring aimed at both promoting peaceful elections and ensuring that political discussions on radio were issues-based devoid of insults.

This publication; presents a comprehensive overview of the project. It highlights the methodology, steps taken to ensure stakeholder buy-in, the media organisations that were selected for the monitoring and why, how the monitoring and reporting were done, and the results achieved. It is hoped that this publication will add to the store of knowledge on Ghana's democratic processes as well as serve as a useful reference document for future initiatives on promoting peaceful elections in Africa.

Sulemana Braimah

Executive Director

Media Foundation for West Africa

ENDORSEMENTS

The monitoring of indecent campaign language use on radio during the 2016 electioneering period received commendations from various stakeholders including the National Media Commission (NMC), Ghana Journalists Association (GJA), Ghana Independent Broadcasters Association (GIBA), the National Peace Council (NPC) and the general public.

The exercise, which culminated in a 72% reduction in the use of intemperate language on the 70 radio stations monitored across the country was widely endorsed by the stakeholders for promoting issues-based discussions on radio and ultimately contributing to a peaceful elections in 2016. Some of the endorsements from key stakeholders are highlighted below:

The monitoring of campaign language use on radio by MFWA was so helpful to the contribution of peaceful elections. Political commentators were particularly careful and circumspect of what they say on air during the electioneering period because they knew they were being monitored. This largely helped to sanitize political discourse on radio.

Most Rev. Professor Emmanuel Asante, Chairman of the National Peace Council

The monitoring and reporting of indecent campaign language use on radio by MFWA, was a good intervention that largely contributed to the reduction in the use of intemperate language by political party communicators on radio during the electioneering period.

Nana Kwesi Gyan-Apenteng, Chairman, National Media Commission (NMC)

The Monitoring of the indecent campaign language use on radio by MFWA during the electioneering period ensured that political discussions were issues-based.

Gloria Ahadzi, Executive Secretary, Ghana Independent Broadcasters Association (GIBA)

The language monitoring exercise is a very good initiative and it served as a check on politicians and political commentators in the use of language during political programmes on radio.

Abdul Kadiri Rauf, Communications Director, Convention People's Party (CPP)

The overarching aim of the language monitoring on radio was to help sanitise the airwaves of the use of inflammatory language. Undoubtedly, this aim was achieved which also contributed to the peaceful elections.

Paa Kow Ackon, Communications Director, Progressive People's Party (PPP)

The monitoring of indecent campaign language use on radio during the electioneering period made everyone cautious of their utterances.

Emmanuel Wilson, Communication Director, People's National Convention (PNC)

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND

Introduction

Political governance in West Africa has, over the last two decades, experienced encouraging progress towards institutionalising the tenets of democratic best practices; including the rights of citizens to seek and share information and ideas. Up until the early 1990s, governments and governance structures in nearly all member countries that constitute the ECOWAS sub-regional body were characterised by military dictatorships and one-party despotisms. They also typically perpetrated or presided over the insidious abuse of individual human rights and freedoms.

In particular, the rights of citizens to determine who governed them, and the underpinning rights to freedom of association and expression, were routinely repressed. Independent media and persons holding contrary political views were censored and silenced; through the seizure or banning of publications and programmes, or the prevention of assemblies and incarceration of opposition leaders. The effect was that, very few people could find the voice and courage to challenge inimical laws, criticize public policies, or even contribute dissenting views on issues of public interest.

Following years of sustained agitation and advocacy by citizens and the support of local and international civil society actors and (non-)government agencies, many of these regimes began to make concessions and yield to the global embrace of multiparty democratic politics. Together with the regime of political pluralism, there have been parallel gains for constitutional provisions and enabling legislations on media

rights and freedom of expression in much of West Africa. The practise of open, transparent and accountable governance has increasingly become the norm in many countries. Military dictatorships and all forms of undemocratic governance have become anachronistic.

Along this new democratic trajectory, Ghana has frequently been singled out for praise; notably on account of the practice of free, competitive and peaceful electoral politics since the return to constitutional democratic governance in January 1993. In the last two decades, political rule in the country has been anchored on strong democratic principles. The 1992 Constitution contains far-reaching guarantees for the enjoyment of fundamental human rights of individuals and groups. The rights to free expression and that enjoyed by the media are explicitly expressed in the Constitution and elaborated in a number of enabling legislations; including: Articles 21 (1) and 55 (11), (12), Chapter 12 of the Constitution, Act 449 (1993) of the National Media Commission, Act 524 (1996) and Act 769 (2008) of the National Communications Authority, and the Electronic Communications Act of Ghana, Act 775 of 2008.

A particularly significant boost for media rights, and freedom of expression generally, was the repeal in July 2001 (Amendment Act 602) of the Criminal and Seditious Libel provisions of the Criminal Code of 1960 (Act 29) by the NPP government of J. A. Kuffuor.

Under such a liberal regulatory regime, the media and the public felt no restraint in expressing their views, including being severely critical of political opponents. The tenor of polemical political exchanges is particularly high during election years; to the extent that there are increasingly loud voices of concern about the creeping culture of insult and hate that have characterised the campaign discourse of recent elections. These concerns are important not only because of

their implications for media professional practice but also (and perhaps more importantly) because of the potential threat to the efficacy of Ghana's young democracy and the touted peace and security of the State. The concern that such use of indecent expressions could be the trigger for political upheaval, especially in the aftermath of closely contested (and/or disputed) elections, has led to direct calls for interventions, and even sanctions, of media, journalists and politicians and supporters who use indecent language in political discussion programmes.

Part of the response, to these concerns is observable in the number of seminars, workshops and public engagements that media rights organisations, democracy think tanks and other civil society actors hold with political party commentators and the media during election years. These are often intended to avert or mitigate the adverse effects of campaign polemics on the peace and efficacy of the elections. While these efforts at promoting violence-free elections have been positive, there has been little concerted effort at empirically measuring and documenting the evidence about the media, political parties and individuals most implicated in the use of abusive language.

Such an endeavour would be useful in two ways. First, it is said that 'sunlight is the best disinfectant'. The project would be a way to name and shame the most culpable perpetrators; and, hopefully, serve as a deterrent to impunity. Secondly, we are told that 'if you want to judge, you must first inspect'. The project would provide informed feedback and enable empirical evidence for future interventions in training and advocacy to encourage decent, issues-driven elections campaigns. This publication, thus, seeks to achieve these twin goals. It is also a pre-emptive initiative to ensure that all stakeholders in the elections process contribute to promoting peaceful, issues-based campaigning during the electioneering period.

This report is the product of the project, *Promoting Issues-based and Decent Language Campaigning for Peaceful Elections in Ghana in 2016*. It is the third in the series of such interventions by the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA); the previous two initiatives were in 2008 and 2012.

Objectives of the Project

The objective of the language monitoring project was to promote peaceful electoral campaigning in the 2016 elections in Ghana through the following strategies:

1. Ensuring issues-based and decent campaign language before, during and after the 2016 elections
2. Naming and shaming of politicians/activists who engaged in insults rather than issues-based discussions through the daily monitoring of electoral language of politicians and party activists;
3. Naming and shaming of moderators/hosts and radio stations that allowed indecent expressions on their airwaves.

Several activities were carried out to enlist the cooperation and collaboration of key identified stakeholders. These included, for instance, consultative meetings with political party representatives and radio station managers across the country. These activities culminated in a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) committing the stakeholders to the use of decent campaign language in political discussion programmes. The process provided opportunity for broad consensus-building and endorsement of the project by the major stakeholders.

The specific activities were:

- Monitoring 70 of the most influential radio stations across the country and issuing reports on the use of abusive campaign language on their networks. Specifically, the reports named users of such abusive expressions, their political parties and the radio stations on which such expressions occurred.
- Holding of dialogue workshops with key radio programme presenters across the country.
- Development and presentation of an *Elections Communication Guide* to stakeholders and engagement with political parties and their communicators on the Guide.
- Engagements between MFWA's five-member Eminent Media Persons Group and media managers and owners across the regions to help ensure adherence to professional standards in the coverage of Ghana's 2016 elections.
- Convening regional forums between senior media personnel and Commissioners of the Electoral Commission.
- Convening forums between Editors and officers of the Ghana Police Service to foster stronger Police-Media relations.
- Fact-checking campaign claims and informing the public on the veracity of such campaign claims; or the tenability of party manifesto pledges; and
- Holding of Town Hall meetings across the country with stakeholders in the electoral process to discuss and agree on how to ensure that the 2016 elections are conducted in a peaceful manner.

- Monitoring and issuing reports on publications of indecent campaign language use in 15 newspapers with national reach. Specifically, the reports named users of abusive expressions, their political parties and the newspapers in which such expressions were made.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In keeping with Ghana's Constitution and the electoral calendar, voters went to the polls on December 7, 2016 to cast their votes for President and Members of Parliament. The media, in their role as originators, interpreters and transmitters of political communications, were central to the electoral process. This role was a critical factor in whether or not the public would accept the results as free and fair.

Did the Ghanaian media, as social institutions, help or hurt the search for an issues-driven electoral process? Were they willing and able to mediate the public perception of the process and outcome in a fair and objective manner? Were they exercising their electoral and gatekeeping duties according to the professional and ethical principles of value detachment and responsibility? How could the culpability or the complicity (if any) of the media be exposed and reproached in order to serve as deterrent against impunity and in order to inform the nature and content of future capacity building support?

In order to find empirical answers to these questions, the language monitoring project selected 70 radio stations from across the 10 regions of Ghana for the monitoring of specific programmes on their networks. The propensity of the Ghanaian public to listen to the radio, and more importantly, its widely-cited role in either fomenting or fuelling elections-related conflicts in countries such as Rwanda, Kenya and Cote d'Ivoire, informed this project's particular interest in radio; and the proactive design and implementation of the monitoring

exercise. This chapter explains the step-by-step procedures undertaken in designing, gathering and analysing the relevant data for the study.

Sampling Procedure

According to the 2017 industry statistics of the National Communications Authority (NCA), a total of 481 FM radio stations had been given the authorisation to operate. The breakdown of these 481 authorisations was as follows: There were 31 public radio stations; an additional 5 were classified as 'public foreign' FM radio stations. There were 79 community radio stations, 21 campus radio stations, and the remaining 345 were commercial radio stations. According to the NCA records, however, only 354 out of this number were fully operational as at the last quarter of 2016. The project monitored a total of 70 of these 354 stations. See Appendix A for comprehensive listing of the specific selected stations, together with their frequencies and locations. The stations were purposively sampled in consideration of the following factors:

- Radio stations with wide listenership;
- Regional distribution (to ensure radio stations were selected from each of the 10 regions of Ghana);
- Ownership of radio stations (to cover the spectrum of political and other interests/stakes in radio in Ghana);
- Radio stations actively involved in political programming.

A total of twenty three (23) out of the 70 selected stations were located in the Greater Accra Region. Thirteen (13) were selected from the Ashanti Region, seven (7) from the Brong Ahafo Region, six (6) from the Northern Region, four (4) from the Western Region, five (5) from the Eastern Region, three (3)

from the Volta Region, four (4) from the Central Region, two (2) from the Upper East Region and two (2) from the Upper West Region. Details of the specific radio stations selected for the monitoring exercise are presented in Table 2.1

Table 2.1: Radio Stations Monitored Under the Project

No	Radio Station	Frequency (MHz)	Location
Greater Accra Region			
1	Accra FM	100.5	Accra
2	Adom FM	106.3	Accra
3	Ahutor FM	92.3	Accra
4	Asempa FM	94.7	Accra
5	Atinka FM	104.7	Accra
6	Citi FM	97.3	Accra
7	Class FM	91.3	Accra
8	Happy FM	98.9	Accra
9	Hot FM	93.9	Accra
10	Joy FM	99.7	Accra
11	Kasapa FM	102.5	Accra
12	Marhaba FM	99.3	Accra
13	Montie FM	100.1	Accra
14	Neat FM	100.9	Accra
15	Okay FM	101.7	Accra
16	Oman FM	107.1	Accra
17	Peace FM	104.3	Accra
18	Pink FM	96.9	Accra
19	Radio Gold	90.5	Accra
20	Rainbow Radio	87.5	Accra
21	Starr FM	103.5	Accra
22	Top FM	103.1	Accra
23	3FM	92.7	Accra

Table 2.1 (cont'd)

No	Radio Station	Frequency (MHz)	Location
Ashanti Region			
24	Angel FM	96.1	Kumasi
25	Ashh FM	101.1	Kumasi
26	Boss FM	93.7	Kumasi
27	Cruz FM	96.9	Offinso North
28	Dess FM	90.3	Bekwai
29	FOX FM	97.9	Kumasi
30	Hello FM	101.5	Kumasi
31	Kapital Radio	97.1	Kumasi
32	Kessben FM	93.3	Kumasi
33	LUV FM	99.5	Kumasi
34	Metro FM	94.1	Kumasi
35	Nhyira FM	104.5	Kumasi
36	Otec FM	102.9	Kumasi
37	Ultimate FM	106.9	Kumasi
Brong Ahafo Region			
38	Adass FM	107.7	Kintampo
39	Classic FM	91.9	Techiman
40	Nananom FM	92.5	Goaso
41	Royal FM	104.7	Wenchi
42	Space FM	87.7	Sunyani
43	Tain FM	90.9	Tain
44	Winners FM	104.9	Bia
Northern Region			
45	Diamond FM	93.7	Tamale
46	Eagle FM	94.1	Walewale
47	Might FM	90.5	Savelugu
48	North Star	92.1	Tamale

Table 2.1 (cont'd)

No	Radio Station	Frequency (MHz)	Location
49	Radio Justice	98.5	Tamale
50	Zaa Radio	99.3	Tamale
Western Region			
51	De Beat FM	95.5	Sefwi Asawenso
52	Pure FM	95.3	Tarkwa
53	Sky Power	93.5	Takoradi
54	Vision Radio	102.7	Juabeso
Eastern Region			
55	Bridge FM	96.9	Akosombo
56	Emak FM	97.7	Koforidua
57	Obuoba FM	91.7	Nkawkaw
58	Rite FM	90.1	Somanya
59	Thank U FM	107.5	Suhum
Volta Region			
60	Beyond FM	90.7	Nkwanta
61	Jubilee Radio	106.9	Keta
62	Kekeli Radio	102.9	Ho
Central Region			
63	Ahomka FM	99.5	Elmina
64	Arise FM	87.7	Twifo Praso
65	Radio Windy Bay	98.3	Winneba
66	Spark FM	103.5	Dunkwa-on-offin
Upper East Region			
67	Radio A1	101.1	Bolgatanga
68	Source FM	100.1	Bawku
Upper West Region			
69	Radio FREED	92.3	Nandom
70	Radio Progress	98.1	Wa

Period of Monitoring

The planning and preparation activities for the design and execution of the project (such as consultations, validation meetings and development of data collection instruments) started in January 2016. The actual monitoring exercise began on April 18, 2016 and ended on December 29, 2016. This timeframe enabled the monitoring exercise to index and map the trends in the use of campaign language on radio during the most active months of the electioneering period.

Data Collection Instruments

A comprehensive coding instrument (See Appendix B) was developed with the support of language experts and consultants from the Department of Communication Studies and the Linguistics Department, both of the University of Ghana, and from the Ghana Bureau of Languages. The use of experts in the development of data collection instrument ensured that the instrument was valid, reliable and credible. The monitoring instrument was presented at a public forum for validation by key stakeholders, including the National Media Commission (NMC), the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA), the Ghana Independent Broadcasters Association (GIBA), the Ghana Community Radio Network (GCRN), the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO), religious bodies, political parties and civil society organisations

Category Definitions

The monitoring exercise was aimed at identifying those radio stations and their hosts and guests and callers into programmes using indecent language on radio, the kinds of expressions involved, and the nature and frequencies of their occurrence. Thus, a key goal was that by *naming and shaming* officials,

supporters and affiliates of political parties, presenters/hosts of radio programmes and individuals (whose political affiliation might not be known), the censor of public renunciation would restrain them (and the public generally) from any further indulgence in such practice and promote, instead, a decent, issues-based agenda.

An indecent expression was defined as, or considered to be, any statement or insinuation that sought to attack or damage the reputation of an individual, political party, or ethnic group; or that could provoke the target of the expression to react in an unpleasant or offensive manner; or that could offend the sensibilities of members of the public.

Specifically, the following categories were identified and operationalised with the support of the language experts:

- **Insult:** These are defined as words, expressions or language meant to degrade or offend others. Insults are usually attacks on a person using words such as thieves, fools, stupid, greedy bastards, unintelligent people etc.
- **Prejudice and Bigotry:** Remarks that express instinctive views or biases against someone based on pre-conceived ideas and/or unreasonable dislike for a group of people. Specific examples include the following:

“Ewes are backward and in-ward 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.

- **Inflammatory Expressions:** Statements likely to provoke anger in others and/or promote violence in society. Specific examples of inflammatory expressions include:

“Ghana will burn if we don't win”

“Ghana will be like Kenya if we are not declared winners of the elections”

- **Incitement:** Remarks which provoke immediate action by others and can lead to violence. Statements such as:

“Go and besiege the Electoral Commission office with weapons to prevent our opponents from cheating”;

“Slap any opposition member who annoys you”

“Confiscate suspicious ballot boxes”, etc. all constitute incitement to violence.

- **Expletives:** These are swear words or rude and unsavoury expressions unfit for publication/broadcast but used in reference to others, nonetheless.
- **Hate Speech:** Insults which are said against a group of people based on their ethnicity, religion or party affiliation to degrade and/or offend them and hold them out to public scorn and hatred
- **Ethnic/Tribal Slurs and Stereotyping:** These are similar to issues, words, expressions or language which result in hate speech
- **Provocative Remarks:** Comments that are deemed confrontational. A statement such as “The General

Secretary of the party started shouting like a castrated hyena," is provocative.

- **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.
- **Gender Specific Insults:** These are offensive words or speech directed at someone just based on their gender; usually more painful.

"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.

- **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 others such as groupings, making allusions to previous conflicts which exist or have the potential to ignite old wars among identified groups of people or create ill-feeling. Examples: "A Muslim cannot be President of Ghana" or "a Fanti cannot lead this nation."
- **Innuendo:** Indirect references to something rude and unpleasant

(See Appendix A for the entire category definition used in the monitoring)

Monitors and Analysts

Seventy (70) individuals were carefully recruited, trained and contracted to monitor the selected radio stations after the coding instrument had been validated. The process of identifying monitors was guided by two key considerations: (1) the individual must not have any official political party membership or affiliation; (2) the person must possess a minimum qualification of a university first degree.

Two analysts with post-graduate training in communication studies were also contracted to collate and analyse the weekly reports from the monitors as shown in picture 2.1. The monitors were trained at the beginning of the exercise (See Picture 2.2). The training was to enable them understand and accurately apply the coding schedule in monitoring and assessing programmes on their assigned radio networks.



Picture 2.1: Analysts assessing monitoring reports from monitors



Picture 2.2: Monitors being trained

Data Collection Procedure

Each monitor was assigned to a radio station and was equipped with a recording device which was used to record all the political discussion programmes and the news segments aired on the station.

The recorded programmes enabled the monitors to play back the audio recording of the relevant programme or item. They then performed a focused coding and elaboration of the items of interest. In Picture 2.3. for instance, the monitor is playing back a recorded programme and using it to fill out the research instrument while Picture 2.4. shows a monitor who is doing an elaboration of items of interest. The recordings were later transferred unto Compact Discs (CDs) and delivered to the MFWA by courier for archiving. The recordings became important exhibits in the event that stations, parties and individuals implicated in the monitoring reports denied or demanded evidence of their culpability.

Publication of reports

The bi-weekly and monthly reports (which was always certified by the MFWA team as shown in Picture 2.5. before issuing)



Picture 2.3: A monitor playing back recorded programme to fill coding instrument



Picture 2.4: A monitor filling out a coding instrument

were widely circulated and publicised. The reports were usually sent via emails to print, broadcast and online media organisations. The reports were also distributed to the radio stations monitored, the political parties, and identified stakeholder institutions and individuals including; the National Media Commission (NMC), the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA), the Ghana Independent Broadcasters Association (GIBA), the Ghana Community Radio Network (GCRN), media and communication scholars/teachers, religious bodies, civil society organisations, and members of the international community.

In some instances, individuals who were cited in the report were called by some radio stations to react to the reports; often, thereby, provoking and sustaining public interest and debate about use of indecent language in and by the media. Picture 2.6. shows newspapers clippings of some publications.



Picture 2.5: Researchers reviewing monitoring report before issuing to the media and other stakeholders

In addition to the routine bi-weekly and monthly reports issued as press releases, a number of press conferences and public forums were organised to engage expert opinion; and to enlist support for the campaign.



Picture 2.6: Newspaper clippings of some publications

CHAPTER THREE

FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter reports findings of the nine-month monitoring exercise (April–December, 2016). The findings are presented below under the following broad sections: general findings, expressions used, political affiliations of culprits, the gender factor, radio station performances and a comparison of the quarterly findings.

Also presented in this chapter are some of the general reactions received about the project.

General Findings

For the nine-month period, 16,006 programmes were monitored on the 70 radio stations selected for the project. A total of 464 indecent expressions were identified/coded on the 16,006 programmes monitored. The programmes on which indecent expressions were recorded were predominantly political discussion programmes which were mostly aired in the morning and evening/night

The political discussion programmes on which the 464 indecent expressions were recorded were programmes produced by and originating from the radio stations themselves. However, some radio stations affiliated to stations in the major cities in Accra and Kumasi automatically relayed indecent expressions on syndicated programmes to their listeners.

The programme durations ranged from 30 minutes to three hours. As would be expected, there were more indecent

expressions used on longer programmes. Also, indecent expressions were more likely to be recorded within discussion programmes that were aired in the Akan language. Programmes aired in the English language recorded fewer indecent expressions.

The specific subject matter of discussion or debate was also an important factor in whether or not people used indecent language; controversial subjects or discussions appeared to incite greater number of indecent expressions.

The activities (launch of manifestoes, election of presidential and parliamentary aspirants, rallies etc.) of the various political parties were the main subject matter of most of the discussions monitored. It was during the discussion of the issues raised at such events that the majority of indecent expressions were recorded. Other subjects of discussion around which a significant number of indecent expressions were used included the call to clean the biometric registration, the disqualification of some presidential aspirants, the internal wrangling in the main opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP) etc.

The political party or group affiliations of individuals implicated in the use of indecent expressions during the electioneering period were established in 328 out of the 464 incidents recorded. The remaining 136 recorded incidents of indecent expressions were made by individuals whose political affiliation could not be established on the programmes they featured on (comprising for instance, callers, discussants or presenters who read and/or made indecent expressions).

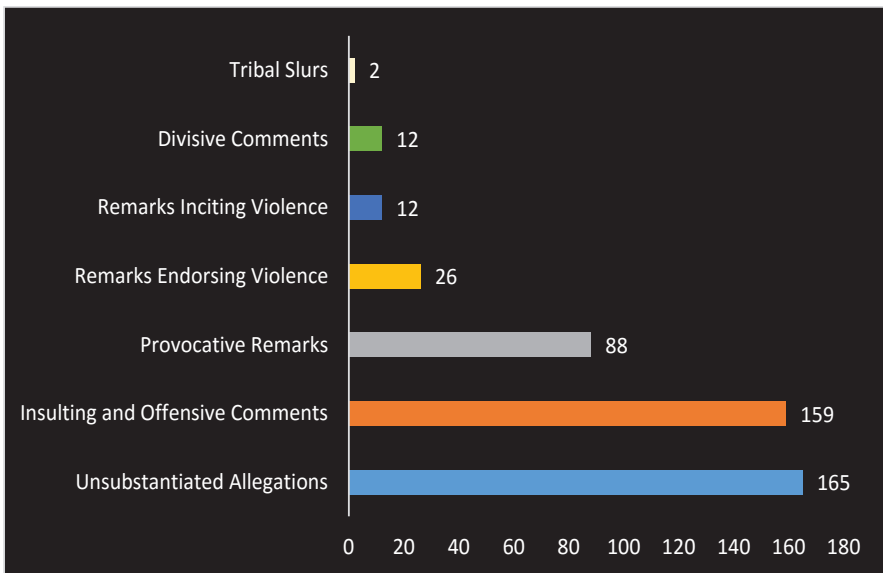
Expressions Used

A total of seven different kinds of indecent expressions were categorised as belonging in mutually exclusive sets. These were: (1) Insulting and Offensive Comments; (2)

Unsubstantiated Allegations; (3) Provocative Remarks; (4) Remarks Endorsing Violence; (5) Remarks Inciting Violence; (6) Divisive Comments; and (7) Tribal Slurs.

Unsubstantiated Allegations, Insulting and Offensive Comments and Provocative Remarks, in that order, were the three most frequently used types of indecent expressions against political opponents. Figure 3.1 shows the specific tallies of the different categories of indecent expressions coded.

Figure 3.1: Categories of Indecent Expressions Used



The use of specific categories of indecent expressions became dominant during the discussion of specific subject matters. For instance, during the call for the cleaning of the electoral register, the tallies of remarks calling for confrontation/violence on the radio stations monitored

increased substantially. Also, during the discussions around the internal wrangling within the NPP, a high number of unsubstantiated allegations and provocative comments were recorded. It must, however, be noted that these types of indecent expressions were also recorded in the discussion of other subjects.

Even though the monitoring was basically to record indecent expressions on radio so that the perpetrators could be named and shamed, the exercise also took note of, and commended specific remarks that were peaceful and conciliatory in nature. In the examples cited below, an MP is heard making a commitment to peaceful elections:

- *Mahama Ayariga, NDC MP for Bawku Central on June 21, 2016 – in a phone interview on Source Morning Show broadcast on Source FM in Bawku in the Upper West Region made these remarks:*

“We are going into a political season, it is not a life or death situation, it’s about just choosing somebody to represent us in Parliament. We will do our best to make sure that the campaigns are peaceful”.

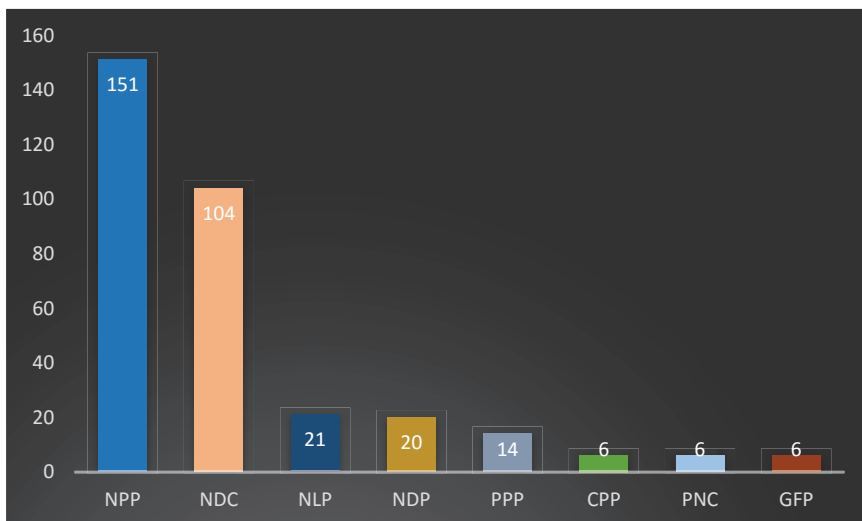
Expressions Used and Political Party Affiliation

The indecent expressions recorded in the course of the monitoring were attributed to individuals, mostly with known affiliation to a political party; although there were also individuals whose affiliations were not explicitly established. The indecent expressions made directly by individuals were often occasioned by or uttered in the context of their roles as in-studio panellists, out-of-studio (phones) interviewees, listener phone-ins or text messages, or show hosts/presenters. Specifically, out of the 464 indecent expressions coded, only

136 of them came from persons whose political/group affiliation could not be directly or objectively ascertained. The remaining 328 indecent expressions were made by individuals who were officials, supporters and affiliates of specific political parties in Ghana. They were affiliated to any one of the following eight (8) political parties: New Patriotic Party (NPP), National Democratic Congress (NDC), Progressive People's Party (PPP), National Labour Party (NLP), National Democratic Party (NDP), Convention People's Party (CPP), People's National Convention (PNC) and Ghana Freedom Party (GFP).

As much as 255 (55%) of the 464 indecent expressions were made by officials, supporters and affiliates of the two main political parties in the elections – the then opposition NPP and the then ruling NDC. The remaining 73 indecent expressions were made by officials, supporters and affiliates of the other five (5) political parties. Affiliates of the NPP made 151 (33%) of the 464 indecent expressions while affiliates of the NDC made 104 (22%). Figure 3.2 presents the frequency distribution of indecent expressions used by the officials, supporters and affiliates of the eight political parties.

A further analyses of the data found that officials, supporters and affiliates of the two major political parties (NPP and NDC) were most noted for using particular categories of indecent expressions. For instance, in Table 3.1 below, officials, supporters and affiliates of the NPP used more unsubstantiated allegations (58) and provocative remarks (31) than officials, supporters and affiliates of the NDC who used insulting and offensive comments (40) more often than affiliates of the NPP and the other political parties. The breakdown of the specific indecent expressions used by officials, supporters and affiliates of the eight political parties is disaggregated in Table 3.1.

Figure 3.2: Political Party Affiliation and Indecent Expression Used

Note: The 136 indecent expressions not captured in Fig 3.2 were expressions made by individuals whose political affiliation could not be established

A number of identified individuals were noted for their persistent use of indecent remarks. Two of such individuals are Mugabe Maase, a radio presenter on Montie FM and a supporter of the NDC and Listowell Opoku, a member of the National Labour Party (NLP). Mugabe Maase alone recorded 40 of the 464 indecent expressions recorded. Listowell Opoku came second to Mugabe Maase in the use of indecent expressions. Over the nine month monitoring period, Listowell was coded as making 21 of the total indecent expressions recorded over the project period.

Expressions Used and Gender

The monitoring showed that both genders actively participated in political discussions on radio stations as in-studio

discussants, interviewees, callers and contributors via text messages and Facebook/Twitter messages. Analysis on the basis of gender and the use of indecent expressions, therefore, became necessary to establish which gender was more abusive. The findings showed that of the 328 indecent remarks made by officials, supporters and affiliates of the political parties, 305, representing 93 percent, were made by males. Only 23, representing 7% of the 328 of the indecent expressions were made by females as depicted in Figure 3.3.

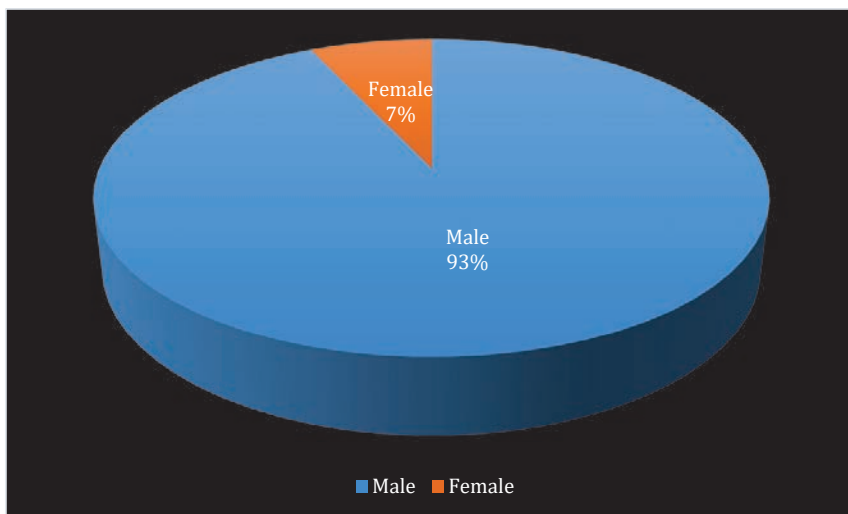
Table 3.1: Indecent Expressions Used By Affiliates of Political Parties

Expression Used	NPP	NDC	NLP	NDP	PPP	CPP	PNC	GFP	Total
Unsubstantiated Allegations	58	30	5	8	6	1	2	3	113
Insulting and Offensive Comments	39	40	15	9	5	1	2	0	111
Provocative Remarks	31	18	1	3	1	0	1	3	58
Remarks Endorsing Violence	15	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	23
Remarks Inciting Violence	5	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	11
Divisive Comments	3	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	10
Tribal Slurs	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Total	151	104	21	20	14	6	6	6	328

Note: The remaining 136 indecent remarks not captured in Table 3.1 were expressions made by individuals whose political affiliation could not be established

Expressions used and radio stations

Interestingly, while the project received reports from all 70

Figure 3.3: Gender and Frequency of Indecent Expressions used

monitored stations, 25 of those stations were found not to have recorded any incidents of abuse or indecent expressions. These stations were Citi FM, Starr FM, Kasapa FM, Dess FM, Kapital Radio, Luv FM, Otec FM, Metro FM, Space FM, Nananom FM, Adass FM, Might FM, Vision Radio, Pure FM, De Beat FM, Thank U FM, Bridge FM, Emak FM, Beyond FM, Ahomka FM, Spark FM, Arise FM, Radio Windy Bay, Source FM and Radio FREED.

Accra-based Montie FM recorded the highest number of indecent expressions. The indecent expressions were recorded on *Pampaso*, a late afternoon show hosted by Mugabe Masse. Oman FM, another Accra-based radio station with some affiliations to the NPP, recorded the second highest number (14%) of the indecent expressions; mainly on their *Boiling Point* programme.

Table 3.2 presents a breakdown of the indecent expressions recorded on all the radio stations involved in the monitoring exercise.

Table 3.2: Frequency of Indecent Expressions on the 70 Radio Stations

Radio Station	Frequency
Montie FM	95
Oman FM	65
Happy FM	62
Ashh FM	27
Radio Gold	24
Okay FM	23
Adom FM	19
Diamond FM	12
Radio Justice	11
Hello FM	10
Hot FM	8
Rainbow Radio	8
Tain FM	8
Asempa FM	7
Peace FM	6
Top FM	6
Eagle FM	6
Ahutor FM	5
Neat FM	5
Atinka FM	5
Angel FM	5
Wenchi Royal FM	5
Zaa Radio	5
Obuoba FM	5
Classic FM	4
Kessben FM	3
Accra FM	2

Table 3.2 (cont'd)

Radio Station	Frequency
Ultimate FM	2
Kekeli Radio	2
Radio Progress	2
Marhaba FM	2
Nhyira FM	2
Winners FM	1
Class FM	1
Cruz FM	1
Boss FM	1
North Star	1
Jubilee Radio	1
Radio A1	1
Rite FM	1
Sky Power	1
Joy FM	1
Pink FM	1
3FM	1
Fox FM	1
TOTAL	464

Moderators handling of programmes

The manner in which moderators manage their programmes, to a large extent, contributes to how the in-studio guests and call-in participants comport themselves on their radio stations. If the host of a programme is able to handle his/her in-studio discussions, interviews, text messaging and phone-in segments professionally and sets the guidelines and ground rules for discussions, the participants are more likely to be

decorous in their speech and to base their contributions on issues. Under such circumstances, even when an indecent expression is used, the moderator is able to ask the person to retract, apologise or in some extreme cases, walk the person out of the studio or drop the phone line (in the case of a caller). An assessment of how moderators conducted themselves shows that, generally, show hosts/presenters managed their programmes well. All the programmes monitored were generally decorous – with the exception of the specific programmes identified on Montie FM (*Pampaso*) and Oman FM (*Boiling Point*). This would explain why out of the 16,006 programmes monitored, only 464 indecent expressions were recorded. In general, most of the programmes and discussions were issues-based. On the other hand, an appreciable number of the discussions focused more on personalities and it was during such discussions that a lot of the indecent expressions were used.

Specifically, most of the moderators handled their programmes with professionalism and interjected to restrain or stop discussants/callers if they deviated from the issues or made unguarded statements. Some of them were proactive in announcing their ground rules and educating callers in particular about the requirement to be civil in their use of language. Others obliged panelists/callers to withdraw unwelcome comments, or required them to substantiate allegations that sounded unfounded.

On the other hand, some hosts/presenters allowed their platforms to be used to make unsubstantiated allegations and to verbally assault political opponents. This usually happened during in-studio discussions and call-in segments. Certain individuals who had been cited in the MFWA's monthly report as being abusive were nonetheless repeatedly hosted or entertained on certain radio stations thereby giving such

individuals the platform to continue the habit of using indecent expressions on air.

In the absence of delayed broadcast equipment, moderators sometimes find it difficult to avoid the utterance of indecorous expressions on their networks. However, in the case of text messaging, producers and hosts/presenters, to a large extent, have control over what is aired and what is not because they receive and collate the messages before reading them. In spite of this fact, some show hosts/presenters read out on air indecent text messages sent in by some listeners. A few of the presenters were also captured using indecorous language themselves.

Comparison of first, second and third quarter findings

A comparative analysis of the findings of the first (April–June), second (July–September) and third (October–December) quarters of the monitoring period shows that there were differences in the number of indecent expressions recorded over the three quarters. The differences in the findings were in the areas of the expressions used, political party affiliation of those who used indecent expressions and the radio stations on which the expressions were made.

Comparison of the expressions used over the three quarters

The findings showed that the first quarter of the monitoring registered the highest number of indecent expressions whereas the third quarter recorded the least number. From the data in Table 3.3, the use of indecent expressions declined substantially from 343 in the first quarter to 97 in the second quarter, at a time when the electoral campaign activities were gathering momentum. Ironically, in the third quarter when electoral campaign activities peaked, there was an appreciable

decrease; indicating that to a large extent, the monitoring project was arguably contributing significantly to curb the use of indecent language in the campaigning – and by extension, to the promotion of issues-based discussions. Table 3.3 also shows how specific categories of indecent expressions were used over the three quarters.

Table 3.3: Expression Used In the First, Second and Third Quarters of Monitoring

Types of Expressions Used	Frequency			Total
	First Quarter	Second Quarter	Third Quarter	
Unsubstantiated Allegation	127	31	7	165
Insulting and Offensive Comments	127	23	9	159
Provocative Comments	52	32	4	88
Remarks Endorsing Violence	20	4	2	26
Remarks Inciting Violence	8	2	2	12
Divisive Comments	7	5	0	12
Tribal Slurs	2	0	0	2
Total	343	97	24	464

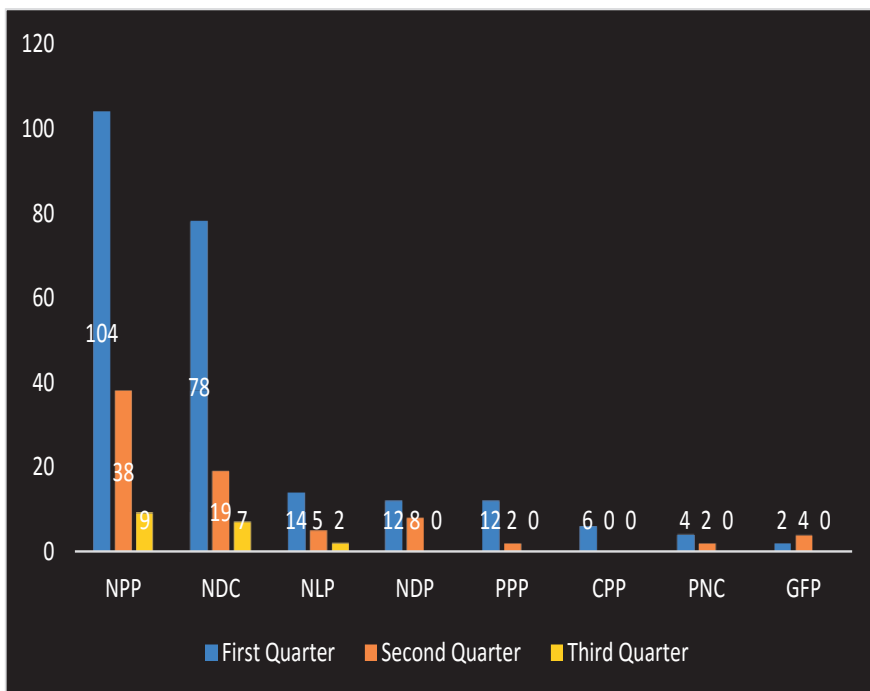
Comparison by political party affiliation

There were notable variations in the use of indecent expressions by officials, supporters and affiliates of the main political parties in the country. Officials, supporters and affiliates of the NPP were in the lead in the use of indecent expressions throughout the first, second and third quarters. The score of the NDC over the three quarters was also significant as officials, supporters and affiliates of the party made the most abusive comments after the NPP.

Findings concerning the number of indecent expressions

recorded by officials, supporters and affiliates of all the eight political parties during the respective quarters are presented in Figure 3.4.

Figure 3.4: Political Party Affiliation by Indecent Expressions Used during the three quarters



Comparison by Radio Station

Similar to the variables above, there were some differences in the number of indecent expressions captured on the 70 radio stations selected for the monitoring exercise. Apart from the

25 radio stations that did not register any indecent expression, each of the remaining 45 registered at least one unacceptable remark in at least one of the three quarters. It is notable that whereas the scores of indecent expressions registered on most of the radio stations reduced at least in the third quarter, *Montie FM* registered more indecent expression in the first quarter while *Happy FM* registered more indecent expressions in the second quarter. Table 3.4 provides details of these findings.

Reactions to the Findings

Feedback was an essential component in the project implementation as it provided information on the efficiency of processes and outputs while identifying areas that need attention for improved performance. In this section, the reactions that were received on the project are presented along with an indication of how those reactions contributed to the overall success of the project.

Table 3.4: Indecent Expression Recorded on Radio Station

Radio Station	Frequency of Indecent Expressions on Radio			Total
	First Quarter	Second Quarter	Third Quarter	
Montie FM	83	8	4	95
Oman FM	54	6	5	65
Happy FM	30	30	2	62
Ashh FM	24	0	3	27
Radio Gold	21	3	0	24
Okay FM	15	8	0	23
Adom FM	16	3	0	19
Diamond FM	12	0	0	12
Radio Justice	5	6	0	11

Table 3.4 (cont'd)

Radio Station	Frequency of Indecent Expressions on Radio			Total
	First Quarter	Second Quarter	Third Quarter	
Hello FM	10	0	0	10
Hot FM	4	4	0	8
Rainbow Radio	8	0	0	8
Tain FM	5	3	0	8
Asempa FM	6	1	0	7
Peace FM	3	3	0	6
Top FM	6	0	0	6
Eagle FM	5	1	0	6
Ahutor FM	0	0	5	5
Neat FM	0	5	0	5
Atinka FM	4	0	1	5
Angel FM	5	0	0	5
Royals FM	5	0	0	5
Zaa Radio	0	5	0	5
Obuoba FM	3	1	1	5
Classic FM	3	1	0	4
Kessben FM	3	0	0	3
Accra FM	1	1	0	2
Ultimate FM	2	0	0	2
Kekeli Radio	2	0	0	2
Radio Progress	2	0	0	2
Marhaba FM	1	1	0	2
Nhyira FM	0	2	0	2
Winners FM	1	0	0	1
Class FM	0	1	0	1
Cruz FM	0	1	0	1
Boss FM	0	0	1	1
North Star	1	0	0	1

Table 3.4 (cont'd)

Radio Station	Frequency of Indecent Expressions on Radio			Total
	First Quarter	Second Quarter	Third Quarter	
Jubilee Radio	0	1	0	1
Radio A1	0	1	0	1
Rite FM	0	1	0	1
Sky Power	1	0	0	1
Joy FM	1	0	0	1
Pink FM	0	0	1	1
3FM	0	0	1	1
Fox FM	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	343	97	24	464

The responses received about the monitoring exercise were varied. Whereas some welcomed the whole exercise and followed the monthly reports, others expressed disagreement with, and disapproval of, the project. Apart from the general feedback from listeners of the various radio stations and online comments, there were responses from some radio stations, leading members of some political parties, public figures and members of the public. Below are some of the reactions/comments received:

Feedback from the Media

The media's responses to the findings came in different forms. The reports of the monitoring exercise were often given space in newspapers, news websites and broadcast time on radio and television, especially during their major news bulletins and discussion programmes.

This was one of the positive feedbacks and cooperation that the project received because the gatekeepers considered

the reports relevant, informative and educative enough to be given publicity. Beyond the monthly publicity, some radio stations, both within and outside Accra, contacted the MFWA to respond to issues arising from the reports; or to grant news interviews; thereby educating the general public on the project.

Feedback from Political Parties

Several political parties contesting the 2016 election responded and reacted to the findings of the language monitoring project in diverse ways. While some party officials sought to discredit the findings of the report, others praised the project as beneficial. For example, some of the reactions sought to suggest that the negative expressions that were attributed to them had been taken out of context. Some political activists who thought they had not used indecent expressions but had been taken out of context contacted the MFWA to register their protest.

In some instances political party officials made reference to the reports in their discussions and sometimes used them to score political points against their rivals. Officials of some political parties whose affiliates were cited as leading in the use of indecent remarks also indicated in radio interviews that they were going to talk to their communicators and activists to be civil in their language use on radio.

Reactions from Individuals/Groups

The feedback from individuals and groups came from different channels – phone calls, public forums, emails, online comments, columns and blogs. While some of the comments commended the exercise, others disagreed with the findings. Other individuals questioned the methodology used and why indecent expressions on television and on the internet were not included in the monitoring. Some also requested that the specific indecent expressions be made public to all Ghanaians so they could make their own judgements.

Email responses/reactions were mostly received from other civil society groups and regional bodies. Specifically, some of them requested that a similar exercise be undertaken in other countries that would soon be going to the polls.

Integration of Feedback into the Monitoring Project

Generally, the feedback received was carefully analysed and appropriate steps taken on the issues raised. At different public fora the MFWA addressed some of the concerns that were raised about the methodology, indecent expressions on radio and why the specific indecent expressions used could not be made public.

In terms of methodology, the processes of developing the monitoring instrument and category definitions were explained at almost every public engagement. Furthermore, the category definitions and monitoring instruments were sent to all the radio stations selected for the project as well as the various political parties.

With regard to the publication of the indecent expressions used, a special note was included in all the reports that explained why the expressions could not be rebroadcast. It indicated that:

As a policy, the MFWA has decided not to publish the indecent expressions people make since it will amount to rebroadcasting of those remarks. The MFWA has been urging radio stations to desist from the replay of indecent expressions on their networks since they tend to amplify such expressions and their potentially negative ramification. Thus, the rebroadcasting of the specific indecent expressions recorded in this monitoring exercise will amount to the same inappropriate action. The specific expressions used by persons cited in our reports are, however, available at the MFWA.

IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS

Introduction

The media have historically assumed the role of setting the agenda for national and political discourse in the public domain. With specific regard to radio, one of the major programming platforms that set the agenda for public discussion is radio talk shows on a number of issues, especially politics. These programming are important and help citizens to make reasonable political judgements and decisions. They also serve as a vehicle of communication between governments and the citizenry.

This peculiar role of radio broadcasting has made the medium a central part of political life in Ghana especially during election seasons. The political discussion programmes on radio offer both the ruling government and the competing political parties the opportunity to showcase their proposed policies, reforms and development agenda to the electorate to elicit votes.

The findings of the monitoring exercise have shown that this opportunity is sometimes abused. Some of the people who featured on the discussion programmes monitored and sometimes some media practitioners themselves used the radio platform to hurl insults and other invectives on political opponents. These findings have raised relevant issues that need to be addressed in order to keep a vibrant, but professional and ethical broadcast industry.

This chapter discusses the pertinent issues raised and their implications for the development of the broadcast industry and the country at large. Specifically, the discussions focus on

the implications of the findings in the areas of political communication, broadcast journalism and media ethics.

Implication on Political Communication

Political communication is the process of sharing information through both the media and interpersonal means with the intention of influencing the political environment. It is specifically aimed at influencing public knowledge, beliefs and actions on political matters. Political communication includes political discussions, political speeches, news media coverage, and ordinary citizen's talk.

The monitoring exercise focused on and assessed the conduct of the key players in political communication process: the transmitters (political groupings), the channel (the media), and the recipients (the citizenry). The findings of the monitoring, therefore, reflect the trends observed in political communication in Ghana in terms of the communication structure and framework of the various political parties, the conduct of the media and the participation of the general public in the governance of the country.

The findings of the monitoring indicates that political communication is increasingly becoming more structured with most of the people who featured on the various political talk shows being national executives, communication directors, communication team members and serial-callers of some of the political parties in the country. In fact, the phenomenon of organised serial-callers in political communication is evidence of how structured political parties have become in their communication strategies. The serial callers are dedicated or assigned to particular political programmes on identified radio networks on which they usually call in to make contributions on behalf of their political parties. This practice is meant to show a favourable swing of 'public opinion' behind the caller's party.

One result of these organised strategies is that almost all political discussions split along party lines. This trend was observed as part of the communication framework of most of the political parties. Most issues, irrespective of their nature and ramifications were discussed purely on political party lines. The discussion of national issues based on the partisan biases tends to undermine the values and pursuit of national cohesion and development.

Another implication of the failure to critically analyse issues from a detached, objective distance, is the failure to produce and pursue well-informed policy option. Even though the radio stations that offered their platforms to panellists, interviewees, callers and those who sent in text messages usually set the agenda for discussions, affiliates of the various political parties seemed to have their own agenda whenever they came on air. They usually twisted issues to suit their political interest and took statements from political opponents out of context.

Affiliates of political parties resorted to personality attacks which usually resulted in the use of indecent expressions and derailed the discussions of other issues. This did not help in the contest of ideas as expected in a multi-party democracy. Thus if the management of radio stations, producers and moderators do not exert professional editorial judgement over discussion programmes, politicians will inevitably hijack the platforms to push their agenda at the expense of discussing developmental issues that have a direct impact on the well-being of Ghanaians.

The abuse of political opponents and the twisting of issues and statements appeared to be part of the political communication framework and specific strategies adopted by some political parties, especially the NPP and the NDC, to derail the arguments of opponents' credibility and reputation. Examples of such utterances, some of which do not bear

repeating within the content of this report, are presented in Appendix B for illustrative purposes.

This practice however, has the potential of sowing seeds of discord in the political culture of the country. It also suggests that increasingly, politicians and political activists are becoming less and less tolerant of each other. Such a situation could easily create the conditions for animosity and conflict. While such verbal attacks did not always evoke an immediate and manifest reactions, they inevitably lead to antipathy between political rivals.

The use of such provocative campaign language illustrates the growing intolerance among political opponents; and the increasingly adversarial nature of political contests in the country. It also shows that the media have become willing allies or unwitting lackeys of their political *beneficiaries*.

Implication on broadcast journalism

The findings of the monitoring exercise raise a number of issues that have implications for broadcast journalism in the country, particularly radio. It also raises issues about programming, political party interests versus the public's right to know, ownership of radio stations, the conduct of broadcast journalists and other issues of concern that have ramifications for the future of the industry.

One of the positive developments was in the area of interactivity on radio. The monitoring shows remarkable audience interactivity with radio; people are able to participate in radio programmes through in-studio discussions, social media platforms like Facebook/Twitter and WhatsApp messages. This is positive for enabling active public participation in the governance process of the country. Thus, radio broadcasting, by enabling the sharing, exchange, or even contest of ideas and viewpoints is helping to entrench freedom

of expression, promote participatory governance, and ultimately nurture the country's democracy.

On the other hand, it appears that this opportunity to participate in the governance process is being abused by some radio programme discussants and hosts. The monitoring showed that most of the indecent expressions were made by discussants, interviewees, callers and commentators who sent in SMS, or Facebook or Twitter messages. That is, most of the indecent expressions were recorded during the interactive segments of the programmes monitored.

This suggests that even though interactivity on radio is improving and giving more people access to the media, the corresponding responsibility on the part of both radio stations and the individual who feature on the stations is not being honoured.

As a result of the excessive politicisation of discussions on radio, the content and formats are all beginning to seem and sound the same, which is a worry. The monitoring showed that as the elections drew closer, practically all the radio stations seemed to abandon all regular programming in favour of adversarial political discussions and phone-in formats. The majority of these programming took the form of newspaper review segments, in-studio discussions and phone in segments. Additionally, most of the topics that were discussed were picked from newspaper reviews. This was the trend on almost all the political discussions programmes monitored.

Thus, even though there is a nominal plurality of radio stations in the country, there was not much diversity in terms of the form and content of their programming. This apparent lack of sophistication or self-initiative in programme concept design and production enabled the two main political parties to hijack the airwaves for the perpetration of partisan propaganda fare. The result is that the parties effectively, subverted the public's right to be well-informed about where

they and their candidates stood on the important national issues of education, health, unemployment, and so on.

Homogenisation in programming

The issue of homogenisation of programming and programme content as well as the hijacking of radio by politicians also suggest that there is not much fair and equitable coverage and reportage of the activities of competing political parties (especially the small parties). The major political parties, especially those with representation in parliament were those that dominated the media landscape. Their members and spokespersons were used by programme hosts/producers as in-studio discussants and interviewees on almost all major issues that came up in the course of the monitoring. Unless an issue directly affected the 'small' political parties, their views were often not sought or reported.

Diversity in programming

The persistent use of specific individuals as resource persons on political discussion shows largely affected the diversity of programming and programme content. Even in the discussion of subject-specific issues that needed expert opinions, political activists and social commentators, some of whom had little or no knowledge in the subject area, were the ones whose views were sought on the issue. What was particularly significant is the fact that even specific individuals were persistently invited or entertained as panellists on particular stations and programmes; thereby implicitly promoting the perpetration of impunity on the airwaves.

Conduct of the media

The public interest obligation is the media's main claim to

being regarded as the metaphorical Fourth Estate of the realm. The media are the bridge between the contenders for political office and the electorate. Political parties and their candidates must depend on the media to explain their promises and programmes to their electorate. At the same time, since a bridge is not crossed in only one direction, the media become the arena within which individuals and groups can demand redeemable promises and canvas for specific items on their electoral wish list to be ratified in a party manifestos or policy position.

When the media conduct this normative function, the public are able to make enlightened electoral choices through an informed consideration of divergent views and policy alternatives. Public enlightenment helps the electorate to make informed decisions about who should lead and govern them. On the other hand since a mirror can also distort, the media could otherwise pervert and even subvert the rights of the electorate to legitimate representation by being reduced to the arena for the trading of verbal fisticuffs. The monitoring project shows that the radio stations were not to be used for the trading of insults and innuendo among rival candidates and leaders. This is partially also because in Ghana, much of the media reporting is very much personality-focused; a reflection both of Ghana's (and Africa) brand of political culture and of the general deficits in professional journalism training among practitioners.

Political Discussions Programmes

Another phenomenon closely linked to the use of political activists in political discussions programmes is the influence of politicians on the news cycle. It was noticed during the monitoring that when political representatives make controversial statements, some of those statements end up as

headlines in newspapers the following morning. The headline stories, including those statements, are then discussed for the day. Thus, the same individuals and issues are looped back into an endless revolving door of partisan polemics. This was the news cycle that was observed during the monitoring. Obviously, whenever these discussions focused on pronouncements by rival political leaders, the subsequent discussions and phone-ins easily degenerated into personal attacks and the use of indecorous expressions.

The other aspect of the news cycle was the recycling of issues over extended periods of time without any new perspectives. On some networks, certain controversial issues are discussed approximately over a one-week period. The more controversial issues were repeatedly discussed, the more indecent expressions were used.

Ownership of Radio Stations

The ownership of radio stations is another issue that may impact the radio industry in future. Radio stations that are owned by politician and those that are politically aligned recorded more indecent expressions. The findings of the monitoring showed that the content of programming, the line of questioning and discussion of issues, especially on pro-political party radio stations, were to a large extent influenced by the political interests and preferences of the radio stations which were determined by the political loyalties of the owners.

The hosts/presenters on the pro-political party networks also tended not to practice the ethos of professionalism – impartiality, responsibility, objectivity, and balance in reporting political events, national issues, and other activities. Their statements and lines of questioning easily betrayed the parochial interests and the political biases of their radio stations. Such presenters also tended to indulge rather than

restrain discussants/callers who were also inclined towards their political preferences. This made it difficult for the presenters to ask such discussants and owners of radio stations in particular, to support their unsubstantiated allegations with evidence or to withdraw the offending expressions. Where some hosts seemed inclined to get the right thing done, some discussants defiantly refused to retract the indecent remarks or to provide evidence for their accusations. At best the host then purported to disapprove of the offending statement by disassociating himself and his station from the statements.

Some of the moderators were professional in handling their programmes. They often tried to bring discussants/callers in line with the issues that were slated for discussion. They took proactive steps by educating callers to be civil in their language use even before their phone-in segments began. Others insisted that panellists/callers withdraw unsavoury comments or else substantiate their allegations.

Implication for Media Ethics

The repeal of the criminal and seditious libel laws has expanded the free expression rights and opportunities of the public and the media (and especially, radio) in Ghana. The public have come to depend on information supplied by the media (especially radio) to make sense of their world, organise their lives, and make rational and informed choices and decisions. Therefore, to the extent that the ethics of the journalism profession are routinely violated or compromised, the constitutional guarantees secured for the media are betrayed. This raises questions about the regulatory framework in the broadcast industry and the extent to which broadcasters and media outlets respect and adhere to the ethics of the journalism profession.

The irresponsible exercise of free expression rights by the

public and media promote an insidious culture of disrespect, division and even conflict and social anarchy. As instruments of social change and advocacy, the media are supposed to help the citizenry to guard against such practices, but for the media to be the platform on which such expressions were made says a lot about the disregard of the ethics of the journalism profession by some broadcasters in the country.

Provisions of the National Media Commission's *Guidelines for Broadcasting* require that "all political broadcasts should be in decent language" and that "controversial or offensive references to opponents must be avoided..." Additionally, Article (1) of the GJA *Code of Ethics* also talks about the public's right to true information. The ceding of the media space to political propagandists, peddlers and spin doctors detracts from this right of citizens. Furthermore, the lack of background research/investigation/verification of issues on the part of programme hosts and their producers also made it difficult for them to provide truthful and factual information to the public and to probe issues thoroughly for the public good.

The NMC *Guidelines for Broadcasting* provides that, "Media practitioners must remain neutral in partisan politics and avoid all associations and activities that may compromise their integrity as journalists or damage their credibility." Furthermore, "the host of any political programme who is identified with a particular political party should be required to be fair to all parties". However, the findings of the monitoring did show that because of political associations, some broadcast journalists were quite biased in the moderation of their programmes thereby losing their fairness and objectivity in addressing panellists/callers and even in their own statements. This denied the other political parties fairness in coverage and reportage of their issues and the general public, the right to fair, balanced and objective news/information.

Article (2) of the GJA *Code of Ethics* also talks about the responsibility of journalists to the public and the various interests of society. The code acknowledges that journalists can take positions on issues but they are to separate comments and conjecture from facts. Some presenters, however, did not conduct themselves as such. However, some radio stations persistently used individuals who had been cited as being very abusive as in-studio discussants/resource persons.

From all indications, provisions of the GJA *Code of Ethics* and the NMC *Ghana Guidelines for Broadcasting* were routinely violated and this suggests that neither the moral admonitions and guiding principles of the NMC nor the self-regulatory codes of the media associations themselves are adequate to address the pervasive infractions of the ethics of the profession by radio presenters and their media houses.

In the absence of relevant legislative powers to impose effective sanctions, the NMC is able only to persuade and exhort journalists and media houses to comply with its guidelines. The National Communication Authority (NCA), which has the constitutional backing to allocate and withdraw frequencies, is also not taking any action possibly because it does not regulate content. Ironically, the NMC which has the mandate to regulate content does not have the legal backing to allocate or withdraw frequencies.

Unfortunately, even when the Constitution Review Commission recommended in its report that the NMC should be made responsible for the authorisation of broadcast frequencies while relying on the technical expertise of the NCA, the Government White Paper rejected these proposals on the ground that frequency allocation involved more than broadcast frequencies and extended over matters of national security, aviation, shipping etc.

Compounding these unclear lines of duty between the NCA and the NMC is the absence of a national broadcasting

law. This further makes it difficult to legally regulate the broadcast industry with stringent regulations as well as the ethics of the profession.

One thing that is clear from the findings as discussed so far is the fact that there are a lot of ethical infractions in the broadcast industry. Unfortunately, the media association's codes of ethics/conduct are not being adhered to possibly because they are not binding. In the absence of broadcasting law, it appears that broadcast journalists and their media outlets operate on their own and as such do not have any responsibility to anyone but to their own commercial and political interests. This trend of unprofessional journalistic practice poses threat to media freedom, freedom of expression rights, and indeed, the democracy being enjoyed in the country.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The repeal of the criminal and seditious libel laws in 2001 has expanded media freedoms and freedoms of expression. The proliferation of media outlets, especially radio stations, and the introduction of talk shows or discussion programmes where all citizens are given the opportunity to participate in governance process has further entrenched Ghana's democracy. However, the media platform is abused when inflammatory and indecent language is used to discuss personalities instead of issues during the election campaign process. Sometimes this creates unnecessary tension and confrontation among the citizenry.

It is important to be reminded that the objective of the project was to contribute to free and fair elections through issues based discussions devoid of vitriolic language. Data was gathered from 70 radio stations selected across the 10 regions of Ghana over a nine month period with the help of 70 university graduates who were trained as monitors. This chapter presents the summary of the findings, lessons learnt, challenges encountered in the course of the monitoring and some recommendations for relevant stakeholders.

Summary of Findings

A total of 464 indecent remarks were recorded over the nine month monitoring period. Most of the indecent expressions were recorded during political discussion shows in the Akan

language. It was also found that the subject matter of discussion sometimes precipitated the trading of indecorous expressions.

Altogether, seven categories of indecent expressions were recorded. Unsubstantiated allegations (165); insulting and offensive comments (159); and provocative remarks (88) were the three most common types of indecent expressions used against political opponents. Even though the exercise was aimed at naming and shaming individuals and groups who made indecent remarks, pacifist comments were also noted and commended.

Radio provides a unique tool for political parties to market themselves and their programmes to the electorate. The findings of the monitoring, however, show that some agents and affiliates of political parties used the interactivity on radio to rather abuse their opponents. In this regard, agents and affiliates of the main opposition party, the NPP, and the ruling party, the NDC, were found to be the main culprits.

With regard to the 70 radio stations, it was found that indecent expressions were recorded in 45 of them, Accra based Montie FM and Oman FM which have strong political leanings towards the NDC and NPP respectively were expressively partisan and demonstrated little regard for objectivity, fairness and accuracy. Montie FM recorded the highest number (95) of indecent expressions followed by Oman FM (65). This may suggest that the primary motivation of radio stations with political leanings is to promote a parochial political agenda; and not to pursue some presumably utopian ethical and professional ideals.

Programme hosts or presenters on radio shows with political leanings were generally less objective and ethical in their moderation of programmes. They often seem unable or unwilling to rein in panel members who tended to share their political sympathies and biases. On the other hand some of

the moderators were very professional in the conduct of their discussion shows.

The political communication environment in the country is very vibrant and the other frontiers of interactive radio have expanded to incorporate comments and reactions from social media platforms. This means more and more Ghanaians are getting access to the media and an opportunity to participate in the governance process in the county.

However, the abuses recorded on radio platforms monitored and the obvious infractions of journalistic ethics testify adversely to the larger social goals of broadcast pluralism and freedom of expression and democratic politics. It suggests that politicians are not using radio platforms to educate the electorate on their programmes, but rather as propaganda machinery and platforms for abusing and denigrating political opponents. The dominance of politicians in the discussion of all issues as was noticed during the monitoring creates monotony in programming and programme content, narrows the spectrum and news sources and even impacts the news cycle.

The conduct of some programme hosts, especially those on pro-political party radio stations cast a negative verdict on professional practice and poses a threat to the credibility of the media as a whole. The findings also imply that training institutions would have to improve their training efforts, including short courses that seek to address the emergent and changing needs of society.

The relevant responsible regulatory institutions must also respond to questions about policy and regulation on practice.

Challenges

A number of challenges were encountered in the implementation of the language monitoring project. Most of

the challenges had to do with the critical stakeholders of the project such as political parties, the media and the researchers who were trained and assigned to monitor the 70 selected radio stations.

From the beginning of the project, getting officials of the various political parties to attend meetings and other public engagements was difficult. The situation became even more challenging when campaign activities peaked. In instances where the political parties decided to send representatives to those engagements, some of them did not seem to be sufficiently influential within their parties to be able to inspire the desired behaviour change among their party members.

Some personal issues also affected the efficiency of the project, for example, when monitors fell ill and were unable to provide reports on the station for which they had responsibility. Some political party activists, not wishing to be publicly indicted for their role in perpetration of indecent language on radio, decided to channel their derogatory remarks through radio stations that were previously not noted for such practices and which were not part of the radio stations included in the monitoring exercise. However, challenges associated with project reporting and securing extra funding made it practically impossible to extend the monitoring to cover such radio stations.

Lessons Learnt

Every project has its own peculiarities: from the planning, through implementation to evaluation. But at the end, each project provides practical lessons that can be used to improve subsequent activities. In the case of the monitoring of electoral campaign language on radio, some of the challenges encountered and how they were managed have provided useful lessons for engaging stakeholders, sustaining public

interest in the project as well as attracting media attention and publicity.

The challenges encountered in getting especially political parties to attend some of the forums organised have shown that a lot of factors must be considered when trying to engage stakeholders. Specifically, invitations must always be extended early to enable invitees integrate the proposed programme into their agenda or give feedback on their unavailability so alternative arrangements can be made. It is also important to get a fair idea of the activities of stakeholders. This also helps to strategise so that planned project meetings and other activities do not coincide with that of stakeholders.

Drawing flexible and well-spaced implementation plans and timelines is another important lesson learnt from the project. This makes it possible to accommodate the rescheduling of meetings, incorporate suggestions and new ideas which may come up as the project rolls out. Very tight implementation plans with little spacing between activities brings about fatigue on the media, staff and other stakeholders

Publicity was an important component of the monitoring project. The project sought to name and shame perpetrators of indecent expressions and therefore publicity was very instrumental in achieving this objective. However, with the reality of competing political issues/events especially in an election year, this was not always possible. With the experience gained in managing this challenge, it is always important to reschedule planned activities to an earlier or later date/time when it is identified early that the planned programme is likely to clash with other competing ones which may take over media attention. That way, the programme can receive the desired media publicity when it is finally executed.

Routine activities such as the monthly reports can also result in the apathy that characterises familiarity. Therefore, other publicity activities such as press conferences, public

forums and other stakeholder engagements can be undertaken to attract media attention to projects. This approach helped in sustaining interest and media attention on the monitoring project. Specifically, a number of press conferences and public forums were organised on different issues around the monitoring and this was very useful in keeping the public up to date on the findings of the project.

The monitoring project has also shown that project reviews during implementation are very important. They help in early identification of issues and challenges that could affect the achievement of milestones and project objectives so that they can be mitigated early.

Another lesson drawn from the monitoring exercise is that where data collectors need to be recruited, it will be better to recruit individuals who are not always employed so that they can be reached especially by phone at all times. It will always help to ensure that they stay focused on gathering data and not their other duties.

Recommendations

From the findings of the monitoring exercise and the challenges encountered, a number of recommendations have been collated to help strike the right balance between media freedoms, freedom of expression and corresponding responsibilities. The recommendations have been sub divided into five sections: recommendations for the media, the media regulator and media associations; political parties, journalism institutions and other stakeholders.

Media

The media are key players in all democratic dispensations. Apart from their watchdog role, the media serve as channels

of communication between government and the governed and vice versa. The media are able to shape and organise thoughts on specific issues through their reportage—how they frame reports and what they place emphasis on. It is, therefore recommended that the media and broadcast journalists in particular insist on decency on their networks. They should be diligent in exhibiting professional control over their guest and programmes in order to ensure that decorum prevails in the media.

Moderators and producers of the various radio talk shows should also enhance the quality of programming on their networks. Particularly in the area of text messaging, producers in particular should screen text messages and forward only those that are civil to the host/presenters to air. This will eliminate the situation where hosts/presenters begin airing text messages only to terminate them half way through because they contain abusive language.

Also, it is recommended that moderators and their producers do their own investigations and verification about issues so that they can present the facts of issues to the citizenry. This will save the ordinary citizen from the confusion political activists create when they present politically biased versions of issues and events. It will also help moderators to thoroughly probe statements from politicians who sometimes make unfounded statements and try to evade questions pertaining to specific issues as much as possible; journalists should try to separate their opinions and comments from facts.

It is also recommended that host/presenters/anchors, producers and other journalists undergo regular refresher training programmes and workshops to enhance their capacity to handle their respective roles professionally. Specifically, moderators of talk shows should undergo training on the conduct of interviews, handling of difficult panellists and the moderation of controversial issues. Also, if producers enhance

their capabilities through training workshops and seminars, they will be able to produce other programmes on other issues of relevance to the public. This will produce some variety into radio programming and minimise the problem of monotonous programme contents.

Above all, journalists have to be accountable to their readers, listeners, viewers and one another. This means they must abide by the same ethical standards to which they hold others. Therefore, they should admit their mistake and correct them. They have to recognise that there can be no freedom without a corresponding obligation or responsibility. It is only when they strive for a balance between freedom and responsibility that they would be contributing to national development and social cohesion.

As part of their responsibility to those who patronise their services, journalists should not be content with the use of disclaimers to disassociate themselves from unsavoury remarks. Instead, they should insist on evidence for unsubstantiated allegations and ask those who make indecent expressions to retract and apologise where necessary. In extreme cases, moderators should not hesitate to walk difficult discussants out of their studios to serve as a deterrent to others.

In line with this, it is recommended that radio stations, producers and host/presenters should not invite as resource persons and panellists, individuals who persistently use abusive language. This will help reduce the level of indecency on the airwaves.

With the advances in technology, an emerging solution to preventing indecent remarks on radio is the use of delay or dump broadcast system. It is appropriate for all radio stations in Ghana to adopt the technology to complement their efforts at ensuring decorum on their broadcast platforms.

Finally, the media have sacred responsibilities to foster national cohesion and engender a sense of belonging to the

citizenry. At the same time, the media and media practitioners could represent a threat to the freedoms they currently enjoy. Thus, the media are critical to national unity, peaceful coexistence and the overall stability of the country.

The Media Regulator and Media Associations

The media regulator and media associations in the country have the task of ensuring that journalists and media outlets operate with high ethical standards. A number of recommendations are, therefore, made for the NMC, GJA and GIBA to help improve professionalism in the media.

The monitoring exercise greatly contributed to the reduction of indecent language-use on radio and by extension, the promotion of issues-based discussion and professionalism in the media. Therefore, if the exercise is continued, decorum on the airwaves will improve. It is thus recommended that the NMC pursues the idea of institutionalising the monitoring of radio stations. When political activists and radio stations know that they are constantly being monitored, they will be more careful with their statements and conduct. This will promote issues-based discussions and national development while minimising the incidents of indecent expressions on radio platforms.

Also, even though the NMC does not have the constitutional mandate to sanction or withdraw licences, it should liaise with the NCA to appropriately sanction media outlets and practitioners who do not uphold professionalism in their line of duty.

The GJA and GIBA are also encouraged to be more actively engaged in self-regulating their members. The GJA and GIBA should find ways to enforce their own code of ethics/conduct to improve professional standard in journalism practice.

The findings on the infractions recorded over the nine-month period reinforce the imperative of a national broadcasting law. Such legislation will infuse decorum and circumspection in the broadcasting industry while regulating the activities of the broadcast media.

Political Parties

The media and radio in particular serve as channels that enable political entities to engage their publics on their programmes and policies. Because of its accessibility, portability and cost effectiveness, radio presents a unique tool for political parties to reach the masses with their messages. The proliferation of radio stations and the introduction of political discussion programmes on a lot of radio networks have enabled political parties to share their political and development agenda with the electorate. It has also helped political parties in their pursuit to persuade the electorate about their policy options and manifesto promises. It is thus recommended that political parties and their communication directorates optimise the opportunity of free airtime they get on radio talk shows to explain their programmes and policies to the masses instead of abusing the platforms given them to insult and provoke political rivals.

It is also recommended that when party officials make unsavoury remarks, the leadership of the party should publicly condemn the act to portray to the electorate that the party believes in decent politicking and frowns upon unguarded statements.

The political environment in Ghana makes it possible for political parties to organise serial callers and use them to champion their causes. To ensure that these serial callers remain relevant and contribute to the fortunes of their respective political parties, they should be educated on the programmes, policies and developmental projects of their

political parties and how such programmes would benefit the generality of Ghanaians. They should be made to understand that hurling abusive words on political rivals do not bring votes but rather discredit the reputation of the political parties.

Journalism Institutions

The findings from the monitoring have revealed a number of shortfalls in the work of some broadcast journalists. Prominent among the gaps identified are issues of ethics and the conduct and moderation of talk shows; specifically, the handling of in-studio discussions and interviews. Institutions that provide training in journalism must, therefore, improve their curricula in these areas so that the calibre of journalists produced from those institutions become relevant to the industry practice.

It will also be helpful for the institutions of learning to run short courses and refresher seminars for already practicing journalists. Beyond that, experts in the field of journalism should reach out to practicing journalists through regular training and capacity building workshops. This will help to upgrade and hone the skills of practicing journalists to better manage their respective programmes.

Other Stakeholders

The general public must also contribute their quota to the democratic health of the country by desisting from the use of indecent expressions in the media. State institutions such as the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) should also help in sanitising the airwaves by providing public education against the use of derogatory remarks against others while promoting issues-based discussions at all levels of discourse. In addition, it is recommended that civil society organisations and corporate bodies join to champion decorum on the airwaves.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A CATEGORY DEFINITIONS FOR CAMPAIGN LANGUAGE MONITORING ON RADIO

Date Monitored

- The study is conducted over a nine-month period, from April to December 2016.
- The date of monitoring is the date on which the particular programme content was aired.
- It is recorded as the day, month, and year of recording.

Time of Broadcast

- The time of broadcast of the programme being monitored is recorded as:
 - a) Morning,
 - b) Mid-day,
 - c) Afternoon,
 - d) Evening or Night
- The specific time is to be given in the box provided.

Name and Ownership of Radio Station

- There are 70 radio stations whose programme contents are to be monitored and studied.
- They are identified by name and coded.
- They are mostly (except 3) privately owned and are selected from all 10 regions of Ghana.
- For more detail, however, ownership examines whether the station is owned by:
 - a) State
 - b) Community
 - c) Business person

d) Political/business person

Location of Radio Station

- The radio stations to be studied are located throughout the country – in all 10 regions.
- A total of twenty three (23) out of the 70 selected stations were located in the Greater Accra Region. Fourteen (14) were selected from the Ashanti Region, seven (7) from the Brong Ahafo Region, six (6) from the Northern Region, four (4) from the Western Region, five (5) from the Eastern Region, three (3) from the Volta Region, four (4) from the Central Region, two (2) from the Upper East Region and two (2) from the Upper West Region.
- They are all identified by city/town, district and region in which they are located.

Programme Identification 1

- The programme to be coded is identified by:

1. Title/Topic

- This specifies the exact title or topic of the programme coded. Coding could be on a segment of the programme but we need to identify the programme itself by name.

2. Brief Summary of Story Coded

- A brief summary of the particular news story or item monitored would be provided in a sentence or two to aid in an assessment of the story at a glance.

Programme Identification 2

1. Type of Programme

- Looks at whether the item monitored was a news story/item or written from the radio station's own sources and aired as its main news story/item; or
- A discussion programme aired in the morning, mid-day, afternoon, evening, night; or
- A release from some external groups such as the government, the opposition or some other pressure groups; or
- An interview granted by any of all the above sources.

2. Origin of Programme

- Records whether the programme coded is part of the radio station's own programme schedules; or
- Is one broadcast from an affiliate radio station;
- From another radio station; or
- From an identifiable newspaper source; or
- From a television station.
- It also makes provision for political party ads or jingles and unplanned programmes.

3. Language of Broadcast of Programme

- This documents the language(s) in which the particular programme or item was broadcast.
- It does not necessarily record all the languages in which the radio station concerned broadcasts.

4. Duration of Programme

- Records the duration of the entire programme within which the segment coded was broadcast
- It is measured in minutes.

Host/Guest Identification

1. Name of Programme Host/Presenter

- Identifies the host or presenter of the programme or item coded by name

2. Number, Names, Gender & Political Party/Group Affiliation of Guests/Discussants

- Political discussions usually have a number of guests or discussants who represent various political parties and/or pressure groups.
- The number and names of guests/discussants and their political representations are to be recorded.

Main Subject of Story/Programme/Discussion

- The main subject of the story or programme can be political, economic, social, cultural or a mixture of these involving politicians.
- Subjects will include political party activities, defections, corruption, conflicts, disagreements, voter education, etc.

- For the purposes of this study, the programme or news item is classified as political if it relates to the government, opposition parties, their officials and all their activities.

Attribution/Sources of News/Programme Content

- These were the sources or originators of the broadcast programmes/news item.
- They could be the President, Vice-President, opposition politicians, pressure groups, other political actors;
- Also, radio station's journalists or other news media sources such as newspapers, GNA, Reuters, CNN, BBC, affiliate stations such as Peace FM, Joy FM, etc.
- The story is classified as "un-sourced" or "anonymous" if it has no clearly identified source from whom/which information was obtained.

Political Party Mentioned or Referred to

- The study focuses on political discourse and involves all registered political parties in Ghana's parliament and their followers.
- Stories/programmes/discussions of and about these people and their parties are coded
- Also coded is political discourse involving pressure groups and other political parties which may affect political parties in the study.

Main Actor(s) Named in the Programme, News Story or Discussion

- This addresses the question: who is the main subject of the programme, discussion, news item or story?
- The person or people involved in the story or about whom it is broadcast or people quoted or referred to in the programme, story or discussion.
- They include the President, the Vice-President, former Presidents, former Vice-Presidents, leaders and officials of ruling and opposition parties, etc.
- They also include those acting on behalf of their political actors and/or their political parties.
- There could be more actors in a given story. The study notes and records the three (3) main actors.

Language/Expressions Used on the Programme and its import 1

- This records the nature and type of language-remarks, expressions, comments used in the programme or item coded.
- It seeks to document whether the language used is:
 - a) provocative or conciliatory;
 - b) civil or controversial;
 - c) insulting or otherwise;
 - d) promotes prejudice/bigotry or otherwise;
 - e) divides or unites;
 - f) is capable of provoking or engendering violence (physically, verbally or otherwise) or not, etc.

Language/Expressions Used on the Programme and its Import 2

- Adjectives or adverbs or some other emotive words which have the tendency to convey more than their superficial meanings
- They might include value-laden words which would be examined for their denotative and connotative meanings.
- Coders are expected to record verbatim the exact words, phrases or sentences broadcast which have been coded under the category selected above.
- This helps substantive or verify the exactness of the categorisation and to add to the repertoire of language use in that category.

Definitions of Different Language/Expression Types

1. Insults:

- They are any 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.

2. Hate speech:

- 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.

3. Prejudice and bigotry:

- Expressing instinctive views or biases against someone based on

preconceived ideas and/or unreasonable dislike for a group of people.

- “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.

4. Inflammatory expressions:

- Statements likely to provoke anger in others and/or promote violence in society.
- “Ghana will burn if we don’t win”. “Ghana will be like Kenya.....”

5. Incitement:

- Statements which provoke immediate action by others and can lead to violence.
- “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.

6. Expletives:

- Swear words. Rude and unsavoury expressions unfit for publication/broadcast but used in reference to others, nonetheless

7. Ethnic slurs and stereotyping:

- Similar to issues which result in hate speech.

8. Unsubstantiated allegations:

- Statements meant to offend and impugn the integrity of a person calculated to bring them to public ridicule.

9. Gender Specific Insults

- Offensive words or speech directed at someone just based on their gender; usually more painful.
- “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.

10. Divisive expressions:

- Any expression that seeks to create division among group of people or communities on the basis of party affiliation, religion or ethnicity;
- It could also be based on other groupings as making allusions to previous conflict which exist or have the potential to ignite old wars among identified groups of people or create ill-feeling.
- Examples: “A Muslim cannot be President of Ghana” or “a Fanti cannot lead this nation.”

Types of Story Embellishment/Enhancement Used

- Programme enhancements or embellishments include proverbs, well-known expressions, jokes, anecdotes, portions of songs/music and laughter.
- These are sometimes contained in news stories, programmes or people’s submissions during discussion programmes.
- Also, any adjectives, adverbs or phrases with the tendency to colour or embellish the story, item, programme or news report.

Tone of Programme/News Item/Discussion

- “Tone” examines the discourse of the programme or news story/item by recording how words are used to denote an atmosphere of:
 - a) civility or belligerence,
 - b) whether the general tone is favourable/friendly, or not;
 - c) conciliatory; insulting or provocative;
 - d) unfavourable/adversarial; etc., or neutral
- It is favourable when more civil words are used, or when the general tone suggests a betterment of relations.
- It is unfavourable when there is a belligerent or confrontational tone.
- It is insulting when insults or invectives are traded or used; etc.

Programme Handling by Hosts

- This assess the critical role of hosts/presenters in moderating programmes coded.

- It examines their handling of in-studio discussions, phone-in segments, interviews and time allocation.
- Depending on their performance, they are rated:
 - a) Good, or
 - b) Bad
- Monitors are expected to give reasons for their answers and to indicate which host is being referred to. The reasons must indicate the exact action or inaction of the host whenever an indecent remark was made during the programme.

Focus of News/Programme/Discussion

- Monitors are expected to code whether the news, programme or discussion is:
 - a) Issue-based;
 - b) Personality-based; or
 - c) A mix of the two categories in given proportions.
- If the programme defies any such categorisation, monitors are expected to indicate so.

Event/Occasion Broadcast

- This looks at the event or occasion based on which the broadcast is made or news item is broadcast
- Occasions identified include:
 - a) Press conferences, media briefings, etc.
 - b) Political party congresses;
 - c) Parliamentary proceedings;
 - d) Interviews granted to the radio station by politicians or others in which political actors and/or their parties are mentioned;
 - e) Social events; and
 - f) Efforts by reporters or journalists to gather their own news through environmental scanning.

Story/Programme Setting

- The setting of the story, programme or item broadcast looks at the location where the event reported took place
- These include:

- a) The locality and district of the radio station,
- b) Other districts,
- c) The region or regional capital, or
- d) The national capital of Ghana.

Any other Observations

- Monitors are to note down all observations made about the news, programme or discussion they code including;
 - a) Particular music/songs played,
 - b) Refrains used,
 - c) Repeated expressions made,
 - d) Attitudes/behaviours of hosts and/or particular discussants etc.

APPENDIX B COMMENTS ENDORSING VIOLENCE

August 8, broadcast of Democracy on Happy FM, Joe Donkor of the NPP in a studio discussion made the following remarks

“Officer biara a yɛde wobeto polling station, na sɛ wowiena sɛ wo se wonsign, oh nka yɛ bɛ bowo. Ɛno deɛ dabiara me ka. Nka yɛ bɛ bowo. Wo EC officer biara a wobegyina polling station, as election officer, na yɛn akanawiena sign pink sheet naobiange ne deɛ, na sɛ wo se wonsign a, yɛbɛ bowo. Ɛnɛ omomfa macho, omomfa police fuorpaɔ”

English Translation:

“Every Officer placed at a polling station, who refuse to sign after we finish, oh like we will beat you. I always say that, like we will beat you. Every EC officer who will stand at polling station as election officer and refuse to sign the pink sheet for us after we count, we will beat you. Then they should hire macho men, they should take police personnel.”

Uncle Ebo of the NPP on Democracy programme on Happy FM, broadcast on May 9, 2017 made the following remarks:

“I believe de, Party biaramo ne ho ban The party vigilanties no, ɛwo de yshyɛ mu kena NPP yenpɛ menyinfo, yɛnpɛ mesiafo a won ani yɛ den. Afeinso ntokwahwehwamna NDC edeba no, yɛn bo yɛn hoban, NPP nibiamfa ne hoadwen sɛbe nyɛ kokrokona wo de dzi man, ɛna ɛnyɛ macho nawode ko, sɛ pregoonaebenya o, sɛ pin naebenya o, sɛ daadzenaebe sew o, fa hyɛ wo kotoku mu all die be die, obana sɛ obɛ bo wo a, fa wo no ma ompira.”

English Translation:

(I believe that all parties should protect themselves. The Party vigilantes should be encouraged NPP Should look for strong party 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 giants and we don't fight with macho. If you get a nail, a pin, or a machete, sharpen it and keep it in your pockets all die be die. If anyone come to beat you, stab him with it).

Provocative Comments

August 11, broadcast of A.M Drive on Atinka FM, Ernest Owusu Bempah of the NDP in a studio discussion made this remark

“...it is so sad when they start getting up and talking about oh enayabuildy infrastructures, ya yɛ sei, Akourba, that is a cock and bull story I’ve ever heard in my life, because any idiot can build an interchange, any fool can build a school...”

English Translation:

“...it is so sad when they start getting up and talking about oh and we’ve built infrastructures, we done this and that, Akourba, that is a cock and bull story I’ve ever heard in my life, because any idiot can build an interchange, any fool can build a school...”

August 3, broadcast of Angel in the morning on Angel FM, Maxwell Ofosu Boakye of the NPP in a studio discussion made this remark

Commenting on the petition to president to free Montie panellists

“... ɛyɛ me wanwan sɛ president Mills deɛ ɔmo anfa amba. ɔmo nkan ho asem sɛ yɛsɛ president Mahama na akum no...”

English Translation:

“... I am surprised they never spoke about president Mill’s death. They didn’t speak about the news that president Mahama killed him...”

Unsubstantiated Allegations

Uncle Ebo of the NPP on Democracy programme on Happy FM, broadcast on May 9, 2017 made the following remarks

“Me nimOpanyin a oye NDC nimapa a agyae NDC. Onoankasa nyame adom wahyehye ne party naokakyere me dɛ NDC nwiini aba da owia, NDC wia, Nanka Mahama Betumadi president. Mahama, John Dramani Mahama less than six months oye edey bee kɛkɛ okyeakyeano

nawakum Mills awia ne sika, NDC fo yε akoronfo too much wo yε awifo too much wo yensombore woyε sososombore”

English Translation:

(I know a true NDC Man who by God’s Grace formed his own party after he left NDC. He told me that NDC Never win an election they always steal. If not so John Dramani Mahama would never be president. In less than six months he use to turn his mouth to say edey bee kεkε. He killed Mills and Stole his money. NDC’s are thieves too much they are thieves too much, they are ticks they are ticks.)

Angelo Agbeshie of the NDC on Jubilee FM’s programme, Aguadze, aired on July 14, 2016, said:

“Bawumia nako rubber de ashi be midzor coins viade name, ne miva miana miagawor galamsey.....Woyi de Chinavimawo gbor be newo dzi coins viade naye ko woagatorgbor va Ghana.....Egborvi kple agbo dey vovototo le eme”

English Translation:

Bawumia went begging for coins from galamsey operators with the promise of giving them the nod to operate when they come to power. They {NPP} went to those extradited Chinese men to collect money with the promise to make them come back to Ghana. He concluded with a proverb with literally means “There is a difference between a goat and a ram”

Comments Inciting Violence

July (19) broadcast of Boiling point on Oman FM, Yaw Adomako Baafi in a studio discussion made these remarks

“...NDC foε a starti εmo adeε no biomtitrewni Ashanti Region, Brong Ahafo Region ene eastern Region sε yε bε yε election εmo twεtwε mayafi ne adeade, me sirε mε deε sε police bεn wofa no kε but mo hwε paa no na sε policefoε mbεn monamo bε bo no a mobo no... mε deε dε mi ka no sε nokwareni sε wo yε kayayoonina εbi bana εsε oyε Asante nina εkasaa nsem fonaya bε no paamofa pan mbono am telling you mε kε Kumasi akε yε saa campaign yi”

English Translation:

“...NDC has started their things again especially in Ashanti Region, Brong Ahafo Region and Eastern Region, if there is going to be an election they have been taking scarf and others. I am begging, if the police are close, hand them to the police but if you check and the police are not close to you, you should beat them... if you are a head porter (Kayayoo) and someone comes that he is an Asante and speak nonsense, then the person is contracted, you should use the basin to hit him, am telling you am going to campaign this in Kumasi”.

Yaw Adomako Baafi of the NPP was listing the tools to him the NDC is using especially when they are in government. He mentioned Five (5) points, In elaborating the points when he got to the third point which was the use of tribal slurs, he mention how they are turning northerners against the NPP and one of his examples were the NDC ridiculing the Kayayoo in the name of the NPP.

On June 24, 2017, during the broadcast of Pampaso on Montie FM, Mugabe the host and supporter of NDC made these remarks:

“... mi se ghanayan hwe yie a 7th January, monmarkituhu, 7th January 2017, constitutional crisis ena ye pɛ ɛwo ha”

English Translation:

“...I am saying that Ghana if we are not careful, 7th January, mark it, 7th January 2017, constitutional crisis is what we want here.”

Offensive Comments**On June 9, 2017 during the broadcast of Pampaso on Montie FM, Mugabe the host and supporter of NDC made these remarks:**

“...nti se ye pɛ mɛɛma ma omuakasa ɛwo Ghana ha a, naomu a omuhu aye fi ya ɛwo se, eeh, sɛbi sɛbi, ye ma omusapor ne samina, ye di sapor ne samina, ye di hyɛ Appiah Stadium nsem...Carl Wilson ɛwo sɛ ye di sapor ne samina ye di hyɛ Appiah Stadium nsem, sɛ Appiah Stadium e, Carl Wilson ne hu aye fi ntidware no wabadwem...who born dog, greedy bastard, Carl Wilson greedy, greedy, greedy...”

English Translation:

“...so if we want men to talk in Ghana, then those who are dirty, excuse, give them sponge and soap, we will give sponge and soap to Appiah Stadium... Carl Wilson, we ought to give sponge and soap to Appiah Stadium and tell him that you are dirty so he should bath you in public, who born dog, greedy bastard, Carl Wilson greedy, greedy, greedy, greedy...”

On July 27, 2017 during the broadcast of Adekyeemusem on Montie FM, Koku Anyidoho of the NDC in a phone interview made these remarks:

“... this same Bawumia the liar has come out to lie and say se they will not take any more loans because president Mahama egye gyegyegye loans dodo, the same Bawumia the liar has come out to say se, omu dis omugye tax because we are overtaxing Ghanaians, enti ono Bawumia dis, oba, all the taxes that are in place, obeyiyininyinaaefriho...this same Bawumia the liar”

English Translation:

“...this same Bawumia the **liar** has come out to lie and say that they will not take any more loans because president Mahama has taken too many loans, the same Bawumia the **liar** has come out to say that, they will not be taking taxes because we are overtaxing Ghanaians, so he Bawumia, when he comes, all the taxes that are in place, he would eliminate all of them ...this same Bawumia the liar”

(Koku was asked to talk about the NPP and Nana Addo's claim that their manifesto is not yet out because, if it comes out now, it would be copied by the NDC.)

APPENDIX C CONTENT ANALYSIS CODING SCHEDULE

Monitoring of Campaign Language on Selected Radio Stations in Ghana

1. Date - Month - Year

Date	Month	Year

2. Time of Broadcast

Morning	Mid-day	Afternoon	Evening	Night

3. Name of Radio Station

4. Ownership of Radio Station

State	Community	Politicians	Business	Person	Politician/Business

5. Location of Radio Station

City/Town	District	Region

6. Title/topic of Programme

7. Brief Summary of Story Coded

8. Type of Programme
 01. 6:00 am news (including interview within news)
 02. Mid-day news (including interview within news)
 03. 6:00 pm news (including interview within news)
 04. Morning political discussion programme
 05. Mid-day political discussion programme
 06. Evening/night political discussion programme
 07. Newspaper review programme
 08. Specific election programme of the radio station
 09. Political advertisements/jingles
 10. Coverage of major political rally/congress
 11. Interview granted by a given source. Please specify
 12. Media release from a given source. Please specify
 13. Other (Please specify)

- 9. Origin of Programme
 - 01. Radio station’s own programme
 - 02. From an affiliate radio station (Please specify)
 - 03. From a newspaper (Please specify).....
 - 04. From a TV programme (Please specify)
 - 05. Unplanned programme
 - 06. Political advertisement/jingle
 - 07. Other (Please Specify)

- 10. Language of Broadcast of Programme/Discussion
 - 01. Akan (Asante Twi, Akwapem Twi and Fante)
 - 02. English
 - 03. Ewe
 - 04. Nzema
 - 05. Kasem/Nankani/Buli
 - 06. Gurune/Kusaal
 - 07. Hausa
 - 08. Dagbani
 - 09. Mampruli
 - 10. Dagaare/Waale
 - 11. Awutu/Efutu
 - 12. Ga
 - 13. Dangme
 - 14. Brosah
 - 15. Other (Please specify)

- 11. Duration of Programme
 - 01. 15 minutes
 - 02. 30 minutes
 - 03. 45 minutes
 - 04. 60 minutes (1 hour)
 - 05. 75 minutes (1 hour 15 minutes)
 - 06. 90 minutes (1 ½ hours)
 - 07. 120 minutes (2 hours)
 - 08. 150 minutes (2 ½ hours)
 - 09. 180 minutes (3 hours)
 - 10. Other (Please specify)
 - 12. Names (s) of Programme Host/News Presenters

13. Number, Names, Gender & Political Party/Group Affiliation of Guests/ Discussants or Interviewees

Number	Names of Guests / Discussants	Gender of discussant	Political Party/ Group Affiliation

14. Main Subject of Story/ Programme/ Discussion

- 01. Political party activities/ matters (Please specify)
- 02. Internal wrangling in political parties
- 03. Aid, grant, foreign support, etc.
- 04. Party fundraising, sponsorship, donation, etc.
- 05. Corruption
- 06. Defection
- 07. Conflicts, disagreement, demonstrations, etc.
- 08. Media pluralism
- 09. Women’s issues/ participation in politics, etc.
- 10. Constitutional matters
- 11. Human rights
- 12. Voter education
- 13. Biometric registration
- 14. Infrastructure, service provision, health, education, sports, etc.
- 15. Employment and labour issues
- 16. Other subjects (Please Specify)

15. Attribution/ Sources of News/Programme Content

- 01. President
- 02. Vice-President
- 03. Castle officials (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
- 04. Ministers of State (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
- 05. MCEs/DCEs (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
- 06. NDC party officers/sources (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
- 07. NPP leaders/officials/sources (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
- 08. CPP leaders/officials/sources (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
- 09. PNC party leaders/officials/sources (Indicate (a) male (b) female)

10. GCPP leaders/officials/sources (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
 11. PPP leaders/officials/sources (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
 12. DPP leaders/officials/sources (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
 13. Religious leaders (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
 14. Chiefs, other male traditional rulers
 15. Queen mothers, other female traditional rulers
 16. Women, gender advocates, etc.
 17. Pressure groups (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
 18. Political party activist/serial callers, etc. (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
 19. Non-party state officials (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
 20. Radio station's own sources
 21. Affiliate radio stations (Name them)
 22. Newspapers (Please specify)
 23. Other sources (Please specify)
16. Political Party Mentioned/Referred to or Attacked
01. NPP
 02. NDC
 03. CPP
 04. PNC
 05. GCPP
 06. PPP
 07. DPP
 08. Independent Parliamentarian
 09. None mentioned
 10. A combination of (Please specify)
 11. Other (Please Specify)
17. Main Actor(s) Named in the Programme, News Story or Discussion
01. President
 02. Vice-President
 03. Castle officials (Spokespersons, etc. indicate(a) male (b) female)
 04. Ministers of State (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
 05. Government officials (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
 06. NDC party officials (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
 07. NPP party officials (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
 08. CPP leaders/officials (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
 09. PNC leaders/officials (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
 10. GCPP leaders/officials (Indicate (a) male (b) female)

11. PPP leaders/officials (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
 12. DPP leaders/officials (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
 13. Foreign government officials (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
 14. Religious leaders (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
 15. Chiefs, other male traditional rulers
 16. Queen mothers, other female traditional rulers
 17. Political activist (Indicate (a) male (b) female and party)
 18. Women, gender advocates, etc.
 19. Pressure groups (Indicate (a) male (b) female)
 20. Others (Please specify).....
18. Type of expressions used on the Programme (Identify per discussant/caller/host in the Table below)
01. Pacifist and conciliatory
 02. Civil, non-controversial, acceptable
 03. Provocative remarks
 04. Insulting and offensive comments
 05. Expressions containing prejudice and bigotry
 06. Gender specific insults
 07. Expressions containing tribal slurs
 08. Expressions or comments promoting divisiveness
 09. Remarks calling for confrontation and violence (overtly or covertly)
 10. Innuendos (indirect references to something rude and unpleasant)
 11. Unsubstantiated allegations
 12. Inflammatory remarks
 13. Other (Please specify)

Name of Discussant/caller	Gender of Discussant	Political Party/ Group Affiliation	Type of Expression Used (use of the list above)	Other Remarks
Host/Presenter 1				
Host/Presenter 2				

- 19. Give specific quotations of the indecent or extraordinarily decent remarks made by the discussants/callers/hosts during the programme
 - i.
 - ii.
 - iii.
 - iv.
 - v.

- 20. Type of Story Embellishment/Enhancement Used
 - 01. Proverbs
 - 02. Known expressions widely/generally used
 - 03. Religious expressions
 - 04. Anecdotes
 - 05. Lines of music/songs sung or recited
 - 06. Ridicule /Mocking
 - 07. Name-calling
 - 08. Sarcasm/Cynicism
 - 09. Figures of Speech (similes, metaphors, etc.)
 - 10. Idolising/Exalting/Praise-singing
 - 11. Other (Please specify).....
 - 12. None

- 21. Tone of Programme/ News Item/ Discussion (Identify per discussant/ host in the Table below)
 - 01. Conciliatory and pacifist (friendly, encouraging unity, agreement)
 - 02. Favourable (calm, decorous, civil, normal etc.)
 - 03. Unfavourable (screaming/shouting, loud, confrontational, etc.)
 - 04. Adversarial, harsh, provocative (insulting, abusive, using invectives, etc.)
 - 05. Threatening, overbearing, swearing, etc. (admonishing, warning)
 - 06. Neutral (defies all the above classifications)
 - 07. Other (Please specify).....

Name of Discussant/ Caller	Gender of Discussant	Political Party/ Group Affiliation	Type of Expression Used (use the list above)	Other Remarks
Host/Presenter 1				
Host/Presenter 2				

22. Assessment of Host/Presenter/Moderator’s Handling of Programme

PROGRAMME SEGEMENT	ASSESSMENT	
	Good	Bad
In-studio Discussion		
Phone-in		
Text Messaging		
Interviews		

Explain your assessment of the host by indicating the actions or inactions of the host for each indecent remark made on the programme

.....

23. Focus of the News/Programme/Discussion

- 01. Issue-based
- 02. Personality-based
- 03. More issues-based than personality-based
- 04. More personality-based than issues-based
- 05. Both issues and personality-based in equal measure
- 06. Difficult to classify
- 07. Other (Please specify)

24. Event/Occasion Broadcast

- 01. Interviews granted by politicians
- 02. Press statements/release; conferences, media briefings, etc.

- 03. Parliamentary proceedings
- 04. Party congresses, rallies or meetings
- 05. Radio station’s journalists in official entourage
- 06. Radio station’s own newsgathering or programme schedule
- 07. Social ceremonies (funerals, banquets, get-togethers, etc.)
- 08. Religious functions
- 09. Other Occasions (Please specify)

25. Story Setting

- 01. Locality of the radio station
- 02. District of the radio station
- 03. Region in which the radio station is located
- 04. Regional capital
- 05. Another region of Ghana
- 06. National Capital
- 07. Other settings (Please specify)
- 08. Not specified/Undisclosed
- 09. Multiple settings (Please specify)

26. Any Other Observations

(Include exceptional/ remarkable moments, repeated sound bites, near fights, particular music/songs played, refrains used extensively, etc.)



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