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Accounting for the major communication frames deployed by the New Patriotic Party (NPP) & the National Democratic Congress (NDC) ahead of Elections 2016 & 2020.

The Elephant Vs. The Umbrella

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OCTOBER, 2020

DECLARATION AND CERTIFICATION

I, Emmanuel Kabu Nartey, hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university, and all materials used in this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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Date

SUPERVISOR’S DECLARATION

I hereby certify that this project work was done under my supervision. I thereby approve that the work is adequate in scope and qualify for the partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of a Master’s of Arts in Development Communication

.....

Dr. Kobby Mensah
Supervisor

.....

Date

DEDICATION

To a possible future in Ghana's politics!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

To a national asset, venerable academic and mentor Dr. Kobby Mensah who doubled as my supervisor, I say a big thank you for pushing me to get a thesis done despite a major disruption by the Covid-19 pandemic.

To the Lebanese Embassy in Ghana and its Community in Ghana who extended my undergraduate scholarship to cover partly my masters, I say بارك الله فيك (baaraka allahu fiik) meaning thank you very much.

To my family who continues to believe in me – Erol Tetteh Nartey, Augusta Nartey, Dr. Rebecca Nartey and my mother Akushika Acquaye, *nyorgmor ajor ny3*, God bless you. I use this opportunity to humbly ask for one last lap. I guess you know already?

And to the Force that controls destinies, take Your glory and have Your way!

ABSTRACT

The Fourth Republic has seen Ghana become a duopolized democracy due to the alternation of political power between the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC). Prior to elections, parties deploy heightened and superior strategies in disseminating policies, messages and debates arising. They deploy frames in these communications efforts in their quest of establishing an advantage over their opponents. This study advances knowledge on how similar or different, predictive and possibly new trends in the frames used by an incumbent party and an opposition party. It reveals among many that, whilst both the NPP and NDC deployed offensive strategic frames in the lead-up to the 2016 polls; the NDC tightened this offensive approach even more prior to the 2020 elections. The NDC was relatively used to deploying evidence-based communication strategies whereas the NPP deployed the Bawumia-frame in the years under review. Both parties however deployed corruption frames in the lead up to both elections but later abandoned it as would have the dispersion principle explain. Continuity versus Change frames was equally a trend with respect to opposition or incumbency politics. Among others, the study advocated for more thematic and resonating framing strategies in Ghana's body politic.

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CHAPTER ONE :

Introduction

1.0 Background

In the quest to achieving what Huntington perceives as a democratic turnover test, Ghana has conducted seven successive peaceful elections - 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012 and 2016. At the end of these elections, out of about 24 political parties¹, power ended up alternating between the nation's two most dominant center-right and center-left political parties– the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) respectively. For this reason, Ghana's political system is described as a *de facto* two-party system²

Every incumbent that sought a renewed mandate from the people was able to achieve that except for the 2016 elections where the incumbent NDC was defeated³. In the 2000 elections, power was transferred to the NPP, the NDC's Jerry John Rawlings was not qualified to contest. This was in accordance with the 1992 Constitution which limits the rulership of a candidate to two terms (eight years). The same was accounted for in the 2008 elections: Incumbent NPP's candidate J.A Kufuor couldn't contest because he too had served for eight years. Former president of blessed memory Atta Mills served for three years (2009-2012) and passed on, leaving his then-vice president, John Mahama to serve as president for the rest of the one year. President Mahama

¹ *The Fourth Republic (from 1992 to present) has seen about 24 political parties registered in the country. By law, these parties are regulated by the Political Parties Act 574 which was passed in 2000- Kabu Nartey (2019). After all, is the NDC ready for Election 2020, Joyfmonline.com*

² Whitfield L. (2009). Change for a Better Ghana': Party Competition, Institutionalization and Alternation in Ghana's 2008 Elections. African Affairs.

³ Gyampo et al (2017). Ghana's 2016 General Election: Accounting for the Monumental Defeat of the National Democratic Congress (NDC). ResearchGate.

continued his presidency for a term from 2013 to 2016. However, he was voted out in his bid for re-election in 2016.

In summary, out of the seven (7) elections held so far in the Fourth Republic, the NPP has had 3 opportunities to rule the country. The social democratic party, the NDC on the other hand, has won the bid four times⁴.

Ahead of the 2020 elections, the NDC wishes to cause an upset by further entrenching the new record of changing an incumbent opposition party just after a single term, just as it suffered in 2016.

Conversely, the incumbent NPP is poised to turning back the hands of time by making Ghanaians return to the two-term-eight-years tradition. Among others, both parties are making attempts at this through their communication strategies ahead of Election 2020.

⁴ Refer to n.1 above.

1.1 Introduction

As alluded by UNESCO⁵ in Gadzekpo⁶, no government (in this context, no political party) can retain power or come into power “without communicating with its citizens and administrative components”. This is because election campaigns of whether the incumbent or opposition “are nothing but political communication”⁷ ; and the concept of good communication by political parties is so critical in the view of scholars like Osei-Kufuor⁸ who believes it is a “mechanism that enables them [political parties] to connect with the voters and the society as a whole...”.

Political communicators are therefore examples of strategic actors as cited by Entman⁹. Politics and its issues are subject to different patterns; and these interpretations of issues are negotiated, contested, and modified over time. The same applies to campaigns during election years, specific messages, context and channels are deployed by parties in their debates and efforts for votes. These deliberate messaging, forms and channels have a significant effect on voters. This gives rise to frames during political communications. Frames are selective views on issues—views that construct reality in a certain way leading to different evaluations and recommendations.¹⁰ To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described¹¹

⁵ UNESCO (1980) cited in n.18 below

⁶ Audrey Gadzekpo. (1997). *Communication Policies in Civilian and Military Regimes : The case of Ghana* . Michigan State, US: Michigan State University .

⁷ Strömbäck and Kioussis (2014). Strategic Political Communication in Election Campaigns. ResearchGate.

⁸ Patrick Osei-Kufuor. (2016). A Comparative Study on Internal Political Party Communication Policies in Ghana . *The Inter-Party Platform of the Joint Party Support and Strengthening (J-PASS) Project*, 41.

⁹ Matthes Jörg (2016). Frames in Political Communication: Towards Clarification of a Research Program. ResearchGates.

¹⁰ Refer to n.9

¹¹ Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58.

In the Ghanaian context, the defeat of the NDC in the 2016 elections was historic not only because of the break in the incumbency advantage culture that Gyampo et al established, but that defeat could also be described as monumental because of issues which emerged and the communication frames deployed in the lead to the elections¹². According to the Electoral Commission of Ghana in 2016, NPP's Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo pulled 5,716, 026 votes representing 53.9% of the total valid votes cast. The incumbent John Dramani Mahama of the NDC recorded 4,713, 277 representing 44.4%.

According to Tsikata et al¹³, the Kwesi Botchwey Committee to interrogate the causes of the NDC defeat in the 2016 general elections revealed some communications blunders amid a barrage of factors¹⁴. Unlike the NPP which employed base-line campaign promises and communication approaches, the NDC failed to convince Ghanaians most through its campaign messages.¹⁵

Furthermore, according to Gyampo et al¹⁶, whilst the NPP rolled up catchy campaign messages and communication around policies like job creation, change for the better, Free SHS and industrialization of the Ghanaian economy and incompetency of John Mahama, “the NDC failed to brand itself prominently especially in communicating its core campaign messages and ideas. The Mahama-led NDC focused most of its campaign on attacking the personality of the opposition leader instead of focusing on an issues-based campaign”¹⁷. They deployed frames that sought to discredit and ridicule the policies that the NPP was promised.

¹² Refer to n.2 above.

¹³ Tsikata et al (2017). The Conceptualization of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) Transformational Agenda

¹⁴ Gyampo et al (2017). Ghana's 2016 General Election: Accounting for the Monumental Defeat of the National Democratic Congress (NDC). ResearchGate.

¹⁵ Ayitey C. (2018). 9 crucial things we learnt from leaked Kwesi Botchwey report. Yen.com. Retrieved from <https://yen.com.gh/100334-9-crucial-learnt-leaked-kwesi-botchwey-report.html>

¹⁶ Refer to n.13

¹⁷ Akwa, NS 2016, August 15, “‘Presidency not for short people’”: Comment a Figure of Speech – NDC’, retrieved 4 January 2017, from <http://www.myjoyonline.com/politics/2016/August-15th/presidency-not-for-short-peoplecomment-a-figure-of-speech-ndc.php>

Obviously, the communications lapses of the incumbent NDC turned out to be an advantage to the then opposition, NPP.

1.2 Statement of Problem

Gyampo et al¹⁸ and Osei-Kufuor¹⁹ in conceptualizing political communication established a nexus between political communication and campaigns. Strömbäck and Kiouisis²⁰ furthered this by describing long-term changes within the modernization framework which result in the change in campaign practices and communication patterns. Osei-Kufuor (on the other hand), revealed the internal party communications organogram of some five Ghanaian political parties including the NPP and NDC.

Furthermore, Gyampo et al; Ansah²¹ and Awuni²² have interrogated the plausible factors which accounted for the “monumental defeat” suffered by the NDC in the 2016 elections revealing issues of corruption, controversial policies, incumbency fatigue, power crisis popularly known in the Ghanaian parlance as “dumsor”²³, among others

¹⁸ Refer to n.19 above

¹⁹ Refer to n.20 above

²⁰ Refer to n.21 above

²¹ Ansah, M 2016b, December 31, ‘Impunity and Corruption Caused NDC’s defeat – Rawlings’, retrieved 4 January 2017, from <https://citifmonline.com/2016/12/31/impunity-and-corruption-caused-ndcs-defeat-rawlings/>

²² *Dr. Alidu Seidu is right. The NDC as a party had not managed to shed the crude tactics of its revolutionary past, and it played out badly in its relationship with the media, civil society and other interested groups...The NDC Communicators labelled almost all the influential policy Think Tanks as Pro-NPP and accused organized labour of working to advance the cause of the NPP whenever there was a concern* - Manasseh Azure Awuni (2019). *The Fourth John: Reign, Rejection & Rebound*, p273.

²³ *Ghana has for several years been experiencing massive power blackouts popularly nicknamed 'Dumsor,' which means on and off in the Akan dialect* - Frank B. K. Twenefour et al (2015). *The Impact of Power Outage “Dumsor” on the Hotel Industry: Evidence from Ghana.*

Tsikata et al ²⁴belaboured the point that election results are conclusive of how the NPP or NDC fared in any elections, profoundly indicating that normally, the opposition goes the way of “strengthening its communications” hoping to come back after four years.

The issues that come up for debate in the lead up to elections influence the frames, shape and forms of the communication strategies deployed by political parties. This could be either reactionary or deliberate in nature. Unfortunately, what seems to be a lacuna from the above researches is that none of these scholars have looked into detail, the various issues that defined the elections in the context of the communication frames and corresponding strategies deployed by the two parties ahead of elections 2016 and 2020 with emphasis on comparative studies. It will be an area of interest to look at how both parties responded to various corruption scandals, crises, allegations, and propaganda that were thrown at them or emerged in the election years; and how effective they dealt with them or otherwise. Sometimes, some of these frames become common whilst others require deliberate efforts by parties to dovetail and deploy these frames to their communication efforts.

Secondly and profoundly, none of these researchers have attempted to establish possible trends in party communication styles of an incumbent government and opposition in the disseminating of their messages.

This research, therefore, responds to these grey areas by delving into a latent analysis of political communication of an incumbent party and opposition party in one election (2016) as well as ahead of one election year (2020) with the aim of establishing comparison, plausible trends, commonalities and differences.

²⁴ Refer to n.19 above.

This research also adds to the evolution of communication strategy in the political landscape in Ghana and beyond.

1.3 Broad Objective

To explore the communication strategies deployed by the two dominant political parties in two major elections in Ghana.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

1. To establish the similarities and differences in communication frames and strategies deployed by NPP and NDC ahead of Election 2016
2. To establish the similarities and differences in communication frames and strategies deployed by the NPP and NDC ahead of Election 2020
3. To establish possible trends in communication frames deployed by opposition and incumbent political parties ahead of elections in Ghana.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What are the similarities and differences in communication frames and strategies employed by NPP and NDC ahead of Election 2016?
2. What are the similarities and differences in communication frames and strategies employed by the NPP and NDC ahead of Election 2020?
3. What are the possible trends in communication frames deployed by opposition and incumbent political parties ahead of elections in Ghana?

1.5 Research Significance

As an antithesis to the assertion of some scholars²⁵, this research is a step to contribute to the structuring of the operations of both opposition and incumbent political communications, especially in the Ghanaian context. It will be useful for political communicators, analysts, students, lecturers and practitioners because various avant-garde communication activities and details used by both parties were identified and critiqued.

This exposition will aid in establishing political communications trends of the NPP and NDC as well as the communications modus operandi of incumbency and opposition in general.

In response to the prediction by Boakye²⁶, this research could serve as a groundswell of communication policy resource for the two dominant political parties in Ghana by stirring up a pace-setting debate on plausible communication reasons why either of the two parties had more influence on voters ahead of election 2016 and subsequently 2020.

1.6 Research Methodology

Among the three research paradigms, the Qualitative research approach was best for this research because it contributed to the understanding of the human condition in different contexts and of a perceived situation²⁷. Qualitative inquiries have several methods of analysis that could be adopted by the researcher. They include phenomenology, hermeneutics, grounded theory, ethnography,

²⁵ Refer to n.35 above

²⁶ Boakye (2018) predicts that electoral history, voting trends as well as patterns like the creation of new regions, the JOHN tradition, religion, ethnicity, and more pertinently the scrutiny of political message or manifestoes to inform political choice, performance of previous government and others rational indicators will drive Ghana's future elections. – Boakye B.A.P (2018). Electoral Politics in Ghana's 4th Republic (1992-2016) and its Implications on Future Elections. SSRN

Bengtsson M. (2016). How to plan and perform a qualitative study using content analysis. ScienceDirect

²⁷

phenomenography and content analysis. For a researcher, therefore, the main issue is how many financial resources, time and effort are able to invest in trying to understand the phenomena under study²⁸

Content analysis is used in this research due to its advantages over the other methods. Krippendorff²⁹ stressed on valid inferences and context in his definition of content analysis as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use. These valid references are made from “from verbal, visual, or written data in order to describe and quantify specific phenomena”.³⁰

Unlike the others, qualitative content analysis is not linked to any particular science, and there are fewer rules to follow, it is originally rooted in social research. This minimizes confusion in matters concerning philosophical concepts and discussions are reduced. As an interpretivist, the researcher focused on maintaining a qualitative perspective ensuring the core, which was, to arrive at the “rigor and credibility that make the results as trustworthy as possible”³¹

There are two types of content analysis in qualitative research – a manifest analysis and a latent analysis.

A latent analysis was used in this research. It required an interpretive level in which the researcher sought to find the underlying meaning of the text: what the text is talking about³².

²⁸ Patton M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative, research & evaluation methods*. Sage publications Inc., Thousand Oaks, California

²⁹ Krippendorff K. (2004). *Content analysis: an introduction to its methodology*. Sage Publications Inc., Thousand Oaks, California

³⁰ Downe-Wambolt (1992). *Content analysis: method, applications and issues*. *Health Care for Women International*, 13, pp. 313-321

³¹ Refer to n.40 above

³² Berg B.L. (2001). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* Allyn and Bacon, Boston ; M. Catanzaro (1988). *Using qualitative analytical techniques*. N.F. Woods, M.(Eds.), *Nursing: research theory and practice*, The CV Mosby Company, St.Louis (1988), pp. 437-456 and Downe-Wambolt (1992). *Content analysis: method, applications and issues*. *Health Care for Women International*, 13, pp. 313-321

In qualitative content analysis, data are presented in words and themes owing to a thematic analysis of the data collected. It makes it possible to draw some interpretation of the results. The choice of analysis method depends on how deep within the analysis the researcher attempted to reflect the character's statements about a subject.

In the advent of the World Wide Web, mixed media including graphics and videos have been identified as complex contents that formal content analysis could be applied. These scholars³³ have also postulated ways to analysing these contents to arrive at reliable results. These steps are detailed out in Chapter 3 (Research Methodology) of this thesis.

Simply illustrated, Qualitative content analysis could mean who is saying what, how is the person saying it (context), to whom and what are the possible implications?

Also at the core of this research is Glaser and Strauss' Grounded Theory. Grounded theory is a systematic procedure of data analysis, typically associated with qualitative research, that allows researchers to develop a theory that explains a specific phenomenon³⁴. Uniquely it a very open approach to the process being studied emphasizing that study may evolve as it becomes apparent to the researchers what is pertinent to the study participants.

The purpose and its outcome are to develop a theory (ie. Involves formulation, testing, & redevelopment of propositions until a theory is developed) and support a theory by examples from collected data. The steps to this design occur simultaneously deploying a constant comparative process.

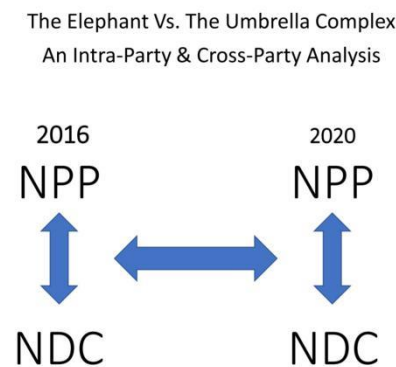
The unit of analysis of this design is a specific phenomenon or incident, not individual behaviours.

³³ Mimi Mihailescu (2019). Content analysis. ResearchGates. ; Krippendorff (2018) cited above ; Berg (2001) cited above ; Catanzaro (1988) cited above ; & Downe-Wambolt (1992) cited above

³⁴ Statistics Solution retrieved from <https://www.statisticssolutions.com/types-of-qualitative-research-designs/>

1.7 Sampling, Sampling Method, Technique & Analysis

Fig.1
Source: Author's Own Construction



Using the snowball technique, data is collected in the form of recorded interviews, recorded speeches, audio or video by communicators of the NPP and NDC. The data were largely based on three broad areas set by the researcher - media interviews by parties, speeches delivered by the two flag-bearers and vote-canvassing initiatives embarked on by the two parties during the periods identified. These were subjected to latent analysis. Speeches that needed transcriptions were transcribed as encouraged by Bailey³⁵ cited in Bengtsson³⁶. This kind of data sometimes needed to be very detailed to capture speed, tone of voice, emphasis, timing and pauses, but these components can be difficult to write down and also analyze.

³⁵ Bailey J. (2008). First steps in qualitative data analysis: transcribing. *Family Practice*, 25, pp. 127-131

³⁶ Refer to n.40 above.

In analyzing the videos, interviews and speeches, Bengtsson³⁷ identified four stages to be followed namely the de-contextualization, re-contextualization, categorisation, and the compilation, each stage to be performed several times to maintain the quality and trustworthiness of the analysis.

Furthermore, this research presents what it terms as the Intra-Party and Cross-Party Analysis, as displayed in *Fig.1* above in the Methodology.

Firstly, data of 2016 and 2020 of the NPP were collected and analyzed to establish possible trends and differences in party communication

Secondly, data of 2016 and 2020 of the NDC were collected and analyzed to establish possible trends and differences in party communication

Thirdly, data of 2016 of both NPP and NDC were collected and analyzed to establish plausible similarities and differences in party communication.

Lastly, data on communication activities launched thus far by the NPP and NDC were collected, analyzed, similarities and/or differences are established.

1.8 Ethical Consideration

Foremost, ethical approval was sought and granted by the School Research Committee (SREC).³⁸

Data were obtained from the official websites of the NPP and NDC. Some were also obtained from platforms credible media houses as well as social media. Those already in the public domain like social media didn't require any permission or consent.

The anonymity and confidentiality of the [participants] were preserved by not revealing names and identities in the data collection, analysis, and reporting of the study.³⁹ Data transcription and

³⁷ Refer to n.40 above.

³⁸ Arifin S.R.Mohd (2018). Ethical Considerations in Qualitative Study. International Journal of Care Scholars. Vol. 1 No. 2 (2018)

³⁹ Refer to n.52 above.

observation were done in a private room using earphones to avoid the possibility of eavesdropping by others. Names of participants, designations or any innuendos were removed during transcription and jottings. These characters were assigned pseudo names when using verbatim in the presentation of the findings.

Finally, it is worth-noting this research was not sponsored by anybody, private or institution. It was purely born out of the academic exploits of the researcher and his enthusiasm for political communications.

1.9 Research Scope

This inquiry is restricted to the NDC and the NPP, the two dominant political parties in Ghana.

The NDC is located at the center-left of the political spectrum with its ideology rooted in social democracy and grassroots participation. The philosophy of the NDC is in the equality and the egalitarian treatment of all persons irrespective of their social, cultural, educational, political, religious and economic relations in a multi-party environment ⁴⁰

The NPP on the other hand is located on the center-right of the political spectrum. It shares in an ideology of free enterprise, fundamental human rights and the vigorous pursuit of private initiative, One of its broad objectives amended⁴¹ is to participate in shaping the political will of the people by disseminating information on political ideas, social and economic programmes of the Party.

The choice to focus on the two is justified for two reasons:

⁴⁰ (NDC Constitution, 1992)

⁴¹ [The NPP Constitution was] first registered with the Electoral Commission on 24th June 1992, amended on 29th August 1998, 2003 and further amended on 22nd August 2009 (NPP Constitution, 1992)

First is the successful record of the dominance of the parties since Ghana's Fourth Republic and Second is their generational influence on the political landscape of the country.

Also, preference was given to only the NPP and NDC because they both have been in power and have also been in opposition one time or the other

The period for this research covers are video contents of some communications activities embarked on by the parties prior to election 2016 and during the 2020 electioneering period at most, three months to the December 7 polls.

2.0 Research Structure

Chapter 1 sets a background and introduction to the study by giving brief literature on the political landscape of Ghana and the two traditional political parties. The NPP's victory and the NDC's recent defeat in the 2016 elections and its immediate communication and administrative reactions were retold. The aim of telling these was to give a compelling narrative of where the two parties came from and their current crossroads.

Also herein, a nexus between communication and election campaigns were established in readiness for a detailed review in Chapter 2.

Chapter 2 reviewed articles, op-eds, journals inter alia related political communication, strategic framing, electoral campaigns, democracy and political parties, in both Ghanaian and other contexts are reviewed. The theories namely Framing and Social Identity were discussed in the context of the study and how relevant they were in influencing the communication strategies of political parties as well as the behaviours of voters and sympathisers of a political group. The works were not limited to internal communications between parties but also the interaction with the media and voters in order to canvass for votes ahead of elections. Articles and journals on both the 2016

elections and 2020 thus far were also critiqued. The subsequent chapter explained and justify an intra-party and cross-party methodology to analyzing some selected media contents within the context of political communication in view of unraveling trends, common elements as well as differences in communication by the two parties.

In Chapter 3, a detailed outline of the method used in the research is given, as well as the unit of analysis, samples and the sampling techniques used. It spelled out how data were processed and analysed as well as the presentation of the findings. The chapter also discussed what makes its findings and process of arriving at them credible and dependable. Ethical issues were also explained. The chapter ends with some identified limitations of the research with the Covid-19 pandemic being a major disruption in the flow of party political communications.

Chapter 4 presented in detail the novel but complex analysis of the political communications by the two parties. Emphasis was placed on the messages, the messengers, the channels, feedbacks, possible implications of these to the superiority of either party going into the elections; and other discourse analysis relevant to the objectives of the study. This chapter goes beyond just answering the research questions set before the researcher to touching on possible templates often deployed by both opposition parties and ruling parties seeking re-election.

Chapter 5 featured a summary of the entire work and highlighted the salient findings. It made four recommendations that hinged on affirmative action; issue-based political communications; verifiable and credible information; diversification of communication strategies by political parties.

2.1 Chapter Summary

This chapter served as a guide to the rest of the study. It introduces the topic of strategic political communication. It builds separately a background and introduction, in the way to gradually situate the historic context of the two political parties and their founding principles as well as their records. It defines the research gap ; sets the objectives and described how it sought to fill this gap. It explains the form the various chapters will take as well as ethics associated to such undertaking .

CHAPTER TWO : Literature Review

2.2 Introduction

In this section, political parties and strategic communications are operationalized and later situated in the context of Ghana. Among the many political groups in Ghana since independence, the two dominant, NPP and NDC are identified and their superiority discussed through their electoral records. These groups have a common plan in an election – thus to communicate their policies, disagreements and propaganda during elections, hence literature on this political tradition was also reviewed. The theories that aid them were identified as framing, agenda setting and social identity theories. A combined effect of these theories results in how parties couch their messages, which channels they use in communicating and how voters get convinced to vote for them. Very pertinent to this paper were the reviews of the communication deployed by the parties ahead of the 2016 elections, as well as a couple ahead of the 2020 elections. Literature related to the communication within political parties is critiqued with more emphasis on external communication. The link between communication and election campaigns is also established to clearly demystify the symbiotic relationship between communication and political parties.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

The study will be undergirded by the following theories. These theories transcend social psychology, political communication, mass communication and media:

2.3.1 Framing

This refers to a systematic process that occurs overtime. It seeks to explain how the media or actors package and presents information to the public. According to the theory, the media highlights certain events and then places them within a particular context to encourage or discourage certain interpretations. In this way, the media exercises a selective influence over how people view reality⁴². It was first posited in 1972 by Anthropologist Gregory Bateson. Framing is sometimes referred to as second-level agenda setting because of its close relation to Agenda-Setting Theory.⁴³ Frames are schemes of pre-conceived ideas used to organize and shape how people perceive realities by interpretation of new information. Frames are mostly cultural in origin. For instance, the word “war” in English conjures up images of death, blood, gunfire, bombs, explosions, planes, tanks and ranks of marching soldiers. Therefore, when someone refers to “war,” these images provide a shared point of reference between the speaker and the listener.⁴⁴

The assumptions associated with Framing include: *Journalists [and politicians] selecting the topics they will present and decide how they will be presented. This determines the issues audiences think about and how they think about them. (2) Audiences interpret information through*

⁴² Communication Studies. <https://www.communicationstudies.com/communication-theories/framing-theory>

⁴³ Refer to n.45 above

⁴⁴ Refer to n.45 above

*their own frames. Audiences' frames may overlap or contradict the media's frames and (3). Frames are reinforced every time they are evoked, whether positively or negatively.*⁴⁵

In political communication, these scholars emphasize on strategic framing. They identified four elements that make framing in the political world strategic :

(1) the strategic actors have to decide about whether they want to focus on the process

or on the substantive content of the debate – on politics or on policy.

(2) Next, they have to choose between going positive or going negative.

(3) Third, they have to decide whether they want to adopt an offensive or a defensive stance.

They can, of course, also opt for any kind of combination with respect to any one of these first three choices.

(4) Finally, and most importantly, the political actors have to choose one or several substantive frames capable of steering the attention of the media and the public to their own cause and away from the cause of their opponents

Application of Theory to Study

Journalists or politicians who want to introduce a new frame to audiences must, therefore, reference culturally popular ideas and develop novel phrases that link existing frames in a compelling way. Politics depending on the jurisdictions have some cultural conceptions and misconceptions, hence, party communicators can be effective in their communications when they tailor these frames and messages to this cultural interpretation.

⁴⁵ Refer to n.45 above.

Also, researchers have found that when problems are expressed negatively, to imply a loss, people tend to choose the riskiest option for solving the problem. Problems framed positively result in safer decisions.⁴⁶

Furthermore, framing has been found to be a viable weapon for social and political actors to shirk responsibilities when it comes to solving societal problems as characteristic in political campaigning. For instance, the concept of episodic and thematic coverage in the media are two ways this phenomenon occurs. According to Shanto Iyengar,⁴⁷ episodic coverage treats issues as individual events, while thematic coverage links events together in a type of case-study format. When audiences are exposed to episodic news frames, they fail to make logical connections between the issues being covered—such as crime and poverty—and elected leaders or economic realities. Iyengar found that when reporting on poverty in particular, the media is more than twice as likely to frame the issue episodically than thematically. As a result, audiences place responsibility for poverty on the poor and hesitate to support government efforts to solve the problem.

Therefore, politicians and political parties take advantage of this media function and facility, among others, to carry out their vote-canvassing frames and activities.

⁴⁶ Refer to n.45 above.

⁴⁷ Iyengar Shanto (1998). "Media Effects" Paradigms for the Analysis of Local Television News. Department of Communication Department of Political Science, Stanford University

2.3.2 Social Identity Theory (SIT)

Formulated by social psychologists Henri Tajfel and John Turner in the 1970s and the 1980s, a social identity refers to knowledge of membership in a social group, along with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership.⁴⁸ It must come with the emotional and physical awareness of member(s) belonging to a social group. Essentially and identity is prescriptive as well as descriptive; it is both relative and comparative. Here the individualism of members is forfeited to a collective good, self-esteem and pride⁴⁹: individuals behave very differently when they are acting as part of a group—whether a member of a striking labor union, police force or army⁵⁰.

This theory is built on the premise that individuals define their own identities with regard to social groups and that such identifications work to protect and bolster self-identity⁵¹.

Social groups in this context include race, ethnicity, gender, occupation, or nationality, states, political parties among others. In the modern era, people increasingly identify with social groups they belong to. In professing and defending “in-groups”, members accentuate differences between their group and the “outgroup”, while perceiving their ingroup as being more homogeneous than it really is⁵².

Under the SIT, members of a particular group are motivated to differentiate their group in a positive direction, even when their group is failing or being negatively perceived. They always see

⁴⁸ Tajfel, H. (1978). *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*. London: Academic Press.

⁴⁹ Hogg, M. A., & Abrams, D. (1988). *Social identifications: A social psychology of intergroup relations and group processes*. London: Routledge.

⁵⁰ Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33–47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

⁵¹ Refer to n.50 and n.51 above.

⁵² Van Knippenberg, A., & Van Oers, H. (1984). Social identity and equity concerns in intergroup perceptions. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 23(4), 351–361.

their groups and activities carried out as superior to members in other groups or groups outside theirs.

Application of Theory to Study

Social identity theory aims to specify and predict the circumstances under which individuals think of themselves as individuals or as group members⁵³. This is relevant to this study in the researcher's quest to explain the effects of the various protectorate strategies deployed by party communicators and their party members in the political debates leading to elections. The theory also considers the consequences of personal and social identities for individual perceptions and group behaviour.

Social identity theory suggests that an organization can change individual behaviors if it can modify their self-identity or part of their self-concept that derives from the knowledge of, and emotional attachment to the group⁵⁴: Political parties and their communication towards elections aim at this.

The theory further explains how communicators, voters and party sympathizers become motivated to achieve a positively distinctive identity. Also when groups (political parties and their communicators) become inferior, they turn to adopt an identity management strategy: social mobility (emulating the higher-status group to gain admission), social competition (striving to equal or surpass the dominant group), or social creativity (revaluing an ostensibly negative characteristic as positive or identifying an alternative dimension on which the group is superior).

⁵³ Ellemers Naomi (2010). Social identity theory. Britannica.

⁵⁴ Tajfel, H.; Turner, J. C. (1979). "An integrative theory of intergroup conflict". In W. G. Austin; S. Worchel (eds.). *The social psychology of intergroup relations*. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole. pp. 33–47.

Incumbent political parties for instance can adopt social creativity which defines improving the group's status without changing the system, thereby increasing satisfaction with the group's identity.⁵⁵ According to cited sources, social creativity involves *(1) revaluing a negative characteristic as positive; or (2) identifying a new value dimension on which the group is superior.* For example, according to Gries⁵⁶, historically, re-framing under social creativity led to turning perceived negative campaign slogans into a positive one as illustrated by the African American slogan of the 1960s, "Black is beautiful" or gay pride. Chinese nationalists now view Confucianism, which Mao had attacked for blocking China's economic development, as positive, as part of China's "glorious civilization".

⁵⁵ Deborah Welch Larson (2017). *Social Identity Theory: Status and Identity in International Relations*. Oxford Research Encyclopedias.

⁵⁶ Gries, P. H. (2005). Social psychology and the identity-conflict debate: Is a "China threat" inevitable? *European Journal of International Relations*, 22(2), 235–265.

2.4 Empirical Review

This part of Chapter Two examined related works on political parties, their communication and the various frames derived from issues that influenced the 2016 and 2020 elections in a strategic communication perspective

2.4.1 Political Parties, Communication & Democracy

Political parties are organizations that bring together groups of people with common beliefs about the way society should be structured, the role that government should play, and the way government and citizens should relate to each other. Political parties provide a conduit for the ideas and opinions of citizens and compete for the power and authority to implement their vision for the country as the legitimately elected government⁵⁷.

It is clear from the above, political parties are considered permanent associations of citizens based on the free membership and a programme, aimed to hold politically decisive positions of the country with their team of leaders through elections, in order to materialize suggestions for resolving outstanding problems⁵⁸.

Several prominent authors have commented on the importance of parties in a liberal democracy⁵⁹, and even in autocratic regimes. For instance, Li⁶⁰ wittingly argue even in authoritarian countries,

⁵⁷ Module 1 Political Parties and Elections Key Institutions in a Democratic State https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Module%201_Political%20Parties%20and%20Elections_EN.pdf

⁵⁸ Hofmeister, W. & Grabow, K. (2011). Political Parties: Functions and organization in democratic societies. Singapore: Adenauer Stiftung 2011

⁵⁹ Diamond, L. J., Linz & S. M. Lipset (1995). Politics in developing countries: Comparing experiences with democracy. Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner.

⁶⁰ Li Richard, (2015), Political Parties and Party Systems.

dictators need political parties to consolidate power and maintain governance. But he holds the view though a country's proper functioning and stabilization of democracy of nations are inseparable to political parties, there is growing discontent about what he terms "partisan politics" in some jurisdictions.

From the above definitions, political parties play instrumental roles in a democracy. They help in operating and stabilizing a country.

In its operative functions, parties act as a bridge between the people and the state and help in integrating citizens into a political system. Political parties perform a reciprocal middleman service in communication between state agencies and citizens, in both the process of opinion's formation and the process of interest mediation⁶¹.

Furthermore, on its operative function, political parties use socialization and mobilization of voters to inform citizens about decision-making in order for them to actively participate to own the decisions. Another operative function is to serve as a network of human resources to organize government and set policies. These tripartite roles are means to achieving Abraham Lincoln's view of a democratic society⁶².

The stability function of political parties is expunged by other scholars. Peter Burnell⁶³ points out that through inter-party and cross-party competition, members (politicians) are held accountable by their own. For instance, party constitutions and statutes are the main set of written laws by

⁶¹ Patrick Osei-Kufuor (PhD), A Comparative Study on Internal Political Party Communication Policies in Ghana, J-PASS Project.

⁶² Government of the people, by the people, for the people. Democracy is far and away the foremost difficult type of government - each for politicians and for the individuals. The term democracy comes from the Greek language and means that "rule by the (simple) people". The questionable "democracies" in classical antiquity (Athens and Rome) represent precursors of contemporary democracies (Thomas 2016, What was Abraham Lincoln's definition of democracy)

⁶³ Burnell P. (2004), Building Better Democracies – Why political parties matter

parties structure and organize their affairs.⁶⁴ Moreso, candidates offer ideological options for voters, and this is not the case for a non-partisan competition where candidates' stance changes from time to time.

Political parties check governments. They (parties) do not only link the state and civil society, but they can also influence the executive, formulate public policy, engage in political recruitment, structure electoral choices and facilitate coalitions. A famous account is given by Li⁶⁵. According to him, various trade union workers in the UK aggregated to form the Labour Party to protest the domination of the wealthy Conservative Party. These united forces called for a more open and inclusive government as against the former's belief in small government. The landslide victory of the Labour Party in 1945 forced the Conservative Party to accept to build a welfare state and to expand the public sector when they got hold of power back in 1951.

In summary, scholars⁶⁶ identified five headings to highlight the direct and indirect importance of political parties - the integration and mobilization of citizens; the articulation and aggregation of interests; the formulation of public policy; the recruitment of political leaders; and the organization of parliament and government⁶⁷. Thus, political parties are the channels for organizing political representation, political competition, and democratic accountability. Not forgetting that party statute also serves as an advisory for gender mainstreaming activities by the parties. It addresses issues concerning representation especially women and minority groups' representation⁶⁸ especially in the face of global Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

⁶⁴ Refer to n.4 above.

⁶⁵ Refer to n.4 above.

⁶⁶ Hicken & Kuhonta, (2011), *Shadows From the Past : Party System Institutionalization in Asia*

⁶⁷ Norris, P. (2005). *Party communications: Political parties and democracy in theoretical and practical perspectives*. Washington D.C.: National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

⁶⁸ Refer to n.5

Suffice to say, therefore, parties can best be conceived as a means of communication⁶⁹. In connecting with electorates, the publics and the society, a party needs a good communication mechanism. Theaker⁷⁰ sees communication as an instrument of management by which all consciously used forms of internal and external communication are harmonized as effectively and efficiently as possible, in order to create a favourable basis for relationships with groups upon which the company [group] is dependent. Communication is even more profound when it comes to parties carrying out their functions of mobilizing public consent and votes, as requirements for political leadership in any democracy.⁷¹

In these literature, two things among others are imminent – information exchange and coordination. Communications within and out of a party are broadly categorized into two – Internal and External.

Broadly speaking, Internal Communication represents the communication and the interactions among the members of an organization, being defined as a way of describing and explaining a corporation⁷². This type of communication is restricted to members of an organization, including coadjutors, superiors, and subordinates. Examples of such are memos, guidelines, policies and procedures and all other intra-party communication among national, regional and local levels of the party including organs and groupings⁷³.

No political party exists without internal communication because it is considered as the “engine”, one that enables the staff (political and administrative), as well as party members at the various levels of party organization, to better understand what happens within the party, become more

⁶⁹ Sartori, G. (1976). *Parties and Party Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁷⁰ Theaker, A. (2004). *The public relations handbook*. Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge.

⁷¹ Refer to n.12

⁷² Refer to n.12

⁷³ Refer to n.12

informed and motivated and identify with the vision, mission and objectives of the party ⁷⁴, to issue and clarify procedures and policies; develop new policies; convince the employees and the management to make improvements and changes; coordinate the activities; evaluate and reward the personnel⁷⁵.

On the other hand, External Communication is aimed at the outside with a primary aim to connect the party with voters. It involves the professionalized communication between political decision-makers and the public⁷⁶.

Citizens and voters are considered very relevant to a party's external communication because political parties need to sway public opinion to win elections and govern. The ability of a political party to win political power is considered a function of their capacity to influence public opinion and strategically draw attention to their parties and their ideas⁷⁷.

External communication between the party and voters provides information about the latter. It is also a strategic means to persuade electorates to vote such a party, and also to reinforce the image and philosophies of the party. The internet and internet media like Youtube, Facebook and Twitter have been identified to be modern tools to ensure the commercial reach and impart of external party communications.

⁷⁴ Smith, L. & Mounter, P. (2008). *Effective internal communication*. London: Kogan Page.

⁷⁵ Guffey, M.E., Rhodes, K. & Rogin, P. (2010). *Business communication: Process and product*. Toronto: Nelson Education.

⁷⁶ Juris, S. (2004). *Erfolgreiche interne Unternehmenskommunikation – Bedeutung, Zielsetzungen und Maßnahmen*. Norderstedt: GRIN Verlag.

⁷⁷ Refer to n.17

Press releases, conferences, lectures, news and policy positions are examples; and these are mostly featured on the official website of a political party. The party website is the main source of communication and should be permanently updated⁷⁸.

2.4.2 Ghanaian Political Parties, Social & Political Identities

Ghana's eventful political history has been dominated by two major parties of almost equal strengths. They are the NPP and NDC. Together, they hold 222 of the 230 seats.⁷⁹ In Ghana, political parties are objects of passionate support. Qualitative and quantitative field data support the view that parties have struck deep roots in the society and enjoy a high acceptance and legitimacy; also because electoral politics is sometimes seen as the Ghanaians' 'favourite sport'⁸⁰ - with so much polarization.

Since the inception of the Fourth Republic, the dominance and its associated power alternated among the two – NPP and NDC.

The NPP is an offspring of the Busia-Dankwa tradition and the ancestry of the United Party (UP) while the NDC is a metamorphosed version of the Provisional Defence Council (PNDC) under the grassroots creed of the militant ruler Jerry John Rawlings.

One of the foremost things identified by Gyampo⁸¹ as influential in the operations, build up and policies of this duo are their ideologies.

⁷⁸ Refer to n.17

⁷⁹ A. Osei, *Political Parties in Ghana: Agents of Democracy?*, 2013

⁸⁰ Jeffries, R. 1980. "The Ghanaian Elections of 1979." *African Affairs* 79 (316): 397–414. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/722047>.

⁸¹ Refer to n.25

The preamble of the NPP's party manifesto captures its operational ideologies and social identity which stems from one of the sayings of J.B Dankwa - 'The party's policy is to liberate the energies of the people for the growth of a property-owning democracy in this land, with the right to life, freedom and justice, as the principles to which the government and laws of the land should be dedicated in order specifically to enrich life, property and liberty of each and every citizen'⁸². From this extract, it is obvious the emphasis is on liberal democracy, an open market economy, private initiatives, and freedom of citizens, and this speaks to their ideological orientation

Among the reasons for this liberal democratic ideology is to build in Ghana a free and democratic system of government under which all citizens will be able to contribute to the peace, welfare and prosperity while keeping its citizenry from dictatorship and oppression⁸³.

On the other hand, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) is so far the biggest and most successful political party in Ghana. It remains the only political party that has served four (4) out of seven (7) terms (1992 -1996, 1996 – 2000, 2008 – 2012, and 2012 – 2016) in Ghana's recent democratic history under the 4th Republic⁸⁴. The NDC was formed out of the progressive traditions and principles of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council⁸⁵ (AFRC) and the PNDC. This period was characterized by national values of probity, accountability and social justice.

⁸² NPP 2016 Manifesto, p.4

⁸³ NPP Constitution, 1992

⁸⁴ M. Abbey, Social Democracy; the AFRC ; the PNDC Ideals : the Ideological Identity of the NDC, 2018.

⁸⁵ On the night of June 4, 1979, a group of junior officers and enlisted personnel of the Fifth Battalion and the Reconnaissance Regiment in Burma Camp freed Rawlings [who was arrested after a failed coup on May 15] and staged a coup. These individuals then formed the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) to rule the country. The AFRC included a cross section of ranks from private and lance corporal to staff sergeant, airman, lieutenant, and naval commander. Although the scheduled elections occurred as planned on June 18, 1979, the AFRC retained power until September 24, 1979, when President Hilla Limann and the People's National Party (PNP) assumed control of the government - GlobalSecurity (2020). Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/africa/gh-afrc.htm>

The party won the country's first general elections in the Fourth Republic in 1992 despite the concerns of electoral fraud. The party's founder and ruling leader, Jerry Rawlings won with 58.3%. It was in this election that the name NDC was first recorded in an election because its mother party the PNDC had gone under rebranding after 11 years of military rule.

The party went into the 2012 elections with former veep and a one-year-president Dramani Mahama narrowly winning with 50.7% votes and the main opponent, Nana Akufo-Addo of the NPP, obtaining 47.7% of the votes.⁸⁶

The party suffered a monumental defeat⁸⁷ to the NPP in the 2016 elections.

The NDC has been governed by egalitarian values which find reflection in her social democratic ideology. It is evident in its constitution⁸⁸ which stipulates that under its *philosophy* session that: "The Party is a Social Democratic Party that believes in the equality and the egalitarian treatment of all persons irrespective of their social, cultural, educational, political, religious and economic relations in a multi-party environment".

However, on the subject of social and ideological underpinnings of the two parties, it is believed the NPP and NDC are gradually crossing into each other's foundational ideologies due to the contemporary demands in addressing the socio-economic demands of the people, the global and local markets.

For instance, the NDC is, albeit at a slower pace, redefining and deepening her social democratic identity [because] the calls by the middle-class members including the founder of the party for the NDC to redirect, re-integrate and deepen the ideals of the revolution and social democracy in

⁸⁶ Refer to n.32 above

⁸⁷ Refer to n.32 above

⁸⁸ NDC Constitution, 1992

her policies, programmes and actions have gained much currency today. This has become relevant since it appears the main rival party of conservative and a capitalist leaning is widely perceived to be implementing more social democratic initiatives⁸⁹.

2.4.3 Strategic Communication in Election Campaigns

Scholars⁹⁰ have established a symbiotic relationship between electoral activities and communications. In the following analogies, these scholars maintain that communication and political communication for that matter, act as means to organizing, fostering relationships, social mobilization, agenda-setting, reaching out, and framing of information targeted at voters: “If election campaigns are about organizing, communication is required between the campaign leadership and campaign volunteers, donors, activists and supporters. If election campaigns are about building alliances between groups with similar interests and goals, communication is required to build and maintain relationships and to coordinate activities. If election campaigns are about mobilizing supporters, communication is required to reach out to and help convince them to actively support the campaign. If election campaigns are about how the mass media cover politics, communication is required to build relationships with editors and journalists and to influence the news media, their agendas and how they frame issues, events and processes. If election campaigns are about voter contact, communication is required to reach out to voters through phone, outdoor activities or knocking on doors, and for the interpersonal discussion with voters. And, if election campaigns are about shaping the information environment in order to position the campaign as favorable as possible, and opponents as unfavorable as possible, all efforts at shaping the political information environment, branding and positioning require political communication”.

⁸⁹ Refer to n.25

⁹⁰ Gothenburg and Kiouisis (2014). Strategic Political Communication in Election Campaigns.

They operationalise political communication as an organizations purposeful management of information and communication to reach voters to achieve its aim. This aim is not restricted to seeking only political support. According to Strøm⁹¹, political communication aims at three outcomes and these qualify as the various types of political parties - *vote-seeking*, *office-seeking* and *policy-seeking parties*.

The vote-seeking parties aim at maximizing votes. They, therefore, put a strong focus on elections. The office-seeking parties, in contrast, seek to maximize their control over a political office and not their votes.

The core aim of policy-seeking parties is to get more influence over public policy. Therefore they do not put a lot of focus on elections since their fortunes are more directly linked to election campaigning.

In trying to further understand the various types of political parties, other scholars⁹² have also introduced terms like *product-oriented*, *sales-oriented* and *market-oriented*. They explain that based on a merger of political science and marketing, political marketing theory holds that the campaigns of product-oriented parties tend to focus on the core of the political product – the ideology and policy positions as formed through internal processes and deliberations. Such parties stand on their ideologies and ask voters to vote for them because they believe this set of principles is better than their opponents'. They foster competition based on policies.

A sales-oriented party is similar to a product-oriented party in the sense that the ideology and policy positions are formed in internal processes. The difference is that it makes use of market

⁹¹ Strøm, Karee. 1990. A behavioral theory of competitive political parties. *American Journal of Political Science* 34: 565–598.

⁹² Henneberg, Stephan C. M. 2002. Understanding political marketing. In: Nicholas J.

intelligence and marketing techniques for studying and grouping the electorate, for message design, and for the selling of the party. Therefore, parties of this kind concentrate much more on election campaigning and campaign communication than product-oriented parties. While both product- and sales-oriented parties can be described as policy seeking, sales-oriented parties are more vote-seeking than product-oriented parties. Neither party would however change the policies to appeal to voters.

Conversely, market-oriented parties use market intelligence not only to craft the message and to develop and execute as effective campaigns as possible but also to mold the political product and policies per se. For example, whilst sales-oriented parties try to make people want what it offers, market-oriented parties try to offer what people want. Market-oriented parties should be understood as the least policy-seeking, and the most vote- or office-seeking, party type.

It is worth-stressing that other scholars ⁹³ insist that these parties are not mutually exclusive. As argued along the lines of ideological crisscrossing earlier in this chapter, parties change policies to accommodate voters. The parties may attempt to maximize the share of votes at the same time as they attempt to win office and maximize policy influence.

According to Davis et al⁹⁴, for a communication to be strategic towards an election, it should not take place only through the mass media. In fact, the single most important development in terms of campaign communication is that different kinds of digital media such as web pages, social media and blogs have become increasingly important, and they have been used over the last decade. Other means to reach electorates are through direct contacts, text messages and telephone conversations

⁹³ Lees-Marshment, Jennifer, Jesper Strömbäck and Chris Rudd (eds.). 2010. *Global Political Marketing*. London: Routledge.

⁹⁴ (Davis 2009; Harfoush 2009; Hendricks and Denton 2010; Lilleker and Jackson 2011; Smith 2009; Sweetser 2011 cited in n.32)

may also be highly important. This holds true for the communication with target groups among the electorate⁹⁵ as well as in internal communication processes and in the interactions with elite groups such as journalists ⁹⁶.

It is worth the note that in communication towards elections, there is always friction between long-term strategy and planning on the one hand, and the short-term impact of real-world events, the activities of other parties, and of the media's coverage. No matter how strategically political parties plan their campaign activities and communication, during the course of a campaign a number of unanticipated events will occur. Sometimes such events present new opportunities; other times they will pose threats. Therefore, successful campaign strategies should be flexible and should include backup plans.

Suffice to say therefore that effective and strategic communication requires an analysis of how the campaign teams of different types of parties identified in this chapter may use a variety of means to communicate with different stakeholders located within different spheres in order to reach the strategic goals of the parties and the campaigns.

⁹⁵ Johnson, Dennis W. 2011. *Campaigning in the Twenty-First Century. A Whole New Ballgame?* New York: Routledge.

⁹⁶ Van Aelst, Peter, Adam Shehata and Arjen Van Dalen. 2010. Members of parliament, equal competitors for media attention? An analysis of personal contacts between MPs and political journalists in five European countries. *Political Communication* 27: 310–325.

2.4.4 Strategic Framing in Political Communication

Having explained what political communication entails and the various media used in carrying out such deliberate act, it is important to view the form and narrative that these messages and activities take. Among the narratives deployed is framing. According to Entman⁹⁷, framing is selectively emphasizing /evaluating certain aspects of a perceived reality and to make them more salient in a communicating text, ‘in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described’

Frames are systems of pre-conceived ideas used to organize and interpret new information.⁹⁸

Framing occurs in the media mostly because of time and resource constraints on what can be reported. Journalists must choose which events to cover and which to ignore. They are mostly cultural depicting the set of meanings and values that people attach to a system of doing things. Gamson⁹⁹ likened this to a picture frame in which the viewer is made to see only parts that may carry a particular skewed. The study cited agrees argues that just like in any strategic act, framing could be strategic in the political domain. Jasper¹⁰⁰ on the other hand, posited that strategic framing has ‘few rules... but many choices’.

Hänggli and Kriesi¹⁰¹ identified four types of choices in strategic framing: The first three could be combined at ago.

⁹⁷ Entman, Robert M. 1993. ‘Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm’, *Journal of Communication*. 43, 4: 51-58.

⁹⁸ Communication Studies. Framing Theory. <https://www.communicationstudies.com/communication-theories/framing-theory>

⁹⁹ Gamson, William 2004. Bystanders, Public Opinion, and the Media. Pp. 242-261 in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

¹⁰⁰ Jasper, James M. 2006. *Getting Your Way. Strategic Dilemmas In The Real World*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

¹⁰¹ Hänggli R. and Kriesi H. (2010). *Political Framing Strategies and Their Impact on Media Framing in a Swiss Direct-Democratic Campaign*

(1)First, political actors have to decide whether to engage their opponents on issues and substantive matters arising during the campaign season- politics or policy:

On this choice, two frames are further discussed – process-oriented frames and thematic frames. The former focuses on the politics and not content. Some frames used are ‘Horse race frames’ in which campaigns are carried out not as a contest of ideas or policy platforms, but as a race between two teams, each bent on getting more votes than the other. “Conflict frames” emphasizes the conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions. “Personalized frames” emphasize the personal characteristics of the actors involved or attacking another person.

Thematic frames on the other hand are issue-based. They can either be issue-specific or transcending a single issue.¹⁰²

However, scholars ¹⁰³maintain that “while political actors would like to get their substantive message across and can be expected to privilege thematic frames, process frames are attractive for journalists”. Due to this some news reporters in the US have resorted to doing more analytic kind of news coverage.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Gamson, William, David Croteau, William Hones, and Theodore Sasson 1992. Media Images and the Social Construction of Reality. Annual Review of Sociology 18: 373-93.

¹⁰³ Hänggli R. and Kriesi H. (2010). Political Framing Strategies and Their Impact on Media Framing in a Swiss Direct-Democratic Campaign

¹⁰⁴ Iyengar, Shanto and Jennifer A. McGrady 2007. Media Politics. A Citizen’s Guide. New York: Norton.

(2)Next in strategic framing, actors have to choose between going positive or going negative:

Under this choice, political parties can choose to deploy negative or positive frames in their debate to win over voters. Studies conducted on the ratification campaign for the American Constitution in 1787/88 reveals that much of the arguments exchanged between the Federalists and the Anti-federalists were negative¹⁰⁵. Voter behaviours are explained under this choice as having an unfavourable attitude towards risks, hence in winning them to the side of any political party, messages should seek to highlight the dangers associated with the opponent's policy or programme.

(3) They have to decide whether they want to adopt an offensive or a defensive stance:

Political actors are described as offensive if they focus on the issues or issue attributes in order to enjoy an advantage. When an actor has dominion in this field, the dominance principle by Riker manifests, but when the strategies and frames by both sides equal, then the dispersion principle is established. Here, both sides abandon their initial frames to look for other frames and issues that they have strengths in. These also apply to when parties decide to focus on different issues emerging from the political season. Scholars cited¹⁰⁶ in here advocate that party communicators should be offensive in their approach.

(4)Finally, and most importantly, the political actors have to choose one or several substantive frames capable of steering the attention of the media and the public to their own cause and away from the cause of their opponents:

This choice is hinged on the sensationalism of the media as suggested by the strategy “if it bleeds, it leads, no matter whose blood it is”.¹⁰⁷ In an experiment by Chong and Druckman, it was established that the strength of a frame is the most important determinant of influencing voters.

¹⁰⁵ Riker, William H. 1996. *The Strategy of Rhetoric. Campaigning for the American Constitution*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

¹⁰⁶ Refer to n.107 above

¹⁰⁷ Scandling Michael (2018). *If It Bleeds, It Leads. No Matter Whose Blood It Is*.StandBlog.

The reveal that this frame-strength is determined by two factors - *the credibility of its source and its resonance/congruence with central cultural themes.*

On credibility, it measures the reputation actors have built over the years on a particular issue or policy. Other scholars ¹⁰⁸ add ‘demonstrated skills, performance, and talent in the political communication arena’ to the list that determines one’s credibility.

On resonance of frames, Entman Entman (2004: 14) maintains that the most inherently powerful frames are those ‘fully congruent with schemas habitually used by most members of society’, adding that ambiguous contested matters are more difficult to frame, and that frames incongruent with dominant schemas are blocked from spreading by a common culture. Resonance from voters can come from how a communication corresponds with events in the real world (empirical credibility); how a message corresponds with the everyday experience and the common sense (experiential commensurability); how a message or frame corresponds with the existing culture. Scholars¹⁰⁹, therefore, propose that the resonance of a frame is expected to be greater, the greater its empirical credibility, experiential commensurability and narrative fidelity.

Social reality under framing is heavily contested, and this offers political actors the opportunities to impose their own constructions on voters. The reason is as theorized by Gamson¹¹⁰ who argue that a full-fledged framing strategy of a political actor should not only mobilize his own constituency and the by-standers but also try to ‘neutralize and discredit the framing efforts of adversaries and rivals, keeping their potential supporters passive’

¹⁰⁸ Wolfsfeld, Gadi and Tamir Sheafer 2006. ,Competing Actors and the Construction of Political News: The Contest Over Waves in Israel’, Political Communication 23: 333-354.

¹⁰⁹ Refer to n.107 above.

¹¹⁰ Refer to n.104 above

2.4.5 Political Framing in Ghana's Recent Political Year

In the Ghanaian context, scholars including Dugah 2012¹¹¹ , Ayee 2009¹¹², Gyampo et al 2017¹¹³ and Azuri 2019¹¹⁴ discussed the communication reasons parties lose elections aside from the acme factors¹¹⁵ albeit Parku 2014¹¹⁶ issues a caveat that “Individuals affiliated with political parties that win elections are more likely to consider those elections free and fair than the losing counterparts”, an example of social identity case.

Ayee in looking at the evolutionary story of the NPP investigated why the party lost the 2008 elections. Among the eight (8) causes listed by the scholar, two communication or quasi-communication factors are pertinent to this paper :

1. *The top party officials were seen as arrogant and uncaring:*

Some political heads including ministers and District Chief Executives made themselves inaccessible to party supporters and activists for discussion on party issues and activities. Also, they did not travel wide enough across the country to interact with the party's foot soldiers.

2. *There was a lack of internal democracy owing to poor communication and imposition of some party candidates during the party's primaries.*

Some angered members broke away to contest on as independent candidates

¹¹¹ Stanley Courage Dugah (2012). Why the NPP lost Election 2012. GhanaWeb.

¹¹² Joseph RA Ayee (2009). The evolution and development of the New Patriotic Party in Ghana. South African Institute of International Affairs.

¹¹³ Ransford Edward Van Gyampo , Emmanuel Graham and Eric Yobo. (2017). Ghana's 2016 General Election: Accounting for the Monumental Defeat of the National Democratic Congress (NDC). ResearchGate.

¹¹⁴ Manasseh Azure Awuni. (2019). *The Fourth John : Reign, Rejection & Rebound* . Accra : Manasseh Azure Awuni.

¹¹⁵ *The acme factor that accounted for the NDC's defeat in the 2016 polls is regime fatigue*

Ransford Edward Van Gyampo , Emmanuel Graham and Eric Yobo. (2017). Ghana's 2016 General Election: Accounting for the Monumental Defeat of the National Democratic Congress (NDC). ResearchGate.

¹¹⁶ Sharon Parku (2014). Who says elections in Ghana are 'free and fair'?. Afrobarometer.

Furthermore, despite many scholars have advanced several reasons in an attempt to explain the rather puzzling victory of the NDC in the 2012 elections, Dugah believes the NPP lost the elections because of brand failure of the party's candidate, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo. This was how he puts it "brand sits between victory and defeat. Whether it is in the selling of a product or service, the presentation of an idea/pitch, or the marketing of a political candidate, the brand is of paramount importance and the NPP wasn't up to the scratch in this"

Also, the death of the sitting president, the late John Fiifi Atta Mills of the NDC did not only lead to the suspension of the campaigns of both the NDC and NPP (at least for a while) but also forced the NPP to re-tool their campaign message within few months to elections¹¹⁷. Their communication strategy before the death of candidate Mills was to brand him a sick president who would soon die, plus an incompetent president and a divisive party leader. His death was therefore an obvious-surprise and it coaxed the sympathy and empathy of Ghanaians.

The 2016 elections was a historic one because of the "monumental defeat of the NDC". A number of factors worked against the party¹¹⁸. Among this myriad of socio-political and economic factors, four (4) communications-related causes are noted.

1. *Perceived Corruption and Arrogance Owing to Opposition Strategic Communication:*

Researches under the 'third-person effect' have established that perceptions and behaviours of voters (incumbent and opposition) are influenced by messages (either negative or positive) on the media. Under the third-person effect, Phillips Davison¹¹⁹ postulated that audience members would deny the media's direct effect on themselves but would perceive the media's effect on

¹¹⁷ Fredrich Ebert Stiftung (2012). Elections 2012. FES.

¹¹⁸ Refer to n.48 above.

¹¹⁹ P. Davison, Public. Opin. Quart. 47, 1 (1983)

others. The reverse is the ‘first-person effect’ which holds the view that when the desired message is intended to be positive on the respondents just because it’s the desired message.

The third-person effect theory simply states that a message, perceived to be not welcome, can exert a greater influence on others than on the self. Thus, the message will have the least impact on ‘me’ (first person), you (members closest to the first person) and the greatest impact on them (others, the third person).¹²⁰

The above theory was evident in the 2016 communications strategy employed by the opposition NPP. Gyampo et al reported that the NDC communications machinery battled with many cases of perceived as well as actual corruption cases. And whilst the party struggled to refute opposition communication to frame voters, the perception of Ghanaian voters shifted to the negative even in the face of some initiatives like the Anti-Corruption Action Plan (2015-2024) which was contended was implemented late. The opposition NPP thus capitalized on these corruption scandals in the incumbent NDC administration and made a key campaign pledge to fight corruption when elected¹²¹. This indeed resonated well with most of the voting public, leading to the mass rejection of the NDC at the 2016 polls.

Another perception the ruling party had to struggle with was the frames of arrogance, rudeness, and disrespect by ministers of state and some young party communicators. These youngsters who were privileged to serve in ministerial positions were nicknamed “babies with sharp teeth¹²²” as a

¹²⁰ Syed Arabi Idid and Rizwanah Souket, Perceived Influence of Opposition Political Campaign Materials on Voters, 2017

¹²¹ Torny, E 2015, ‘ Fighting Corruption: Nana Addo to Form Independent Prosecutor to Fight Corruption July 19’. Retrieved from <http://pulse.com.gh/politics/fighting-corruption-nana-addo-to-form-independentprosecutor-to-fight-corruption-id3988802.html>

¹²² *It is not the first time this has happened, and it will not be the last. However, this phrase has a nice beginning and a wild ending which even makes it more catching to receive the attention of generations to come, and a perfect illustration of what happens when a leader goes that way. I guess the young will learn something from it and save*

result of the ruthless approach in communicating for the ruling party. Whilst their style angered and stepped on the toes of many voters and influencers even within the party, it made NDC overconfident over their chances though unpopular (the third-person effect).

2. *Superior Campaign message from the NPP*

The NDC campaigned without a message. Any child in the 2016 election could recite the NPP's campaign promises – free SHS, One District One Factory, One Village One Dam, One Constituency One Million Dollars, etc¹²³. Conversely, President Mahama and the NDC campaigned on 'continuity', 'unprecedented infrastructure achievements' and 'changing lives and transforming Ghana'¹²⁴. The party seemed not to have a clear cut message for the future. The campaign motto for the incumbent NDC which was 'Forward Ever, Backwards Never'¹²⁵ was not as appealing as the¹²⁶ NPP's 'Ghana Must Work Again' and 'Arise for Change'¹²⁷.

3. *The ' Personality Attack' Communication by Incumbent NDC*

The NDC failed to brand itself prominently especially in communicating its core campaign messages and ideas. The Mahama-led NDC focused most of its campaign on attacking the personality of the opposition leader instead of focusing on an issues-based campaign¹²⁸.

However, as the incumbent communicators attacked the NPP candidate, he concentrated on communicating in very catchy terms, his policy and political alternatives to the ailing economy

themselves the trouble some of our politicians find themselves in now- Charles Owusu (2017). "Babies With Sharp Teeth" Is A Phrase That Has Come To Stay". ModernGhana

¹²³ Refer to n.51

¹²⁴ NDC Manifesto 2016

¹²⁵ Refer to n.47

¹²⁶ Refer to n.51

¹²⁷ NPP Manifesto 2016

¹²⁸ Akwa, NS 2016, August 15, "Presidency not for short people": Comment a Figure of Speech – NDC'. Retrieved from <http://www.myjoyonline.com/politics/2016/August-15th/presidency-not-for-short-peoplecomment-a-figure-of-speech-ndc.php>

In comparison, the NPP 2016 campaign provided hope whereas the NDC prosecuted several politically inexpedient campaigns, lacking the efficacy of their 2012 Better Ghana Agenda campaign.¹²⁹

4. *Communications ‘Undoings’ revealed by the Kwesi Botchwey Report*

Page 29 of the alleged report published by Ghanaweb¹³⁰, further established the ills in communication strategy by NDC. “Lack of proper media coordination across the regions” is read as one of the findings of the committee.

Moreso, running an extravagant communication campaign did more harm than good. Mounting huge billboards offended many voters and re-enforced opposition’s accusations that these were funded from stolen public money in the absence of no formal campaign blueprint¹³¹

As established earlier in this chapter, prior to elections more especially, the media could be a tool at the same time a weapon of destruction for political parties. The NDC as a party had not managed to shed the crude tactics of its revolutionary past, and it played out badly in its relationship with the media. If any notable person or interest group disagreed with the NDC, they were labelled as members of the opposition NPP. The party communicators rejected every report or survey which painted a blurred image and prospect of the party in retaining power¹³².

The communication errors and miscalculations were so obvious that Tsikata et al¹³³ were of the view that, among other things, “It is believed that the implementation of these recommendations will reinvigorate the NDC – strengthening its communication and decision-making structures,

¹²⁹ Refer to n.47

¹³⁰ GhanaWeb (2017). Leaked Kwesi Botchwey Report: Solomon Nkansah vindicated. Accra

¹³¹ Joy Fm’s Newsfile (2017). NDC & Leaked Botchwey Report.

¹³² Refer to n.48, p.273

¹³³ Tsika et al (2017). The Conceptualization of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) Transformational Agenda.

aligning its cultures and practices to its operations, strengthening its organizational capacities, and restoring participation into its practices - so it can face the challenges that confront it now and into the foreseeable future”

With barely 3 months to the 2020 general elections, the NPP and NDC have resumed embarking on a couple of electoral activities to either retain power or to wrestle for power. The NPP is geared towards accounting to voters on some 388 campaign promises¹³⁴. The NDC on the other hand is positioned to expose the rot in the incumbent leadership in order to influence voters to vote their comeback.

These initiatives have come in the form of town hall meetings, policy dialogue series, press conferences, community engagements, live social media addresses and national speeches laced with political campaigns.

The incumbent NPP has embarked on over four townhall meetings¹³⁵ thus far, with one of them taking place in 2020 in February. The Vice president who was maintained as the running mate of the NPP¹³⁶ headlined the first town hall meeting in 2020. According to the Information Minister, the initiative was aimed at trumpeting the successes of the ruling party as well as to account to the media and citizens on campaign promises made ahead of the 2016 elections.

¹³⁴ NPP Manifesto, 2016

¹³⁵ Modern Ghana (2019). Government Takes Regional Town Hall Meetings To Bono East, 2020

¹³⁶ Nii Larte Lartey (2020). Nana Addo to maintain Bawumia as running mate for 2020 polls. Citinewsroom.com

The 2020 edition of the town-hall/results fair was held in Kumasi on the theme “Demonstrating the fulfillment of our promises”. At the gathering, the Vice President rated his party (NPP) 78% performance under their first term.¹³⁷ This grade A mark in some jurisdictions

The ruling party also engaged in a couple of press conferences to respond to matters arising in both their government and that of the NDC whilst in power. The latest in 2020 was on the alleged airbus scandal¹³⁸ involving some undisclosed members of government during the NDC’s reign in 2015.

The candidate of the NPP, Akufo Addo, before picking forms to seek for the party’s unopposed blessings to lead them yet again in election 2020, embarked on a number of tours to the newly created regions in the capacity of the president of the nation. According to media reports, the objective of the visits was to touch base with the newly demarcated regions in the country and to interact with citizens and leaders there.

On the other hand, the opposition NDC in June 2020, scored the ruling NPP 14% in their ability to deliver on some claimed 631 promises it made ahead of the 2016 elections. The 14% F grade according to the party represented some 86 promises achieved under the 4-year rule of the Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo administration.¹³⁹

They also responded to the government and corruption issues arising through many press conferences. One of these was held at a galamsey site around River Pra in the Twifo Praso District of the Eastern Region of Ghana¹⁴⁰. The Center for Public Discourse Analysis (CPDA)¹⁴¹ has

¹³⁷ Kenu and Donkor (2020). 78% of promises delivered - Vice President Bawumia.

¹³⁸ GhanaWeb, Why NPP went behind government to hold press conference over Airbus Scandal, 2020

¹³⁹ Cromwell A. (2020). NDC scores government 14% for campaign promises delivery. Myjoyonline.com

¹⁴⁰ MyJoyOnline (2020). Playback: NDC holds press conference on ‘havoc of failed galamsey fight’.

¹⁴¹ Este Sikanku (2020). Pro-Con Analysis of the NDC Communication Directorate Press Conference (Infograph) , CPDA. Citinewsroom.

observed the “laser-focused” nature of this press conference. According to the Center, “press conferences are expected to be used sparingly to draw attention to pressing issues, national emergencies and should be laser-focus. This press conference does exactly that”.

But CPDA also observed that the entire enterprise is “likely to be viewed as theatrical and gimmicky”

The responses by the largest opposition party have also taken the form of policy dialogue series aimed at comparing the current performance of the NPP government to the previous governance records of former president and flagbearer of the NDC, John Dramani Mahama, maintaining that the latter’s so-called worst was better than the former’s good¹⁴².

The former president at the beginning of the year has also commenced a nationwide tour dubbed “SpeakOut, JM is listening”. The tour targeted all the 16 regions of the country and serves as an opportunity for the NDC leader to meet, interact and listen directly to the people of Ghana¹⁴³ ahead of the general elections in December.

The party under Mahama has also organized a number of Facebook live broadcasts sessions¹⁴⁴ to address the media and nation on the economy under the present government vis-a-vis that of his party’s governments. The latest was in June 2020 took a digital conversation twist christened “Let’s Talk with JM”, this was another leg of the John Mahama Live Facebook broadcast. This conversation was aimed at interacting with random average Ghanaians as well as responding to questions on the candidate’s policies to govern the nation when given the nod.

¹⁴² Seth Bokpe (2020). Corruption Index: Mahama’s worst score better than Akufo-Addo’s best. The Ghana Report

¹⁴³ GhanaPoliticsNews (2020). John Mahama begins ‘Speakout Session’ tour of Ghana.

¹⁴⁴ John Dramani Mahama (2020). #JohnMahamaLIVE Session3. Facebook, Private.

Some of these digital addresses were used as platforms for the NDC to announce some policy intents towards the challenges they say they have identified.

For both parties, these have come with some deliberate management and framing of information in their quest to make their party and their ideas superior in policies and leadership.

2.5 Chapter Summary

In this section, existing work on political communication, electoral campaigns, democracy and political parties, in the Ghanaian context are reviewed. The works were not limited to internal communications between parties but also the interaction with the media and voters in order to canvass for votes ahead of elections. Articles and journals on both the 2016 elections and 2020 thus far were also critiqued. The subsequent chapter explained and justify an intra-party and cross-party methodology to analyzing some selected media contents within the context of political communication in view of unraveling trends, common elements as well as differences in communication by the two parties.

CHAPTER THREE: Research Methodology

2.6 Introduction

Mouton¹⁴⁵ explains research methodology as the collection of procedures that a researcher logically follows to investigate phenomena in a scientific study with a focus on the kinds of tools employed in the process. Therefore, this chapter includes the research methodology of the dissertation. In more detail, in this part, the author outlines the research strategy, the research method, the research approach, the methods of data collection, the selection of the sample, the research process, the type of data analysis, the ethical considerations and the research limitations of the project¹⁴⁶. Herein, in the bid to answering his theoretical questions in a more complex and in-depth way, the author introduced a concept of qualitative content analysis he calls intra-party and cross-party analysis complex with description and justification.

2.7 Research Method

Among the three research paradigms, the Qualitative research approach was best for this research because it contributed to the understanding of the human condition in different contexts and of a perceived situation¹⁴⁷. It understands how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world especially because the investigators study the subject in the natural setting [...] to understand phenomena in terms of the connotations individuals bring these phenomena¹⁴⁸. Qualitative research methods are also described as inductive, in the sense that a researcher may construct theories or hypotheses, explanations, and conceptualizations from details provided by a participant. Creswell, for instance, notes that ‘the intent [of qualitative research] is not to generalise

¹⁴⁵ Mouton, J. (1996). *Understanding Social Research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

¹⁴⁶ Spyros Langkos (2014). Chapter 3 - Research Methodology : Data collection method and research tools. ResearchGates

¹⁴⁷ Mariette Bengtsson (2016). How to plan and perform a qualitative study using content analysis. NursingPlus Open.

¹⁴⁸ Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds.). (2005). *Handbook of qualitative research*. (3rd edition).

Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. & Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research*. California: Sage

to a population, but to develop an in-depth [and contextualised] exploration of a central phenomenon¹⁴⁹.

Embedded in this approach is the perspective that researchers cannot set aside their experiences, perceptions, and biases, and thus cannot pretend to be objective bystanders to the research.¹⁵⁰

2.8 Research Design

Qualitative inquiries have several methods of analysis that could be adopted by the researcher.

They include phenomenology, hermeneutics, grounded theory, ethnography, phenomenography and content analysis. For a researcher, therefore, the main issue is how many financial resources, time and effort are able to invest in trying to understand the phenomena under study¹⁵¹.

Content analysis is used in this research due to its advantages over the other methods. Krippendorff¹⁵² stressed on valid inferences and context in his definition of content analysis as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use. These valid references are made “from verbal, visual, or written data in order to describe and quantify specific phenomena”,¹⁵³ in this research case videos and interviews.

Unlike the others, qualitative content analysis is not linked to any particular science, and there are fewer rules to follow, it is originally rooted in social research. This minimizes confusion in matters concerning philosophical concepts and discussions are reduced. As an interpretivist, the researcher

¹⁴⁹ Julian Kirchherr and Katrina Charles (2018). Enhancing the sample diversity of snowball samples: Recommendations from a research project on anti-dam movements in Southeast Asia. Plos One.

¹⁵⁰Michael R. Harwell. Chapter 10. Research Design in Qualitative/Quantitative/Mixed Methods

¹⁵¹ Patton M.Q. (2002). Qualitative, research & evaluation methods. Sage publications Inc., Thousand Oaks, California

¹⁵²Krippendorff K. (2004). Content analysis: an introduction to its methodology. Sage Publications Inc., Thousand Oaks, California

¹⁵³ Downe-Wambolt (1992). Content analysis: method, applications and issues. Health Care for Women International, 13, pp. 313-321

focused on maintaining a qualitative perspective ensuring the core, which was, to arrive at the “rigor and credibility that make the results as trustworthy as possible”¹⁵⁴

There are two types of content analysis in qualitative research – a manifest analysis and a latent analysis.

A latent analysis was used in this research. It required an interpretive level in which the researcher sought to find the underlying meaning of the text [videos]: what the text [or videos] is talking about¹⁵⁵.

Mihailescu¹⁵⁶ acknowledges that analysing mixed media such as graphics, video, audio, text and animation can be challenging for researchers. But other scholars ¹⁵⁷ have contributed to ensuring the successful handling of content analysis of such mixed media in a qualitative way. They include five steps which were considered in this thesis: One, the researcher should form a hypothesis or a research

Question. Two, the researcher should select a sample to analyse. Three, Setting the time frame and the creation and coding of categories. Four, adopting a robust coding system to assure the reliability while independently analysing the content, and Five, interpretation and analysis of the data collided.

Simply illustrated, Qualitative content analysis could mean who is saying what, how is the person saying it (context), to whom and what are the possible implications?

¹⁵⁴ Bengtsson M. (2016).How to plan and perform a qualitative study using content analysis. ScienceDirect

¹⁵⁵ Berg B.L. (2001). Qualitative research methods for the social sciences Allyn and Bacon, Boston ; M. Catanzaro (1988). Using qualitative analytical techniques. N.F. Woods, M.(Eds.), Nursing: research theory and practice, The CV Mosby Company, St.Louis (1988), pp. 437-456 and Downe-Wambolt (1992). Content analysis: method, applications and issues. Health Care for Women International, 13, pp. 313-321)

¹⁵⁶ Mimi Mihailescu (2019). Content analysis.ResearchGates.

¹⁵⁷ Krippendorff, K. (2018). Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology. Sage Publications & McMillan, S. J. (2000). The microscope and the moving target: The challenge of applying content analysis to the World Wide Web. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 77(1), 80-98.

Also at the core of this research is Glaser and Strauss' Grounded Theory. Grounded theory is a systematic procedure of data analysis, typically associated with qualitative research, that allows researchers to develop a theory that explains a specific phenomenon¹⁵⁸. Uniquely it is a very open approach to the process being studied emphasizing that study may evolve as it becomes apparent to the researchers what is pertinent to the study participants.

The purpose and its outcome are to develop a theory (ie. Involves formulation, testing, & redevelopment of propositions until a theory is developed) and support a theory by examples from collected data. The steps to this design occur simultaneously deploying a constant comparative process.

The unit of analysis of this design is a specific phenomenon or incident, not individual behaviors.

2.9 Sample

The sample [of research] is a choice of some elements of a population with the aim of discovering something about the whole population¹⁵⁹.

Data sampled were largely based on three broad areas set by the researcher - media interviews by parties, speeches delivered by the two flag-bearers and vote-canvassing initiatives embarked on by the two parties during the periods identified – ahead of the 2016 elections and the 2020 elections

The media interviews by parties included recorded videos featuring key members of the communications team of the political parties. They were obtained either on some selected media

¹⁵⁸ Statistics Solution retrieved from <https://www.statisticssolutions.com/types-of-qualitative-research-designs/>

¹⁵⁹ Mouton, J. (1996). Understanding Social Research. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

houses, social media or/and the official websites of these political parties. In order to maintain quality and undiluted content, the focus was largely on English speaking media and interviews.

The selected speeches were those delivered by either the communication teams of the two parties which had mass media coverage and stirred many public reactions; or the two flagbearers of the two political parties. These include some speeches from the Moment of Truth Series by either party, the press conferences organized by the communication wing of the parties as well as speeches delivered by NPP's Nana Akufo Addo and NDC's John Mahama.

The last category of samples are special social communication initiatives enrolled out by the incumbent and the opposition in their quest to selling their policies and propaganda to the voters. They are either common to the two parties or peculiar to them. These include the Let's Talk Social Media initiative by the NDC ; and the Meet the Press and Economic Lectures by the NPP

3.0 Sampling Technique

Research Technique is the set of procedures used to collect data in scientific research¹⁶⁰.

Traditional sampling methods are comprised of two elements. First, a full set of data sources is defined, creating a list of the members of the population to be studied, known as a sampling frame. Second, a specific sample of data is collected from this sampling frame.

Convenience sampling was appropriate for this study due to the large population. It is defines a method adopted by researchers where they collect market research data from a conveniently available pool of respondents. It is the most commonly used sampling technique as it's incredibly

¹⁶⁰ Bryman, A. (2012). Social research methods. (4th edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

prompt, uncomplicated, and economical. In many cases, members are readily approachable to be a part of the sample.¹⁶¹

3.1 Data Analysis & Presentation of Findings

In qualitative content analysis, data are presented in words and themes. It makes it possible to draw some interpretation of the results. The choice of analysis method depends on how deep within the analysis the researcher attempted to reflect the participants' statements about a subject.

As held by some scholars¹⁶², this is the type of research whereby data gathered is categorized in themes and sub-themes, so as to be able to be comparable.

The advantage is that it helps in structuring reducing and simplifying data plus producing results that satisfy the accomplishment of research objectives.

However, human error is highly involved in content analysis, since there is a risk for researchers to misinterpret the data gathered, thereby generating false and unreliable conclusions¹⁶³

On the other hand, the Grounded theory emphasizes inductive analysis¹⁶⁴ as well as abductive reasoning¹⁶⁵. In this analysis, the researcher did not wait until the data were collected before

¹⁶¹ Question Pro(?). Convenience Sampling: Definition, Applications, Advantages, Method, And Examples. <https://www.questionpro.com/blog/convenience-sampling/>

¹⁶² Moore & McCabe (2005) and Spyros Langkos. (2014). CHAPTER 3 Chapter 3 – Research Methodology : Data collection method and Research tools. ResearchGates.

¹⁶³ Krippendorff, K. (2004). Content analysis: an introduction to its methodology. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications Inc.

¹⁶⁴ *Inductive reasoning makes broad generalizations from specific observations. Basically, there is data, then conclusions are drawn from the data. This is called inductive logic*, according to Utah State University cited in Alina Bradford (2017). Deductive Reasoning vs. Inductive Reasoning.Live Science.

¹⁶⁵ ‘a form of reasoning that begins with an examination of the data and the formation of a number of hypotheses that are then proved or disproved during the process of analysis ... aids inductive conceptualization’ Ylona Chun Tie, Melanie Birks, and Karen Francis (2019). Grounded theory research: A design framework for novice researchers. SAGE Open Med

commencing analysis, analysis commenced as soon as possible, and continue in parallel with data collection, to allow *theoretical sampling* ¹⁶⁶.

Per the rules associated with grounded theory, during analysis, concepts were developed in the arena of communication and political communication. Other scholars have argued that in order to generate more abstract concepts and theories through this inductive process, a constant comparative analysis is used for coding and category development. This process commences with the first data generated or collected and pervades the research process. Incidents and themes are identified in the data and coded [noded]. The initial stage of analysis compares incident to incident in each code [node] where coding in a qualitative study is defined by Gibbs¹⁶⁷ as a way of indexing or categorizing the text in order to establish a framework of thematic ideas about it ¹⁶⁸. Initial codes are then compared to other codes. Codes [nodes] are then collapsed into categories or themes. This process means the researcher will compare incidents in a category with previous incidents, in both the same and different categories. Future codes are compared and categories are compared with other categories. New data is then compared with data obtained earlier during the analysis phases. This iterative process involves largely inductive thinking.

After transcribed audios, videos and speeches were subjected to latent analysis. The following themes [nodes] hinged on uniqueness and styles of communicators deployed ahead of the elections; communication aggression ; decentralization of campaigns; sensationalism in messages;

¹⁶⁶BMC. Table 1 Fundamental components of a grounded theory study. Retrieved from <https://bmcmedresmethodol.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/1471-2288-11-128/tables/1>

¹⁶⁷ Refer to n.191 below

¹⁶⁸ Gibbs (2007) *Therefore, coding is not just labeling; it is linking of data to the research idea and back to other data...The codes which are applied enable you to organise data so you can examine and analyse them in a structured way..* Cessda Training Blog (2017). Qualitative coding

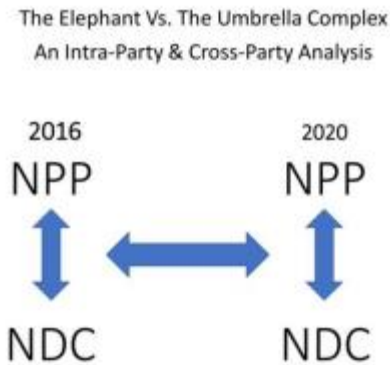
policy-based communications ; gender, among others. They are thoroughly engaged in Chapter Four of this paper.

The aim of the constant comparative technique used in Grounded Theory is to is used to find consistencies and differences, with the aim of continually refining concepts and theoretically relevant categories.

With the aid of this theory, the researcher developed a concept of analysis he termed an Intra-Party and Cross-Party Analysis spelled out diagrammatically in Fig 1 and a few other concepts.

Fig.1

Source: Author's Own Construction



Firstly, data of 2016 and 2020 of the NPP were collected and analyzed to establish possible trends and differences in party communication

Secondly, data of 2016 and 2020 of the NDC were collected and analyzed to establish possible trends and differences in party communication

Thirdly, data of 2016 of both NPP and NDC were collected and analyzed to establish plausible similarities and differences in party communication.

Lastly, data on communication activities launched by both parties ahead of the 2020 elections were collected, analyzed, similarities and/or differences are established

3.2 Reliability & Dependability of Research

Krippendorff¹⁶⁹ sets the reliability of findings from formal content analysis on human subjective interpretation, where the focus falls upon the inter-coder robustness.

Credibility refers to the study process, that is, to establish how the data and the analysis procedures are carried out and to ensure that no relevant data have been excluded.

Hence, the combination of latent content analysis and grounded theory gave a more exhaustive and diversified analysis of carefully chosen data. Many nexuses and inferences were drawn and established between the data. Moreso, the concept of intraparty and cross-party analysis introduced presents a more compelling narrative for the findings herein.

The second concept, dependability, refers to stability, that is, the extent to which data change over time and the alterations made in the researcher's decisions during the analyzing procedure.

In achieving this, researchers are encouraged to keep in mind their coding decisions to take note of all possible changes and recoding. This metric was also followed rigorously for a dependable outcome.

3.3 Ethical Considerations

Foremost, ethical approval was sought and granted by the School Research Committee (SREC)¹⁷⁰. Clearance was also obtained from the National Communications Bureau of the two parties due to issues of copyrights on their data including speeches, audios inter alia. These data were obtained from their official sites and other credible media houses, also with permissions.

The anonymity and confidentiality of the [participants] were preserved by not revealing names and identities in the data collection, analysis, and reporting of the study¹⁷¹. Data transcription and

¹⁶⁹ Krippendorff, K. (2018). Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology. Sage Publications

¹⁷⁰ Arifin S.R.Mohd (2018). Ethical Considerations in Qualitative Study. International Journal of Care Scholars. Vol. 1 No. 2 (2018)

¹⁷¹ Refer to n.193 above

observation were done in a private room using earphones to avoid the possibility of eavesdropping by others. Names of participants, designations or any innuendos were removed during transcription and jottings. These characters were assigned pseudo names when using verbatim in the presentation of the findings.

Finally, it is worth-noting this research was not sponsored by anybody, private or institution. It was purely born out of the academic exploits of the researcher and his enthusiasm for political communications

3.4 Research Limitations

As it is for every study, this dissertation had some limitations:

Firstly and critically, on the 2020 data, the covid-19 pandemic which was recorded across the world was a major disruption in the political calendar of the two political parties. Consequently, it had a bearing on this research because many more communication activities and engagements would have been launched between March and April had Ghana not recorded some cases.

Secondly, the size of the sample – 3 videos each for NPP and NDC every election year analysis could have been more to enhance the reliability of the research

Thirdly, Communications multimedia in which communicators employed local language was avoided for the convenience sake. This though may be inconsequential to findings, could be a minus since some quality content was not sampled due to little time available to deliver on this thesis.

Fourthly, qualitative research doesn't allow for the measurement of the examined problems.

3.5 Chapter Summary

Here in this chapter, a detailed outline of the method used in the research is given, as well as the unit of analysis, samples and the sampling techniques used. It spelled out how data were processed and analysed as well as the presentation of the findings. The chapter also discussed what makes its findings and process of arriving at them credible and dependable. Ethical issues were also explained. The chapter ends with some identified limitations of the research with the covid-19 pandemic being a major disruption in the flow of party political communications.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Incumbency Vs Opposition Communications Presentation of Findings and Analysis

3.6 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the collected data and the treatment, and/or mechanics, of analysis.¹⁷²

Obeying this rule, it's important to first revise the objective of the research – it seeks to explore the pattern of communication strategies and frames used by the two traditional political parties in Ghana with emphasis on their communications ahead of the 2016 and 2020 elections.

The unique value of this paper is the intra-party and inter-party model it employs in finding answers to the following research questions :

- 1.What are the similarities and differences in communication strategies deployed by NPP and NDC ahead of Election 2016?**
- 2. What are the similarities and differences in communication strategies deployed by the NPP and NDC ahead of Election 2020?**
- 3. What are the possible trends in communication frames deployed by opposition and incumbent political parties ahead of elections in Ghana?**

In all, ten audios and videos were transcribed and subjected to the robust intra-party and inter-party analysis model adopted for this research. Communicators from both parties participated in these sampled data equally in terms of time allotted to communicate as well as the number of

¹⁷² Network Cordinator (2016). Writing Chapter 4: The Results of Your Research Study. Retrieved from <https://dissertationwriting.com/write-dissertation-results-chapter/>

representations. In the context of this paper, a *party communicator defines every official of a party who was assigned to speak on behalf of the party on any media house or platform or by virtue of their status or position in the party including the flagbearers of the party*; and this capacity is clearly disclosed by the media house offering him or her the platform.

Towards reliable and accurate findings, a number of sampled data were selected based on the “clashes”, i.e both communicators sat around the same table to be interviewed on the same matters, both had the immediate opportunity to agree and disagree; more significantly in such sampled data, they answered the same questions. This strategy used offered the researcher the opportunity to avoid parallel analysis and this brought out the best communication strategies deployed, consciously or unconsciously.

A number of ‘nodes’ were marked. Thereafter, about 25 themes were generated tailored to answer the four research questions. They are discussed in details side-by-side respective parties:

3.7 The New Patriotic Party Intra-Party Communications Strategies: What has changed & what hasn't?

It is important to note that there was very little difference in the communication strategies employed by an opposition NPP and an incumbent NPP after winning elections. These degrees are discussed in the following.

Table 1: Summary of Findings

2016 Campaign	2020 Campaign	Both Campaigns
-	-	Messenger Demographics : Maintained a hybrid of Youth and Oldies used whilst in Opposition to run the 2020 campaign
-	-	Run a majority male communication
Aggression	Protectorate	-
-	-	Corruption and Leadership Identity Crisis of Mahama
-	-	The Bawumia Factor and Lecture

Source : *The Elephant Vs The Umbrella Data 2020*

3.7.1 The majority of Communicators used during in 2016 period are still being used ahead of the 2020 Elections :

When it comes to communication, the messenger matters¹⁷³. Many researches have established this constant. James Allen¹⁷⁴ for instance established a strong link between the messenger and calls for a change in any establishment. It is further evident in Chapter Two of this study on credibility of the actor.

Out of the five data obtained and analysed in line with the opposition NPP, it became clear that the majority of communicators were known party faces and they were maintained at the communication front even after the 2016 elections. Some of these communicators were appointed

¹⁷³ TurnerChanger Management Inc (?). The Messenger Matters When Communicating Change. <https://thinktransition.com/the-messenger-matters-when-communicating-change/>

¹⁷⁴ James Allen, Nerina Jimmieso, Prashant Bordia, & Bernd Irmer (2007). Uncertainty during organizational change: Managing perceptions through communication. Journal of Change Management 7 (2),

into other state offices yet they were still active in the communication campaigns of the party. They served the nation and their party at the same time.

This raises the matter of experience and familiarity of communicators deployed in the opposition year under review albeit the challenge it presents in terms of party loyalty versus patriotism. These individuals were known party people who had risen through the ranks. Some become the official mouthpieces of the party and the state. The party was therefore comfortable and confident in making them represent it on various media platforms.

Therefore the combination of old faces (who constituted the majority) and very few new faces were active in the communication of the party from 2016 all the way to the 2020 elections. The youngster(s) gave a youthful posturing whilst the old ones exhibited some mature outlook.

3.7.2 The majority of Communicators were male and still are:

In a gendered world, sex remains a major influence in political marketing and communication. Inasmuch as gender is never just about sex but varies by race, ethnicity, nation, class, and a variety of other dimensions of social life; many electorates have come to understand the term as the number of female sexes in a particular campaign. It is observed however that limited to the data sampled that, all the communicators at the frontline were males. All media discussion looked like the ‘table of men’.

3.7.3 Offensive and Protectorate Communication Style

“Offensive Communication” as discussed in Chapter Two, tackling head-on the issues in the political process. In other words, aggression. It defines behaving or done in a determined and forceful way¹⁷⁵. According to social psychologists, aggression can be verbal as well as physical. It

¹⁷⁵ Aggression. Oxford Languages (Online)

is difficult sometimes to distinguish this element and that of “assertiveness”. Therefore, the term “aggression” , offensive or “assertiveness” is used interchangeably in the context of this study. There are two categories, - Physical aggression is aggression that involves harming others physically. Nonphysical aggression is aggression that does not involve physical harm¹⁷⁶. Aggression or Offensive in this context is more non-physical unless otherwise stated.

Ahead of the 2016 elections, participants were very offensive in selling their messages and in airing their positions on various issues emerging from the incumbent leadership. This agrees with Gyampo’s findings ¹⁷⁷ which reveals that the communication machinery placed much focus on the selling of their campaign messages whilst in opposition. However, what this study adds on to the previous findings is that, the same level of energy was channeled in other matters discussed in this chapter which include corruption in the NDC; personality attacks, dumsor among others. Even in media encounters which were exclusive interviews with the party communicators, there were elements of offensive and assertiveness when controversial issues were raised both on matters affecting the NPP party and their incumbent NDC

Party Communicators used diction like the following [and they did with boisterous and assertive tones] - *“fail; failure; lofty claims ; vigilantism against propaganda and lies ; dealt; setting the records straight ; suffered the heaviest defeat of an incumbent president in Africa ; scamming ; mismanagement ; screams; , drama ; flushes ; wasteful government; recklessness ; intellectual dishonesty, ; doesn’t make sense ; unforgeable ; hookwink ; and true state of the economy”*. These

¹⁷⁶Jhangiani Rajiv and Tarry Hammond. Aggression. Principles of Social Psychology - 1st International Edition. <https://opentextbc.ca/socialpsychology/chapter/defining-aggression/>

¹⁷⁷ Ransford Edward Van Gyampo , Emmanuel Graham and Eric Yobo. (2017). Ghana's 2016 General Election: Accounting for the Monumental Defeat of the National Democratic Congress (NDC). ResearchGate.

words were used in context in some statements. The manner and tone they were spoken invoked the elements of emotions as identified by literature cited in this chapter.¹⁷⁸

This strategy also manifested in pitch, animated gesticulations ; mannerisms, interjections, and emotive rhetorics, during media encounters.

Ahead of the 2020 elections, almost the same level of aggression was deployed in their communication. This is confirmed by the party's National Organiser who is reported to have said "we are sticking to a strategy similar to 2016's"¹⁷⁹. The slight difference was that this period took the form of protecting the candidate -cum-president of the Republic hereinafter referred to a "protectorate approach". The party communicators didn't take or better still they were accused of intolerant of¹⁸⁰ dissenting views on its leadership. They would reply in an offensive tone, and it didn't matter who may be the critic. So much that, social media footsoldiers became a major issue in some parts of the election season.

This protectorate approach also manifested in the speed with which political rebuttals or counterclaims were published in response to the NDC in the case of the pre-2020 elections. In one of the data, the media reported that "but in a quick rebuttal, [the NPP communicator] said the opposition is being intellectually dishonest"¹⁸¹. This response to the NDC was just few hours after the opposition had given a presentation on the performance of the government¹⁸² and had scored

¹⁷⁸ Refer to n.134

¹⁷⁹ Dogbey Akua. We are sticking to a strategy similar to 2016's – Sammy Awuku on NPP campaign. <https://www.myjoyonline.com/news/politics/we-are-sticking-to-a-strategy-similar-to-2016s-sammy-awuku-on-npp-campaign/>

¹⁸⁰ GhanaWeb. Akufo-Addo gov't very intolerant; Mahama gov't more accommodating – Manasseh. <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Akufo-Addo-gov-t-very-intolerant-Mahama-gov-t-more-accommodating-Manasseh-759893>

¹⁸¹ Joynews (15-6-20) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4RF60B7AHzs>

¹⁸² Cromwell Ama. NDC scores government 14% for campaign promises delivery <https://www.myjoyonline.com/news/national/ndc-scores-government-14-for-campaign-promises-delivery/>

the ruling party some 14% pass in delivering its promises. Many social media commentaries argued it was a rush and abuse of its incumbency advantages. On the other hand, others maintain it had to occur swiftly so the allegations doesn't linger on.

Social media foot-soldierism became very common and it was one of the “coordinated attempt to crush those who speak up”¹⁸³. This phenomenon was associated to the NPP during this period under review because aside the allegation of abuse of state institutions like the national security, there seemed to be an army of social media accounts which seemed to be unleashed on any dissenting opinion on matters which concerned government. This wasn't exclusive to the opposition members but it was also meted out to non-political actors who were only trying to be ‘citizens and not spectators’, as urged by the president.

3.7.4 Corruption and Poor Leadership frames on opponent:

As revealed in early chapters, literature on the subject of why the NDC lost the 2016 election, consolidates this finding.

Prior to the 2016 elections, the candidacy of the flagbearer of the NDC and the NDC itself suffered from a barrage of name-calling. Whilst some bordered on corruption and transparency as revealed by existing knowledge, others were based on poor leadership allegations and personality attacks. This overshadowed the NDC's disposition to project its achievements. It was difficult because the incumbent party also adopted a more protective communications style since the image of the president and the candidate for the second term, was being damaged without repairs. The NPP whilst damaging the candidacy ended up with a more conducive opportunity to sell its promises.

¹⁸³ Refer to n.138 above

It also attacked the incumbent's leadership style by framing the communication that the president then "didn't even know the type of leadership he was practicing"

"...it boils down to the question of leadership. You see in politics it's leadership first, leadership second, leadership third and leadership is one about choices, two it's about the passion and strategy to drive those choices...Recently the president held a press conference in the Castle and our own Shamima Muslim asked him that Mr. President what leadership have you offering the Ghanaian people this past 3 years...And the president said, everybody heard him, he said well he doesn't know the type of leadership he is offering, you can call it whatever, once he is providing boreholes and taking schools away from trees it doesn't matter but it does matter", a Communicator said.

They also used the failed frame to discredit the bid by the NDC for a second term under president Mahama adding that it was "a failed government":

"What is wrong if you say that the president has failed and who fails? If you go to school and then you keep sitting for exams and you are failing, you gave us one promise, you gave us a promise in 2012 that the next year that you are going to deal with dumsor, you didn't do it. We are in the 4th year of dumsor, it's never happened in this country before. We have had dumsor maybe 3 or so times but 4 years running and you run your manifesto that you were going to solve dumsor the next year. 2013, we have gone past 2014", another communicator argued.

A Communicator had this to say – NDC wasteful gov't ever; where's the infrastructure money?

But this strategy didn't stop when the NPP take over power. Ahead of the 2020 elections, similar frames were used on the NDC flagbearer before and after his official election as the party's frontrunner going into the polls

They also pitched the citizens against the establishment. As established, the erratic power supply popularly called “dumsor” was a major issue around which the opposition carved its campaign messages. The ravaging effect of the power crisis led to a dumsor vigil in which some Ghanaian celebrities took to the street to protest. This led to some media exchanges between some of the members of this vigil and the government. The NPP benefitted from this as reported four years after the vigil¹⁸⁴. The party took advantage of this to attempt to incite the participants and the general public against the establishment.

“So, it tells you that you have a government that has lost touch with realities on the ground. It's as simple as that. Don't underestimate what the celebrities are doing because often what do we see. Normally, celebrities come in during elections, don't they, to endorse one particular presidential candidate or the other but this is mid-term, in the middle of an election and they are coming out because they know that the country is going in the wrong direction. So, if you choose to insult them, its entirely up to you and I think the response, sometimes we should be able to apply some modicum of humility as a government because you don't pour insults on an injury caused by yourself to the people. They have come, words were harsh, what were the harsh words”, an NPP Communicator said.

“...So I'm talking to the marginalized of our society this evening and saying it to them that the people who come to them in the villages and so and tell them to be content with their lot, that they can't get an education, that Nana Akufo-Addo's education vision is Ethiopia and so on and so forth are keen to keep them suppressed and oppressed, the way they can break out of that Paulo Freire

¹⁸⁴ My New Gh. My 'Dumsor must stop' favoured NPP in 2016 - Yvonne Nelson. <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/entertainment/My-Dumsor-must-stop-favoured-NPP-in-2016-Yvonne-Nelson-719642>

gives them the tool is education, is knowledge. That is why there is a common saying even JHS students say it everyday knowledge is power...” another Communicator argued.

Also, in the 2020 election campaign, a similar frame was adopted. This communicator incited the public to stand against corruption and any government associated with many corruption issues in the previous government, in this case, the NDC. They also branded their opponent as engaging in intellectual dishonesty. “As we get into the 2020 national conversation period, one of the narrative that they seek to curve is a narrative of dishonesty and in order to give life or credence to that narrative, they have to create scenarios that if indeed we made 388, they will find ways of adding to it some 235 and claim that we made 631 and in the end say therefore that we have been dishonest. So, part of the strategy from increasing our promises from 388 to 631 is to analyze them make a chain of dishonesty against this administration”, he argued.

One major razzmatazz in the 2020 election period was the candidature of the former president, John Dramani Mahama of the NDC. His candidature could be likened to a spoonful of honey in the hands of a person. His vast experience as a former president could be likened to the sweetness of the honey; this experience as reported necessitated his comeback to seek re-election¹⁸⁵. But on the other hand, this same sweetness attract so much bees (controversies) that emerged in his previous leadership which had become somewhat ‘facts’ to the voter. This was to hurt his chances of getting re-elected. The NPP didn’t hesitate to revisit the mudslinging. After all, there were traceable records of the former leader in an internet-of-things age. Therefore, the party dedicated a larger part of its communication orientation towards the Mahama ticket, albeit, they maintain

¹⁸⁵ Class FM (2020). I know how to do it, Akufo-Addo doesn’t, that’s why I’m coming back – Mahama. <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/I-know-how-to-do-it-Akufo-Addo-doesn-t-that-s-why-I-m-coming-back-Mahama-1052899>

they weren't afraid of his return. According to an NPP Communicator, the Mahama-retrun presents a rather easy contest for the party since there are dossiers on him on his failures in leadership. Explained the contest would have gone in favour of the opposition NDC, if the NDC had elected a different and new flagbearer because they "would have nothing to hold them by but in the case of a president John Mahama candidature, if he says he is going to do ABC there is the track record of what he said and what he did or could not do during the time that he was president, there is that track record. So, a John Mahama, Akufo-Addo contest will be the record of Akufo-Addo's presidency against the record of John Mahama's presidency".

Also because they argued that "you will find out that about 67 percent of the individual-specific promises they [NDC] made in 2008, by the end of their tenure in 2012 you find that they had not touched them, they had not delivered on them. This is the group that now has become the apostles of the fulfillment of the social contract and we will give it to you and we encourage you to ask them a few questions about this. It was only 33 percent of their promises that they had completed or they were in the process of completing by the time that tenure ended" – another Communicator.

3.7.5 The Bawumia 2016 and 2020 factor:

The vice presidential candidate of the NPP in 2016 was a 'wonder boy' due to his fairly new entry, academic and economic acumen. He attracted so many talks in the lead up to the 2016 elections. His usual lectures which sought to bash the incumbent gained so much credibility. He spoke to a number of fiscal policies, macro-economics, social data, and caused a stir within the communication camp of the NDC countless times. So much so that, his lectures and media engagements became a massive agenda for mainstream media which went in favour of the NPP. Consequently, inter alia, a whole media debate was organized to discuss some of the major issues

he had raised in one of these lectures. In one of the vote-canvassing media initiatives for the parties, a communicator expressed the game-changing frame they put on their running mate – “Tonight, we want to examine the Bawumia effect, not only with the NPP but outside the NPP because certainly, it is not just about Bawumia partnering Nana to win the election, it’s about his impact within the NPP as well”.

Some pundits say Dr Bawumia qualified as the finance minister in their term but the party branded him as one who their flagbearers wanted to use to transform the economy from upfront and not at the ministry level. “It should go beyond that to offering the people proper alternatives, credible, palpable, examinable, believable objectives and the one that offers us those objectives is Bawumia because people have made the other argument that Nana Addo can go ahead and win the presidency and make him a finance minister but again let me come back because I will hammering on leadership, Nana Addo wants to be able to drive the economic transformation process, the structural transformation process from inside the presidency not from a ministry”, a Communicator said.

Furthermore, Dr. Bwaumia confirmed how he posed as threat to the then incumbent. In one of his communications, he said that he was once challenged to adduce evidence to some of the statements and economic advocaies he was championing. According to him, he did produce the data on how the infrastructural investment was falling under the NDC, but “they [the NDC communicators] have run away and haven’t come back”¹⁸⁶.

¹⁸⁶ JoyNews(2-03-16). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vf1xwI8KUmE&t=379s>

He was branded as one who completed the ticket of the NPP Nana Addo. The choice of Bawumia was “to signify that I [Candidate NADAA] am ready to lead” and a safe pair of hands as the next vice president.

Additionally, he was framed as a youthful mentor hence became a very marketable product to the youths. The Bawumia ticket was one of the surest NPP’s best foot ; and they made it occupy a very central point in their communications efforts.

But this Bawumia factor continued even ahead of the 2020 elections. It was interesting for the reason that, he had begun arguably the first vice president to have attracted so many talks and debates even whilst he was in leadership. He led his usual lectures which brought him in power and every address attracted a barrage of criticism¹⁸⁷, talks and debates¹⁸⁸. After such encounters and his lectures became a media agenda, party communicators were deployed to speak to defend his take on the economy as well as they attacks he made on the opposition NDC. It became clear, the president had designated the office of the veep to lead this government-cum-party communication plan. Negative or positive, it got the incumbent NDC and the public bamboozled a number of times and this was when he became another topical strategy in the lead up to the elections.

¹⁸⁷ Kojo Emmanuel (2019). #DroptheHypocrisy: Ghanaians descend on Bawumia for comparing his govt's achievements to NDC's. <https://www.pulse.com.gh/news/politics/dropthehypocrisy-ghanaians-descend-on-bawumia-for-comparing-his-govts-achievements-to/62w46sc>

¹⁸⁸ GhanaWeb.com. #BawumiaMustFocus: Vice President mocked after latest attack on John Mahama. <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/BawumiaMustFocus-Vice-President-mocked-after-latest-attack-on-John-Mahama-942793>

3.8 The National Democratic Congress Intra-party Communication Strategy: 2016 and 2020

Table 2: Summary of Findings

2016 campaign	2020 campaign	Both Campaigns
-	-	Messengers/Demographics : Youthful machinery; male-dominated and hybrid
Protectorate	More aggression	-
Loosely Coordinated	More organized	-
-	-	Evidence-based and colourful branding

Source : *The Elephant Vs The Umbrella Data 2020*

3.8.1 The majority of Communicators were youths, males and known party people:

Similar to the NPP’s, the communications machinery of the NDC that orchestrated the 2016 and 2020 electoral campaigns were also predominantly male-dominated. Sampled data revealed a unanimous majority, albeit the NDC attempted to inject a few more new faces into the frontline when they took the opposite position in 2016. The NDC run a relatively more youthful communications team both in 2016 and 2020 despite a few relatively older communicators were spotted.

Indeed, this may be in sync with the youthful and radical ideologies of the party as reviewed in Chapter Two of this study. As to whether it was still a case of the “babies with sharp teeth” as alluded by scholars cited therein, this study could not tell. More so since this could also be a classic case of aggression or assertiveness. Notably, one of the participants was as diplomatic as possible even when he disagreed and was pushed so hard during one of the media encounters. This incident was ahead of the 2020 elections.

3.8.2 A Protectorate defence around the president:

A major difference between the party's communication approach in 2016 and 2020 is that a "protectorate approach" was employed in 2016. It was keenly observed that party communicators spent much energy and resources into protecting the image of the president-cum-candidate and not necessarily tackling the economic issues and engaging on the concerns emerging thereof. The challenges of the regime, mostly economic, became a major point of condemnation and anger toward the establishment. Issues of personality attacks, some unprintable¹⁸⁹, toward the Mahama brand took center stage in the communication plan of the incumbent due to the emerging controversies. Consequently, the outlook of the communication of the ruling NDC became more reactionary. The disadvantage of this was that, the more party and government communicators defended and protected the president from the usual political mudslinging, the more the opposition NPP pitched the public against the establishment. Even when the incumbent communicators touted the achievement of the government, this element equalized strongly.

The following thread explains this point :

NDC COMMUNICATOR: Regrettably, this is turning the way it's going with people insulting each other and about writing about others as if we were not in this country.

HOST [Intercepts]: I am not sure it's about people insulting each other, it's about people who have complained about this situation being insulted and attacked as being sympathizers of the NPP....

NDC COMMUNICATOR: NO! If you understand the historical development of this situation, you wouldn't say people who are insulting others or attacking others who declared.... dumsor is not a new thing and opposition about it is not a new thing. NPP went on the street to protest about it nothing happened, people talked about it on radio, TV, nothing happened but a young lady takes a pen and tell a president "is like school boy who fails his exam every time"...

HOST: That is Lydia Forson, the actress... Is that what you mean?

NDC COMMUNICATOR: I don't know but another person would take a respond to a critique and say "Mahama hold your dogs" i mean they are going into realm that they are not known for...

HOST: Are you not justifying those who insult those ladies as prostitute and suffering some... you know some of the attacks I'm unable to repeat them on this platform because is terrible.

The above posture for instance offered anyone an opportunity to further pitch the public against the establishment because the crux of the issues which was the dumsor had still not been addressed thus far, except for the moral attempt by the Communicator to absorb the president of the insult being peddled against him. Yes this may be a good moral advocacy but unfortunately it could also

¹⁸⁹ GhanaPolitics Online. Nana Addo 'attacked' me first; he called me a thief - President Mahama. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K64Dio8YkCs>

be viewed as immaterial to the situation at hand for it is said – a hungry [wo]man is an angry [wo]man.

The exchange continued :

NDC COMMUNICATOR: You let me make my point; I'm saying that these people are venturing into its hazards. We've been in this country for a long time with each other. Sometimes people go over the board and it has occupational hazards accompanying it. They're coming into that unfamiliar in the terrain and they're professing to take it to the high and unfortunately, they gave them the first shot. It might be milled, it be strong. The first shot is to be attacking the presidency which is our presidency not NDC president. I mean Ghanaians! He represents the soul and the spirit of nation.

HOST: Respectfully sir, as far they're concerned, this is not politics they are venturing into that you suggest is as a new thing for them, these are not only actresses, actors but they are employers and producers. They employ people, they are beginning to sack some employees. They said, they can't continue to fuel the generators...

3.8.3 A more organized and more offensive machinery:

Recent Ghanaian political epistemology shows the communications strategy deployed by the youthful communication structure of the NDC was ruthless and very confrontational so much that it fettered the relationship with the media in the 2016 elections. Data collected on the 2016 campaign surprisingly didn't show that this finding as sine qua non. What rather become evident was the 2020 election campaign came with more offensive communications approach. It was relatively higher than the NPP's. Opposition status has always offered whichever party in opposition to be better organised ; to be a fierce check on the incumbent, as confirmed as one of the functions of political parties (check to governments) as revealed in Chapter Two. Communicators didn't leave any issue unattended to in their debates; they engaged ruthlessly.

As predicted by Tsikata et al¹⁹⁰, the NDC had the opportunity to better organise itself for power in 2020. The party reorganized its communication machinery. They argued with a common voice and

¹⁹⁰ Tsikata et al (2017). The Conceptualization of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) Transformational Agenda

line of action. From the grassroots level to the national level, the youthful communicators of the party looked poised, compact and ruthless. In one of its weekly press conferences, a number of other communicators and party hierarchy were in attendance, throwing their individual weights behind the speaker of the day. It wasn't once, twice or thrice, but became a regular culture per media coverages through one of its communications arrangement – The NDC Weekly Press Briefing.

The aggression exhibited by both parties in the 2020 elections played to the advantage of the NDC more than it did to the NPP primarily because the former was in opposition. It favoured the opposition because they had a lot to lose if the media didn't allow. But in another breath, it looked very protectorate when employed or deployed by the NPP, a fate the NDC once suffered whilst in government in 2016.

Furthermore, they marshaled all means in order to come out as much as offensive as possible, to make the incumbent very uneasy. They deployed tools such as graphics, pieces of digital evidence, name-calling among others. The following words were among the few which were delivered with some level of assertiveness and tone which erupts some level of emotions from a listener :

“Today that Major Mahama has lost his life and Ghanaians have been killed, excavators burnt in the name of this so-called fight against Galamsey; skin diseases have doubled in this area; diarrhea has doubled in this area. The incident of all these health challenges, all these diseases have worsened in the last three years, and so when we sit in Accra, in the studios of Joy FM, UTV, TV3 and all that and you hear NPP people telling us that President Akufo Addo is winning the fight against Galamsey, what they are doing is that they are insulting our intelligence as a people”.

Some of the communicators were very assertive even in their calm dispositions and offensive towards their political opponents with that same level of composure.

3.8.4 Evidence-based communication model prior to both elections:

The NDC deployed a lot of colourful presentations in both the 2016 and 2020 elections. The President then used a number of innovative ways to show the impact that his party and government had on the citizenry through social policies and education. One famous way was the state of the nation address he delivered in February 2016¹⁹¹ during which he called out the names of citizens seated at the gallery of the chamber who had benefitted from government education expansion projects ; and access to modern polyclinic and quality healthcare. These beneficiaries stood up be acknowledged with a ‘hear hear’ shout amid opposition’s condemnation.

Another evidence-based strategy used in making a case for re-election was the Green Book. The Green Book was a compilation of the various projects commenced, implemented, completed or ongoing by the ruling NDC. Thousands of copies were made available to Ghaianas ahead of the elections as pieces of evidence to canvass for votes. The book was “about 210 pages publication and essentially highlighted the work he and his team have engaged in, to ensure the development of our country and enhancement of the livelihood of our people”, a Communicator said, after the party ruled in 2012. The book was under the theme “Accounting to the People”.

The book categorised broadly the achievement of the ruling NDC into four- “the first part deals with putting people first which essentially deals with the social sector. The sector like Education, Health, Social Protection, Youth and Sports, is dealt with. Then you go to explain infrastructure which forms the basis for a smooth take-off of any economy where issues like water, transportation, communication, housing power and what have you are discussed. There is a section

¹⁹¹ GHOne TV (2016). State of the Nation Address. <https://youtu.be/EYkTZSJ2OY>

that speaks about strengthening the economy; where issues like job creation macroeconomic management and microeconomic management and the likes are discussed. Then the final part brings you information regarding what has been happening in the governance area; like parliament, the judiciary, the executive itself, our foreign relations, local government and other such related matters”, a Communicator explained on one of the party’s media engagements.

Four years after the party lost the 2016 elections, the Green Book still featured prominently in the lead up to the 2020 elections as the opposition NDC wrestled for power. Both presidential candidates agree the elections should not be about character assassination, sensationalism or cynicism. Indeed, whilst Candidate Akufo Addo told his campaign communicators that the 2020 election campaign should be issue-based¹⁹² ; Candidate Mahama concurs the political conversation would be about the track records¹⁹³ of the two parties.

In view of this during one town hall meeting by the vice presidential candidate of the NPP, the party rated itself at 78 percent,¹⁹⁴ better better than the NDC even in their first 3 years of the NADAA government coupled with better economic management ¹⁹⁵. The NPP built a narrative that the greenbook contained non-existent projects, also known as ‘ghost projects’ hence, it was a piece of propaganda photoshopped document¹⁹⁶.

¹⁹² Net2TVGh (2020). H.E President Akufo Addo Meets With Members Of His Campaign Communications Advisory Team Via Zoom. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ryiFOzJAJAM>

¹⁹³ Myjoyonline (2020). December elections about trust and track record – Mahama. <https://www.myjoyonline.com/news/politics/december-elections-about-trust-and-track-record-mahama/>

¹⁹⁴ Ghana’s Vice President Mahamudu Bawumia said the NPP government led by President Nana Akufo-Addo has delivered 78 percent on its promises, assuring that the country will rise again. <https://www.peacefmonline.com/pages/politics/politics/202002/401177.php>

¹⁹⁵ Graphic Online (2020). Bawumia and the economic management team's town hall meeting: Full address. <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/politics/ghana-news-bawumia-and-economic-team-s-town-hall-meeting-full-address.html>

¹⁹⁶ Modern Ghana (2020). Bawumia Dares NDC To Open Website And Show Projects In Two Weeks. <https://www.modernghana.com/news/1025478/bawumia-dares-ndc-to-open-website-and-show-project.html>

But in rebuttal, the NDC condemned what it called “untruths”¹⁹⁷ about the book. Subsequently , the NDC invoked the contents of the green book and publishing portions of it one after the other. It culminated into that became as the #GreenBookChallenge. Citizens and sympathizers of the NDC published images of projects contained in the book including major infrastructures like the University of Ghana Medical Centre (UGMC) which was serving as a treatment center the Covid-19 that broke out across the world in 2020. The challenge among other messages sought to ridicule the government that but for the visionary achievements of its opposition, they would’ve been found wanting on how to contain the deadly pandemic. The challenge gained grounds on social media partly too because the social media campaigning and awareness had become a major part of life due to the putbreak of Covid-19. Many had increased their social media presence as major sources of news and updates on the national happenings.

The euphoria about the Greenbook permeated every media discussion. The party communicators made it a point to make references to the achievements touted in there to straighten the reasons the former president record of infrastructure was unparalleled. They invited the voters to elect the opposition leader back due to such verifiable record. It is best repeating that whilst the incumbent party communicators tried hard to discredit the book, the opposition defended the book as a true and proper state of Ghana’s infrastructural growth under the Mills-Mahama and Mahama-Amissah-Arthur leadership.

“So, let's wait and see what Akufo-Addo will do over the next 2 years and also the John Mahama record is not just about infrastructure because it is in the light of all this supposed infrastructure that he suffered the heaviest defeat of an incumbent president in Africa. It's in the light of this so-

¹⁹⁷ Akwa Naa Sakwaba (2020). NDC responds to Akufo-Addo’s “untruths” about Green Book. <https://www.myjoyonline.com/news/politics/ndc-responds-to-akufo-addos-untruths-about-green-book/>

called achievement that the Ghanaian people rejected him by the heaviest margin against an incumbent president probably in the whole of Africa”, a Communicator downplayed the Mahama effect.

These claims and counterclaims made the book feature prominently, so much that by August 2020, some Ghanaians and party communicators of the NDC were pushing for what they called an “infrastructure debate” between the two flagbearers after Mahama challenged ¹⁹⁸the president to avail himself to settle who did better in the area of infrastructure through a debate.

This evidence-based innovation augmented the communication branding of the party especially ahead of the 2020 elections, a decentralized approach with a persuasive narrative.

¹⁹⁸Amponsah Charles (2020). Mahama renews call for infrastructure debate, urges Akufo-Addo to choose moderators. <https://www.gbcghanaonline.com/news/politics/mahama-renews-call-for-infrastructure-debate-urges-akufo-addo-to-choose-moderators/2020/>

3.8 INTER-PARTY ANALYSIS: The Elephant Vs the Umbrella

Table 3: Summary of Common and Different strategies deployed by NPP and NDC in 2016 and 2020 campaigns

	NPP	NDC
2016	More aggression in approach	Protective of President
	Hope and possibility against ridicules and despair	Policy ridicules
	The Bawumia frame	The discrediting frame
	Humane strategy	Infrastructural achievement
	The Change message	The Continuity message
2020	Wide use of social media and traditional media	Wide use of social media and traditional media
	Incumbency advantage	Opposition decentralization
	Continuity	Change
	Timelined infrastructure debate	All-time infrastructure debate

Source : *The Elephant Vs The Umbrella Data 2020*

(A) Ahead of 2016 Elections

3.8.1 A More Offensive NPP Vs. a Protectorate NDC:

Though both parties showed offensive communication in all election years under review, relatively, communicators of the opposition were more offensive in their communication style in the 2016 period. The party's aim was to wrestle power from the incumbent by all legitimate means possible. Thus, they capitalised on every opportunity to do this. They had nothing to lose so long as they continued to effect laser damages on the image of the president, his party and government.

In addition, as discussed in the intra-party analysis, the NPP strategically incited the general public against the government using the socio-economic and corruption issues that had bedeviled the administration. Major ones alleged by communicators in the data included the national power

crisis; VAT on financial services; the SADA scandal¹⁹⁹; Brazil 2014 fiasco²⁰⁰; the Smarty rebranding deal²⁰¹; GYEEDA scandal²⁰²; falling infrastructural investment; Ghana-IMF debts and bailout; declining agricultural growth rate; non-payment of statutory funds like NHIS arrears; a mismanaged economy among others.

Obviously, the incumbent NDC on the other hand seemed overwhelmed by the numerous issues arising in its administration. The corruption frames deployed by the opposition was getting very damaging and seemed to achieve its political objectives – making candidate Mahama unattractive for a second term. Therefore, there was a growing edge to mount a defence-wall to protect their party’s candidate who doubled as the first gentleman of the land from such mudslinging. However, in an attempt to so, it came across as making his candidacy untouchable.

As established already, this made it quite easy for the opposition to stir up anger towards the party communicators and their government since a picture of ‘touch-not’ or ‘say not’ despite the growing narrative that there were many frustrations emerging from the running of the economy. For instance, whilst a NDC Communicator insists that the president's failure to solve the [power crisis could be likened to a schoolboy who fails his exam every time” ; an NPP Communicator incited that “...what is wrong if you say that the president has failed and [in any case] who fails?” adding

¹⁹⁹ *The Truth Forum – an offshoot of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) – has described the Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA) as “a legacy of shame” under the Mahama administration- <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/SADA-is-Mahama-s-legacy-of-shame-NPP-456782>*

²⁰⁰ *...four million dollars in cash was transported on a chartered flight to Brasilia to be disbursed to the national male team. Refer to n.158 below*

²⁰¹ *...a GHC3.6m deal to rebrand 116 public buses turned out to be . GH¢1.9million <https://www.modernghana.com/news/663304/smarty-rebranding-stinks-parliament-must-step.html>*

²⁰² *In 2013, Manasseh Azure Awuni, a reporter for Joy FM, conducted an investigation in the operations of GYEEDA and uncovered massive corruption, which led to policy change in the running of the agency. Scandals that rocked the GhanaWeb. Mahama Administration. <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/8-scandals-that-rocked-the-Mahama-administration-before-Bugri-Naabu-491108>*

that “...here is a government that has lost touch with the concerns of the Ghanaian people, its as simple as that.”

3.8.2 ‘Hope and possibility’ against policy ridicules :

According to a Communicator of the incumbent NDC, the campaign promises of the NPP are not coherent to any broad vision they have for the nation. He alleges there are no “linkages” between all the promises they had dished out. He quizzed that “...things do not stand in isolation and so if you just pick one this one this, one this one that, what does it relate to?”. He highlighted on some of the “one-one” promises and ridiculed it by questioning how understandable these projects were. “...for instance, you take one dam..., one village one dam or one dam one village, you know, you need to understand what is he talking about, in the north...”. In questioning the feasibility or rationality of the one village one dam, for instance, the party deployed three critiques – First, the promise was a misnomer because “what we call dam in the north is a dugout”, he said. Secondly, the promise was not sustainable because “if you say one village one dam and you talk about the dugout, the dugouts by the end of the dry season, the water is finished...” Third, the party maintains, it was needless since its SADA initiative was “doing dugouts for villages” already.

Even on the one district one factory manifesto promise, the NDC put up a strong argument that it had it figured out under its rural enterprise programme and took credit for it. “It’s not a new idea. It’s an old i..., very old idea”, a Communicator said.

This sought to set an agenda of poor or redundant policy conception by the opposition. This also created a narrative of the lack of a clear policy implementation. The NDC’s posture was that the NPP’s policies were impossible, and a mere political talk shop.

Conversely, the NPP maintained its promises were hope-filled and feasible. They defended their promises and with the aid of the various catchy phrases including everything “one”, debated its doability. Some scholars cited in this work described this broadly as the HOPE message. Evidently, in one of the interviews of an NPP communicator, he ended his political activism with the following alluding to the possibilities even in the face of incumbent despair:

“I would like to say there are only 250 days to go to the elections and Ghanaians really we should get up and be ready for that change, 250 days to change, 250 days to the restoration of teacher training allowances, nursing training allowances, 250 days to the abolishment of some these holumous taxes on businesses, 250 days to say bye to this massive corruption, 250 days that are left to begin creating the most business-friendly and people-friendly economy on the face of Africa, we are going to transform this country, we believe that we can do so, I believe that we can do so under the leadership of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo”

3.8.3 The Bawumia effect Vs Discrediting:

Whilst the NPP used the Bawumia factor to lead their political conversation and to set their agenda, the NDC focused on discrediting the Bawumia-messenger. The logic here is that if the messenger of the political message is without credit, the message invariable may be discredited. Bawumia relied on his academic and economist acumen to measure the economy alongside some national indexes and publications. Some were confirmed accurate²⁰³ by an independent fact-checker, others were exposed and heavily contested by citizens²⁰⁴ and other CSOs. For instance, IMANI

²⁰³ Ghana Fact (2020). <https://ghanafact.com/2020/07/fact-check-dr-bawumias-claims-about-why-akufo-addo-is-better-than-mahama/>

²⁰⁴ GhanaWeb (2020). Bawumia lied about the economy - Ghanaians share their grievances. <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Bawumia-lied-about-the-economy-Ghanaians-share-their-grievances-687415>

Ghana in one of its fact-checking exercises on the political debates emerging from one of the lectures of Dr. Bawumia spoke to the questionable methodologies through which the vice presidential running of the NPP was using in evaluating the two economies under the Mahama administration and previous NPP administration. According to IMANI, the NPP makes a claim that they brought down treasury bill rate from 42 percent in early 2001 to 24 percent by the time it left office in 2009. They say this is far better than the NDC's performance. Now IMANI says this whole line of analysis is a bit contemptuous. In January 2009 when the NDC assumed office the treasury bill receded a monthly high of 28 percent, this is roughly comparable to the rate at the end of 2001. In between 2001 and 2015, the rate had flatulated quite erratically, Dr. Bawumia would have to compute complex mean rate variables of the two periods he is comparing rather than try to use two arbitrary points in time to make his point.²⁰⁵

Another communication narrative given on the lending rate according to Dr. Bawumia in 2016 was 40 percent but IMANI once again interrogated the formula used by the former Bank of Ghana governor in arriving at this percent. This is the claim and that one they say is another claim that is rather hard to ground without complex mean rate analysis over aggregates periods.²⁰⁶

However, party communicators insisted and defended the import and sometimes the accuracy of these "Bawumieconomics". In the party's response to these CSO critiques, they said "So, the question to IMANI and I will come to the big picture about IMANI. When they used this formula, what was the answer they got and does that answer depart from the substance of the argument that Dr. Bawumia is making because I have used some of their formulas" adding that "I [NPP Communicator] have used some of their formulas, let me give you another example, go to A2 [

²⁰⁵ IMANI Release on Bawumia Lecture

²⁰⁶ Refer to n.136 above

IMANI Press Release] where they talk about the fact that if you look at the minimum average in dollar terms, they agree the general point of the NPP saying the minimum wage in dollar terms is correct but they are prescribing another formula. If we use their formula, it would have moved from 0.8 to 1.5 which is still 87.5 under the NPP administration and when we use the same formula for the current one, it's 10.5, you can use a different formula, you will get to the same point.”

The NDC on the other hand questioned the matrix used by Bawumia. They described his analysis of the economy as dishonest and inconsistent and it was deliberate in order to arrive at a “predetermined position” meant to create a gloomy picture of the economy. According to a communicator, “when you do an analysis to arrive at a certain conclusion based on which you’re making policy proposals, you need to be consistent, you need to be consistent in your analysis in order to allow us to be able to understand whether you are being objective or you are twisting facts in order to arrive at a predetermined position, so that is the first point and that is what Bawumia does best” He explained that Bawumia takes the best year of NPP in GDP which is 8.4 and the worst year of NDC in GDP which was 3.9 and concludes that the entire eight years of the NDC is 3.9; and the entire eight years of NPP is 8.4. In other words, this is likened to a faulty generalization and skewed analysis to favour the NPP. In the words of another NDC Communicator, Dr. Bawumia uses “his model” when it suits him and his party and that if he chooses to use his model, he should use it throughout his analysis and not be selective when to use it.

Therefore this communication theme became very profound in the lead up to the elections. Bawumia was challenged in several other statistics and data he adduced in strengthening the cases of the NPP as they campaigned to the electorates.

But suffice to say the Bawumia factor did so much damage because it was difficult for the ordinary Ghanaian to understand the hardcore arithmetics been produced by both parties but Bawumia came

across as trustworthy because he was a technocrat and economist. Also, he had just made his way into frontline politics hence it was difficult to discredit him and his assessment of the economy as the NDC wanted voters to realize.

3.8.4 The Humane Strategy Vs Infrastructural achievements:

Between humans and buildings, it was clear the former would appeal more to voters in the 2016 elections. The NPP deployed the strategy of arousing the humane feelings of voters as evident in some of the discussions held above. Even when these voters benefited from some of the social intervention programmes of the government, the party communicated that the people deserved more than they were given. Again, they blamed this failure on the mismanagement of the economy the NDC. As discussed in previous strategic implications, it added to stirring up discontentment of the public towards the party of the day:

‘Well I don’t know how life-changing they are but I’m sure for any kid, I think they were supposed to give 10,000 kids, school sandals, school uniforms and so on. I mean these are really at the margin and not really fundamental things that will change education. 10,000 out of hundreds of thousands of kids, what impact are you going to make with that. Kids want to be able to go to school, they want to be fed, they said the school feeding was going to be extended to every school, it hasn’t, they want to be able to have access to education in terms of parents being able to afford the fees to go in there to study and so on. So, I think that in terms of education definitely, we should be doing more’, an NPP Communicator said.

They also highlighted the injustices that were happening to some professionals :

“I think we have to be fair but the issue for where you go to health service providers for example and so many health service providers are in trouble because they have provided services under the

NHIS and for 8 months they have not been paid and that is really a problem now and we are converting the NHIS into a cash and carry system if for 8 months you have not been paid but you have but you have salaries and so on, you will start rejecting people on NHIS because when you provide a service you don't get paid and that is what is happening that a lot of people are not getting paid and that is really a problem and this is what Nana Akufo-Addo is talking about that the NHIS has become a two-tier system, where those with the card have one type of service and those with cash have another type of service, this is not how it was initially designed and we need to look into that", the Communicator added.

Even in highlighting the messes of the government, the humane aspect was always exploited to stir up the anger in them to vote against the NDC. The effect of dumsor was purely a debate of the humane effect of the power crisis on families, businesses, health and education; and this became an effective communication strategy. This tilted in favour of the NPP because the majority of the electorates weren't really interested in the achievements of the incumbent albeit there were still some giant strides made in the area of social amenities and social interventions. Remember the economic and general frustration that prevailed at the time where enough documented graphics in the minds of many Ghanaians, hence a piece of book that couldn't speak for itself unless the same party explained wasn't an effective communications tool to convince a sophisticated Ghanaian voter. It wasn't surprising to have had a number of resources committed to demystifying the content of the book when it was introduced for fear of not achieving its purpose. The idea of documenting projects by an incumbent wasn't new neither had it been proven as a laser strategy. Therefore, it couldn't achieve its purpose at the time. " The idea of compiling a document into which enormous and vast amount of information is put is not entirely novel. Remember under the

stewardship of the NPP, a similar publication was done, and I brought a copy hereof what they did “4 years of positive change” so far which was compiled by the NPP government.”

3.8.5 Change Vs Continuity:

The NPP modeled its campaign messages around the need to #Change a “...government that doesn’t understand the problem” facing its peoples ; A government that “...[You] can fool some of the people all the time but [you] can’t fool all of the people all the time...”; a government being overseen by those who “...can’t continue to fool the Ghanaian people...”; That leadership that you vote for “...if you want change [because] that is what Akufo-Addo is basically saying...”. Under this change, “...it’s simply not working that is what Nana Akufo-Addo mean by transformational leadership...[rather] he says look we [Ghana] can become a first world country in a generation. This change had “young people at heart and wants [them] to move away from the conservative African mentality necessarily resides in the head old people...” This change with Nana Addo believed “...that we must give young people an opportunity, somebody who is looking to get Ghana into first-world status in the next 30 years...”. Above all the big one is that the change was touted as one that would end the mass corruption, create more jobs, correct the ills of its predecessor and manage the economy based on sound economic management.

On the other hand, the incumbent preached continuity to the Ghanaian voter. It was hinged on some frames like “accounting to the people”; being transparent with the “...totality and the summation of the work that has been done in the last three years also”. But in the process of accounting to the people with the idea to appreciably assess the government, it also highlighted the intentions of the party to continue with the projects it had started. For instance on one of the media encounters about the green book, the Communicator highlighted the phenomenon of schools

under trees and the investments that had gone into the education sector. According to him "...there was 4,321 schools for basic schools across this country that were held under trees and they were not under any proper condition to educate Ghanaian children..." In response to this, some 1,640 out of 2,578 schools that were started has been delivered adding that that "remaining will be completed in the due course..."

On the power crisis, they emphasised their party was not going to manage it, rather "gonna fix it". These resounding assurances were attempts to look at the brighter side of the mess and the readiness of the government of the day to address the problem if given some more time. In another sense, it sought to present itself as the same leadership that has the solution to that crisis because it was in the same trying to manage the situation.

Another continuity frame is the counter projects that the government said it was doing in area of water and irrigation for villages:

"But as for barrage dams, irrigation dams, we are already doing them under the Ghana Commercial Agricultural Programme, we are doing barrage dams for irrigation. When I went to Bawku, I cut the sod for the Tamni Irrigation Dam. We've done the dam at Breman. We're revamping the Via Irrigation Project. We're revamping the Bontanga Irrigation Project. We're revamping the eehh... eehh... the one at Navrongo; the Tornor Irrigation Project. We're revamping all those and bringing them under agriculture... There's a huge irrigation project that is going to take place under the eeh... in the overseas area; it's called the Kupon-Sisili Project, and that is going to bring about 20,000 hectares of land under irrigation, and so the work that is going on in the north is massive and so if you just come and say one dam one village, you really haven't said anything"

The same approach is used in many other policy areas including the creation of jobs and the supports for small and medium enterprises

3.8.6 Use of Social media and traditional media:

Due to the emergence of the global pandemic, it became expedient health-wise to incorporate social media in every aspect of national life. Campaigning was one of them. The two major parties including the others had to resort to various virtual pages and digital communication models in creating their political messages, sharing and interacting with their bases. This approach was massive at both ends despite some national tours, manifesto and running mate outdoor ceremonies, embarked on by the parties. The NPP undertook some regional tours²⁰⁷ to the six new regions²⁰⁸ and met with traditional leaders whilst inspecting projects and cutting sods for projects²⁰⁹; it offered him the opportunity to campaign to them.

The NDC presidential candidate and his mate on the other hand went on a national tour²¹⁰ to almost all the regions in Ghana²¹¹ concurrently. It offered them also the platform to the campaign but even more medium to state their campaign promises²¹². In addition to these tours, snippets of videos and audios were published on various WhatsApp platforms, SMS, Facebook, blog sites, Youtube channels, Twitter, websites, TV and radio. In the case of the NDC, a special app informally called the Mahama Mobile App²¹³ which tracked the various visits he made in the lead

²⁰⁷ The Presidency of the Republic. President Akufo-Addo Tours Bono East, Bono And Ahafo Regions. <http://presidency.gov.gh/index.php/briefing-room/news-style-2/1687-president-akufo-addo-tours-bono-east-bono-and-ahafo-regions>

²⁰⁸ GBC (2019). President Akufo-Addo begins tour of new regions. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Qyv6G88m1w>

²⁰⁹ Presidency.gov.gh (2020). President Akufo-Addo embarks on 5-day tour of Western And Central Regions <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/president-akufo-addo-embarks-on-5-day-tour-of-western-and-central-regions.html>

²¹⁰ Osei Felicia (2020). Mahama begins tour of Volta, Oti regions. <https://www.myjoyonline.com/news/regional/mahama-begins-tour-of-volta-oti-regions/>

²¹¹ Gh Headlines (2020). Mahama begins 4-day campaign tour of Upper West. <http://ghheadlines.com/agency/3news/20200902/138295873/mahama-begins-4-day-campaign-tour-of-upper-west>

²¹³ NDC WEB (2020). Download for FREE John Mahama Mobile App

up to the elections. By these social media and new media tools, the citizenry could watch from the comfort of their homes, follow the political discourse from the political parties and participate.

One of the communication initiatives under a ‘mediated’ strategy reviewed by this study was the Let’s Talk with Mahama²¹⁴. It was a live conversation between candidate Mahama and the public on an array of issues happening in the country and what his leadership (if given the nod) would do differently or do to address the socio-economic challenges. Citizens, especially youths participated in this exercise. In their interactions, they asked questions ; they talked about the challenges they were facing with the current economy. It is observed that this became a smart way of decentralizing the party’s activities to the level of the grassroots using digital tools. It portrayed candidate Mahama as a listening leader because he identified with the plights of some of the participants. He came across as a youthful leader because of his ability to gel with the youths during this interactions ; He was framed as one who wished to know the issues from the perspective of the people. While at this, he used the opportunity to brandish some of the achievements he chalked before he lost the elections as well as the party’s intentions for the country.

On the other hand, the Covid-19 outbreak made it imperative for the ruling NPP to organize Meet the Press ²¹⁵ fortunately as well as the Presidential addresses ²¹⁶on efforts take by GoG to combat the virus.

https://web.facebook.com/permalink.php?id=1900998799984901&story_fbid=3245575118860589&_rdc=1&_rdr

²¹⁴ African Post (2020). ‘Let’s Talk!’: Opportunity for Ghanaians to have a digital conversation with Ex-President Mahama. <https://africanpostonline.com/lets-talk-opportunity-for-ghanaians-to-have-a-digital-conversation-with-ex-president-mahama/>

²¹⁵ Ministry of Information Meet the Press . <https://twitter.com/moigovgh?lang=en>

²¹⁶ Updates on Measures taken by GoG against Covid -19. <http://presidency.gov.gh/index.php/briefing-room/speeches/1674-update-no-16-measures-taken-to-combat-spread-of-coronavirus>

Another digital innovation by the NPP during these times was the virtual Townhall Meetings and Results Fair²¹⁷. It became inescapable for the ruling NPP to capitalize on also decentralizing its political message to the voters even whilst they accounted for their stewardship ahead of another poll. Party communicators used these platforms to occasionally delve into political debates and gave their versions of superior arguments, records and promises to the electorates. The NPP communicators who used these platforms were literary always in the homes of the public. In most of these engagements, the name of the NPP flagbearer who doubled as the candidate for the 2020 elections was mentioned repeatedly and extolled for his leadership. It positioned him strategically in the minds of the listeners or viewers. It also created a good PR of a working president, bold audacious, focused and determined to serve his people even in a crisis. Intermittently, party communicators will quote some of his profound statements including the famous one which got international acknowledgment²¹⁸ – “We know how to bring the economy back to life. What we do not know is how to bring people back to life”.

The emphasis is mine however that though social media tools and internet political strategies injected some level of aesthetics, frenzied euphoria and a wide reach for both parties, the NDC became at par with the ruling NPP in terms of reach due to the open accessibility offered by the internet. They also had more time to critique the ruling NPP and offer policy alternatives as compared to the NPP who had a health crisis to manage and a nation to run.

More so, this strategy didn't come without the phenomenon of 'social media foot-soldierism'. Party supporters, pseudos among others, were deployed to comment, share and re-share these

²¹⁷ Virtual Government Town Hall Meeting and Results Fair
https://web.facebook.com/watch/live/?v=302576627498229&ref=watch_permalink

²¹⁸ <https://mobile.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/President-Akufo-Addo-earns-international-plaudits-for-his-profound-coronavirus-quote-908848>

posts, in solidarity with their party. Some traded insults and vulgar on one another in defence to their parties' stance, narrative and strategies.

3.8.7 Incumbency Advantage Vs Opposition Decentralization:

As a corollary to the above finding, this is to firm up the idea that by virtue of their opposition status, it was impressed on the NDC to reach more people to get them to buy into their return promises. Relatively, the NDC had more to do and lose because resources played to the favour of the ruling NPP. The idea to unseat a ruling NPP who is doing everything possible within its powers to win the trust of the people can be herculean and humiliating. Whilst the ruling party had a number of parastatals to make a case in favour of them during such addresses, the opposition had to be tactical with its timing in order to make an impact. Also, a number of efforts and communication coordination had to go in order to set the media agenda the next day. In the process of doing so, they run a more decentralized and coordinated digital communication.

However, both parties used a number of colourful communication models. Tools used in such curations were screen projections, graphs, stage backdrops among others. The NDC in particular continued with its evidence-based communication model and took it even a notch higher. Before the outbreaks of the pandemic, the party machinery took one of its weekly press conferences on the state of the economy physically to remote areas of the community on one occasion. The lectern was mounted and with the ambiance depicting a real-life experience of what the party wanted to talk about, some media transmitted live for the citizenry. As evidence, occasionally, the lead communicator made reference to his environment in order to put across his message in a more believable and relateable perspective.

3.8.8 Continuity Vs Change:

Akufo-Addo has not finished....., even this matter of infrastructure and so on does not arise because Akufo-Addo has not finished his term of the presidency and he himself has said that the best is yet to come. So, let's wait and see what Akufo-Addo will do...and also the John Mahama record is not just about infrastructure because it is in the light of all this supposed infrastructure that he suffered the heaviest defeat of an incumbent president in Africa”

The above extract by an NPP Communicator in the lead up to the political period signifies a continuity frame adopted by the party in one of its communications. It could be established subject to previous findings that every incumbent contesting for re-election adopts this strategy. From the data collected, it is observed that the NPP occasionally waded into the infrastructure debate which is discussed subsequently in the last lap of 2020, ahead of the elections, to make a case for a renewed mandate.

In the last quarter of the year, the party adopted an official hashtag for its campaign – #4More4Nana #4MoreToDoMore. It was brandished on every party paraphernalia, the party manifesto, virtual platforms, backdrops and speeches in the lead up to the elections. Party members also used gestures to preach this continuity message by raising their four fingers with the thumb kept folded into the palm to draw the number 4. These gesticulations created a more symbolic political mantra and niche for sympathizers of the party and the general public in their bid to propagating their message. During the party’s manifesto launch in Cape Coast in the Central

Region²¹⁹, the use of the four-finger gesture was resounding and one didn't need any more say to understand the political message being put across.

On the other hand, the tables had turned for the NDC to assume the opposite end, so they adopted the Change message. Messages and communications deployed bordered on either #BringBackMahama, #RescueMission or #KickNanaOut. During the flagbearer's tour, he was seen occasionally signaling change with his hands and sympathizers joining in the spectacle. It was a frenzied atmosphere. On those tours, their candidates often talked about their policies, restoring, reviewing, canceling, or completing projects and programmes commenced or abandoned by the ruling party. One of such messages were captured by the sampled data during his digital interaction with youth of voting age:

“Yeah! you remember I commissioned those vans so that they will go to the deprived and underserved communities and provide specialized E and T, Dentistry, eye ear, nose and all that... Unfortunately, when the new government came, they did not continue the operationalization... When I come into office those "Onuador" mobile clinics are going to be started and we gonna bring more mobile clinics so that people like you can work in them. You can go to remote areas and provide health care to people who need it”

It goes without saying that every opposition will be left with no other central theme that #Change. What seems to be a challenge is that apart from just projecting Change in every communication of the party, there is no resounding hashtag message which gives a sense of policy direction of the party i.e #BringBackMahama, #RescueMission #KickNanaOut ; unlike the #...ToDoMore of the

²¹⁹ CitiTube (2020). NPP launches 2020 manifesto in Cape Coast | Citi Newsroom. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y8rFcq87l0U>

NPP which sounds relatively more instructive with intentions. The NDC's manifesto which was launched in Accra was called People's Manifesto and themed Jobs, Prosperity and More.

3.8.9 The Big Infrastructure Debate and Promises:

Here, there were four perspectives emerging from the infrastructure debate that both parties wanted to use to convince the Ghanaian electorates.

Firstly, as empathised earlier, both parties agreed that the track records of both regimes will come in handy in pitching to the voter on who qualifies to get their mandate. The two candidates are on record making categorical statement on the matter with even the NDC candidate calling for an exclusive debate in the area. Party communicators highlighted this approach in their communications. For instance, an NPP Communicator said “a John Mahama, Akufo-Addo contest will be the record of Akufo-Addo's presidency against the record of John Mahama's presidency”

Secondly, the NPP based their infrastructural arguments on their first four years whilst the NDC argued with legacies carried out over the eight-year period of their government. The NPP made a strong case that if within the almost half-term of the NDC regime, the party could pull up such achievements, they remain the best to lead the country in the next four years. According to the NPP, “When you compare their first-term record of 4 years of promises made and promises that they had completed at the end of 4 years to where we are yet to complete our 4 years”. They added that they then leadership of the NDC was able to accomplish “only 33 percent of their promises by the time that tenure ended”

Another communicator alludes to the massive achievement of the NDC when it attempted to extend the debate that Mahama will still lose in the face of the massive infrastructure message that the party communicators are deploying. He describes it as the “so-called achievement” :

“...the John Mahama record is not just about infrastructure because it is in the light of all this supposed infrastructure that he suffered the heaviest defeat of an incumbent president in Africa.”.

The NDC continued to forcefully argue that its tenure saw the best and highest number of infrastructures put up. These included roads, bridges, schools, hospital facilities among others. They maintained that the NPP comes no near these legacies stressing that but for these visionary developmental projects, the government would be struggling to contain the Covid-19 pandemic. This is what a party communicator said :

“Now, one of the of the things I [party] was doing when I was the president was to expand the facilities to employ more and that is why I was investing in in the hospitals and infrastructure, CHIPS compounds and so one and so forth, so that when you have infrastructure facilities, you can take more”

Thirdly, there were political turf wars on the facts both parties were presenting as achievements and previous promises. These wars came in the form of numbers of promises made by both parties whilst in opposition juxtaposed with those promises delivered, ownership of projects, and cost of projects. The numerical war on the promises however featured more prominently in the sampled data. It involved the number of promises made, those fulfilled and those outstanding. This follows the assessment of the 2016 NPP manifesto and its delivery after four years; as well as the NPP assessment of the NDC manifesto in 2008. The NDC in one of its special encounters did a presenting on tracking the promises made by the NPP ahead of their victory. They scored them 14% which was graded as an “F” (Fail). In arriving at this, among other matrixes, they identified 631 promises made by the NADAA government. They accused the NPP of being intellectually dishonest for accounting for only 388 promises.

The NPP disagreed with this marking scheme and accused them rather of peddling intellectual dishonesty. They didn't end there. They moved beyond to unleash their side of the strategy on promises. According to them at the end of the first term of the NDC government, they had left 67 percent of their promises unattended to, hence the NDC has no locus to parade themselves as though they are "apostles of the fulfillment of social contract".

The fact-war has since transcended almost every facet of the political campaigning. What was not clear was who may be having a superior database to convince the elite voters. However, what is clear is that both parties invested in some sort of database or relied on their own source of a database in to be assessing themselves and that of their opponents.

The last perspective to this element was a digital documentation of the achievements of the NPP which resulted in a reference point for another fierce debate in the infrastructural sector. The NPP few months to the elections, launched a "delivery tracker" website²²⁰. The aim of this virtual tool was to account to the people for all the projects the party embarked on; their level of completion and their successes sector-by-sector. This generated a barrage of reaction both from the opposition and the citizenry. Apparently, it became clear that some of the projects captured on the delivery tracker didn't belong to the government ; some of these allegations were confirmed by the party as true but blamed such goofing on miscommunication²²¹. In one of its press conferences, the NDC accused the government of documenting ghost projects²²², and stolen projects.

²²⁰ NPP- Delivering Our Promises Ghana Beyond Aid. <https://www.deliverytracker.gov.gh/>

²²¹ MyJoyOnline (2020). Inclusion of Adenta astroturf was an error – Oppong Nkrumah. <https://www.myjoyonline.com/news/national/inclusion-of-adenta-astroturf-was-an-error-oppong-nkrumah/>

²²² Myjoyonline.com (2020). NDC highlights 26 'ghost' projects touted by NPP at Town Hall Meeting. <https://www.myjoyonline.com/news/politics/ndc-highlights-26-ghost-projects-touted-by-npp-at-town-hall-meeting/>

3.8.10 Frames of Corruption:

It is observed in the period under review that both parties adopted a strategy of damaging their flagbearers with corruption tags. Both wanted some superiority in the political debates going into the election. The NDC capitalised on the fact that at least Ghanaians have witnessed three years of the reign of the NPP under president Akufo-Addo. On the other hand, the NPP revisited the strategy it used in 2016 in view of tagging the NDC government under Mahama as the regime that was hit with the highest number of scandals. Therefore the two parties were equal on the corruption score. Consequently, communications on corruption for both governments gradually faded and veered into other areas, in search of other superior narrative. This corroborates Riker's dispersion principle which states that "both sides seek new and advantageous issues, when neither side has an advantage"²²³

Whilst Opposition NDC said the NPP was involved in "thievery and massive corruption", the NPP maintained that it would help their cause if Candidate Mahama is still presented because of the corruption dossier on him. "I'm happy because then we are just going to dig up his record".

Still on Mahama, the party portrayed the former president as a double standard person who had the tendencies of saying A, but ended up doing B, C or D - "If he came and said we are going to do ABCD, we will go back to hid record". In fact, they didn't only say, there was evidence of

²²³ Riker, William H. 1996. *The Strategy of Rhetoric. Campaigning for the American Constitution.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

deploying this strategy and this communicator, in particular, pointed to a moment when such strategy proved effective – “Recently, he had said something about the economy, the NPP people went and brought something he had said on some interview and it made what he had said a bit shaky because he had said something in an interview that he himself was contradicting when they were put side by side”, an NPP Communicator said.

Furthermore, whereas president Akufo Addo was accused of giving business contracts, appointments and recognition to family and friends, NPP communicators called for the prosecution of former president for one of the bribery scandals that occurred during his leadership – the Airbus bribery²²⁴. It was later proven to be his brother²²⁵ but this propaganda had a huge toll on the opposition at the time. Among other corrupt allegations, the NADAA government was accused of confiscating some excavators²²⁶ as part of its fight against illegal small scale mining. It was further alleged the government gave the machines to some party members to work to generate money to fund the campaign of the party. Also was the cash for seat saga²²⁷; relieving the Auditor General of his duties²²⁸; the Agyapa mineral royalties purpose-vehicle deal²²⁹; the PDS-ECG takeover

²²⁴ A €4m Airbus Scandal. “*The revelations come at a bad time for John Dramani Mahama, who is taking a fresh run at the presidency this year*” - The African Report (2002). Ghana: John Mahama splashed by Airbus corruption affair <https://www.theafricareport.com/27714/ghana-john-mahama-splashed-by-airbus-corruption-affair/>

²²⁵ Daily Guide Network (2020). €4m Airbus Scandal: ‘Mahama Govt Official 1’ Brother Faces Amidu. <https://dailyguidenetwork.com/e4m-airbus-scandal-mahama-govt-official-1-brother-faces-amidu/>

²²⁶ Ghana Talks Business (2020). Saga of the missing excavators and how much Ghana has lost. <https://ghanatalksbusiness.com/2020/02/ghanas-missing-excavators-and-how-much-the-state-has-lost/#:~:text=Saga%20of%20the%20missing%20excavators%20and%20how%20much%20Ghana%20has%20lost&text=Earlier%20this%20year%2C%20It%20was,the%20Operation%20Vanguard%2C%20were%20missing.>

²²⁷ B&FT Online (2018). Cash for seat saga : Adhoc Committee clears Ministry of Trade. <https://thebftonline.com/06/02/2018/cash-for-seat-saga-adhoc-committee-clears-ministry-of-trade/>

²²⁸ GhanaWeb (2020). Nana Addo’s order to Auditor General to take mandatory leave met with uproar on Twitter. <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Nana-Addo-s-order-to-Auditor-General-to-take-mandatory-leave-met-with-uproar-on-Twitter-994147>

²²⁹ GhanaWeb (2020). What you need to know about Agyapa Royalties deal and the controversies. <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/business/What-you-need-to-know-about-Agyapa-Royalties-deal-and-the-controversies-1045648>

²³⁰inter alia. The corruption allegations on the NDC flagbearer on the other hand was known to almost every Ghanaian and were also played back during this period.

What was novel in the 2020 election corruption narrative was that the corruption frame was extended to the vice-presidential mate of the incumbent NPP, who was accused on several occasions as peddling lies and falsehoods in his trademarked-assessment of the economy. On this very score, it took some luster from his candidacy relative to that of the vice-presidential candidate of the NDC, Prof Naana Opoku Agyekum. It became difficult therefore for the NPP to deploy the Bawumia lead factor that was discussed as one of the strategies ahead of the 2016 elections. This time, the discrediting frame put on the second gentleman of the land and the NPP worked to a large extent; so the Bawumia lead strategy couldn't realize its fullest potential.

3.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter has demonstrated that some strategies may have come with clear cut intentions whilst others took the form of the political debate. These strategies bordered on the messages, frames in these messages, the messengers, the political debate and the various ploys deployed to equalize or neutralize ; and implicitly how opposition party communicates as against incumbent parties ahead of elections. Some strategies were superior to the others. For those superior, the study makes inferences and interpretations of how effective they are/were as compared to the others. However, others were dicey to call hence, were interrogated critically side-by-side. Though findings were heavily discussed within the context of the about 10 data obtained, a broader narrative and

²³⁰ BBC(2019). US punish Ghana plus withdrawal of \$190 million money sake of PDS termination. <https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/tori-50149512>

perspective of the political discourse were built with references to other available literature to make confirm or content existing knowledge.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary and Recommendations

4.0 Summary

The focus of this study was to explore a rather novel and complex political communication discourse - an intra-party analysis of communication strategies and at the same time, an inter-party analysis embarked on by the two dominant political parties in Ghana – the NPP and the NDC. The 2016 election and prior to the 2020 elections were years under review.

The aim was to investigate the similarities and/or differences in strategies used to enhance political discourse and to canvass for votes ahead of elections by Opposition parties and Incumbents. Various communications models, styles and activities of these parties were reviewed and situated in a broader narrative of winning elections.

In all, about 10 data were sampled and treated obeying all the ethical principles. Convenient sampling and snowballing were used to derive the data. The research paradigm used was purely qualitative. It deployed qualitative content analysis as well as Grounded Theory in arriving at its findings. The merits of chosen theories and methodologies were adequately discussed and their applicability also highlighted. Data was subjected to a latent analysis. As a guide, this analysis was situated within the context of communication - Sender, the Message, the Messenger, Feedback (sometimes) and the possible effect these would have on the Ghanaian electorate. Existing knowledge, theories and accounts of political happenings in the years under review were heavily relied on as a guide but with critiques.

Broadly, insight into opposition tendencies in terms of communication as well as ruling party strategies and tendencies were rigorously discussed in this study. Before discussing the research questions, few intra-party findings were made :

1. What are the similarities and differences in communication strategies deployed by NPP and NDC ahead of Election 2016?

[On MESSAGES], First, it became evident that an opposition NPP was more offensive in its communications as compared to an incumbent NDC. It adds to the knowledge produced from this study that opposition offers some advantages when it comes to the texture of political messaging.

Second, one appreciates the Possibility and Hope message the NPP couched in all its policies and messages as against another opposition strategy of “we are already doing this in our programmes”. Policy ridicules involved questioning the feasibility, reality or comprehensibility of policies by political parties. They have become a common political theory among parties in pitching superiority over each another.

[On MESSENGERS], Third, the Bawumia frame continued to mesmerise the incumbent NDC even as the party tried to discredit his person and outfit on the economy assessment.

[On Possible EFFECT], Fourth, the people ended up choosing “food over building”: As much as possible, the NPP highlighted the humane negligence of the NDC as the latter continued to brag about the massive edifices they had put up.

Fifthly, the NPP preached change whilst their opponent highlight the unfinished status of their work for the people, hence, asked for a renewed mandate.

2. What are the similarities and differences in communication strategies deployed by the NPP and NDC ahead of Election 2020?

The outbreak of Covid-19 in Ghana greatly impacted the political landscape just like the rest of the world, and this forced a few similarities in communication strategy by both parties.

[On CHANNELS], One major common strategy was the means through which these political messages and policies were transmitted to the electorate. There was a mass use of social media and traditional media. These digital platforms included Facebook, Youtube, blog sites, website among others offered intense and mass interaction with voters. This confirms reviewed literature in this study. The incumbent did many town-hall meetings and presidential address with political undertones. The opposition, on the other hand, had many space and mileage to organise exclusive social media programmes such as John Mahama live; Let's Talk to JM; and NDC Weekly Press Conferences to offer policy alternatives and touch base with more people who use the internet. It was also established that this strategy came with the social media phenomenon social media army which had a positive of encouraging citizen participation in the political process albeit its negative excesses.

Incumbency advantage features in every election period but in this year under review, it featured prominently and couldn't have gone without notice. Incumbent came into the homes regularly even before the political conversation could get heated up at the tail end of the year. It was in the form of the Covid-19 addresses and regular press conferences. Intermittently, political messages are chipped through to ask for a second term vote. Also significant in these addresses was the portrayal of the president and the ruling NPP as a courageous group who are working very hard to safeguard the gains made over the last 4 years, hence, Ghanaians should renew their social contracts with them by voting for the party in the December polls. The party also embarked on

some bulk SMS in disseminating its messages. Both parties published snippets of tours, interactions with the voter, manifesto launches among others on social media in order to reach voters with their messages and policies, and in return ended up participating in the process. It was conclusive that the opposition had a slight mileage ahead of the ruling NPP since the latter had a crisis at hand to manage and a nation and a people to manage.

[On MESSAGES], as usual, the NPP clamoured for continuity, benchmarking their performance in the first year term to that of the NDC. The opposition countered this messaging with their ‘Kick Nana Out’ message and a return of JM. They referred to their party’s track record and controversial leadership provided by the NPP which in a way vindicates that of the former president. They pushed the narrative that their second coming will ensure “Jobs, Prosperity and More”.

Finally, it was found that the Greenbook razzmatazz recurred this year when the big infrastructural debate featured prominently. The NPP also digitally documented its achievements through the delivery tracker app.

3. What are the possible trends in communication frames deployed by opposition and incumbent political parties ahead of elections in Ghana?

1. NPP Intra-Party

[On MESSAGES], As evident in **Table 1**, the NPP party deployed similar communication strategies in both elections. They include Corruption and Leadership Identity Crisis of Mahama & The Bawumia Factor and Lecture.

In the 2016 findings, it was established that much energy and resources were deployed to destroying the brand of the incumbent president. It was worsened by the protectorate strategy deployed by the Mahama-administration, thus, the more it was morally right for communicators

to build a moral veil around their candidate-cum-president, it became even easier to clash the heads of the public with that of the government's. Its effect which was partly the massive loss of the party in the 2016 polls was discussed within the context of "a hungry man is an angry man". There may be some impactful projects carried out by the Mahama leadership but for the many corruption experienced by the people and the deliberate messaging to frame him in that light caused the people to be angry, hence the monumental defeat.

Dr Mahamadou Bawumia was a wonder boy in the 2016 elections. The NPP deployed him as a messenger who had enormous economic and academic acumen to lead their political debates. He organised lectures and assessed the economy in a gloomy narrative. It worked because of his background and the media who had also grown tired of the Mahama regime. He set the agenda and became very difficult for the incumbent communicators to handle him. This augmented the chances of his party.

However, in an attempt to replicate this same strategy in 2020 (at a time this study was done), it proved very difficult because as an incumbent government, Dr Bawumia who doubled as the vice presidential running mate of Candidate Akufo-Addo had suffered some level of counter-debates, exposés and accusation of corruption by his government. Hence, there were records of alleged falsehoods and lies to speak to. The NDC communicators, as well as CSOs, could match his economic lectures and figures on the economy. The potency of this strategy was therefore dimmed [On MESSENGERS], The party also relied on a mixture of youthful communicators as well as some oldies in both campaign periods. A similar strategy was observed to be used by the NDC as well. It can be established therefore that, political parties usually select their messengers to suit their target audience. Considering the youthful nature of Ghana's demography, this approach remained a smart one. Ghana's population structure remains youthful and it was politically

expedient for both parties to have deployed this strategy. The NDC per its grassroots ideology deployed a more youthful communicators relative to its opposite number. Unfortunately, there was insufficient gender mainstreaming observed from the collected data. Per the samples, both NPP and NDC run a majority-male communication.

On the other hand, there was a difference in the party's strategy in 2016 and 2020. Whilst 2016 offered the party the opportunity to be more offensive with its messages toward the NDC primarily because it was in opposition and had nothing to lose; it couldn't revise this strategy when it took over the helms of leadership. Remnants of this aggression were evident. They maintained that aggression in responding to every national stakeholder that had a dissenting view. It eventually matured to become a protectorate approach. On this issue, despite the fact that it was revealed social media solidarity was common when social media was heavily used in the 2020 elections for both parties, this period saw an avalanche of this phenomenon due to the protectorate strategy adopted by the 2020 incumbent NPP.

2. NDC Intra-Party

[On MESSAGES], Both campaigns came with deliberate efforts at elevating the communication discourse. An evidence-based approach was used. Ahead of the 2016 election, the president who was the flagbearer of the party adopted a way of showcasing the beneficiaries of government initiatives in parliament through his call-and-response style during one of the state of the nations addresses in February. Similarly, in the heat of the campaign trail in 2020, communicators of the party travelled to locations to speak to issues the party felt were tangibly evidential. Example was the River Pra galamsey press conference. It was found that whilst some may have viewed the by-the-river-side exercise as a political gimmick, it gave more impetus to their political persuasions of the NDC through the advancement of evidence. A similar discussion was held on the Greenbook

which remained a prominent political tool for the NDC both in 2016 and 2020. The book wasn't that effective in the 2016 elections due to many extenuating factors also discussed in this paper, but it became a central strategic theme due to the big infrastructural debate and similar "accounting to people" website and townhall/result fair conferences (of the NPP which characterised the 2020 election period). The study concluded that such strategy went a long way to increase the brand pedigree of the NDC, especially in the 2020 elections.

[On MESSENGERS], The NDC had more youthful communication machinery relative to the NPP in both periods. It couldn't be established whether or not incumbency attracts more youths, but it was crystal clear the party continues to have a very youthful base in its communications efforts. Best repeating that it agreed with the grassroots ideology of the party.

There were two things that accounted for some differences alongside the electoral campaign. They bordered on organizational structure of communications and the texture of the communication. This study established, in agreement with existing knowledge, that the NDC communication was loosely coordinated in the 2016 elections. But it picked up appreciably in the 2020 elections, as predicted by some scholars cited.

Furthermore, the party adopted the protectorate strategy when in power in 2016 but marshaled all forces including the evidence-based strategy to mount suffocating pressure on the incumbent NPP in 2020.

Broad findings relevant to incumbency and opposition political strategies in the Ghanaian context include the following:

- Opposition strategies always come with more aggression whilst incumbency mostly comes with a protectorate approach ;

- Opposition offers an opportunity for the reorganization and the wide decentralization of communication activities;
- The political message equation is that opposition will always subscribe to the Change frame whilst incumbent seeking re-election will deploy the continuity frame;
- Social media and digital communication remain a viable choice in political strategy. Both parties have taken advantage of this populist tools;
- The National Democratic Congress (NDC) is used to the evidence-based and colourful presentation as compared to the New Patriotic Party (NPP);
- Both parties inject youths in their communication machinery ;
- Both parties are biased towards male communicators being frontrunners of the party machinery as compared to females. They interspersed this youth structure with some experienced limbs;
- The Bawumia factor was a strong strategy deployed by the NPP since the 2016 elections;
- The two-party politics in Ghana is largely inclusive of candidate and personality attacks;

and

- Corruption frames are gradually becoming entrenched in modern day political strategies in making opponents unattractive brands.

4.1 Limitation

Despite the novel type nature of this study, the political year especially the 2020 year, kept moving as the study prepared to bring its data collection and analysis to an end. The election year commenced technically at the beginning of the year of 2020. But political activities reached their crescendo at the last quarter of the year. However, the study wasn't exclusive of the last quarter. Its scope extends as far back as the previous year. Though this gave a broad base of data, it could also miss out in the intense political calendar characteristic of the last quarter of the year. Subsequent works can therefore focus on the last quarter of the year 2020.

4.2 Recommendations

Averred the key arguments and conclusions of this study, it is possible to make the following recommendations:

- Political parties should consider more affirmative actions and gender mainstreaming in terms of lead communicators of the two parties
- The political communications by both parties should as much as possible be issue-based and not personality or character assassination
- There have to be more independent fact-checkers to verify and neutralise the fact-wars between the political parties
- Political parties shouldn't be reactionary in drawing up political communication strategies rather commit more resources, energy and expertise to draw up strategic and superior communication strategy which would challenge the mundane rhetorics and clichés in the terrain

4.3 Suggestion for further research

Further studies could focus on :

- Gender mainstreaming in political communications in Ghana
- The role of social media in political communication strategies between the two major political parties in Ghana – the NPP and NDC

APPENDICE : TRANSCRIBED DATA

1. LET'S TALK WITH MAHAMA

Caller: Your excellency to quickly ask; "We have other colleagues who are still at home (ie the 2017 year group, 2018 year group, 2019 year group and also, those who have been captured under the current government NABCO programme but have not been permanently moved or integrated to permanent jobs). These are huge back locks and then coming to 2021 when are voted there, this will be a huge burden..... Please, how do you intend to go about the permanent migration of NABCO to permanent jobs and also, the back locks of all our trainees from 2017-2019-year groups?"

Response: OK.... I hope you were not among the badge that was beaten up at the Ministry of Health when you were picketing or arrested?

Caller: Unfortunately, i was part of those badges....

Response: [smiles]so sorry about that, so sorry. But during my period in office, i employed more nurses and health workers than in any other time in the history of Ghana, you check the fact. You know, Unfortunately, this government has left a huge backblock. Now, one of the of the things i was doing when i was the president was to expand the facilities to employ more and that is why i was investing in in the hospitals and infrastructure, CHIPS compounds and so one and so forth, so that when you have infrastructure facilities, you can take more. Unfortunately, many of those facilities came to stop and the hospitals we were building several of them were abandoned. This government has promised to continue, and we hope that it will give us the space to bring in more. I said in one of my Facebook live; i said "we're going to do human resource gap analysis to look at what the capacity of each sector (i.e. Health sector, Education sector, the Civil Service) and then we will much the gap in terms of employment and base on that we will bring more people in and also, we will do our best when i come to clear all back locks. We will employ more of you in, we will restructure the whole economy in such a way that we are able to bring in more human resources where needed and where it is not needed we will cut down. For instance, I'm not gonna have 125 so that if i cut down ministers and presidential staffers and others, i should be able to save like several millions of cedis to able to employ more nurses and other staffs, and so we will rationalized the human resource where it is not needed and then we will increase it where it is needed. We need teachers, we need health workers and so will give prioritization to employ teachers and health workers and reduce the number of ministers and presidential staffers and other unnecessary people that are employed to do political work.

Caller: I quite remmber you initiated "Onuador" truck or van...

Response: Yeah! the mobile clinics?

Caller: Yes, the mobile clinics where we have some that have a big state of the art equipment for E and D services (stand for Dental, laboratory and eye Optician). These vans have been lying at

the Institute of the Biomedical Engineering at Korle-Bu and have not been put to use over the years just the abandoned of the some of the health facilities. I want to know personally what is the intension for those vans and what will be their use when you come to government?

Respond: Yeah! you remember i commissioned those vans so that they will go to the deprived and underserved communities and provide specialized E and T, Dentistry, eye ear, nose and all that... Unfortunately, when the new government came, they did not continue the operationalisation. those initial mobile clinics that we brought were on pilot face and the intention was to be going to expand to other regions and so in areas where you do not have proper medical services. We gonna get health staffs to go those mobile clinics and go to community and provide those services to them. We actually had, you know meetings with NGOs that are into eye care and they told and promised us that they would get lenses and glasses which we can give free of charge to people who need glasses and lenses. So, all the arrangement has been done to expand health care in remote areas. Unfortunately, this government has other priorities and i think that health is wealth and Covid has shown us that investment into healthcare is important as any other sector and so we gonna continue to give the health sector the priority it deserves. When i come into office those "Onuador" mobile clinics are going to be started and we gonna bring more mobile clinics so that the people like you can work in them. You can go to remote areas and provide health care to people who need it.

Caller: OK.. Thanks so much for having me

Response: OK... All the best[smiles]... bye bye!

END

2. MAHAMA ON NPP'S CAMPAIGN PROMISES

Host: Your excellency your opponent has once again punctuated the campaign with major fundamental promises; one dam one village and one district one factory, same way as he punctuated the campaign with free SHS ehhh.. which you carried on as well. How are you relating to his sought of leadership in... in the campaign in telling people what he actually wants to do.

NDC communicator: I think when campaigning you put out a programme and eemm... (coughs) your programme speaks to what you intend to do over the next ee... four years if you are given the mandate, and there are linkages in everything that you do; things do not stand in isolation and so if you just pick one this one this, one this one that, what does it relate to? It must be linked to something, and so (pauses) I'm sure when his manifesto comes out, we would understand better what his linkages are but for instance you take one dam..., one village one dam or one dam one village, you know, you need to understand what is he talking about, in the north...

Host [intercepts]: He said irrigation.

NDC Communicator: In the north..., what we call dam in the north is a dugout, and every village has a dugout; it's a pond, we use to drink from it in the north before, when there was no water, but now that most communities have water, the dugouts are used for livestock watery. Now if you want to do irrigation dams, irrigation dams must have a feeding source of water, and so you are talking of barrage dams and proper irrigation dams. Proper irrig... eh... Barrage dams are if a stream is flowing and they put a wall across it then you hold the water back. You can use that for dry season gardening but not every village has a stream flowing by it, and so if you say one village one dam and you talk about the dugout, the dugouts by the end of the dry season, the water is finished, they have... they have dried up and so he needs to... that's why I'm saying when his manifesto comes out we'll understand what he is talking about, but if he is talking about dugouts, SADA is doing dugouts for villages. The problem even now is not the dugouts; it's desilting them. Most of the dugouts are silted and so SADA is having a programme to desilt the dugouts so that they can accumulate more water for the cattle and other animals to be able to get water. Now most of our communities use boreholes for drinking water. In the dry season if the borehole is not pri... eh... very productive then what they do is they drink the water from the borehole but then they wash their clothes in the dugout and so until he comes and explain what exactly he means, you know... then one cant understand. But as for barrage dams, irrigation dams, we are already doing them under the Gha... ehhh Ghana Commercial Agricultural Programme, we are doing barrage dams for irrigation. When I went to Bawku, I cut the sod for the Tamni Irrigation Dam. We've done the dam at Brenam. We're revamping the Via Irrigation Project. We're revamping the Bontanga Irrigation Project. We're revamping the ehhh... ehhh... the one at Navrongo; the Tornor Irrigation Project. We're revamping all those and bringing them under agriculture... There's a huge irrigation project that is going to take place under the eeh... in the overseas area; it's called the Kupon-Sisili Project, and that is going to bring about 20,000 hectares of land under irrigation, and so the work that is going on in the north is massive and so if you just come and say one dam one village, you really haven't said anything.

Host [Intercepts] He's also talking about Factories. He's talking about Factories in Districts.

NDC Communicator: It depends on what Factories. We... we... we've... This thing about eehh... one factory per district came out under the rural enterprise programme. It's not a new idea. It's an old i..., very old idea, but you need to look at the viability of those industries. As a student of economics, the location of industries or factories is based on several factors. You have to take those factors into consideration. For instance,...

Host [Intercepts]: Proximity to raw materials and all that kind off things.

NDC Communicator: Proximity to raw materials, proximity to [call], proximity to market, cheap labour, eerrmm... power, water, all those things are things you take into consideration. So for instance, in some districts you cannot put a textile factory because the source of power is not sufficient, you need a strong substation in the district to be able to power the textile factory, so if you are talking about small and medium enterprises like gari making factories, small processing factories where we use [gratis] machines and things, that is happening already.

Host: mmm... So, you are saying that the promises are not new?

NDC Communicator: They are not new. Under the Rural Enterprises Programme...

Host [Intercepts]: They are things that your government is already doing.

NDC Communicator: Yeah but it was emm... it... it envisaged small and medium enterprises. What we're doing is small and medium enterprises were facilitating the private sector to do it. Government will not involve itself in going to set up a small eh or medium enterprise in a community. We would enable the private sector to do it; and that's what we're doing. They are fabrication factories where they're doing fabrication. They are people who have ehh... small shear butter processing factories in the... in the districts, so unless he comes and tells us, is he coming to do electronic appliances, is he coming to do textiles and garments, is he coming to do car assembly plants in the districts, you know, if... if you talk about those factories, peoples conception of factories differ, so if you say factory then it means some big steel making plant in Bole District. We would love that but where we... it means you have to truck all the iron rods to Bole or all the metals to Bole and fabricate it...

Host [Intercepts]: Generally, you are saying we need better clarification of... of...

NDC Communicator: He has to clarify.

Host: ... of what he's doing.

NDC Communicator: Yeah, he has the tendency to do that.

Host: Oh, I see.

NDC Communicator: He has the tendency to do that. In the Free School Programme when you came down to the figures and the nitty-gritty, he found it very difficult to explain. It's the same thing that's happening here. You just throw out a promise; that's the old eehh... mi... yesterday's campaigning in those days, you know, my father's time. You just throw out something and then people just pick it; one village one dam, one village one dam. They don't know if it's a dugout or a barrage dam or it's a proper irrigation dam, they don't know. But then because you say one village one dam, one village one factory, what kind of factory? Is it a car assembly plant? Is it the

kind of factories we know? Electronic appliance, textiles and garment, are those the plants or small and medium enterprises? If they are small and medium enterprise factories, that is happening already.

Host: mm... But he said, to be fair to him, he said, free SHS. Yes, you may be right about the... the crunching of the numbers. It was not available, but you didn't say it, he said it. You picked it up and you have carried it out and your supporters give you credit for...

NDC Communicator [Intercepts]: No no... I said that... I said that it wasn't a new idea there again, I said because the constitution enjoined us to introduce it progressively, and I said that I was enjoined by the constitution to do it progressively. He said free SHS now, but I said that access was more important because if you made it free and the schools were not there for the children to go to, what was the use? And so, I was going to put resources into expanding access, but I will progressively introduce it. That was my programme, and his programme was free SHS now. He didn't talk about access; he didn't talk about quality. Those were the differences. So now again it's the same... just throwing out the promises like they use to do in those days; one village one dam, one village one factory. What kind of factory, what kind of dam? If it's dugouts, we don't need dugouts.

END

3. MAJORITY CAUCUS

Good evening viewers and welcome to the Joynews channel. You're watching the majority caucus where we bring up to speed on the work being done by the government of his excellency John Dramani Mahama in fulfilment of the mandate the good people of Ghana bestowed on him in 2012.

On the 15th December 2015, President Mahama launched what has come to be known as the accounting to the people book. Now, this book is about 210 pages publication and essentially highlighted the work he and his team have engaged in to ensure the development of our country and enhancement of the livelihood of our people. So, this evening I will endeavour to walk you through the key lights of that publication which essentially captures the totality and the summation of the work that has been done in the last three years also. We called it accounting to the people because we believe that accountability is at the very heart of democratic governance and to the extent that we have benefited from the mandate of the people. It is incumbent on us as a government to render account in a manner that is concealed and in a manner that is in accordance with laid down standards. I would be joined by my colleague who would be asking me questions and I will be providing answers to them. To those of you who are IT inclined you can log on to the government of Ghana website ghana.gov.gh, moc.gov.gh and presidency.gov.gh where you can go and download the softcopies of the accounting to the people book. You can also navigate through the content of the book on greenbookghana.com which would assist you.

The book is divided into four sections; according to the promises the NDC made to the good people of Ghana.

The first part deals with putting people first which essentially deals with social sector. Sector like Education, Health, Social Protection, Youth and Sports, are dealt with. Then you go to explain infrastructure which forms the basis for a smooth take off any economy where issues like water, transportation, communication, housing power and what have you are discussed. There is a section that speaks about strengthening the economy; where issues like job creation macroeconomic management and microeconomic management and the likes are discussed.

Then the final part brings you information regarding what has been happening in the governance area; like parliament, the judiciary, the executive itself, our foreign relations, local government and other such related matters.

Now we will deal with sector by sector but before we do that, I would be joined by colleague as he hosts me.

HOST: Welcome back... This is the majority caucus. This is the maiden edition and we're dedicating this Greenbook which was recently outdoored [by/to] the president of the republic of Ghana, John Dramani Mahama. What really explain the case for compilation?

NDC COMMUNICATOR: Well, as I said before the break, it is the duty of every government to account to its people. Now the point of departure would emerge where a discussion is going to be heard about the mode of this accounting process. The idea of compiling a document into which enormous and vast amount of information are put is not entirely novel. Remember under the stewardship of the NPP, similar publication was done, and I brought a copy hereof what they did "4 years of positive change" so far which was compiled by the NPP government. The forward was provided by Hon. Dan Botwe was then the information minister and, in that publication, they indicated that every year, they have brought out this publication to keep the people informed.

Now we thought that, that concept was not bad and even if we have criticism about the content and quality of the publication and I'm sure you would have been familiar with the famous page 40 of this book which people have had course to criticise it and showing of that an achievement but even if you were to put that aside, the concept of compiling a publication to which you put information about the work that government is doing is not one that can be dismissed and since 2011, we have been embarking on this issue called the Top 50 achievement of the Mills administration that was the first Greenbook then came the Overview of the People. Now, this book is essentially put beyond doubt the work that has been engaged in by the government led by his Excellency John Dramani Mahama. Before you [host] came on board, I spoke about the antimitic areas which basically helps people navigate through...

If you go to the educational sector for instance, that is an area where government has invested most. When we came into power, most critical challenges affecting the educational sector were infrastructure or the lack of it. You know about the phenomenon of schools under trees, there was 4,321 schools for basic schools across this country that were held under trees and they were not under any proper condition to educate Ghanaian children. So, government took upon itself to illuminate this sector with the view to provide a more conducive environment for children. When you look at page 8 of this book, we give account of 1640 out of 2578 that were started has been delivered. The remaining will be completed in the due course. We speak about materials that has been distributed for the purposes of educating our children. Millions of exercise books in the course of 4 to 5 years and over 12.5 million textbooks which has enabled us to reverse the textbook to people ratio which stood at 3 pupils to one book. Now 4 textbooks are given to one pupil and we've been able to invest and exceed the United Nations benchmark. We have distributed over 2 million school uniforms for school children in the deprived communities which parent's have difficulty procuring such uniforms. We have distributed 10,000 sandals and this has significantly had improved access.

HOST: Well, some have described some of these intervention as tokenism that what for use is the impact. What exactly does it mean to shift text to pupil's ratio 1 textbook to 4 pupils and by reversing it to 4 textbooks to 1 pupil? What does that mean?

NDC COMMUNICATOR: Again I disagree strongly with those who hold the view that tokenism, you see, perhaps the pressing concerned apart from the lack of infrastructure regarding our educational system has been the quality and for years we've all lamented what we perceived to be the decline of our education and that should be corrected and something must be done. We found that on of the most binding constraint was the lack of materials and content but therefore if you have a situation where the 4 pupils were sharing or 3 pupils were sharing 1 core textbook, it didn't provide conducive environment even if they managed to even agree among themselves that they were going to crump around and what they needed to do assignment as reference material and one chanced to be torned what is gonna happen. Indeed, if you look at page 8, it gives you at a glance, information regarding improvement that has been attained regarding access. Now by 2008-2009, they were a total of seven million and thirty-eight thousand, seven hundred and thirty-eight school children at all levels of education. (i.e. if you add basic education to SHS and tertiary education). As I speak to you, because of these intervention and expansion that has taken place, we are talking about an increase about 1.8 million students at all levels. So currently or as of the 2014-2015 academic year, eight million eight-hundred and ninety-one thousand, eight hundred and ninety-two students were in our educational system. That is 36% of our population or an increase in 26%

and its significant or perhaps the biggest in enrolment and access in the last two decades also... Now, quality is also improving. The students are doing much better in examination than before. Indeed, if you look at the table, we provided which shows West African Schools Certificate Examination, whereas in 2008, just 15.5% of candidates of Ghana passed.

As of 2014, when the last reckoning was done, 28.1% of these pupils passed. Indeed in 2012, 31% of them passed. It is not ideal but certainly an improvement. In fact, in 2007 where the worst record emerged, only 10% of pupils who were represented for that examination passed. So surely, the improvement could not have dropped from the sky. It is the direct result of investment that have been made. Also, parents have been met halfway. For instance, if you could not afford a uniform for your child, and posed a constraint for which the child stayed away from school, lest he becomes badges of jokes for his colleagues and government comes to your aid and gives you or gives your child a uniform, it would remove that responsibility that had to take money out of your pocket and purchase a school uniform for the child and if your child has benefited from the 10 million uniforms that have been distributed, you would have saved that money because you would have brought it...

HOST [Intercepts]: Is it like putting money in their pocket?

NDC COMMUNICATOR: Exactly! The money that you would have spent procuring books will be kept in your pocket.

HOST: How about the area of ICT, you know many people have been saying is the way to go and the future really hinged on how knowledgeable is the future leaders of these pupils are, and you how unfamiliar you know how many students who have graduated for the university without touching a computer keyboard before. What is the situation now?

RESPONDENT: ICT director and I know because I worked at the ministry of communication sector and through a number of interventions namely; the Basic School Computerisation Programme, The Masters Programme and other such interventions...

HOST [Intercepts]: What Masters?

NDC COMMUNICATOR Masters was; Maths and Science Technology Scholarship that was awarded to students who showed preference of Maths, Science and Technology Education. It was established to encourage students to go into that area. Now, if you look at all the number as of 2014, about 60,000 of such computers have been distributed to pupils in order to ensure that the education curricula had people manning it to acquire ICT skills about 60,000 teachers also have been taken through ICT education to own their skills to be able to impact the knowledge that is required in that sector to pupils and this has led to significant improvement. Indeed, if an organization like GIFED which is under my ministry, they have a programme they called the School Computerization Programme where they distribute computers and accessories to Senior High Schools and they have worked with over 600 such schools to inject ICT penetration into the way that they do their things. If I may be more quickly to the SHS sector...

HOST [Interject]: I'm going to interject in a bit. Let's just say that viewers can join the show on social media by sending their comments, questions and suggestions to the Joynews Facebook platform... These comments would be read later on, on the show. So viewers can join us the show

eerrrrmm viewers can join on the show on the platform and later we give the WhatsApp line... Now before we move on to the secondary education, I'm sure you are very familiar with the situation where sometimes you meet school pupils who would ask why are they not in school in the morning and they will tell you that; they are going to school in the afternoon. I mean I am talking about truancy... What is that has been done about it as a result of the shift system?

NDC COMMUNICATOR: Well, an offensive battle was waged against this phenomenon in order to eliminate it completely. If you go to places like Accra, Sunyani, Kumasi, that system has been all but eliminated and indeed, if you come to Accra, places like Damsoman, Darkuman, where I was born, if you go to Mprobi the MCI School, the MI cluster, if you go to places like Zamarama line which is in Ablekuma Central Constituency, Latebi Okoshi you would find dozens of 18 units classroom blocks which have made it possible for shift system to be eliminated so that if you met a child who should be in school and was not in school, there is no way of excuse because he/she playing truant and that has helped alot to enhance the teaching and learning experience in those parts of our country. It is something that we are tackling seriously. The Accra Metropolitan Assembly has been in the forefront of these interventions and only recently they completed another one around the Darkuma area which significantly boost education in parts of the country.

HOST: Let's move now to the secondary education, what has been the key intervention in this area?

NDC COMMUNICATOR: Well, the floorship projects... before I come to that, you recall that when the NPP government in 2007 decided to extend the duration of senior high school education from 3 years to 4 years, it was not accompanied by any comprehensive plan to expand infrastructure in view of the fact that because of their additional year added, they were going to retain more students that is going to swell up the numbers and there was a crisis the the NDC took over in 2009, President Mills launched the emergency classroom block project and out of that, 1079 six-unit classroom blocks were provided for SHS across the country and 189 storey dormitories were also provided for various senior high schools to simply cope with the numbers; so that was done. But it was realized that the existing number of secondary schools were inadequate to absorb the numbers that were produced at the basic school level. (i.e. after you write the BECE the number of them to be absorbed to access senior high school education), for that reason, President Mahama in 2012 promised to embark on the community senior high school project. He promised 200 community day senior high schools. Currently, there are work going in 123 places and I hear people say that only 4 has been completed. The NPP likes to trumpet it a lot. I don't know why they think that they can engage in such self deception. It is true the President has had the opportunity to commission 4 but more have been completed. If you go to places like Dema in the Tano South district in the Brong Ahafo region, a community day Senior High has been completed. If you go to places like Krache in Tsubu in the Volta Region another has been completed. Diaso in the Upper Denkyera District, if you go to Hanta District, If you go to Ninyame in the Brong Ahafo region, if you go to Adugyaman and many more...

HOST [Interject]: But these are mega structures that provide direct and indirect jobs yet you hear people talk about the fact that not many jobs are being created... How do you explain all of these mega infrastructure project that are coming up and people have these concerns about jobs?

NDC COMMUNICATOR: Well, you see and excuse my language... it is humans who work on these projects OK? Now, take the community day SHS for instance, 123 blocks and on the average of 50 workers and well they are some who employ 150, some 200... capenters, artisans and these are what they are trained to do and that is how they earn their living. So when these projects are embarked on, that is when they get employment. So multiply an average of 50 or even if you like 100 by 123 and you would find the enormous job opportunities that have been created by these projects. Beyond that 1614 schools under trees even if those projects also required about 50 people to work on, multiply 50 by 1614 even I have not spoken about brand new universities that has been established while the construction was on going, it was people who were working there. The schools that have been built to eliminate the shift system, the production of the exercise books that we are distributing all of them were produced locally. Recently the president ordered that all textbooks be printed locally and that alone is going to 1,000 also jobs for people who were hitherto unemployed and is just within the education sector.

HOST: How about teachers themselves? All of these structures are coming up and these schools require the employment of teachers.

END

4. NDC'S SAMMY GYAMFI USES RIVER PRA AS EVIDENCE OF FAILED GALAMSEY FIGHT.

NDC Communicator: Recent revelations on the missen 500 excavators and the illegal mining activities of government officials such as Professor Fimpong Boateng; these latest revelations of thievery and massive corruption confirms our long held position that President Akuffo Addo's so called fight against Galamsey was a well thought out masterplan designed to take over the elicit Galamsey trade and in turn use its proceeds to fund the new patriotic party, of which President Akuffo Addo is the leader.

NDC Communicator: Today that Major Mahama has lost his life and Ghanaians have been killed, excavators burnt in the name of this so-called fight against Galamsey; skin diseases have doubled in this area; diarrhoea has doubled in this area. The incident of all these health challenges, all these diseases have worsened in the last three years, and so when we sit in Accra, in the studios of Joy FM, UTV, TV3 and all that and you hear NPP people telling us that President Akuffo Addo is winning the fight against Galamsey, what they are doing is that they are insulting our intelligence as a people.

END

5. NEWSFILE

HOST: What do you have to say about this; for those who support the NDC or the sympathizers of the NDC who make sounds as though you ought to be an NPP before you feel the effect of the “dumsor” crisis?

NDC COMMUNICATOR: Thank you very much and good morning to you cherish listeners and viewers. I believe this another test case for us Ghanaians and i also believe very strongly because of the strength of our democracy, our commitment to peace, liberty and freedom, this is going to pass as though it happened.

Regrettably, this is turning the way it’s going with people insulting each other and about writing about other as if we were not in this country.

HOST [Intercepts]: I am not sure it’s about people insulting each other, it’s about people who have complained this situation being insulted and attacked as being sympathizers of the NPP....

NDC COMMUNICATOR: NO! If you understand the historical development of this situation, you wouldn’t say people who are insulting others or attacking others who declared.... dumsor is not a new thing and opposition about it is not a new thing. NPP went on the street to protest about it nothing happened, people talked about it on radio, TV, nothing happened but a young lady takes a pen and tell a president “is like school boy who fails his exam every time”.....

HOST: That is Lydia Forson, the actress... Is that what you mean?

NDC COMMUNICATOR: I don’t know but another person would take a respond to a critique and say “Mahama hold your dogs” i mean they are going into realm that they are not known for....

HOST: Are you not justifying those who insult those ladies as prostitute and suffering some... you know some of the attacks I’m unable to repeat them on this platform because is terrible.

NDC COMMUNICATOR: You let me make my point; I’m saying that these people are venturing into its hazards. We’ve being in this country for a long time with each other. Sometimes people go over the board and it has occupational hazards accompanying it. They’re coming into that unfamiliar in the terrain and they’re professing to take it to the high and unfortunately, they gave them the first shot. It might be milled, it be strong. The first shot is to be attacking the presidency which is our presidency not NDC president. I mean Ghanaians! He represents the soul and the spirit of nation.

HOST: Respectfully sir, as far they’re concerned, this is not politics they are venturing into that you suggest is as a new thing for them, these are not only actresses, actors but they are employers and producers. They employ people, they are beginning to sack some employees. They said, they can’t continue to fuel the generators...

NDC COMMUNICATOR: Can i continue to make my point.... I do understand everything they are doing. I do understand that they are the only Ghanaians facing dumsor but they’re only ones who decide to go on the street (i.e. to draw attention). I do acknowledge dumsor is causing a lot of

pain and us we are all suffering the pains. Also, i do sympathize with them because these are private sector people who make a name for themselves, who want to keep their jobs and who want to grow their business. I do accept all that. They have a way of communicating this without drawing the kind of attention they drew and the kinds of repercussion it has come to. I think that using the art or people in the art veering into politics is not new. In fact, the two are bed fellows. We've seen some of them who criticize in their poet, in their writing. They criticize government and make it impossible for government to even go ahead. I mean it's part of it. Maria Mbakiba and the rest of them have to leave their countries because they thought that they were just were simply expressing their disagreement about human right abuses in their country. But you see, you can't draw a clean differentiation between when you oppose government for his policy or non-policy actions and you when you go into political discussion with him or discourse with government. So, for politician, i interpret it to be politics. For the musicians or the artists or the...

HOST [Intercepts]: so, in this particular circumstance, your interpretation is politics? That they are getting into politics.

NDC COMMUNICATOR: So, i am a politician, so I think that...

HOST: Can you give an answer that they are going into politics?

NDC COMMUNICATOR: They have gone into politics already!

HOST: That if you get up to complain about dumsor you're doing politics?

NDC COMMUNICATOR: It is wrong! That is not true. I am not saying that if you complain about dumsor, it touches you where it pains you most and then you can complain about government, it's very important.

HOST: So why do you say that they're getting into politics?

NDC COMMUNICATOR: But I'm saying that interpretations can be given to anything. You have asked me about "NDC who are speaking ill of them" and I am interpreting the reason behind... behind it. I haven't given you my own opinion yet. Now, so when you see this thing happen, you would see how much people put emotions to it, what interpretations they put into it and i do admit to you that it is their right, completely their right to do what they are doing. To onto the street to protest about it, it is within our democracy and we all support it. We all support a situation where young people can say no when they feel that something is going wrong in this country. But this an anticlimax of the situation we are facing. An anticlimax because i would protest about a situation which is persistent, which is not address, which politicians would or whoever may not be listening to it. I would want to join a protest and protest about it. I would not protest about a situation where after the people have spoken in fascist of life, the leader of the nation would come out and make a definite statement that by the end of this year i will solve this problem. I am not going to manage it, I'm gonna fix it. That is the climax of the issue. Anybody else coming onto the problem and clamouring for another action is an anticlimax. But let me put it on record very straight to that I'm not saying what they are doing is wholly politics but i am saying that it touches on political issues, it touches on the nerve centre

Of politics and they can not absorb themselves from also going and the hazards of it they would have to absorb.

END

6. Bawumia Effect - Minority Caucus (9-4-12)

HOST: Tonight, we want to examine the Bawumia effect, not only with the NPP but outside the NPP because certainly it is not just about Bawumia partnering Nana to win the election, it's about his impact within the NPP as well. It is important that we make the fact that yesterday, Deputy Director of Communications John Boadu released his vigilante against propaganda statement which dealt drastically with the so called unprecedented infrastructural achievements and churned out by Fiifi I didn't publish the gold scandal minister. Mustapha, setting the records straight, which records?

NPP Communicator 3: Well, good evening to your viewers. Really, It occurs to me that the NDC hasn't gotten use to the fact that it's now in government because this whole concept of setting the records straight when you are in government seems to me like a misnomer why because NPP was in power in 2008 and saying that it had done all the things that it said it did. National Youth Employment Programme, Health Insurance, Road Infrastructure, Educational Infrastructural and so on and you were seeking to tell the Ghanaian people that these records were not quite straight, is that okay. It was okay as an opposition party to say so. Now you are in government, you are supposed to be churning the records, creating the records because the tax payer money is with you, it's no longer with the NPP so you are supposed to be telling us what you use the 35 billion cedis that you have gotten in 3 years for so that if it's not accuracy we then will now set the records straight but you are in government first of all you don't have any record to show for 35 billion cedis spent in 3 years and then you are setting records, which records are they setting? Do you get the point, so the whole concept is a misnomer and it occurs to me as if the NDC just enjoys the propaganda mode and that is why I laud John Boadu and the young boys who have decided that they will set up this vigilante against propaganda and lies because Bob Marley says that " You can fool some of the people all the time but you can't you fool all of the people all the time" and it's about time we told the NDC that they can't continue to fool the Ghanaian people. So, it's in the context of this that we have this vigilante against propaganda and lies so we help to expose them for what they are, because president Kufour in 8 years got hold of 34 billion cedis, that how much money flowed for the 8 years that president Kufour was in government and then the things that he did with the 34 billion are palpable, they are things that you can see and feel and touch.

HOST: He built a solid foundation

NPP Communicator 3: A solid foundation, the infrastructure of this country, unprecedented. Road infrastructure was a little over 38,000 kilometers of road by the time we came into government in 2000. By the time we were existing we had taken that matter to 67,000 kilometers of road infrastructure. Those are the solid palpable things that I'm talking about, Cocoa production was about 300,000 tonnes we took to 750,000 tonnes. In 2000 in Sekondi when president Kufour was campaigning, this was about 7th July, 2000 in Sekondi he told the people of the Western Region when I become president, I will discover oil for this country. When he was speaking, he was not a prophet, he was not a soothsayer. It just showed a leadership with vision, a leadership with focus that when you are coming into government, you ought to come with set programs and set targets and work according to those set programmes, do you get the point. What the NDC is doing is like the analogy of the pious Muslim who left his donkey untied and went into the room and was praying all day and asking God to protect him and all his properties, when he came the donkey

was gone and he was hitting and cursing the almighty Allah and somebody looked at him and said please yes pray to the almighty Allah but tie your donkey. So, we can do all the pious rantings and everything but at the end of the day it boils down to leadership. What type of leadership are you offering? Someone was asked in the Bible, whose son, are you? Identity is important. Identity is an important component of every human endeavour. So, first of all even before you assume leadership, you must tell us the identity of your leadership, what leadership are you offering so that we have benchmarks to hold you hold. Recently the president held a press conference in the Castle and our own Shamima Muslim asked him that Mr. President what leadership have you offering the Ghanaian people this past 3 years.

HOST: What type of leadership

NPP Communicator 3: And the president said, everybody heard him, he said well he doesn't know the type of leadership he is offering, you can call it whatever, once he is providing boreholes and taking schools away from trees it doesn't matter but it does matter. That is why Nana Akufo-Addo says that I will come and offer the Ghanaian people transformational leadership. What does transformational leadership mean, transformational leadership means challenging existence structures, existing societal structures. You see as a person of religion; I will take it to religion so you can understand.

HOST: Certainly

NPP Communicator 3: There is this scholar called David Tracy who talks about what he calls the hermeneutics of hope that if you are running a system, if you are conducting your religious life or the life of your society based on a certain understanding of your religious text or principles and for years there is no qualitative change or improvement in your life what it means is that you have to seek a reinterpretation of the scriptures that you live by.

HOST: If you want change

NPP Communicator 3: Yes, that is if you want change and that is what Akufo-Addo is basically saying when he talks about the structural transformational of the Ghanaian society and economy. It means we have been doing something all this while over 55 years, he says the way therefore to go is to challenge our existing interpretations of what we call development and to bring a new interpretation to these development paradigms, that will structurally because the word structure, when he talks about structural transformation it's important that the structures we have in place that determine the mode of our economic progression and educational progression and health and so on and so forth is the reason we are where we are so unless you dramatically do something about it, look YB I don't know whether anybody is impressed with political discourse in this country. You listen to both of us I mean NPP and NDC and we are forced to do the things that we are doing, setting the records straight and vigilante against propaganda and all we are doing is saying we built 6 classrooms, you built 7, we have built 10 boreholes, you built, those are good things that somehow improve lives but will they, will those things structurally change the lives of the people, will it shake the foundations our society and bring about a reawakening. You get the point, you know president Rawlings says this country needs a reawakening, absolutely because the way things are going it's simply not working that is what Nana Akufo-Addo mean by

transformational leadership and that is why he says look we can become a first world country in a generation. That is a transformational leader, a generational thinker somebody who thinking beyond himself right now, so that is why he talks about a senior high school concept for example that it ought to be free, why because when you do that everybody is saying that yes it will lead to an increase in the numbers of people who would go to school. Of course, that is the aim. The aim is to ensure that 100 percent of our people can read and write in the next 30 years' time, perhaps Akufo-Addo may not be living, I don't know. But it means that he is not just thinking about himself, he is thinking about 30 years from now where we will be.

HOST: The 21st Century Guggisberg

NPP Communicator 3: We are talking about Malaysia, we are talking about Korea, we are talking about Singapore and the rest of them. The reason they have made it to first world status is because they have wiped out illiteracy. The Politicians in the NDC need to read Lee Kuan Yew's book from third world to first world. To the extent that there was a time Lee Kuan Yew dictated that only educated couples should marry because he said because he said science had shown that it was basically genetically impossible for two intelligent people to give birth to somebody who would be perhaps dumb or something of that sort so he said look we wanted a generation of children who are going to be born between now and five years to be the ones to lead the Singaporean revolution in the next 30 years, 20 years when they are the young boys in their prime, you know that is how visionary leaders think.

HOST: The education was engineered

NPP Communicator 3: It was engineered so that is the point I'm making. So, I want to appeal directly to the Ghanaian people that we ought as a people to do a sober reflection of our politics and look beyond the rectories and look beyond I don't like Mustapha Hamid's nose or his ginger hair. My ginger is not the matter, the matter is the poverty of our people, the ignorance of our people, the disease of our people which leader is speaking to the heart of these matters, that is what Akufo-Addo is speaking to and I think that the Ghanaian people ought to listen and in 2012 give him an opportunity, you know the Akan people say when you carry water and you carry alcohol, that is when you know which one is heavy. We carried the NDC before.

HOST: Oh, many years

NPP Communicator 3: We carried the NPP, now we are carrying them again and we are asking the basic question 35 billion cedis in 3 years, president Kufour 34 billion in 8 years, show us where your 35 billion is. As we speak, workers are going for Easter without salaries.

HOST: Again, it happened at Christmas

NPP Communicator 3: Yes, I'm on government payroll I haven't received the salary as I speak with you. I'm not going to get it anytime this week nor next week, nobody knows where money is going to come from, basic salary that is what it has come to that now government cannot pay salaries of people?

HOST: So where is the money, the high taxes, the revenues from the high exports, they are using it all to soar up the artificial cedi stability.

NPP Communicator 3: Of course, that is another propaganda tool that ought to attack.

HOST: Mustapha you were there in 2008, of course we have heard all the naysayers he is not NPP, longevity, we voted for Nana because Nana himself has tradition in the party, he may too young, he looks a little young but he is not that young, all the naysayers but he may have something because not only did he get the nomination in 2008, he has got the nomination again which to borrow the NDC word is unprecedented on both sides of the divide in Ghana. Nobody has ever gone in there except on the winning team and be re-nominated. What is it, what happened in 2008, what is the driving force behind the Bawumia nomination?

NPP Communicator 3: Again YB, it boils down to the question of leadership. You see in politics it's leadership first, leadership second, leadership third and leadership is one about choices, two it's about the passion and strategy to drive those choices. I will explain that, I just said in the first part of our discussion that Nana Addo says he wants to offer this country what he calls transformational leadership a fundamental change in the structure of our society, in terms of the way we do economics, I mean export – import based country to value addition and also in terms of education to be able to ensure that in the next 30 years we have a generation of educated people who are in the middle of societal discourse not leaving on the periphery.

HOST: A critical mass to drive the process

NPP Communicator 3: There is this famous Brazilian scholar called Paulo Freire, he has written a book the pedagogy of the oppressed, YB everybody needs to read this one. You know what we are doing to our people is violence, the poverty that we inflict on our people is what is called violence.

HOST: Because we don't them to believe that they can break out

NPP Communicator 3: Thank you, you get the point. So I'm talking to the marginalized of our society this evening and saying it to them that the people who come to them in the villages and so and tell them to be content with their lot, that they can't get an education, that Nana Akufo-Addo's education vision is Ethiopia and so on and so forth are keen to keep them suppressed and oppressed, the way they can break out of that Paulo Freire gives them the tool is education, is knowledge. That is why there is a common saying even JHS students say it everyday knowledge is power. Have we stopped to examine what we mean by knowledge is power, knowledge is the tool for the transformation of society, it's the tool that makes you aware, Socrates said man know thy self, if you don't have knowledge you won't even know yourself in the first place. It's not for nothing for those of us who are Muslims that the first verse of the Quran to be revealed to the prophet Mohammed commanded him 'Read' you know the prophet Mohammed was unlettered and he told the Angel Jibril 'I cannot read' and on the third count he said 'Read in the name of thy lord who created, he created man from a clot of congeal blood, read and your lord is most merciful, he taught man by the pen, he taught man that which he did not know' Quran 96: 1-5 so the whole Islamic edifice is built on the need for the acquisition of knowledge. Today, go around our Muslim societies, communities etc. what is the lot of our people and I speak passionately about it ignorance, disease, quad Lon and so on, so we have a leadership that is now saying lets go back to the essence

of your being as a Muslim which is to seek knowledge, I will make it available to you and we say that we don't want. The prophet Mohammed said knowledge is the lost property of every believer let him seek it where ever he will find it. What is the business of a state? the business of a state and of government is to make this possible, is to facilitate, is to create the opportunity. That is why Nana Addo says under his transformational leadership, he talks about creating a society of opportunities, that is the business of government you are supposed to create the opportunities that will allow people to blossom, people to engage their energies and the basic opportunity that you can give the people in the 21st century is knowledge, without it we are lost, so we don't have a choice, it's not as if it is a choice it's a luxury, it is an imperative, we ought to do it and as I said leadership is about choices, in 3 years you have paid judgement debts of over 600 million and then you tell us that ' oh we require 150 – 250 million every year to ensure that everybody child can go to school and you say that is too much but you can give that money to a few people within our society for no justifiable reason, it's difficult for me to fathom the logic behind that reasoning, that reasoning that says that it's okay for us to be subservient. Uganda is offering education free up to Senior High School why Uganda has more has resources than us?. They have more population meanwhile they don't have the kind of resources that we have. Sri Lanka that has been battling, that has been at war for nearly 20 years battling Tamil tigers, a destabilize society like that has achieved 97 percent literacy as we speak because education in Sri Lanka is free, access that is what is in important. Now, so therefore Nana Addo has this vision and what will drive this vision is the proper management of the economy because you need to manage the economy properly, get it expanded, get more resources into the kitty so you can have more money to dedicate to education. So, Nana Addo if he was a selfish leadership would behave like all of us want him to behave, go and take a politician, somebody who can speak, who has a clip tongue like you.

HOST: Mustapha thank you; I haven't been told

NPP Communicator 3: You remember you taught me student leadership in NUGS but he says should the destiny of our country be reduced to politicking. It should go beyond that to offering the people proper alternatives, credible, palpable, examinable, believable objectives and the one that offers us those objectives is Bawumia because people have made the other argument that Nana Addo can ahead and win the presidency and make him a finance minister but again let me come back because I will hammering on leadership, Nana Addo wants to be able to drive the economic transformation process, the structural transformation process from inside the presidency not from a ministry. If you are a leader you ought to be seen to be in charge. Now even the NDC and its founder are fighting because they say the president is not in charge, so if you are the president the buck stops with you, the buck stops at the presidency, that why the buck stops not at a ministry. So, Nana Addo wants with the choice of Bawumia to signify that I am ready to lead, I am ready to hit the ground running from the front not the one that Mills hit the ground running in 2009 and broke a few ligaments and in December, 2011 he was still saying we are ready to hit the ground running. This is the statement you made in 2009, you are still saying this so from 2009 he hasn't hit the ground running. We don't to do that, we want from day 1 when we set foot in that office to be able to signal to the Ghanaian people that we are ready to drive the agenda, that we are the ones in control, the presidency is in control of the development agenda and that is what Bawumia answers and that is very critical for people to appreciate.

2. Nana Addo believes that we must give young people an opportunity, somebody who is looking to get Ghana into first world status in the next 30 years, who are the ones going to do it, it is those of us who are in the age brackets of between 20 to about 40, we are the ones to whom the future belongs so Bawumia falling within that age bracket wants him to be part of that challenge of creating a society for his generation in the next few years and you know Nana Addo he has this penchant for grooming young people and believing in them, it is that believe in young people that has produced Yoni Kulendi, that believe in young people has produced Joe Chartey, that believe in young people has produces Ursula Owusu, that believe in young people has produced Atta Akyea, that believe in young people has produced Sophia Akuffo of the supreme court, that believe in young people has produced Kwame Akuffo, that believe in young people has produced is the reason why your truly is sitting here in the first place, that believe is the reason I'm here and speaking for him.

HOST: His primary was run virtually by young people.

NPP Communicator 3: So, this guy and when I say guy, I mean Akufo- Addo has young people at heart and he wants us to move away from the conservative African mentality necessarily resides in the head old people. So, he wants Bawumia to be a showcase for us young people to be motivated to learn and I have seen a lot of young people in the past few days who are like when they take Bawumia's C.V are like wow we can also make it.

HOST: Amazing

NPP Communicator 3: At the age of 45 years at the C.V that the young man has now he is 49, 49 look at his C.V. So, we need to set a certain example for the young people of our country to know that they can do it.

3. A Vice-President is basically somebody that you can leave your property in his hands and either go to sleep or travel or whatever and be sure that the property would be well taken care of. Right now there a few people also with us in this studio but if you were not here and I was going to visit the loom, I would perhaps take my property and put it in my armpit because I don't know these people too well to able to trust them with my property but if you are here, I will leave this here with you, that is what a president and a vice president do. When the president is not there, he virtually leaves the country in the care of the vice president, so you need someone that you know and you can trust and you trust the fellow's intellect, his ability, his acumen because we have a history. President Rawlings and vice-president Arkaah we saw what happened, fisticuffs in the cabinet, Nana Addo is keen to avoid that situation and he believes this young man is somebody that he can confidently leave this country in his hands if he has to travel outside of this country for some other business.

4. Not least is what we all know identifying the beauty and blend of our nation is constituted, you know Aristotle says that a nation is not an alliance, when he says a nation is not an alliance it means that it's not an aggregate of like-minded people, it's an aggregate of people of diverse ethnicities, persuasions and so on and so forth and a leader is someone who is able to pick this concept, natural human concept and be able to blend it into a beautiful symmetry. So, you cannot trivialize the fact that part of our country from where I come from has been lagging behind the south in terms of its economic development, in terms of the education of its people. The other time when I delivered the Ferdinand Ayim memorial lectures I gave statistics about Dagbon that

frightened so many people, that you have illiteracy rates as high as 80.3 percent in some districts, 79.3 in some districts, it doesn't go beyond below 79 percent, even Tamale Metropolis the illiteracy rate is about 55 percent. So that part of our country is indeed marginalized in fact and in theory and that is why in 2008 Nana Addo said that he was going to set up the Northern Development Fund that was going to be able to take care of that part of our country and be able to bridge the gap, these people initially 'popped' the idea and said that if we had 1 billion cedis to put in the north, we should use it to pay telecoms debt that is what the current Vice-president said at the time and then when they realize that the Northern Development Authority (NDA) idea was catching up in the north, they quickly went stole it and truncated it and called it SADA now we can see the result of that, if you are not original, you are not original, the photocopy is not like the original and cannot be like the original. We have the NDA blueprint and I'm looking my northern brothers in the eye and telling them that look give us an opportunity we will do it differently because it was our vision originally. 25th July, 2008 Prof. Sagariloko he was then the pro-vice chancellor of UDS now he is the rector for Wisconsin university in Accra, you can ask him. The Akan people say "it's a liar who says his witness is dead", this is our witness, he lives. The University for Development Studies (UDS) invited all the political parties in 2008 to come and tell us what they will do for northern development if they were voted into power, the NDC refused flat to be part of that programme upon promptings they refused flat, they said it didn't matter we finally had to go and do it alone, 25th July, 2008 at the Tamale campus of the university for Development Studies, So it is we who have the original idea of how we should be able to transform the north moving forward. Once you sit aside and you steal the idea it won't be like the original. Nana Addo told me in 2008, he said Mustapha if there would be a major problem in our country it will likely be triggered by poverty, disease and ignorance. Bob Marley says that 'a hungry man is an angry man' so intolerance has economic dimensions, all the conflicts that we have in the north and so on is because young men are sitting idle and have nothing to do, young men who are busy progressing their lives, engaged in profession and so on would protect what they have. So, Nana Addo says therefore we need whatever the situation is to pick a running mate from that part of the country so that we will factor the north seriously and the emphasis here is seriously into the political equation of our country, into the political discourse of our country so we can move forward.

The last point, it's not as if he wants Muslim votes, in 1954 when Muslims in this country formed the Muslim Association Party and then gave Dr. Nkrumah a lot of trouble and then Dr. Nkrumah decided then to pass the avoidance of discrimination law that outlawed political parties based on ethnicity and religion, what the Muslim Association Party do, it aligned with those of the UP persuasion to form the United Party because at that time Afa Aladan who was the leader of the Muslim Association Party in Kumasi said that it is the UP tradition that has the interest of Muslims at heart. It is simply recognizing the antecedents of the UP tradition; you can call it an operation restore heritage.

HOST: If you get the Muslim Association from down south and the Northern People's Party from the Upper West then basically the base.

NPP Communicator 3: It has always been us, in 1979 it happened even though we were split, the UNC had a Muslim running mate, the popular Front Party had a Muslim running and so on. So it's part of our nature to be considerate of the religious persuasions and the ethnic persuasions in our country because that is the way to keep everybody involved and not let people feel that they are in

the periphery of national development that can give vent to frustrations and then when frustration bust out we know what it causes.

HOST: Communicator 3, Dr. Bawumia have the respect of the NPP, what is his effect within the NPP.

NPP Communicator 3: He does, when people do this kind of discourse then we haven't analyzed the nature of membership of political parties. In political parties there are those that we call sympathizers, there are those that we call supporters then there are those that we call members. There are people who are supporting political parties in ways that you and I cannot imagine and perhaps would not even have the courage to do but you and I are in the frontline everybody thinks that NPP must be Hamid or NPP must be YB, as we speak there are people who perhaps are congregated under a tree in Bunkupurugu -Yunyoo and talking about the well-being of NPP, do you know them, you don't, the General Secretary doesn't know them, the National Chairman doesn't know them.

HOST: At all

NPP Communicator 3: Absolutely, because politics is effective because of the aggregate contributions of everybody, minor and major and the way that political parties are driven in the 21st Century is ideology, Bawumia has always been liberal, he has always economically liberal minded because he is an economist and you can see the book that he has written, his contributions when he was at Bank of Ghana and so on and so forth and everybody knows that anyone who is inclined to liberal economics must be an NPP sympathizer or supporter, it cannot be otherwise.

HOST: So, the whole segment of society who have something to protect would be interested in Bawumia.

NPP Communicator 3: So, I am putting it to you that Bawumia has been NPP in the root of his being, so the assertion that he is not been NPP is not correct.

HOST: By virtue of his ideological inclination

NPP Communicator 3: Absolutely, that is why I even said the root of his being because like as the Akan man will say 'it's in his blood', the liberal mindedness and liberal thinking and liberal politics and liberal economics is in him so when Nana Addo is looking for somebody of that persuasion to be able to help him deliver his liberal economic agenda for the 21st century of course it has to be Bawumia.

HOST: Of course, it has to be Bawumia, the man is root, branch, intestine and kidney NPP. Mustapha, In Ghanaian political parlance, what will be the bread and butter issues for this election. Now it's fashionable to say it's going to be an issue election.

NPP Communicator 3: Yes, now I am happy because even this issue about setting the record straight and vigilante against propaganda and lies shows that at least for once we are agreeing to battle each other on the issues so for me it's fine, it's healthy and I will pray that it's stays like that

but you see this election is a referendum on the NDC. Have they performed or have they not performed and the only we will be able to tell whether they have performed or not is to take them by their own criteria, what they said they were going to do? I will read quickly; this is their manifesto from page 24 onwards. It says “we would have by the end of our first term in office fielded a government based on competence, efficiency and merit whose members worked as a coherent team and abided by the principles of service with integrity and humility. Achieved significantly measurable improvements in the delivery of quality health and quality education, affordable by the people and accessible to the people, provided enough vocational institutes to absorb JHS graduates who do not gain admission in SHS or Technical school. So, the point I am making is that if you look at the benchmarks that they have set for themselves, they talked about making agriculture grow and so on but agriculture is growing in the negative, they said that corruption wont be punished and probity, have you seen any conscious effort to retrieve our money from Woyome, they are not interested, today they have gone and called the former chief of staff to go and have an interaction, over what? They are scratching the surface of the matter, we want the president of Ghana Prof. Evans Atta-Mills to show leadership, to show that he is in control, take the bull by the horn and then let us see a palpable, a manifestation of practical will to protect the people’s purse, now what is going on nobody believes that they are interested in doing anything to protect the public purse, there is massive corruption in the system. This government is the most corrupt that Ghana has ever had since independence and then their founder is very embarrassed to be even be able to associate with them that should the Ghanaian people. They have been talking about Nana Akufo-Addo left and right, have you ever heard them say that Nana Akufo- Addo is corrupt, this is the minister who never drew a bottle of fuel from government sources when he was minister for the whole 7 years that he was minister, will you believe that, I am telling you that this is the minister who paid his security from his own pocket not state security, state security didn’t protect Akufo-Addo. So, this is somebody who shows that even the spirit of sacrifice is an integral part of leadership. I am believing in God and believing that Nana Addo is a very sincere, dedicated person to the course of our country. It is not mean achievement that at the age of 33 Nana Addo was in a movement that involved the Okatakye Afrifya’s, all these Obed Asamoah’s, the Gbedemah’s, the cream de la cream of politics identified this young 33 year old boy and said come and be among us as our General Secretary to fight against graft, against oppression and suppression, that boy must have something in him and I am begging the Ghanaian people that let us look objectively at the array of people who are parading and see who has shown leadership in their lives, even for those of us who are academics the way they are able to tell that you are a good academic is when you have been able to groom people to replace yourself. Look at the legal landscape of our country and see how many people that Nana Addo has trained, read the law books, all the students who go to law school will tell you, you will hardly do a topic and not read a case that was done by Nana Akufo-Addo, this is a man who has shown achievement. Look Nana Addo doesn’t want to be president because he wants a name, the Akufo-Addo name is already a house hold name, it is in our history books, we can’t wish it away, so it is not Akufo-Addo who is looking for a name for the Akufo-Addo name so name is not the matter.

2. He is not in this business for money, everybody knows what a successful lawyer he was, this is a man who speaks fluent French, in this 21st century you will need this type of president when we are surrounded by all these French countries, you think Nana Addo is going to go and be talking security matters with the president of Togo or Cote d’ Ivoire or Burkina Faso and you will need an interpreter then where is the tete a tete, this is the man who chaired the security council of the United Nations and in that sitting was able to bring peace between Israel and Lebanon.

HOST: Well this is the man who speaks for that man and it speaks for itself, indeed I am overwhelmed in the studio and I believe at home you have been invited be objective to the leader that will transform this country not because he himself wants glory but because this nation is due for transformation. We must democracy to improve our people, we can't use democracy to continue to inflict violence on our people and they them they cannot be what they deserve. It's been minority caucus and I have been speaking to Mustapha Hamid and indeed tonight he has demonstrated to us the Bawumia effect on national politics.

END

7. Bawumia speaks on Joy FM's Super Morning Show – 02-03-2016

NPP Communicator 2: I think Nana Akufo-Addo has made it very clear that his government is going to build a global competitive economy. We have not really been thinking global and this is what we have to do that we have to understand that we are in competition with other countries and investment moves from country to country, so we have to think global, so the Nana Akufo-Addo policy which he has stated is basically to build the most people friendly and the most business friendly economy in Africa. This is the goal. The tax issue is a major issue because if you are so fixated on revenue, you will essentially end up hurting your production and so if you go back into history, you study the economic history of United States, Germany, England, all of them have used the tax policy to encourage production and this why we are saying that today you have a situation in Ghana, unbelievable situation when business are out on strike, businesses that should be selling are out on strike. Why are they out on strike, because they have been over burdened by taxes and if you don't take care you will be chasing the tax revenue and killing businesses and when you kill businesses, it means you are causing unemployment. So, if you go back, this is why Nana Akufo-Addo is saying we need to mobilize financial resources so why are you going to be imposing VAT on financial services, it doesn't make sense in a country which has got a very large unbanked population and we want people to bank, we will abolish that he says, we will abolish import duties on all raw materials because that has been a policy that will help production. Let the businesses produce, let them make profit and when they make profit and employ people, we will get income taxes and we will get corporate taxes, so you don't go ahead to kill the business, no let them bring in the raw materials, let them produce then you will tax at the end of the day and so this is our approach and this is why we are going to bring down corporate taxes, we would give tax incentives to the real estates sectors, the special import levy, the 1-2 percent we will abolish it and this all to ginger up production and ginger up the economy. I think when you have cutlasses been taxed, condoms been taxed and even savings, there was a 1 percent imposition on savings and investment with was later withdrawn. Even to think about it, it just questions who are making these policies.

HOST: But isn't it just another way of raising revenue?

NPP Communicator 2: When you become desperate, this is what happens, that when you have mismanaged the economy into this whole, then anything sounds great to you because you don't have any option and this is the problem that anything that is taxable, that can feasible be taxed, they are trying to impose tax on it. All of this are hurting the economy and therefore you are not going to get the growth and when you don't get the growth, you will not get the revenue and when you don't get the revenue, you will go back to increasing taxes to get the revenue, then you are in a cyclical downwards sparel and so they have it wrong and we will change it that particular policy. We would use the tax incentives to grow this economy and you will get your revenue. We reduced taxes on corporate from 32 to 25 percent and we increased revenue but because of this recklessness they keep thinking that this is going to be the solution, more taxes, more borrowing, more spending which results in more taxes.

HOST: So, your solution is taking less but do more

NPP Communicator 2: Do more. If you look at the area of roads, the data is clear NPP built 8 times more roads than the NDC has done, 8 times with 10 times less money.

HOST: They will argue its more expensive to build a road today

NPP Communicator 2: Yes, because of their single sourced procurement methods it will be more expensive. We need to have better procurement. If you look at SADA for example, I mean 200 million cedis and what do you have for it. If you had invested this in dams, you would have built thousands of dams to really grow the agricultural sector and agric is one of those areas we are going to focus on. Corruption has been a major part of our problem. Infrastructural investment is good for any economy to increase your production and your productivity, one of the sad things we have had in this country is that you have had all these resources, government has had the most unbelievable amount of resources 200 billion Ghana cedis over 7 years compared to 20 billion by the NPP government over 8 years and at the same time, infrastructural investment as a percentage of GDP is falling, it has declined and when they tried to challenge me the other day and I produce the data, they have run away and haven't come back. infrastructural investment as a percentage of GDP during the NPP era averaged about 11 percent and is now averaging 5 percent, it has declined and that doesn't make sense you know because if you are going to grow an economy, your infrastructural investment as a proportion of GDP should be increasing especially when you have become an oil producer, you must increase infrastructure investment. So they are out there touting projects that they have done but what they are not telling the Ghanaian people is that in fact their investment in infrastructure has declined, unbelievable declined and we should have been doing 4 to 5 times as much as we are doing today in infrastructural investment because you are borrowing and spending only 20 percent on that borrowing on capital expenditure, so what are you doing with the rest. The IMF Managing Director has said that they have been doing more consumption than investment and that is an indictment on the management of the economy because if you have this type of economy, to grow it you have to invest, if you are decreasing investment when you have got all these resources, its inexplicable and unforgiveable and I think the Ghanaian people should hold them accountable. So this mantra that they are doing all these projects, its an attempt to hoodwink Ghanaians, with those resources, we could have solved the water problem in this country, we could solved the energy problem, we could have solved agric in terms of dams and so, there are many problems we could have solved and can you imagine if you had just put a billion dollars in each region, just say spend a billion dollars, you would transform the country. That is 10 billion dollars of the 37 that they have borrowed. If they can idly just give it to each region 1 billion, that is 1000 kilometers of road for example if you are doing a million per kilometer. A 1000 kilometers of road is high. We are going to do a lot in terms of investment because we think that these guys who are in charge of this economy have not invested in this economy. We are going to invest in this economy and focus on agriculture. We are growing at 0.04 percent, crops are declining, manufacturing is declining.

HOST: Sometimes its difficult for the perspective of that 0.04 to sink in and this is what it actually means, if you were to take 1 percent and divide it by 25, we have grown by one of those. This is agriculture but let's be fair the government themselves recognize that is an issue, they have talked about some policies they want to put in place.

NPP Communicator 2: But they have been in charge for 7 years and how can you deliver on agriculture, it doesn't make sense and this is why I said for example if you had to do in the north, I have just come back from the Upper West region, the whole dry season farming and the need for dams is so huge that I don't understand why we are not investing in these areas, Afram plains, the opportunities are there and it's not a matter of money, we have had the money, we just haven't prioritize it and that is the difference between a Nana Akufo-Addo government and this government, we will prioritize all of these things and do what we need to do to grow this economy and to create jobs.

HOST: I want us to round up quickly on the economy, there are a couple of things I would like us to touch on for example the depreciation of the cedi and this microfinance situation but before we get to those, you said something earlier about the IMF, in fact you called into question the design of the programme and specifically fiscal consolidation. In fact, you said it's crazy but I'm curious why do you think the IMF would agree to Ghana going into a crazy scheme.

NPP Communicator 2: You know one has to be measured in words, crazy may not be a good way to talk about it. These are very smart people and all of that and very concerned about what they do and they take what they do seriously. I think that when you look at the fiscal consolidation that is taking place, you have had a reduction in the deficit to about 7.5 percent and I think the goal down the road is to get to 6.5 percent and lower. The NPP left the economy at a deficit of 6.5 percent and even after a lot of fiscal consolidation they haven't got to where the NPP left the economy off in 2008 but the point I am making is that if you design a fiscal consolidation programme with a country that is debt distressed and you don't anchor that consolidation on a reduction in the debt to GDP ratio and rather allow the country to continue borrowing but this is a home grown programme so I'm not going to blame the IMF, it's a design of this government.

HOST: But why did the IMF accept this as part of the programme

NPP Communicator 2: Well that is in terms of the negotiation, that is what they negotiated but the government claims credit for the programme and we should say that they convinced the IMF that it will work or so the IMF thought it will work but my sense is that when you look at the design of the programme, the fact that you haven't really had a deliberate policy of bringing down the debt, the debt has been increasing under the programme when you have an economy in debt distress, for me I can't fathom that. I'm humbly suggesting that the design is flawed that if you had anchored the programme, the fiscal consolidation on a reduction also in the debt to GDP ratio, you would have had more of a crowding in of the private sector, you would have borrowed less, interest rates would have fallen and you would have had more investment because you would have had a crowding in. The economics of that is straight forward and so that is why I am critiquing the government that you cannot just do it because we are doing fiscal consolidation for a purpose, it's not just that I have got the deficit down but you are doing it so you would bring interest rate down, you will bring inflation down, you would go the economy, you will create jobs, that is the purpose. You are not just saying I'm doing fiscal consolidation, I'm bringing the deficit down, so I have brought the deficit down, okay but my businesses are collapsing, people are out of jobs and that sort of thing. That is not a success, interest rates are skyrocketing, today you know as high as 35 percent banks are charging for loans and they are not even lending. Non-performing loans have gone up to about 15 percent, banks are not even now interested in lending to businesses, they are

rather lending to government because it the easier way to do business. We have gone back to the pre-2000 era in terms of economic and financial management where banks find it now more easier, during the NPP era the financial sector reforms and the fiscal consolidation crowded in the private sector, banks were chasing people to given them loans, today they are running away from people and so we are very clear in our minds that this fiscal consolidation that NDC is talking about that they have achieved something and saying that the programme is on track. If its on track and its not moving, it doesn't make sense, it can't be on the track or its moving backwards because you cannot explain that after a year and half of the programme, inflation is at 19 percent and going up, you have growth declining, you have interest rates increasing and so on, that is not what fiscal consolidation is supposed to achieve and for me at the end of the day the proof of the pudding is in the eating, you look at what is the objective and have you achieved that objective, at this rate when will we get back to single digit.

NPP Communicator 2 b: Let's not create the impression that IMF is happy. In fact, if you listen to what Dr. Bawumia said the Deputy Managing Director has to fly in and tell you that you are spending the borrowing on consumption, you should be worried, another signal is that a review should have taken place in February,, they shifted it to April, that should worry us Ghanaians, are they going to pull out? What is going to happen and we understand that their concern is this additional Eurobond that government wants to issue whether its true or not we don't know but if that happens please, we are in trouble.

HOST: To round up on the economy is 2 minutes, other things that have been criticized by the opposition include the non-payment of statutory funds, the depreciation of the cedi, this microfinance crisis and some of the intervention the government has put in place like SADA which you earlier mentioned. These things have been heavily criticized by you but when you think of the reality of the situation. Yes, if indeed you are right that they mismanagement the economy to the point where they don't have funds to do these things, to manage these problems like the depreciation of the cedi and the microfinance thing properly, then it's there is of criticizing that as well, it's the bit like criticizing someone for not being able swim and acting surprised when they start drowning.

NPP Communicator 2: But when you are hiring them and they tell you they can swim and you put them in the water and they cannot swim, you better criticize them, you would have to criticize them because they said they would swim but they are drowning all of us in debt and taxes and they said they could swim but we found out to our detriment that they cant.

HOST: Its interesting for example the non-payment of statutory funds this is a problem that has been long standing but then again, the government has to make decisions when it comes to how to disburse their funds and put them to the most important uses so is this not a bitter pill that we all have to take.

NPP Communicator 2 b: Be careful, you said statutory, I'm not a lawyer, the law says you must pay, you are collecting, it's the timing that you are not meeting. DACF you are supposed to pay quarterly in the lad. Yesterday, I heard an interesting conversation on one of your competitors I won't mention but I heard a minister saying that 'oh we don't have arrears on DACF'. We all know that 2014 4th quarter is in arrears and you say that you don't have arrears.

HOST: That probably means it won't get paid then

NPP Communicator 2 b: No, its going to be paid. He said we promised in the previous budget to pay the following year, you are breaching the laws. Should we allow a government to breach the law? If the government does that, we the poor citizens what do we do, that is also not right, our people have accepted that it should be the norm, it cannot be and then we are told that revenue is on track. You can not have your cake and eat it.

NPP Communicator 2: But I think to be fair to the government also the IMF, one of the conditions that they have set out for the government is to make sure there are no arrears on these statutory funds. In fact, if you look at the technical memorandum of understanding they are even saying that it should be monthly expect for DACF.

NPP Communicator 2 b: And to add further, for that reason last year the government paid one of them ahead of head of time, 2015.

HOST: We should have had a whole show to congratulate them.

NPP Communicator 2: I think we have we have to be fair but the issue for where you go to health service providers for example and so many health service providers are in trouble because they have provided services under the NHIS and for 8 months they have not been paid and that is really a problem now and we are converting the NHIS into aa cash and carry system, if for 8 months you have not been paid but you have but you have salaries and so on, you will start rejecting people on NHIS because when you provide a service you don't get paid and that is what is happening that a lot of people are not getting paid and that is really a problem and this is what Nana Akufo-Addo is talking about that the NHIS has become a two tier system, where those with the card have one type of service and those with cash have another type of service, this is not how it was initially designed and we need to look into that.

HOST: After the break, we are going to hear the NPP's solution on unemployment from Kweku Kwarteng, we will also speak more to Dr. Bawumia and Dr. Akoto Osei about other issues, corruption and health which have been issues on most networks since the beginning of the year, health infrastructure and this accident at Kintampo and the aftermath of all of that, we would talk about the 2 laws that Nana Akufo-Addo says he would do something about, Right to Information Bill, which my goodness has been floating through the system since God was a boy and then also the new Spy Bill, we would find out what exactly the NPP plans to do about these two and whether or not their plans are realistic. So, let's very quickly whistle through a few of the other issues that are outstanding corruption, now the NPP has made a lot of noise about the smartty bus branding.

NPP Communicator 2c: You won't do the employment?

HOST: Oh Yes that too. Let's actually start with that. Now during the break Kweku Kwarteng was sharing some views on how the unemployment problem would be solved if the NPP were to win power in December, so why don't you elaborate please.

NPP Communicator 2 c: Sure, that point was made by Nana in his delivery and Alhaji Bawumia has canvassed that solution already. You see when a government chooses to over tax its citizens

and businesses the effect is that economic activities shrink and opportunities to employ people would go with the shrinking and in our case the situation is made worse by the fact that government has been competing with the private sector on the domestic money market that is to say government is lending on the domestic market and offering higher rates than businesses can offer, all that will conspire to create a situation where the economy would not grow and it is not for nothing that the economy which grew by 9 percent in 2008, which grew by 14 percent when oil came on stream is now growing at the rate of less than 4 percent. It is a direct result of government over taxation and government 's competition with the private sector to expand economic activities that would come with job creation and then on the manpower side Nana Addo did make the point that we need to review our manpower training strategies, the skills training that you want to offer to our youth would have to be reviewed. We started the NYEP in 2007 that was turned into GYEEDA and now YEA and been turned into a vehicle to siphon money from public funds into private pockets, corruption. What an NPP administration would do is to review that to ensure that while the private sector is given room to expand economic activities and create jobs, people would be equipped with the skills to take up these job opportunities. In summary, that is our strategy for providing employment and I'm confident it's a workable strategy.

HOST: So, let's go into corruption next. Dr. Bawumia, the smartly deal has been criticized by so many and for obvious reasons, the government themselves put together a report determined that this company was over paid for this deal. Now, the criticism has been from the NPP that why not prosecute those who were behind this thing. Now I spoke to the General Secretary of the NDC after the president's State of the Nation Address and I asked him the same question, his answer was that look we are a poor country, people have taken our money, illegally, unlawfully taken our money, we can get it back, let's get it back but why go through the extra expenses of prosecution when we are on a shoe string budget, is that not a fair question.

NPP Communicator 2: It's unbelievable, you mean nobody should be prosecuted once they have stolen money, you should just try to get it back, of course that is the strategy they have come employed for Woyome that he should pay back I don't know.

HOST: He was asking for 3 years to pay back

NPP Communicator 2: He is now giving us a timetable, this is unbelievable. If you have a nation of laws, you got to enforce the laws, the procurement process as we all know this smartly contract went for procurement approval after it had already been awarded. The whole process of the award of that contract really stinks and there had to have been people who saw this thing through, of course the minister resigned but she could not have been the only person who authorized this transaction to take place in complete violation of our laws and so even if you are going to get the money back, you would need to set some standards so that there is a deterrence for people to do this. So, now people know that if you steal money once you are caught, they would just give you sometime to pay back. Now without that deterrence then of course everybody is going to try to steal as much as possible so I think that it's very sad with that approach and I think this is really why Nana Akufo-Addo made the point that, that fight against corruption in this sense is really a smash.

HOST: But surely you would have to give them some credit, they signed this deal with the company and then in response to questions raised they went ahead and took some money back.

NPP Communicator 2: This money, this contract was paid with oil revenue, it came out of oil accounts, our oil money was been used to pay for smartty rebranding, to access that oil account, people higher up ought to know because the oil is designated for certain specific processes so this whole thing, I don't really think that we have gotten to the button of it, quite frankly and I think that there should been much more because that whole deterrence is not there.

HOST: You are suggesting that someone higher up than the minister would have done this

NPP Communicator 2: I don't know but I'm just saying that it doesn't make sense, who can access the oil account for this and all of that, it doesn't make sense that this contract was issued and even worked on before procurement approval was sought. What was the emergency to do this, it doesn't make sense? I think we have better things to spend on oil revenue. I was in the Upper West recently as you know we went to Kperisi M/A primary school.

HOST: Oh yes, the kids who didn't have furniture?

NPP Communicator 2: Who didn't have furniture and this money that was used for bus branding could have solved the furniture problem of many schools.

HOST: Let's be honest Dr. Bawumia, that trip up there to that school, was it not just a little bit of smart politicking, you noticed a problem had been announced and then you thought let me just turn up and show that I care.

NPP Communicator 2 b: Let me answer it for him. It worked; you know why if smart politicking can get kids to have tables so be it.

NPP Communicator 2: The whole issue is that you are looking at children without desk, when I heard the story, I could not believe it, I really could not believe it because if you are looking to be in charge of the economy of this country Insah Allah as Vice-president, head of the economic management team, one needs to be very familiar with the ground and I'm doing a lot of these trips to really be able to assess for myself what is the situation, what are the needs and so when you go to an area and they tell you that kids are lying on the ground and studying, you ought to go and see it for yourself.

HOST: But why are you surprised, schools under trees and all of these things have been happening during Kufour's time.

NPP Communicator 2: As I said, you know once that story broke up, of course there have been schools under trees and so on and you go to see them, I saw a few schools under trees on my trips and I have stopped to see them as well. Once this issue came up, I had to go and see it for myself, I saw it as a duty to go and see it for myself and see the poor suffering kids and that is the little that I could to help and that is exactly what happened, of course in the process the government got embarrassed, I'm getting a lot of invitations by schools because they think that maybe if I come

there the government will actually provide them with things they are looking for, so we are going to do that. But interestingly, this wasn't even the only school that I helped, I visited a primary school in the Amenfi West District and I went there and they had exactly the same situation so I contributed something for them to get chairs and tables, that wasn't reported but this was when I went to Amenfi West so this isn't the first time and I think that if you were just politicking then I would have made a big deal about that donation but I didn't.

HOST: But they are hearing about it now

NPP Communicator 2: But I'm just saying that one would have done that but I think we got to expose the true state of the economy to people because this was the same day that the president was giving his State of the Nation Address and painting a very different picture from the true picture on the ground and therefore we had to let people see what the true picture is and so corruption takes away these opportunities for our kids whether in schools or in hospitals or on farms, corruption whether its in SADA or GYEEDA or smartty or Karpower is a major problem for our people.

HOST: So, your government would prosecute

NPP Communicator 2: Well, I think that Nana Akufo-Addo has said that one of the things that he is going to do is to establish an independent prosecutor's office with the legislative mandate to deal with corruption. For example; the Attorney General has recommended that with the smartty's deal prosecution should take place, she is the person responsible for prosecution so why are you recommending, who else do you want to tell you to prosecute, it's your responsibility.

HOST: You check with your supervisor

NPP Communicator 2: Your supervisor? It shouldn't be. This is why Nana Akufo Addo is saying that we need an office of an independent prosecutor so that you are doing it and don't have to check with your supervisor to see whether this person is prosecutable. If it was obviously an NPP person, I'm sure they wouldn't have even checked but because these are NDC people who have been involved in this, I'm sure they are looking to see if they should get the go ahead but its not for them to decide, that's what the law says.

HOST: Now, let's get into education since we were just talking about schools, there are other things you have criticized that the president has done, free uniforms, school feeding, free shoes, sandals surely those who have benefited from these things , for those who came into the gallery and introduced to the nation as beneficiaries of some of these things, to them this is great and they won't be happy to hear you criticize some of these life changing policies the government has put in place.

NPP Communicator 2: Well I don't know how life changing they are but I'm sure for any kid, I think they were supposed to give 10,000 kids, school sandals, school uniforms and so on. I mean these are really at the margin and not really fundamental things that will change education. 10,000 out of hundreds of thousands of kids, what impact are you going to make with that. Kids want to be able to go to school, they want to be fed, they said the school feeding was going to be extended

to every school, it hasn't, they want to be able to have access to education in terms of parents being able to afford the fees to go in there to study and so on. So, I think that in terms of education definitely we should be doing more. I think the president is saying that they are doing 200 senior secondary schools, so far, they have completed 4.

HOST: And they haven't changed the deadline

NPP Communicator 2: Yes, they have not changed the deadline so we have 7 months to commission 196. So, we will hold them to it and more.

HOST: Regarding things like sandals, uniforms and so forth, the minister for education has a theory that specially for kids who are going into school a bit too late, they come into school and there is that stigma the fact that they are taller than everyone, they are wearing different clothes and all that and its likely to lead to a lot of people dropping out because its better for them to just go and help their Dad's fish or whatever than come to school and look odd, you know because they don't have uniforms and stand out to be bullied and so forth. So, in that regard is this not a positive intervention that is going to help increase attendance and hopefully increase the education coverage across the nation.

NPP Communicator 2: I don't see that nusus at all, I think we have had people who have been attending school even if they have been over aged for years, I think school uniforms are great, if everybody can have them and all of that but need motivated teachers to be able to bring quality education and if you cancel teacher training allowances, you cant even get the quality, a lot of people will not be able to go into Teacher training even though they are very smart, you will be able to get the quality of teachers that you have, if teachers are working for 2 years and you only pay 3 months in arrears, there is no motivation. Because of the government's financial difficulties they are even sending BNI to schools to examine certificates of teachers, who employed them in the first place and on what basis were they employed, why do you now have to criminalize hardworking teachers for working in the meantime you are paying them something and then you are saying that you are not being able to pay them all the arrears because you are checking the certificates, it doesn't make sense and you are really scamming them in a way by refusing to pay for services done and you are using the certificates issue as an excuse to delay. Its not being fair so I think that if you really needed quality education you need really motivated teachers and the right inputs.

HOST: Couple of minutes on Dumsor and I have just one question. Yes, the president says they have done the fastest mobilization of energy in the history of Ghana.

NPP Communicator 2: Fastest in 4 years, it took 4 years to mobilize and that is supposed to be fast, that is really scary if that is their sense of fast.

HOST: That is what he said, however I'm just wondering whatever you may say about how he described what they have done, the fact is that we now have a better power situation than before and members of your own party have admitted that yes they have done something.

NPP Communicator2 b: How long is that sustainable?

HOST: Well, they have solved the problem

NPP Communicator 2 c: Emergency power

NPP Communicator 2: But they inherited an economy without Dumsor, Dumsor really started in earnest 4 years ago. So, they through their own financial mismanagement that compromised the balance sheet of VRA and others ECG and so on caused Dumsor. We always told you Dumsor was a financial problem and they denied it but once you then buy in resources to bring in emergency power at very high cost again, Karpower and so on, these are all sole-sourcing procurements that took place and the cost of those things is very high so when you cause a problem and you have given me a temporary solution to it and you except me to give you credit, you must be joking, you have caused the problem, you should be solving it, I'm not going to praise you. You have dug a hole and filled it and you say I should praise you, no. you should have done much better, this temporary solution, listen we have lost so much as an economy over the last 4 years because of Dumsor, people have died because of Dumsor, you lost in 4 years about USD 3 billion in this economy, so much unemployment and its really frustrates me when this government wants to take credit for providing this temporary solutions, they haven't really provided a permanent solution and they are not understanding the cost to this economy of Dumsor, 2 percent GDP a year, the growth decline that we are seeing, the job losses that we are seeing, a lot of businesses have had to fold up, this is a major cost to this economy and its because of Dumsor and it has been caused by the financial and economic mismanagement of this government and so we shouldn't be giving them credit for solving a problem they created, fastest 4 years, fastest mobilization.

HOST: Dr. Bawumia, do you know what I have never heard, I have never heard the NPP's permanent solution to Dumsor.

NPP Communicator 2: Nana Akufo Addo was talking about the whole power issue and what we ought to be doing. We had obviously started and Dr. Akoto Osei at the Ministry of Finance negotiated quite a lot. We started a lot of projects in thinking about the way forward, we obviously wouldn't have mismanaged the economy to the extent that we couldn't get VRA to import fuel and all of that and you need to get the private sector involved in power production and look at the whole generation distribution and transmission links to get optimum power production and I think you will have a lot if the climate is good, you will get the investment coming in for us to deal with the problems. So, we would look to bring in generating capacity from various sources but mainly the private sector is going to lead the way in this and I think that if the pricing is competitive you would get a lot more investment.

HOST: Competitive pricing means higher tariffs, does it not?

NPP Communicator 2: You need efficiency, it doesn't necessarily mean higher tariffs. If you go and impose taxes on the automatic adjustment formula of course the tariffs would be high. We are seeing high imposition of taxes because of the government's mismanagement. So I think that you would need to have a combination of getting more efficiency from the distribution and transmission and generating sectors as well as more investment and in many countries you have to be planning ahead the lessons that we have learnt that either you got to get because the economy is growing, power needs are also going to grow. So, if you stay put you would have a problem.

NPP Communicator 2 b: But one of the things that is not being said and most people don't understand is that these so-called additional generation that the president was talking about TICO, KTTTP, Asogli they were started within the NPP time.

NPP Communicator 2: Absolutely

NPP Communicator 2 b: Because you need 2- or 3-years lag to build generation capacity. Bui dam was started within the NPP time so except for Ameri and as you were Karpower, most of them started during the NPP time and that is the planning but they suspended most of them for obvious reasons and it took them 7 years as he said to solve it. If they had continued, KTTTP was started during our time, Signet, this is all plans that the energy sector put in place at the time, so its not that they came and started those things and those are yielding fruits now except for Karpower and Ameri and just on a lighter note, it is not surprising that the Prime Minister of Turkey was here because of Karpower, it's not a coincidence.

NPP Communicator 2 c: HOST, if I can add a bit. Increasingly domestic units not getting power because of intermittent interruptions then government says well that one is a local problem as though distribution is not part of the energy sector. I think government has to review its position on this so that we would make sufficient investment in distribution so that where we even do not have this nationwide power rushing, at least in our localities we can enjoy uninterpreted power supply. After all what is the point if there is no rushing but somehow your transformer isn't working so you do not have power. It still comes back to the same problem and government must begin to own the distribution issues as well.

NPP Communicator 2: We ended up striking out oil, initially we were told it was just cooking oil that we have found and not real oil. We put in place the West African Gas Pipeline, the Bui dam, we started work on the 126 megawatts VRA terminal 1 plant, the 50 megawatts terminal 2 plant, the 320 megawatts Kpone thermal plant as well as the 126 megawatts of solar plant, Agbozie plant that Takoradi 1 was also initiated by the NPP and so was the 220 megawatts Asogli plant which was completed towards the end of the NPP administration. So, there were a lot of projects as far as energy was concerned and they should have continued when they came in with these things and we shouldn't have had these problems. Insallah Allah the next president of the republic of Ghana, that is the bottom line and there is no other thinking beyond that.

HOST: Well, a smart party would plan for all eventualities.

NPP Communicator 2: We are only focused on the 2016 elections

HOST: And you are not losing that?

NPP Communicator 2: I would like to say there are only 250 days to go to the elections and Ghanaians really we should get up and be ready for that change, 250 days to change, 250 days to the restoration of teacher training allowances, nursing training allowances, 250 days to the abolishment of some these hounous taxes on businesses, 250 days to say bye to this massive corruption, 250 days that are left to begin creating the most business friendly and people friendly

economy on the face of Africa, we are going to transform this country, we believe that we can do so, I believe that we can do so under the leadership of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo.

END

8. Celebrities Dumsor Vigil – Newsfile on JoyNews (9-05-2015)

HOST: Do you see that the problem is one of a misinterpretation of what the people say are their genuine sufferings.

NPP Communicator 1: I think the problem is really with the government that doesn't understand the problem. You know, what we have here is a government that has lost touch with the concerns of the Ghanaian people, its as simple as that.

HOST: A government that has gone to Kapowership to bring you plants and is taking steps to fix the problem permanently

NPP Communicator 1: Please it's a government with a president who says that those who are rationalizing, companies that are rationalizing are not being smart. Whiles he himself has run to the IMF for a bailout so he can rationalize. When you say that those who are smart are those who are investing rather than cutting down, then it means if you are cutting down then you are being smart. So, the rest are not smart. But you have gone to the IMF to rationalize because you can't meet your expenses and you brought dumsor on businesses and they are doing the same thing, you are saying they are not being smart, you are being smart going to the IMF to rationalize. So, it tells you that you have a government that has lost touch with realities on the ground. Its as simple as that. Don't underestimate what the celebrities are doing because often what do we see. Normally, celebrities come in during elections, don't they, to endorse one particular presidential candidate or the other but this is mid-term, in the middle of an election and they are coming out because they know that the country is going in the wrong direction. So, if you choose to insult them, its entirely up to you and I think the response, sometimes we should be able to apply some modicum of humility as a government because you don't pour insults on an injury caused by yourself to the people. They have come, words were harsh, what were the harsh words.

HOST: You also say that per your understanding how Lydia Forson put that statement, its not derogatory of the president.

NPP Communicator 1: Its harsh, harsh does not mean derogatory. What is wrong if you say that the president has failed and who fails. If you go to school and then you keep sitting for exams and you are failing, you gave us one promise, you gave us a promise in 2012 that the next year that you are going to deal with dumsor, you didn't do it. We are in the 4th year of dumsor, its never happened in this country before. We have had dumsor maybe 3 or so times but 4 years running and you run your manifesto that you were going to solve dumsor the next year. 2013, we have gone past 2014.

HOST: The manifesto promise is Energy for All, 2016

NPP Communicator 1: Okay, at the IEA debate the president said that within the first years he would solve it and this is not failure. He said in my first year of our second term. Go out there Samson and tell the president and the rest of you working with him to go out there, meet the boys on a bike selling fan ice, okay, they lose because sometimes they collect it and they can't sell

because its spoilt. Go and speak to the cold stores. I heard the hotelier's associations; 12 hotels are supposed to be closing down. Some hotels, Alisa and the rest of them, they are spending 10,000 cedis a day. Daily Guide, I believe every week they spent about 10,000 cedis buying diesel and you know when you are being smart as a government, and look this whole thing is about finance, its not really about capacity and the president admits it now. So when you are being smart, you sit and calculate and you estimate the cost of dumsor and you say that look, how can we resolve it because cruel oil or whatever is more expensive, tell Ghanaians that look, for the next 6 months or 2 years, or its will take us 1 year to solve the dumsor, we need to buy cruel oil, it will be difficult but this is the extra cost that you may have to pay and wouldn't that be wiser, smarter forgive me to use the president's phrase than when you walk on the streets today, every single small shop within a block of shops, they have their diesel small generators, are we thinking about the noise pollution, are we thinking about the fumes, are we thinking about the cost to their business. We don't think, we are not thinking, we are just sitting there are giving promises.

HOST: Are you saying government does not recognize this impact, has it said so, if they don't, why would they be bringing the solution.

NPP Communicator 1: Government has not sat down to calculate the social cost, the economic cost and sit down and say look, it is cost us \$ 3 billion.

HOST: Government has acknowledged that this situation is hemorrhaging the economy, I think nobody has shy away from that.

NPP Communicator 1: when you sit down and you say its costing you \$ 3 billion a year, okay then there is an emergency situation that you can resolve because you can perhaps provide enough cruel, give VRA the money it need to fix the problem. You go and find that money because you know and tell Ghanaians that we may have to pay an extra 30 percent for the next two years and I believe you and me, Ghanaians might pay that because at the end of the day, today we are paying maybe 300 percent more than we normally would have paid and businesses are collapsing, do you know how many people's operations that go wrong because they don't have lights, we don't know the social cost, kids who are failing their exams because they cant do their homework, these are the things. This is being smart.

END

9.

NPP Communicator 6: A lot of drama and flash and screams and repetition in their presentation today but if you strip it of all the drama and the screams and the flashes. On substance, if you take the form away, in substance there were two main claims they made which the government believes must be corrected in time.

The claim that while the government in its report in February this year outlined 388 promises and accounted for those 388 promises, they have discovered an extra 235 promises which the government of Ghana has hidden or refused to account for. In their opinion the NPP administration made a total of 631 promises and has been intellectually being dishonest, mind the phrase intellectual dishonest. In not accounting for 631 and 388 rather, the purpose of seeking to increase the NPP promise of 388 to 631 is very simple, its two-fold. As we get into the 2020 national conversation period, one of the narrative that they seek to curve is a narrative of dishonesty and in order to give life or credence to that narrative, they have to create scenarios that if indeed we made 388, they will find ways of adding to it some 235 and claim that we made 631 and in the end say therefore that we have been dishonest. So, part of the strategy from increasing our promises from 388 to 631 is to analyze them make a chain of dishonesty against this administration. When you compare their first term record of 4 years of promises made and promises that they had completed at the end of 4 years to where we are yet to complete our 4 years. The results are startling, we have done some work on their manifesto promises 2008 – 2012. You will be given copies and we encourage you to ask of them if indeed these are persons who are committed to the question of delivery of promises and fulfilling of the social contract.

The first thing they have to do, is to explain where they left us on these promises they made in 2008 and we will list them for you, several of them, we will give you a copy of their 2008 first term manifesto and benchmark it with our first term manifesto and in that analysis you will find out that about 67 percent of the individual specific promises they made in 2008, by the end of their tenure in 2012 you find that they had not touched them, they had not delivered on them. This is the group that now has become the apostles of the fulfilment of the social contract and we will give it to you and we encourage you to ask them a few questions about this. It was only 33 percent of their promises that they had completed or they were in the process of completing by the time that tenure ended.

END

NPP Communicator 4: My party and elements in my party, the collateral is that we may then be seen as a party, we would suffer this even though it's not NPP policy but because they are elements of the NPP this kind of action may be seen as the NPP being afraid of a John Mahama candidature and that will empower the NDC because in real terms, president John Mahama's candidature presents the easier option for the NPP. John Mahama will be easier to defeat than any of the other candidates and for a very simple reason. If you brought in Alban Bagbin or Sylvester Mensah or any of them, they can come and also capitalize on the perceived omissions of the Akufo-Addo presidency and also come and make all kinds of lofty claims and we will have nothing to hold them by but in the case of a president John Mahama candidature, if he says he is going to do ABC there is the track record of what he said and what he did or could not do during the time that he was president, there is that track record. So, a John Mahama, Akufo-Addo contest will be the record of Akufo-Addo's presidency against the record of John Mahama's presidency.

HOST: And that is what some analysts say Akufo-Addo cannot stand because when it comes to the question of infrastructural record which is very important to the voters then he will have little to show.

NPP Communicator 4: Akufo-Addo has not finished. Samson, even this matter of infrastructure and so on does not arise because Akufo-Addo has not finished his term of the presidency and he himself has said that the best is yet to come. So, let's wait and see what Akufo-Addo will do over the next 2 years and also the John Mahama record is not just about infrastructure because it is in the light of all this supposed infrastructure that he suffered the heaviest defeat of an incumbent president in Africa. It's in the light of this so-called achievement that the Ghanaian people rejected him by the heaviest margin against an incumbent president probably in the whole of Africa. So, what is that record, how do you estimate that record. So, for me if you brought a president John Mahama, I'm happy because then we are just going to dig up his record. So, if he came and said we are going to do ABCD, we will go back to his record. Recently, he had said something about the economy, the NPP people went and brought something he had said on some interview and it made what he had said a bit shaky because he had said something in an interview that he himself was contradicting when they were put side by side. So, the elements of the NPP should be careful about doing things that can be interpreted as the NPP being afraid of a John Mahama presidency.

Samson Lardy A: But as long as what is being done gets some people in the NDC, particularly in the rural communities to be worried, it benefits the NPP because likelihood is that he cannot become president and there is no point voting for him and the campaign is, he becomes president and there may be a suit that will remove him.

NPP Communicator 4: Those of us who have done a little campaign, we learn never to underestimate the ability of the voter, never to do that. If you do that, you do that at your peril. This Ghanaian Voter, when I had not even started primary school, was being described as the most sophisticated electorate in Africa way back in the 1970s. A lot of governments come and do propaganda and say "oh the rural folk, if you don't go and respond, the rural folk". Look at the votes from the rural folk in the last election. So, we should not underestimate them. For me the NPP should be praying quietly for president John Mahama to emerge, when he emerges because of his record, anything that he comes to promises the Ghanaian electorate, we will have a reference

point. It will be an easier contest than if you brought in a fresh person who will then now come with a clean sheet and make all kinds of promises and you wont have anything to hold him by.

END

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