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**THE ETHICAL STANDARD OF GHANAIAN LOCAL RADIO STATIONS AS THEY ARE
USED AS A WEAPON OF POLITICAL CONFLICT BETWEEN THE NPP AND NDC. A
CASE STUDY OF OMAN FM AND MONTIE FM**

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**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF RESEARCH AND GRADUATE
STUDIES, GHANA INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISM IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS IN JORNALISM**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research work is the result of my own original effort in exploring the ethical standard of the Accra based Oman FM and Montie FM as they are respectively used by the NPP and the NDC as a weapon in their political conflict.

Except for the references cited this work is my own handiwork and has never been presented for the award of any certificate elsewhere. I am therefore solely responsible for any errors and omissions detected.

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SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

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9th November, 2017

SIGNATURE

DATE

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my Godfather Mr. Paul Kofi Ebbah and my mother Mrs. Vida osei-Afriyie who have been strong pillars behind my educational career.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My sincerest gratitude goes to the Almighty God who has seen me through successfully.

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ABSTRACT

Media houses and journalists are supposed to be independent from an external influence and work for the benefit of the society. In instances where there is conflict between two opposing sides, journalists are supposed to be neutral and give each side a balanced opportunity to be heard. This is how journalism is supposed to be ideally practiced.

In the olden days, it was difficult for one to easily detect the alliance of a media house (print, radio, television) to political parties but recent developments has brought about the abundance of media houses who have openly declared their support for political parties making them work for the interest of the parties instead of the public interest.

Accra based Oman FM and Montie FM have become household names of media houses who are affiliated to political parties. Oman is aligned with the New Patriotic Party (NPP) while Montie is aligned with the National Democratic Congress (NDC). The NPP uses Oman FM's political show called Boiling Point to verbally attack its main opponent, the NDC while the NDC uses Montie FM's political show called Pampaso to attack the NPP.

This work is a study on the two radio stations as they take advantage of the freedom of the media and freedom of speech to attack each other through their political shows. The work critically examines the way the shows are moderated to check if it is in accordance with the ethical guidelines enshrined in the code of ethics of the Ghana Journalist Association (GJA). At the end of the study, it is revealed whether the two stations are being professional with their work or not.

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

According to the international student's edition of the Oxford Advanced Learners dictionary, politics refers to the activities involved in getting and using power in public life and being able to influence a decision that affects a society or country. Politics can also be simply defined as the activities associated with the governance of a country or area, especially the debate between parties having power and those seeking power. The debate between these parties indicates that there would definitely be conflicting views on issues among the political parties.

Conflict is an active disagreement between two people with opposing opinions or principles. It can also go to the extreme of being a fight between two or more groups of people or countries (dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/conflict). This is very common in states that practice a multi-party system where multiple political parties contest for power in a national election. The winner becomes the ruling government while the remaining political parties become opposition parties until the next election. A political party is an alliance of like-minded people who work together to win elections and control of government. Political parties compete against one another for political power and for the ability to put their philosophies and policies into effect (www.sparknotes.com).

Ghana is a democratic country that practices a multi-party system. There are two dominant political parties that are in the mainstream of Ghanaian politics, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). The NPP is currently the government in power while the NDC is the largest party in opposition. Though there are other political parties such as the Conventions Peoples Party (CPP), Peoples National

Convention (PNC), Progressive People's Party (PPP) among others, The NPP and NDC have been at the centre of events and discussions during almost every election in Ghana and both parties have provided presidents for the country over the years. There has been a very serious conflict of interest between these two political parties as they have never agreed on a policy together. It is almost as if to be in opposition means to disagree with or kick against every policy from the government in power and vice versa.

Before Ghana could boast of over sixty media houses broadcasting across the country, political parties used to organise rallies at constituency levels to meet and share ideas to party supporters. It is during these rallies that the few existing media houses would report and broadcast for other Ghanaians to know about the activities of the political parties. The broadcast was in the English language, which means, only a few educated Ghanaians could actually understand what was being broadcast. This has changed in recent times.

The abundance of media houses has made it quite easy for political parties to reach out to their supporters. What makes it more interesting is that most of the radio stations broadcast in the Akan language which is the most widely spoken local language in Ghana. All the political parties need to do is to call for a press conference and their messages would be disseminated in both the English and local languages (depending on the language used by the media house) to be able to reach the majority of Ghanaians in every corner of the country.

Some parties therefore thought it wise to associate themselves with some media houses in order to disseminate their ideologies and agenda to the people since the issue of language barrier is no longer a problem. The owners of some media houses are well known to be affiliated to particular political parties and the motive behind the establishment of these media houses is to use most of their programmes to push the agenda of their parties to the

people. Some of the programmes are also used to criticize and make unacceptable verbally utterances about their political opponents.

In the case of the NPP and NDC, the radio is being used as the weapon in the political conflict that exists between them. The NPP is assumed to be affiliated to an- Accra- based radio station known as Oman FM, owned by Mr Kennedy Ohene Agyapong, the Member of Parliament for the Assin Central constituency on the ticket of the NPP while the NDC is also assumed to be affiliated to an Accra-based station known as Montie FM owned by Harry Zakor, an active and leading member of the NDC. Both owners have publicly stated that the motive behind the establishment of their stations is to promote their respective political parties.

According to an article published on 16th August 2013 at www.theheraldghana.com, Lawyer Ayikoi Otoo, a leading member of the NPP confirmed Oman FM's affiliation to the party when he described the station as "...a place where lots of NPP hawks gather to get carried away by gbeshie". He made this utterance during an interview with an Accra-based Citi FM. The lawyer was being interviewed after he had gone to defend the then national chairman of the NPP, Mr Kojo Owusu Afriyie also known as "Sir John" and the party's national youth organiser Mr Samuel Awuku who were summoned to the Supreme court of Ghana on the charge of contempt of court after they had made political emotive comments about the 2012 election petition which was on going at the nation's supreme court.

On October 20th, 2016, Mr Salifu Maase also known as Mugabe was interviewed on an Accra-based Okay FM's morning show about his abusive utterances on the leadership of the NDC for their refusal to advertise their election campaign commercials on Montie FM. During the interview, Mugabe who is the host of Pampaso stated that "...Radio

Gold, TV Gold and Montie FM are there to promote and support the NDC government by broadcasting the good works of (then) President Mahama and that is why Pampaso is always live on TV and Radio from 2-6 PM with affiliate stations across the country...”

Oman FM and Montie FM transmit in the local Akan language and have affiliate stations across the country that transmit some of their programmes in order to reach the majority of Ghanaians nationwide. Both parties use the stations as platforms to throw jabs at each other and this is where the practice of journalism comes in. A journalist belonging to such a station is forced to discharge his/her duty in the interest of the political party of his employers. This has made the objectivity of the kind of journalism practiced by hosts of some of the programmes questionable. This is what has turned my attention to Oman FM and Montie FM to study how professional or unprofessional the hosts moderate the shows and generally assess the kind of journalism practised by these two stations.

1.2 Statement of the problem

There has been a lot of argument among Ghanaians as to whether Oman FM and Montie FM are practising an ideal form of journalism or not. Whenever the two stations put out a report or information to the general public, Ghanaians are faced with a problem of their inability to decipher the true value and credibility of the story, especially when the information is related to politics and governance. This is because some people are of the notion that the two stations always influence their stories by reporting in a way that would make it beneficial to their political parties as well as tarnish the image of their political opponents. The stories could be exaggerated or fabricated in order for the two stations to achieve their political aim. This has raised debates among people whether the two stations are being professional or not. The problem under investigation is therefore the question of

credibility of output from these stations and the level of professionalism of media practice exhibited by these two stations.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main objective of this study is to probe into the validity of the perception about Oman FM and Montie FM. The study seeks to specifically pursue the following objectives:

- To investigate the public perception about these two stations.
- To analyse selected work output from these stations to ascertain the validity of the public perception about the two stations.
- To determine the extent to which the work output of the two stations corresponds to the ideal journalistic practice.
- To make suggestions as to what these stations can do to meet standard journalistic norms.

1.4 Research questions

The study seeks to find answers to the following questions:

- What are the public perceptions about Oman FM and Montie FM?
- How do these two stations present their political shows that result in the public perception?
- Does the way the stations present their political shows conform to the ideal form of journalism?
- What should the stations do to conform strictly to journalistic practices?

1.5 Significance of the study

The study would be significant in the following ways:

- It would be a fact finding one focussing on the kind of journalism practised by Oman FM and Montie FM therefore it is expected that the findings would create awareness about their way of reporting and broadcasting.
- It would help listeners to know whether to accept, refuse or find out the true value of what they hear on the programmes and would confirm whether the debate between people on the bias nature of Oman FM and Montie FM is true or not.
- It would put an end to the debate of the objectivity of Oman FM and Montie FM as there would be evidence to show whether or not they are being professional.
- It will spell out some means to correct some of the unprofessional behaviours of Oman FM and Montie FM as well as some of the media houses who practise similar type of journalism.
- It is hoped that the findings of the research would be an addition to existing knowledge.

1.6 Scope and limitation of the study

Although the programmes would be useful to the parties in other areas, this work only covers how they are using it to attack each other while observing how professional or unprofessional they can be. The study is restricting itself to coverage of issues that concern the two dominant political parties. The NPP and NDC are going to be used as the case study. This is because they carry the greater percentage of the Ghanaian population as compared to the other political parties. The programmes going to be used for the study are Pampaso on Montie FM and Boiling Point on Oman FM.

Both programmes are the main political shows on the two stations. The programmes have duration of more than three hours but the study is only going to examine the first forty to forty five minutes. This is because trying to make an analysis of the entire programmes would be very frustrating and time consuming. However, a Compact Disc (CD) will be made available for readers who would like to listen to the entire programs.

1.7 Organisation of the study

Chapter one: introduces the study and what it entails. It gives the background of the study, the aims and objective, the scope and the significance of the study.

Chapter two looks at the literature review to discuss what other scholars have already done on the topic. Theories used in the study are also discussed in this chapter as well as analysis and discussions of the recordings of the programmes used for the study.

Chapter three looks at the method used in collecting data for the study. It consists of the research design, research population, sample size, sample technique and source of data.

Chapter four shows the presentation and analysis of data gathered for the study as well as the discussion of major findings.

Chapter five is the concluding chapter which contains the discussion of the major findings, conclusion, suggestion, references and appendixes.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Theories and literature related to the topic under study are going to be reviewed in this chapter. These theories are going to be discussed in order to justify its linkage to the topic under study. Empirical studies that also relate to the topic are going to be reviewed for a better understanding of the study. The code of ethics for the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) is also going to be used to discuss recordings of the programmes being used for the study.

2.2 Empirical Studies

A study was conducted by Quansah, Boateng and Akao-Gyimah (2012) on Brown Envelope journalism in Ghana. The city of Kumasi was used as their case study. They used both qualitative and quantitative methods to obtain data from participants. After the study, it was revealed that the level of education and meagre salaries of journalists are some of the factors that contribute to Brown envelope journalism. "Brown Envelope" is used to represent favours given to journalists when they go to cover stories. The favours come in the form of money, car, and cloth, in some cases scholarships.

This means some journalists are influenced by those who give them brown envelopes. This can be related to the media politics being practiced in Ghana. Politicians offer money, cars, and scholarships to journalists in order to report in a way that will be of benefit to them. Politicians have now seen that the fastest way of getting to the majority of the general public is through the media. They have therefore penetrated the media landscape in Ghana. Almost

all the major political parties in Ghana have affiliate media houses especially Newspapers and Radio stations.

According to a story published at www.graphiconline.com on 4th November 2013, the then minister of information and media relations, Mr Mahama Ayariga said that “On a daily basis, if you listen to our media, you’ll have the impression that there is an election next week, even though elections are three years away”. He said this while addressing the 18th Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) Awards in Accra. This also attests to the fact that majority of the airtime of some media houses are used for political programmes and activities.

Zaller (1999) also talked about the use of media by politicians to combat one another. He asserts that the weapons of combat are press conferences, photo opportunities, news releases, leaks to the press and “spin”. It is based on this that he concluded that the activities of modern day media are known as media politics.

An article titled “Ghana: Media’s Responsibilities and Politics” published on www.ghanaweb.com on 23rd November 2010 also talks about the relationship between the media and politics in Ghana’s democracy. It acknowledges the fact that media and politics are very necessary for each other as politics cannot be run without the help of media and media cannot also be run without politics however it appears the media is taking advantage of the freedom of the press to engage in unacceptable practices which are “dangerous” and “poisonous” to the Ghanaian media which brings the media’s integrity, objectivity and impartiality to question.

The article further on accuse some Ghanaian media personalities like Kwesi Pratt, Kwaku Baako, Ben Ephson, Stan Dogbe and others of allegedly refusing to be truthful on issues or stories in order to suit their political agenda. They are mostly biased and not straightforward with facts. The writer states that “The role of the media should be a watchdog and not attack

dogs with apparent desire to lead the ‘partisan political mob’”. He went on to charge the media to concentrate on investigative journalism against corruption and other developmental issues instead of fabricating and disseminating false information with the intention of harming the reputation of certain political parties and leaders.

The National Media Commission (NMC) which is responsible for the regulation of media activities in the country was also accused of refusing to liaise with the police to investigate media personalities who are alleged to be on the pay roll of political parties. The commission was asked to be on its toes to ensure that sanity is brought to the journalism profession.

Professor Kwame Kakari, who was once the Executive Director of Media Foundation for West Africa is said to have expressed his views about the media being owned by politicians. According to a story published on www.modernghana.com on 22nd April 2009, prof. Kakari said “The situation in Ghana where politicians are constantly owning media houses and throwing ethics and professionalism to the wind is dangerous”. He made this statement while addressing guests at a symposium on “Reflecting on the first 100 days of Prof. Atta Mills’ Presidency” which was organised by the Danquah Institute in Accra. He further stated those journalists who publish or go on radio to promote their political parties are sometimes rewarded with ministerial and other political appointments and for this reason, it has become very difficult for some journalists to be critical without being partisan.

Kojo Opong Nkrumah and Fiifi Bofo of Joy FM and Oman FM respectively are examples of journalists who have been rewarded with ministerial and political appointments. Kojo Opong Nkrumah was the host of the Super Morning Show on Joy FM and was assumed to be an independent journalist until he publicly declared his political affiliation to the NPP around May 2016. He contested for a Member of Parliament at the Ofoase Ayirebi constituency in the December 2016 election of which he won on the ticket of the NPP. After

the December 2016 election which brought the NPP to power, Kojo Opong Nkrumah was rewarded with a ministerial appointment as the deputy minister of communications.

Fiifi Boafo was also the host of Oman FM's morning show but after the December 2016 election he was awarded a political appointment to serve as a board member of COCOBOD, a government institution responsible for the day to day affairs between the government, cocoa farmers and cocoa production in the country,

2.3 General overview of Theories on media practice

The theories used in this study are the Libertarian theory of the media, the Gatekeeping theory in communication studies and the Agenda Setting theory. These theories were chosen because they will help provide a critical insight as to how and why some journalists and media houses avail themselves to be used by politicians as weapons to attack their opponents. The theories would also help in explaining how some of the political shows are presented in some media houses.

2.3.1 Libertarian Theory

According to www.businessstopia.net, the Libertarian theory is one of the normative theories of mass communication. It is also known as the free press theory. The theory states that the media must be owned by private and independent individuals and must be given the freedom to operate without any control of authority. According to this theory, the media is supposed to be the watchdog of the society, keeping its eyes on societal issues, particularly on the government and inform the general public about its findings. The government is not supposed

to interfere with or suppress the media. It has no power in determining which information the media puts out however, the media is supposed to work in accordance with the code of ethics.

Ghana is one of the countries that enjoy media freedom from government. Media houses in Ghana are independent and have the freedom to work without any external influence. This freedom is provided by the country's constitution in articles 21(I) (a) and 162(i) respectively. This explains why Ghanaian journalists like Anas Aremeyaw Anas and Mannaseh Azure mostly come out with stories from government institutions that are mostly concealed from the general public. These two journalists are well known for their "watch dog" duty of their profession.

Anas and Manasseh have for over the years kept their eyes on various government institutions and have come out with very shocking yet evidence based revelations of various activities happening within these government institutions. In 2015, Anas came out with an incriminating video that reveals various corrupt acts happening in the judicial service of Ghana which forms part of the three arms of government. Manasseh on the other hand also came out with a video documentary from the executive arm of government in 2016. His video was accusing the then President John Mahama of accepting a bribe in the form of a Ford Explorer vehicle from a Burkinabe contractor. Though these two journalists may not have had it easy with the access to information from the various institutions, the general success of publication of their stories can be attributed to the media independence and freedom guaranteed by the country's constitution.

Most of the time, when media personnel come out with such revelation to the public it keeps the government officials on their toes and ensures that the right thing is done bearing in mind that the media is always watching and therefore needs not to abuse its power. Such practice is good for democratic governance as the media creates an arena for citizens to express their

views and opinions on governmental issues. One of the people who believed in this theory is Thomas Jefferson, the third President of the United States. According to him;

“ The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep the right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.” (Thomas Jefferson, 1787).

Jefferson is of the opinion that the basis of democracy is to have newspapers without government. Newspapers here represent the media and he thinks the media is more important than a government in a democratic state.

Ghana is considered one of the most stable countries in West Africa since its transition to multi-party democracy in 1992 (www.bbc.com). The country has since been known as one of Africa’s most stable democracies. Unlike other countries that are challenged with terrorism and conflicts during elections, Ghana has been able to use democracy to successfully conduct elections to have a peaceful transition of power. The most recent one is the country’s December 2016 general election which brought about a change of government from the Mahama-led NDC to the Akufo-Addo led NPP which took effect on January 1, 2017.

Freedom of the press is one of the major features of a democratic country. According to the 2011 press freedom report by Freedom House, the media in Ghana is ranked as “free” (en.m.wikipedia.org).

On 12th September 2013, the British Broadcasting Cooperation (BBC) published an article on its official website about the profile of Ghanaian media. Details of the articles are below:

Ghana enjoys a high degree of media freedom and the private press and broadcasters operate without significant restrictions.

The media are free to criticise the authorities without fear of reprisals, says Reporters without Borders.

The private press is lively, and often carries criticism of government policy. Animated phone-in programmes are staple fare on many radio stations.

Radio is Ghana's most popular medium, although it is being challenged by increased access to TV.

Scores of private FM stations crowd the dial; many of them are based in the main towns and cities. Most of them are chasing a limited amount of advertising revenue. State-run Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) runs national TV and radio networks.

The BBC broadcasts on 101.3 FM in Accra, and on 104.7 FM from Sekondi-Takoradi, the capital of Western Region.

By 2012, 17% of Ghanaians were using the internet (ITU). Mobile phones are widely used to access online content.

Press

- **The Ghanaian Chronicle** - private daily
- **Daily Graphic** - state-owned
- **Daily Guide** - private
- **The Ghanaian Times** - state-owned daily
- **The Mirror** - weekly, sister paper of the Daily Graphic
- **The Herald** - weekly

Television

- **Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC)** - state-run, operates Ghana TV (GTV) and digital networks, including news channel GBC 24
- Metro TV - jointly owned by government and private company
- **TV3** - private
- **Viasat1** - private

Radio

- **Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC)** - state-run, operates Radio 1 in English and Ghanaian vernaculars, commercial service Radio 2 and local services including Accra's Uniiq FM
- **Adom FM** - private
- **Peace FM** - private
- **Joy FM** - private
- **Choice FM** - private
- **Space FM** - private
- **Gold FM** - private
- **Happy FM** - private

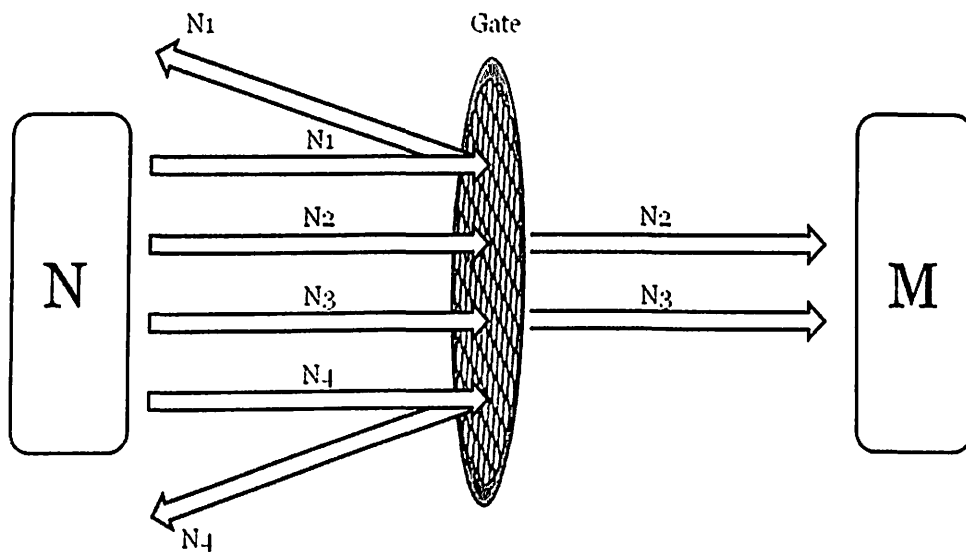
The libertarian theory can be used to explain the details of the article. The constitution allows the Ghanaian media to freely operate without restrictions. That is why most of the Ghanaian media houses (press, television and radio) are privately owned. Due to the government's inability to interfere in the activities of the media, they (media) are able to criticize the government and involve the general public through phone-in programmes where members of the public call into programs to add their opinions to the issues being discussed, hence performing the watch dog role of the media which is a contributing factor to the country's democracy. Government owned media houses may not be able to criticize the government due to the fact that it is managed by officials of the government itself.

2.3.2. The Gatekeeping Theory

This is one of the theories in communication. It is a process by which information is filtered to the public by the media (en.wikipedia.org). The theory is nothing but to block unwanted or useless things by using a gate. Here, the person who makes a decision is called "Gatekeeper" (www.communicationtheory.org). He decides which information should come out and which one should not. He decides which information is wanted and which one unwanted. The "wanted" and "unwanted" here is with reference to the editor of the media house. The editor allows the news story he wants to get to the public to be disseminated by adding it to the stories to be aired or published and the story he doesn't want to get to the public is not aired or published. The concept is further explained with a diagram to provide a clear picture on how the theory works.

Figure 2.1

A DIAGRAM TO ILLUSTRATE THE GATE KEEPING THEORY



N - Source of news item N1,2,3,4 - News items M - Audience
N1,4 - Discard item N2,3 - Selected item

Gate Keeping Theory

(Source: communicationtheory.org)

From the diagram, the part labelled N represents the source of stories that make news. The stories are labelled N1, N2, N3, N4 however a careful study of the diagram reveals that only N2 and N3 made it to the audience because they were chosen by the editor who acts like the “gateman”. He decides which stories make it through the gate to the audience. Ideally, this is how the theory operates.

Ghanaian media houses do not compromise with the operation of this theory as majority of them adhere to it. Day in and out a lot of things happen within and around the country that make news and it is news editors and production crew who determine which one gets to the general public. In most of the media houses, there are news editors who play the role of a

gatesman by selecting stories that make up news bulletins. In instances where there is a programme like talk shows in politics, sports, entertainment, health and lifestyle, the production team uses the theory to decide which topics are to be discussed.

An advantage of the gatekeeping theory is that it brings about consistency and quality control. Some journalists are known for certain aspects of societal issues which are of more interest to them therefore consistency runs through their stories. An example is Peace FM's Akosua Ago Aboagye who is known to be an advocate for women and children empowerment. She is always fighting for the right of women and children while fighting against women and child abuse. With such consistency running through her stories, she is able to have quality control of stories on women and children and can give good accounts of such stories.

However, a negative side of the theory is that it can bring about autocracy and selfishness. Since the editor has the sole authority to determine which story makes it to the public, he may be autocratic by refusing to listen to the views and opinions of others. He may selfishly select stories that are of personal interest.

2.3.3 The Agenda Setting Theory

This theory is also known as the Agenda-Setting function of the mass media. It was first developed by Maxwell McCombs and Daniel Show in 1972. The theory talks about how the media uses the news to set an agenda for the public to think about. Several articles about the theory were written by McCombs and Show. The abstract to their first article was:

“In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue; but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a

news story and its position. In reflecting what candidates are saying during a campaign, the mass media may well determine the important issues, that is, the media may set an “agenda” of the campaign”.

Zaller (1999) calls this media politics. According to him, disagreements in politics are fought out in the mass media and settled in the court of public opinion. This means politicians through journalists use the media to set an agenda to spark up a debate among the general public. The issue is normally reported in a controversial manner during which representatives of various political parties act as panels to debate on the issue.

The topics that are discussed on the shows by the panel automatically become the topic of discussion among the general public who also share their opinions by debating among themselves. What this means is that, the media houses have used their programmes to set an agenda for the public to talk about. The manner in which the topic is presented and discussed on the media platforms are the same manner the public would discuss therefore the media has set an agenda for the public and that is what the agenda setting theory is about. In the subsequent chapters, the study will try to explain the behaviours of some media houses and journalists using this theory.

2.4 Ghanaian media landscape

Journalism in Ghana is regulated by the Ghana Journalist Association (GJA) which was founded in 1949. It is a registered professional association and listed as one of several bodies on the board of the National Media Commission (NMC) which is responsible for the regulation of media houses in Ghana. The GJA has become the umbrella organisation that represents Ghanaian journalists and its activities tend to achieve higher professional standards

to promote and defend press freedom and to create solidarity among Ghanaian journalists with other journalists both in Ghana and abroad (www.gjaghana.org).

The association, in its quest to ensure that members adhere to the highest standards of ethical behaviour and professional competence in the performance of their duties, has also drafted ethical principles known as the GJA Code of Ethics.

2.4.1 General overview of media landscape in Ghana from 1992 to present

An article on www.wikipedia.com talks about the history of Ghanaian media. It states that the first newspaper to be published in the Gold Coast was the Gold Coast Gazette. It was published in 1822 but later in the mid-19th century, several other African owned papers which were not restricted by colonial governments emerged which in some part, led to the independence of Ghana.

The article states that after the independence of Ghana, there were about only four newspapers which were controlled by the then president Kwame Nkrumah who saw it as an instrument of state authority. Other heads of state that came after Nkrumah were also in control of the press. Among them were Kofi Busia (1969) and Ignatius Kutu Acheampong (1978). These two leaders jailed journalists who published against their government.

The article also reveals that in 1978, there was a new government headed by General Akuffo. He was in support for press freedom and therefore reversed some of the unfavourable media policies of his predecessors. Jailed journalists and opposition members were also released by the Akuffo government however this government was short lived as he was overthrown by Jerry Rawlings who repealed the press laws that were passed by Acheampong. Rawlings

promised the people of media reform where the media would be given its freedom but the promise was not fulfilled.

On 24th September 1979, the PNP, led by Hilla Limann was democratically elected to power. Limann, who was in full support of the freedom of the press brought about a lot of media reforms. On 25th July 1980, he established a 12 member press commission which was charged with the responsibility of investigating complaints about the press uphold press freedom and provide necessary regulation and licensing to media outlets. Unlike the other leaders, Limann respected and accepted criticism from the media however, he did not rule for long when Rawlings once again overthrew him in a coup de tat on 31st December 1981.

Under Rawlings' new government, the press commission was abolished. Rawlings passed laws that prevented criticism of the government and its policies. He dismissed and jailed a lot of editors who were critical of him. He also passed the Preventive Custody Law and Newspaper Licensing Law. These two laws allowed indefinite detention without trial of journalists and stifled private media development respectively. These two media policies also affected the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GCB) with several dismissals or premature retirements. Other media houses that feared being jailed simply avoided any form of political discussions and focussed on other topics such as sports or entertainment.

Ghana adopted a new constitution in 1992 and returned to democratic rule on 7th January 1993 with Rawlings still president. This time around, he repealed the previous laws to liberalise the media. The private media which had previously been silenced now used the new press freedom laws to criticize Rawlings however; he used the state media to maintain a favourable image of himself and his government. He formed a new National Press Commission which was independent of government. The commission later became the National Media Commission.

In December 2000, there was a general election which led to the election of President Kuffour to take over from Rawlings. Kuffour was a supporter of press freedom and repealed the Criminal Libel Law through the then Attorney General and Minister of Justice, Nana Addo Dankwah Akkufo Addo. Ghanaian journalists are now not hindered during their work because the constitution of the country has given them the freedom to work however, they must be guided by the Ghana Journalists Association's code of ethics in order to feed the general public with balanced information.

According to www.wikipedia.org, Ghana currently has around 135 newspapers, including 16 independent newspapers and 9 daily newspapers. The National Communication Authority has also published at its official website www.nca.org that as at the second quarter of 2016, the total number of authorized television stations in Ghana was 75 and the total number of Authorized radio stations as at end of September 2016 was 452.

In order to ensure that the media does not abuse the freedom given them by the 1992 constitution, media houses are monitored by the national media commission which is an independent body which receives complains about the media and prescribe sanctions where necessary. The commission recently sanctioned over 100 radio stations who failed to renew their licence of broadcast after its expiration. Some of the stations were given a period of time to renew the licence, others were also simply closed down.

The Ghana Journalist Association also performs similar roles by putting the conduct of Ghanaian journalists to check. The association fights for the rights of journalists as well as sanctions journalists when they go wrong. This helps bring sanity in the media profession.

2.4.2 Standard Journalistic Practices

According to an article on www.wikipedia.com which discusses the standard journalistic practices,

“Journalism ethics and standards comprise principles of ethics and principles of good practice as applicable to the specific challenges faced by journalists. Historically and currently, this subset of media ethics is widely known to journalists as their professional code of ethic or the canons of journalism”.

The article further states that these principles of ethics are mostly drafted by professional journalism associations and individual print, broadcast and online news organisations. This means that the principles may vary or have some difference; however, they share common elements which are truthfulness, accuracy, objectivity, impartiality and accountability.

The first obligation of a journalist is to report the truth. The story being put out there to the general public must be the exact situation on the ground. This means there shouldn't be any form of fabrication on the side of the journalist. The stories must be accurate and devoid of mistakes. A named source of story is more preferable to an unnamed source. The element of objectivity talks about what the journalist ought to achieve with his story. The story must have an impact on the general public and the society.

When a story has two sides, a journalist is supposed to put aside his personal affiliation to any of the sides of the story and report the story as it is. Both sides of the story are supposed to be given equal opportunities to be heard. A journalist is not supposed to be biased especially when he is reporting on a conflict. A journalist must be accountable for stories he puts out to the general public. He should be able to provide explanation to every detail in a story he puts out.

Another article on www.ethicaljournalismnetwork.org discusses the core principles of journalism. This article spells out that a journalist cannot always guarantee truth but must

ensure that his bare facts are always right. The first principle therefore is truth and accuracy. The article also lists independence as one of the principles of journalism. It says a journalist must not act whether formally or informally on behalf of special interest whether political, cooperate or cultural.

Every story has two sides therefore a journalist is to ensure that both sides are given equal opportunities to be heard, this means, a journalist must be fair and impartial. He must also be humane and try to reduce harm by bearing in mind that his choice of words and images may have an impact on the lives of others. A journalist must also be accountable for his work. He should be able to correct his errors and express sincere regrets and apologies when necessary.

The two articles discussed reveal that though the standard ethics of journalism may differ, they must all relate to some basic universal principles which are truthfulness, accuracy, fairness or impartiality and accountability. These universal principles cut across all journalistic standards across the world. For example, the Ghana Journalist Association's code of ethics may be different from the Nigerian Journalist Association's code of ethics but despite the difference they will all call on their journalists to be truthful, fair or impartial, accurate, independent and accountable.

According to www.gjaghana.org, the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) was founded in 1949 with the aim of achieving higher professional standards among Ghanaian journalists in order to promote and defend press freedom and create solidarity among Ghanaian Journalists as well as foreign Journalists. The association is now the umbrella organisation that represents Ghanaian journalists and occasionally organizes educational programmes, workshops, seminars and lectures on issues relevant to media development and growth.

The association has outlined ethical principles that are supposed to guide all its members who are in the profession of journalism. The purpose of these principles is to enable journalists to

exhibit professionalism in their work. Below is the GJA code of ethics that is published at the official website of the Ghana Journalist Association.

2.4.3 THE GJA CODE OF ETHICS

INTRODUCTION

In 1994, the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) developed and adopted its Code of Ethics, which has served the Association well throughout the period. However, with the proliferation of media types, it has become necessary to revise the Code to meet the new challenges that have emerged in the intervening years.

The challenges include the impact of media pluralism and diversity, and the sheer numbers of radio and television stations across the country. Meanwhile, the emergence of new media forms has further exacerbated the situation.

One critical objective of this revised Code of Ethics is to take cognizance of all ethical breaches that have been identified in the practice of journalism in the country. Some of the breaches include hoax stories, April Fool Day pranks, fabrications, publishing stories without sourcing or authentication, and presenting advertisements and promotional materials as news.

It is expected that this Code will encompass all the challenges across the traditional, new media, social media and cross media as far as newsgathering, processing and dissemination are concerned. It is our considered view that this effort will inevitably promote accountability, build trust and add value to the output of journalism and media organizations, and raise the image of the profession.

As with the development and production of the 1994 Code, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES Ghana) supported this review as well.

PREAMBLE

- The GJA Code of Ethics is a ready guide that is applicable to all categories of journalists working with newspapers, radio, television, cross media/multimedia, online media, new media, social media or those working as photo-journalists, cartoonists, and animation specialists.
- The Code is meant to ensure that members of the Ghana Journalists Association adhere to the highest ethical standards, professional competence, and good behaviour in carrying out their duties.
- The Code provides a frame of reference to the National Executive, the Ethics and Disciplinary Council, and members of the Association when it becomes necessary to initiate disciplinary action against any member who flouts any article of the Code.
- As an indispensable institution, the mass media is expected to undertake the surveillance of all activities and actors in the society as well as to inculcate in the citizens—agreed values, a sense of purpose, and support for meeting the nation's socio-economic and cultural development goals. The performance of the media should also ensure the preservation of law and order and provide the platform for free expression for all citizens, and not only the privileged few. This should be done with a high sense of responsibility without infringing on the rights of individuals and the society in general.

GUIDELINES

A journalist:

1. •At all times upholds and defends the principles of media freedom and independence.
2. •Reports the truth at all times.
3. •Upholds the public interest and the right of the public to be informed.
4. •Makes adequate enquiries and cross-checks his/her facts.
5. •Makes and verifies the source of every information.
6. •Recognizes the public's right to fair, unbiased, accurate, balanced and comprehensive information.
7. •Places accuracy above speed in all forms of publications.
8. •Differentiates between fact, opinion and commentary such that news is presented objectively without embellishments.
9. •Does not suppress news, information and materials on the basis of threats, inducements, and individual preferences or for personal gain.
10. •Does not accept a bribe or any form of inducement to influence the performance of his/her professional duties.
11. •Does not take unfair personal advantage of information gained in the course of his/her duties before the information is made public.
12. •Does not plagiarise because it is unethical and illegal.
13. •Obtains information, videos, data, photographs and illustrations only by honest, straightforward, fair and open means—unless otherwise tampered by public interest considerations.
14. •Protects confidential sources of information.
15. •Corrects inaccuracies and mistakes at the earliest opportunity and offers a chance for a rejoinder and/or an apology as appropriate.
16. •Does not intrude into anybody's private life, grief or distress unless justified by overriding consideration of public interest.
17. •Respects the individual's rights to privacy and human dignity.
18. •Avoids identifying victims of sexual assault.
19. •Protects the rights of minors, and in criminal and other cases, secures the consent of parents or guardians before interviewing or photographing them.

20. •Produces no material that has the potential to lead to hatred, ridicule or discrimination on the grounds of a person’s age, education, religion, gender, ethnicity, colour, creed, legal status, disability, marital status or sexual orientation.
21. •Respects embargoes from news sources.
22. •Ensures that news headlines are fully warranted by the contents of the articles they accompany.
23. •Ensures that photographs and multimedia contents adequately reflect an event and do not highlight an incident out of context.
24. •Shows good taste, avoids vulgarity and the use of indecent language and images.

(source www.gjaghana.org)

2.4.4 Ghanaian media and law.

The 1992 constitution is currently the paramount constitution being used to rule Ghana. The constitution guarantees the freedom of the press in Article 21(I) (a) and Article 162 respectively. Article 173 also talks about the independence of the media.

Article 21(I) (a) states that:

“All persons shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression, which shall include freedom of the press and other media.”

This Article wasn’t specific to journalists but “All Persons”. This means every citizen in the country, which includes journalists, have the right to freely express their views on issues through any medium of communication. This explains why Ghanaians who listen to radio programmes or television programmes can call in to share their views and opinions on the issues being discussed. Others also write about issues to editors of newspapers for them to be published.

All the six subsections of Article 162 also talks about the freedom and responsibility of the media. Below is how it is stated in the constitution:

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

- (2) Subject to this Constitution and any other law not in consistent with this constitution, there shall be no censorship in Ghana.
- (3) There shall be no impediments to the establishment of private press or media; and in particular, there shall be no law requiring any person to obtain a license as a prerequisite to the establishment or operation of a newspaper, journal or other media for mass communication or information.
- (4) Editors and publishers of newspapers and other institutions of the mass media shall not be subject to control or interference by Government, not shall they be penalized or harassed for their editorial opinions and views, or the contents of their publications.
- (5) All agencies of the mass media shall, at all times, be free to uphold the principles , provisions and objectives of this constitution, and shall uphold the responsibility and accountability of the Government to the people of Ghana.
- (6) Any medium for the dissemination of information to the public which publishes a statement about or against any person shall be obliged to publish a rejoinder, if any, from the person in respect of whom the publication was made.

To summarize what all six subsections of what Article 162 is saying, the constitution has given media houses and journalists the freedom and independence to operate without any external influence. Individuals have also been given the freedom to establish their own media platforms to disseminate information to the general public. In addition to the independence of editors and publishers of mass media from government's interference, they should not be punished for their editorial views and opinions.

The article also states that all agencies in the mass media have the responsibility of ensuring that the government is accountable to the people of Ghana. This is where the "watchdog" responsibility of the media comes in. The media is supposed to keep an eye on the government and inform the public of the happenings within the government. The constitution also suggests that in instances where a media house publishes a story against a person, he/she can reply by also publishing a rejoinder through similar or same media.

Article 173 also talks about the independence of journalists. The article states that:

Subject to article 167 of this constitution, the National Media Commission shall not exercise any control or direction over the professional functions of a person engaged in the production of newspapers or other means of communication.

The independence being talked about here refers to the independence of journalist from the National Media Commission. Article 167 of the constitution states that, the National Media Commission is to take all the appropriate measures to ensure that the highest journalistic standards are established and maintained in the country however, Article 173 is stating that that does not guarantee the National Media Commission to interfere in the work of the media houses. They are only to ensure that they act professionally.

These articles from the 1992 constitution are responsible for the media freedom Ghanaian journalists are enjoying now. Past leaders such as Nkrumah and Rawlings denied journalists such freedom. Their governments controlled the media and jailed journalists whose publications were directly criticizing them. The modern day Ghanaian journalist can freely publish without the fear of being jailed or dismissed due to democracy and this has contributed immensely to the country's growth and development.

2.5. Theories, code of ethics, media law vis-à-vis the practice of journalism in Ghana.

The theories for the study, the Ghana Journalists Association code of ethics and media laws in Ghana have been already discussed. The study is now going to discuss the theories, codes and laws with regard to the current journalism practice in Ghana.

The two programs being used for the study are Pampaso on Montie FM and Boiling Point on Oman FM. Recordings of these two political shows of the two radio stations are going to be

discussed to see if they are abiding by the GJA code of ethics as well as making use of the freedom given them by the 1992 constitution. We shall also try to see if we can use the theories discussed to explain some of the activities of the journalists on the two shows. Pampaso will be discussed first and then Boiling Point follows.

2.5.1 Pampaso (29-10-2016)

Pampaso is aired from Monday to Friday between 2:00pm to 6:00pm on Montie FM in Accra. Let us look at the content of the first thirty minutes of their programme hosted by Ibrahim Maase aka Mugabe on Tuesday, 29th October 2016. This was before the December 2016 election therefore the NDC was the government in power with John Mahama as President.

The programme starts with an NDC song which is followed by a speech from the then president, His Excellency John Dramani Mahama. Ibrahim Maase, the host then comes in and says “Fire fire fire”, he introduces his programme as “The hottest socio political programme in Ghana” and calls himself “The commander of the airwaves”. While acknowledging some of the affiliate stations that are picking and transmitting the programme across the country, he says that he was with his uncle Ato Ahwoi, General Asiedu Nketiah, Felix Kwakye Oforu, Honourable Mintah Akandor, Honourable Samson Ahi, Western regional minister, honourable Evans Aidoo, western regional chairman of NDC, Big Aidoo in the western region to campaign for the NDC and their presidential candidate Mahama. He also says that he is the national coordinator for the NDC and has seen the good works his Excellency Mahama has done for the people of Ghana including roads, schools, hospitals and other infrastructure; he says it is on such roads that when the leader of those people is travelling on he says:

“(trying to imitate Nana Addo’s voice) John Dramani Mahama, since the NDC came to power, all the roads have been destroyed, the country isn’t making any progress and they have decided to rig the election. This year, GDP... (goes back to his own voice) if you go to Sefwi Wiawso no one knows GDP and if you get to Bonzai too we don’t say GDP, you rather see schools and roads. God bless the contractor called George Andoh. This afternoon, we are going to reveal things to listeners. Everyone should get close to his radio set. It is now operation one touch for Mahama. There won’t be a second round; it’s a one touch victory of 55% to 57%. We need to increase the gap; John Mahama needs to increase the gap so that those people will not decide to engage in any form of litigation with us because it is obvious. I heard they even want to launch their manifesto on December 8th and I asked myself, don’t they know election is on December 7th? There are a lot of issues this afternoon and only one person can discuss them.

I am taking you to the passport office. Six days ago, a meeting was held in Nima, a house near the roundabout. I won’t mention their names for them to be happy. A flag bearer had a meeting in a house at the area and a prominent person who works at the passport office, not the director of passports but a prominent person there led the Goro boys to an aspiring presidential flag bearer to say that the Goro boys are no longer needed at the passport office so their business has collapsed. Do you see goro boys when you visit the passport office in America? As I speak, the flag bearer has given twenty thousand cedis to those Goro boys to demonstrate against the NDC government and John Mahama that things are bad at the passport office. Listen attentively, I didn’t say it’s the director of passports, I said a prominent person at the passports office who led the Goro boys to the flag bearer whom everyone knows likes creating chaos. He gave them twenty thousand cedis to be used for the demonstration. The national security, BNI, Inspector general of Police (IGP), John Kudalor, these people want to set the passport office ablaze.

The flag bearer wants to cause chaos and demonstrations because he knows it won’t go well for him. Don’t underestimate them. How did the foreign affairs ministry get burnt? That is where all the documents were. It wasn’t up to three months after President Mills assumed office and diplomatic passports got missing. They were given to cocaine dealers and ex-convicts abroad. We say it with authority and mention names. Those are the people around that flag bearer. Their businesses have collapsed. Ghana is no longer going to be a cocaine coast. You can stay at your Nima roundabout residence and smoke all day, no one cares but security must be tight at the passports office. The Goro boys should be careful because the BNI, National security and the Ghana Police service are on guard. Dare make a move in this country and you will see where power lies. A flag bearer who doesn’t offer good advice. (In Nana Addo’s voice) they have decided to rig this year’s election and we will use all means possible to get power, even if it means drawing sword.

(Goes back to his own voice) We are not women in this country, is that why you were happy when I was locked up? John Mahama was placed on the skin of an animal when he was born. The porridge you have been sharing to the residents of Nima should be sent

to the residents of Kyebi. John Agyekum Kuffour took you to the bush when he was constructing the Accra-Kumasi highway because of your wicked ideas. You couldn't handle the foreign affairs ministry when it was handed over to you, how then can we hand over Ghana to you?

Special thanks to Freddy Blair and The Daily Guide who have admitted that Ghana and Africa are saying JM (John Mahama) should continue. Daily guide has realised that people won't buy their commodity so they are trading at a place where business is good. When you pick a copy of the Daily Guide, John Mahama is everywhere. When I went to the Western region, I told the people that the acting national chairman of that party is from the western region and he owns the Daily Guide newspaper which always advertises that JM should continue so if you won't let JM continue, you are worrying yourself. They are now calling for Paul Afoko to come and take his position.

The world is sometimes unfair. Paul Afoko, a native of Sandema whom you have no respect for and have disgraced. His pick-ups are still parked and you don't have enough money for billboards so you want him to bring money. You think he is a foolish Northerner (from the North) without a family so he should return his pick-ups and money in order to be given back his position. When you try to cheat a Northerner and you don't succeed, you say Northerners are trouble makers. He is smart just like you who are a native of Kyebi. He is smart just like you who live at Nima roundabout.

When your father became a ceremonial president in Ghana, he had only two achievements from 1969-1971, even that, when he was going to take his seat after the swearing in, there was a mad man already seated on the seat. That means you people walk with mad men. I'm giving you history today and revealing things to you. His father brought the contempt law. If your father has been president before and you also want to be president, all you have to say is (in Nana Addo's Voice) my father achieved this and that in his two year office term. Just as Dr. Kwame Nkrumah built the Akosombo Dam and constructed the Tema motorway, my father also did this and that. (Back to his real voice) What did your father bring? He brought contempt law as his first achievement. His second achievement is that all foreigners should return to their countries, Burkinabe's, Nigerians, Ivoirians, etc.

Ghanaians be vigilant, he has nothing good to offer the country. Does his party have a national chairman? Does it have a general secretary? This shows that discrimination is in their DNA and nothing can be done about it. How can someone who wants to be president say Ghanaians should pray so that God gives him a compassionate heart which was given to John Mahama when he was in his mother's womb? You are seventy two and you need a compassionate heart. If you are seventy two years, called Nana and you still live in your father's house...the house could have been a family house but you alone have claimed it. You have also sold all the property your father left behind. You don't even practise patrilineal system of inheritance. Akans don't practise that but you have sold all the property your father left behind from Nima roundabout to Kwame

Nkrumah Circle and spent the money. You now live in houses belonging to Nigerians and you expect Ghanaians to make you their president. I won't mention your name. There are a lot of issues this afternoon.

As I speak now, there is an issue about multimedia. We know you people have aligned yourselves with those people in order not to let John Mahama have his peace of mind. I am going to attack you this afternoon. Adom TV has gone to cover a story that teachers in a particular school in Gomoa Kweikrom do not have chalks to teach so students have to sell firewood before they get money to buy chalk. Is this the job those people have given you to do? I am back to face you hypocrites. You thought I wouldn't talk again but now I am back. It is now the level playing field. Let us all play and see who is more courageous in Ghana. Let us see who will be listened to. Stop asking for when I came. I came not long ago but I'm known everywhere. I'm met with the crowd everywhere I go. Those who say they have been here for long should come out for us to see. I'm not afraid of you multimedia so I will mention your name and expose your bad deeds. It's not all of them though. Some are doing great jobs.

When we went to Sunyani, a lady called Nana Yaa Brefo wanted to interview me. If I want a place to speak, I would rather speak on our TV station and two radio stations, not yours. Do you think I am irrational? You go and attack us there and come and try to speak to me. You were surprised when you saw me because I wasn't as you expected. You always walk around with a lot of make up on your face. You exaggerate on radio and misread the news. You draft and read your own text messages. You even mention places that do not exist in Ghana. Who knows if it is Akyem news you are reading? I will speak with the minister of education in charge of pre tertiary based on the story reported by Adom TV. I've already said I will expose you one after the other. Those journalists who do not travel but remain in Accra and report without evidence and say what you don't know because you have been sent by those people. You started long ago, if it would favour you, it would a long time ago.

I'm going to be on you today. Producer, get Honourable Alex Kyeremeh on the line and let's go and find out from Gomoa Kweikrom if it's true that students sell firewood before they can buy chalk for teachers to teach. It's about time we expose the multimedia group in Ghana for people to see that they are nobody. I am a one man thousand; the truth shall always set us free. If it must be done, it must be done well. It is at Multimedia where a morning show host can call the president an armed robber on radio because he has licensed a gun. The morning show host, isn't he called Kojo Yankson? There is another one also called Manasseh Azure who just got married. If there was hardship in the country, would you have been able to marry? You went to Mole Park in Bole. Would you have married if there was hardship in the country? Take me to the education ministry to speak to the deputy minister of education in charge of pre tertiary to expose the lies of Adom TV and multimedia. They use their media for propaganda. The time is now; I call it operation one touch for JM."

THE INTERVIEW

Mugabe: *Honourable Kyeremanteng good afternoon and welcome to Pampaso this afternoon.*

Honourable: *Good afternoon.*

Mugabe: *How are you doing this afternoon?*

Honourable: *I am very fine.*

Mugabe: *Honourable, since you are the deputy minister for education in charge of Pre Tertiary, why has the ministry sat for students of Gomoa Kweikrom to sell firewood before they can afford to buy chalk for teachers to teach according to a report on Adom TV?*

Honourable: *Mugabe thanks to you and your listeners for the opportunity. About two days ago, we heard that students of the primary school in Gomoa Kweikrom have to sell firewood before they get money to buy chalks for teachers to teach. The ministry was surprised when we heard the news because for the past two years, the government, led by His Excellency John Dramani Mahama has done a lot of which no one has done before. I'm saying this because since the start of the 2015/2016 academic year, books, chalks and registers were sent to schools before the academic year started. We did same at the education college beside the trinity college. Journalists were there when the regional minister publicly exhibited these items before they were dispatched to schools so how come only Kweikrom doesn't have these items? We therefore decided to go there this morning to witness it ourselves.*

Mugabe: *Which TV station reported the story?*

Honourable: *Please Adom FM. They reported it in their midday news on Monday and repeated it in their six o'clock news bulletin and later used it for their TV news in the evening. Considering how they repeatedly broadcast it, you could see that the story was of much importance to them so we went there. In fact, when we got to the junction that leads to Kweikrom, we were met with the central regional press corps who had earlier heard we were coming.*

Mugabe: *hold on, so the report from Adom FM and Adom TV that teachers in Gomoa Kweikrom do not have chalks to teach and students have to go for firewood from the bush to sell before they can buy chalks for teachers to teach wasn't true when you got there?*

Honourable: *We went with the press to the school to meet the headmaster and teachers. Luckily, the circuit supervisor was around so we went to the office with the journalist*

who reported that story. The headmaster and teachers said it is never true that they do not have chalks in the school. He said as he spoke, they had about 100 boxes of chalk. The government has also brought them notebooks and registers. We then asked the reporter known as Kofi Agyei where he got the story from and all he could say was that he just came to walk around the school and spoke to some of the students who gave him that information. He has since then apologised and promised to...

Mugabe: No, no, Honourable position yourself well. Who did you say has promised to apologise?

Honourable: The reporter of the false story which has been broadcast worldwide.

Mugabe: The reporter of the story on Adom FM went with you to the school today?

Honourable: He went, he was with us. The central regional correspondent of Peace FM also went with us. You can confirm from them if you doubt me. All those journalists went to witness that the story is not true. It's a fabricated story intended to disgrace the Ministry of Education and the government so anyone who hears the story should see it as a fabricated one.

Mugabe: Ei so this Mahama led government, is it those people who have contracted the stations to report lies about you just because of the good work you are doing?

Honourable: They are the ones to know. The headmaster of the school is called Samuel Konney. I can give you his number off air for you to call him. He wrote a situational report and gave me my copy to be given to my minister when I return so that everybody will know that Kofi Agyei's report is a fabricated one.

Let me tell you one unfortunate incident. We recently heard some school children in the western region sit on the floor to learn. When we looked at the pictures, we realised that the furniture had been packed at the back of the classroom so we called the regional director and asked him what was happening in the school and he also sent people there. When they got there, they said the assembly man of the area who belongs to a different political party came to inform them to pack the furniture to the back for the children to sit on the floor so that they take pictures to be used to appeal for funds for the school and they did just as he said. After that, he went to post them on social media and some press took the story and reported that students of the school sit on the floor to learn. Immediately we informed the director and the headmaster who did that is currently being sanctioned.

Mugabe: Ok we thank you this afternoon and we will try to contact the headmaster of the school. That is why Montie FM has expanded and is currently in every region. If they bring false stories, we will tell Ghanaians the truth. Also, be very careful about the Multimedia people, they are very bad.

Honourable: *Mugabe, I want to conclude that we haven't told Ghanaians that we have solved all the problems in our schools. Even the developed countries haven't been able to do that but this government has done very well therefore anyone who does politics will be exposed.*

Mugabe: *Thank you, thank you.*

Honourable: *We will be at every place where there is an issue to witness it ourselves. This year alone, the government has brought 2.5 million huge boxes of chalk. Each box contains 50 pieces and they have been distributed among schools across Ghana so if you are a teacher and you are using the absence of chalk as an excuse not to teach, we will come to the school and whether it is you, the headmaster or a journalist, we will expose you.*

Mugabe: *Ok honourable, thank you very much for speaking to us this afternoon on the Pampaso show on Montie 100.1 FM.*

Honourable: *Thank you too.*

Mugabe: *"That was Honourable Alex Kyeremeh, the deputy minister of education in charge of pre tertiary. John Mahama....multimedia, Adom people, and this song is dedicated to you (starts playing a song that says haters work in vain). For John Mahama, no matter what you do, it is one touch....a political party that doesn't have a manifesto two months to election. Where is the 2012 Manifesto? Where is the 2008 Manifesto? You don't have any vision. John Mahama has done all the work. That's what it is. If Mahama suffers to build the schools and roads, all you report are lies because you don't know what to report. You read news as if it is sent to you from Kyebi. You turn the news upside down. They say Ghanaians should listen to them. Journalism is not about living in Accra. Last week I was in Brong. Last two weeks I was in Sefwi Juaboso and other parts of Ghana....."*

This is the first forty minutes of the three hour programme going to be analysed for the study.

2.5.2 Boiling point (29-09-16)

This programme was aired on 29th September 2016. The country was preparing for general election on December 2016. During this time, President John Mahama and the NDC government were in power while the NPP was in opposition.

The programme starts with a theme song (violin) after which the presenter, Kwabena Kwakye (KK) welcomes listeners and acknowledges the affiliate stations that transmit the programme across the country for all to listen. He says his programme is the “Grandmother, Grandfather, biggest and oldest political talk show programme on a mass market radio in Ghana and beyond”. He reminds listeners that election is only 69 days away. He then moves on to say that:

“Today we are going to look at a developing issue. About four months ago, a group of people went to inform the Commission of Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) to investigate about a four wheel drive Ford American car a Burkinabe contractor gave to the president as a gift. This is how it came about. The public accounts committee is in charge of the accounts of government’s money used for projects. The public accounts in parliament discovered that the Ghanaian embassy in Burkina Faso had a fence wall built around it. It is not tall. It is about four metres high and around the waist level. It is not a big wall. The land around which the wall was built is just one acre or four plots. Imagine it. We are fencing four plots with a height of four metres. After the fencing of the land, the cost was six hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$650,000). People were overwhelmed when this got to the public accounts committee.

A dollar is around four cedi therefore when the money is converted to cedi, then we are talking about 2.6 million Ghana cedi. Such amount has been used just to construct a wall around four plots of land. This is what called for investigation and a journalist in multimedia, (Joy FM) called Manasseh Azure Awini decided to investigate into the matter to find out which contractor was awarded the contract.

It was then discovered that apart from the \$650,000 contract, he was also awarded the Dodi-Pepease road which is part of the eastern corridor road construction project. This contract involved a lot of money paid to him. If calculated, it is the most expensive road network in Ghana. That portion of the Eastern corridor road that Kana Zoy constructed is the most expensive road in Ghana. The contractor is a friend to the President. When he finished, the government packaged another road for him in the north that is the Wa-Bolgatanga road. The government was happy to invite him to come and include himself in the road construction. Indeed he involved himself and was about to win another contract when the news of the \$650,000 contract got to the public. It was then that he decided not to take part in the third contract.

It was later discovered that when he was awarded that particular contract, he bought a car for the president who also received it. After the discovery, a group from the CPP and PPP sent the issue to the CHRAJ. It took CHRAJ four months to investigate and when they brought out their report, they said the president himself has implemented laws forbidding officials to accept gifts. He has flouted that very law but it doesn’t spoil

anything. It doesn't mean he has accepted bribe. They used the fact that the president registered and gave the car to the state as a justification.....

(The programme continues until at a point where he says)...we will soon go to Assin Central to speak to Honourable Kennedy Agyapong who has used the MP's common fund and his own money to undertake a project at the Fosu market. He has arranged to commission the market tomorrow. Information reaching us is that the Municipal Chief Executive (MCE) of the municipality says he will not allow him to commission the market tomorrow. We have also been informed that the police have arrested some women who clean up the place. We will go there and find out how it is....."

THE INTERVIEW

KK: Honourable Ken can you hear me?

Honourable: ...since the campaign started they have been doing dirty politics. I have kept my cool with them because I know the one contesting with me is not someone who can win so I am not bothered with what they say besides, I have a very good relationship with him but I am surprised.

Kwabena, I want listeners to listen so that if anything happens tomorrow they don't say Ken Agyapong likes causing trouble because we have the peace council and Bishops whose understanding of peace is just to say peace without justice. I have used my common fund to build just two sheds for women who used to sell at water logged areas in the market. Initially, I gave each of them five thousand to start with.

They were going to charge forty thousand but when the assembly did it they charged me seventy but I allowed them to do it. They have finished and I want to commission it tomorrow. I then received a call that the NDC supporters have gone to tell the MCE that if he allows me to commission it he will lose the election. I didn't take it serious when I first heard it.

I later received a call that when some of the women went to pack their things in preparation for tomorrow, the police went to arrest them saying that they were sent by the MCE. There were party supporters around so they said they weren't going anywhere. They later saw my secretary and said they have a letter for me. My secretary then said they should first give the letter to me. They said they will not allow me to open the market for the women. First of all, let me advise him that what he is doing will further agitate the people. I don't know who advised the MCE to take that decision but I want to assure him that even if it is Mahama who says I shouldn't commission the market tomorrow, I will commission it and there will be a showdown for them to see.

He told me that Assin Fosu or Assin central is a flashpoint because Assin South is NPP, it is a flash point but Assin north is not a flashpoint because it is NDC. Collins Dauda's brother is misbehaving, beating and hurting people. The constituency of this regional minister is not a flashpoint, wow, but you said you will bring soldiers here because it is a flashpoint. Not me Kennedy Agyapong. Was that soldier not in his mother's womb for

nine months? How can you create tension at my place just for you to come and beat people when I have done nothing wrong? I am speaking for Mahama to understand.

When I was growing up in Assin, any man I met was a farmer. They should be very careful. Let me not tell them what will happen. I won't do anything but anyone who will take me for a ride and create confusion in my name. It won't happen. I want listeners to listen. Even the NDC supporters listen to your station. I am telling you, the local government minister that Collins Dauda can ask if an MP can use his common fund...first of all check your constitution, the MP and MCE who is higher in terms of ranking. If it is the MCE then why is he contesting to be an MP? And he has the nerves to say he will stop me, if he tries he will be disgraced. He should ask president Mahama and Issa Abass how this guy became the MP so I am surprised he doesn't think about himself. I have certain information about him that will be bad if I release but I have decided not to be dirty but if this is how he wants it, then I will finish him within seconds with the information I will release.

Aside that I want Ghanaians to be aware that soldiers are worried that they have been ordered to submit their ID cards. It has never happened in the history of election in the military. Why today? Samson Oje, he is my friend but he is an Army commander today and I am in opposition so I just stay away. Sampson, you are a very good person but don't start that, it won't help you. You have been a soldier for a very long time. Don't follow Mahama to become one of the very bad guys. Please let us be fair in this country. Why are you taking the ID cards of the soldiers? Why?

I know what the NDC and Charlotte Osei can do with those voters ID cards. I know what they can do after the soldiers vote. Do they think we are kids and don't know what they are doing? This is what will make that Charles Amoah...they have a Charles Amoah who is an IT expert. When they take those cards, they will be given to other people to vote and they will count it so the NPP should listen very carefully, other political parties should also listen very carefully. The ID cards that would be collected from the soldiers will be given to that IT guy Charlotte Osei has brought. Charles Amoah is the son of one Mr Amoah who was the director of immigration. The dirty work he did with the STL. Charlotte Osei is recruiting the guy to do a dirty work again but I am saying all these for the peace council. You just get up and say you want peace. If you talk, they say you haven't spoken well about Charlotte Osei.

When she was going to buy a house in Virginia...I heard one of the Presby pastors is denying that he is not the one but rather a different one which means it is true that Charlotte Osei had a meeting with them. If the NDC is having a meeting and a Presby pastor is seated within, from where I got the information, it is true. The pastor who has come is saying it is not him which means it is true they had a meeting with a Presby pastor who is now independent. I have someone who has confirmed that the pastor has come to the country and is refusing that he is not the one who went for that meeting but

rather a different pastor. Truly, according to my source, it is that particular pastor which means it is true that Charlotte Osei met them in Washington DC and New Jersey.

What does she want in this world? You have bought a house in America and sent your children there and want to destroy Ghana. We have some people who have been given positions that they are the peace council. What Peace council? When you know all these things going on yet do nothing about it. What kind of country is this? You allow yourselves to be bought with money. You can't speak the truth in this country because of money. Jesus Christ! Well for me, I won't say anything tomorrow, I am waiting patiently and I am putting it across if I am the bad person. I have never had any problem with the MCE.....

Kwabena: So will you commission the market tomorrow?

Honourable: Oh yes I will and I am waiting for the person who will come and stop me. I used the common fund. Ask the remaining 274 MP's whether an MCE can stop you from commissioning a project you used your common fund for. What kind of Politics is this? I have been very quiet. If they like they should make a mistake tomorrow and they will see what will happen. I am not afraid of anyone, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. I want all of you to witness it. They always insult me but I don't mind them because I rub shoulders with those above and not those NDC people living in the village...

Kwabena: Honourable lets end that one here...

This is the first forty minute of the about three hour programme. The extracts from these two programmes (Pampaso and Boiling Point) are going to be analysed and discussed to reveal the kind of journalism the two stations are practising. This will enable us confirm whether the perception that the two stations are politically biased and affiliated to political parties are true or not.

2.5.3 Discussion

After listening to the first forty minutes of the recordings of both programmes, it is observed that there are elements of competition, partiality and conflict from both programmes. The programmes also make use of the freedom of speech and media.

The two stations are in a serious competition as both of them claim to be the number one political programme in Ghana and beyond. Mugabe says he is the commander of the airwaves and his programme is the hottest socio political programme in Ghana. Kwabena Kwakye on the other hand claims his programme is the Grandmother, Grandfather, biggest and oldest political talk show programme on a mass media market radio in Ghana and beyond.

Another observation made from the two programmes is that they are both partial and biased toward a particular political party. Pampaso for instance, started with the anthem of the NDC. The host also mentions names of prominent people within the NDC and says he was with them during the weekend to campaign for the then presidential candidate Mahama. He further declares his support for candidate Mahama by saying that "...it is now operation one touch victory for Mahama, there won't be a second round; it's a one touch victory of 55% to 57%". He also accuses Adom TV of reporting a fake story about a school in Agona Kweikrom. He called a teacher from the school who claims the story by Adom TV is false but he didn't call anybody from Adom TV for their side of the story. This is clear biasness on his side.

Kwabena kwakye on Boiling Point was not heard declaring his support for any political party neither did he start his programme with the anthem of any political party however he made mention of a certain ford bribe allegation against the then president Mahama without calling anybody from the presidency to respond to the allegation. He also interviews Kennedy Agyapong who is a member of parliament for Assin Central constituency as well as an active member of the NPP. Ken is also the owner of Oman FM. In the interview, ken alleges that the municipal chief executive of his constituency is trying to stop him from commissioning a market he has built for his area. The host did not call the MCE to respond to Ken's

allegations making him (host) also biased like Mugabe. The findings would be further discussed in the subsequent chapters.

It was further observed that the two stations do not apply the guidelines provided in the GJA code of ethics. The way the presenters talk and conduct interviews, the topics and issues discussed, as well as the panels on the shows are all in contrast with the provisions on the GJA code of ethics, making both stations unethical and unprofessional.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter of the study covers the methods, techniques and research approach adopted for the study. It entails the research design, research population, sample size, sampling technique, types and sources of data, data collection instrument and data collection procedure and problems encountered during the research.

3.2 Research design

The qualitative and Quantitative research design would be used in the study. The choice of these designs is because I want to be an integral part of the study by observing and measuring the phenomenon of the study in order to gain understanding thus the qualitative design. This design would help me describe the phenomenon as they happen naturally without any attempt to manipulate or influence it. The quantitative would also enable me to distant myself from the phenomenon under study in order to genuinely investigate into the aspect that is about public perception. In the end, a comparison would be made between what I personally observed from the recordings and what I obtained from participants to measure to similarities and differences.

3.3 Research population

Ghana has a lot of radio stations that are promoting the political agenda of some political parties. Some of these stations have affiliate stations that pick the transmission of some programmes to all remote areas. All these stations have publicly declared their alliance with

their political parties and have common binding characteristic of using their media to push the agenda of their parties to the general public however, the research is focused on only two of such stations which are Oman, 107.1 FM and Montie, 100.1 FM. Both stations are in Accra, the capital of Ghana. Participants living around Dansoman are also going to be given questionnaires to obtain data for the study.

3.3 Sample size

Two recorded radio programmes from the above mentioned stations would be used in the study. The main political show on Oman FM is called “Boiling Point” which is aired on Tuesdays and Thursdays at 8:00 PM. Montie FM on the other hand airs its main political show called “Pampaso” every Monday to Friday at 2:00 PM. The Boiling Point is hosted by Kwabena Kwakye (KK) while Pampaso is hosted by Ibrahim Maase (Mugabe). Though there are other programmes on these radio stations, these two were selected because they are the main programmes that are used as a platform for these parties to politically “attack” each other. A sample of 65 participants living around Dansoman is going to be used for the study.

3.4 Sampling technique

There are several episodes of these programmes and day in day out new episodes are done as it is done every week day in the case of “Pampaso” and twice every week as in the case of “Boiling Point”. In order to select the above mentioned sample, the simple random sampling will be used because it will give every episode of these programmes an opportunity to be selected however, this random selection would be made from episodes that fall within the same week of broadcast. Ones every episode is given the chance to be selected it is hoped that the sample to be selected would be fairly representative which would allow

generalization of the result over the entire population. The same technique was used in selecting the participants. They were randomly selected from the streets of Dansoman in order to give everybody the chance to be selected.

3.6 Types and sources of data

Two types of data (primary and secondary) would be used in the proposed research. The primary data would be obtained from a primary source and the secondary data would be obtained from a secondary. The primary source would be made up of recordings of some radio programmes and the secondary source would be obtained from the distribution of questionnaire to participants living around Dansoman. The secondary source would also be made up of documents such as books, journals, research reports, etc.

3.7 Data collection instrument

The tool for collecting data for the study are the participant observation where we would observe a recording of the recordings which would make me concentrate and listen and respond better to be able to make a subjective interpretation of the phenomenon and the distribution of questionnaire which would help me obtain the views of participants used for the study.

3.8 Data collection procedure

The procedures used in collecting data for this research is to take lengthy and descriptive notes from the recordings of both programmes. The focus would be on how the hosts moderate the show, the representation of panellists and how they address issues raised on the

show. The answers provided by participants to the questionnaires would also be tabulated for easy interpretation.

3.9 Treatment, presentation and analysis of data

The data captured from the recordings would be critically observed and analysed based on the ethical standards of the practise of journalism. Notes would be taken on any act of unprofessionalism displayed on both shows while placing it side by side with the GJA code of ethics. The response provided to the questionnaire would also be analysed and discussed.

3.10 Problems encountered

A lot of effort was made to get the programmes managers of Oman FM and Montie FM to respond to the findings of the study but all attempts proved futile. Montie FM had been shut down by the National Communication Authority (NCA) for not renewing their expired licence of operation therefore all the workers were not available at their premises. Oman FM was not shut down but the programmes manager was very busy as we kept calling for two weeks but he simply could not make time with us for an interview.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is going to present the data obtained from the respondents for the study. Each question asked on the questionnaire would be tabulated to make it easier to monitor the number of respondents who answered the questions, the answers they provided as well the number of people who did not answer the question at all. An attempt would also be made to have an interview with the programs managers for Montie FM and Oman FM to answer questions based on the data gathered from the respondents. The various responses from the respondents would be compared to the findings from the recorded programs and the response of the programs managers for Oman FM and Montie FM. In the end, we shall see if our findings would determine whether the purpose for the study has been achieved.

4.2. Data presentation

Below is a statistical representation of the questionnaire distributed and how the respondents answered to them. The subsequent tables also presents how each of the thirteen questions was answered as well as the number of people who answered them. A total of sixty questionnaires were distributed to respondents who were selected at random but only fifty one were retrieved. Nine of the respondents were unable to submit their questionnaire.

Table A shows the number of people who answered each of the thirteen questions on the questionnaire.

Statistics													
	How often do you listen to the radio ?	Have you heard of Oman FM and Montie FM?	Have you listened to any of their political programs?	What do you think about their political programs?	Do you think these two stations are aligned to any political party?	Which political party do you think is aligned to Oman FM?	Which political party do you think is aligned to Montie FM?	What do you think could be the reason behind the station's affiliation to these political parties ?	Do you think Oman FM and Montie FM are practicing an ideal form of journalism?	Why do you say so?	Which station practices ideal journalism?	What does the above mentioned station do differently from Oman FM and Montie FM?	What do you suggest Oman FM and Montie FM are to do in order to practice proper journalism?
Valid	51	51	51	47	51	49	49	50	49	48	51	44	49
N Missi	0	0	0	4	0	2	2	1	2	3	0	7	2
ng Mode	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	1.00		1.00	1.00

In the above table, all 51 respondents answered questions 1, 2, 3, 5 and 11. However, only 47 people answered question 4, 49 answered question 6, 7, 9 and 13. Question 10 was answered by 48 respondents and 44 respondents answered question 11.

Table B shows how often the respondents listen to the radio.

How often do you listen to the radio?

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Daily	40	78.4	78.4	78.4
Weekly	4	7.8	7.8	86.3
Valid Monthly	3	5.9	5.9	92.2
Never	4	7.8	7.8	100.0
Total	51	100.0	100.0	

From the table B, Out of a total of 51 respondents, 4 said they listen to the radio on weekly basis. 3 said they listen on monthly basis and 4 said they never listen to the radio. However, 40 of the respondents which represent 78.4% listen to the radio every day. This means majority of the respondents are active radio listeners and are therefore the right respondents to be used for the study.

Table C shows the number of respondents who know about the two radio stations being used for the study

Have you heard of Oman FM and Montie FM?

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid Yes	49	96.1	96.1	96.1
Valid No	2	3.9	3.9	100.0
Total	51	100.0	100.0	

The table shows that 96% of respondents know about Oman FM and Montie FM. 49 out of 51 respondents said they have heard about these two stations. Their familiarity with these stations will enable them make better judgements.

Table D shows the number of respondent who have listened to political programmes on the two stations.

Have you listened to any of their political programmes?

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid Yes	42	82.4	82.4	82.4
Valid No	9	17.6	17.6	100.0
Total	51	100.0	100.0	

In this table, 42 out of the 51 respondents have listened to political programmes on both stations. This means 82% of respondents have listened to political programmes. However, 9 respondents which represent 8% have not listened to any of the political programmes on the two stations.

Table E shows what the respondents think about the political shows of the two stations under study.

What do you think about their political programmes?

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid	They are neutral	4	7.8	8.5	8.5
	They are biased towards a particular political party	42	82.4	89.4	97.9
	3.00	1	2.0	2.1	100.0
Missing	Total	47	92.2	100.0	
	System	4	7.8		
Total		51	100.0		

From the table, 42 respondents think that Oman FM and Montie FM are biased towards a particular political party on their political shows. 4 respondents on the other hand think the two stations are politically neutral while 4 respondents refused to answer the question. In the end, the 42 respondents which represent 82% of the total respondents think that Oman FM and Montie FM are biased towards a particular political party.

Table F shows what people think about the two stations' affiliation to a political party.

Do you think these two stations are aligned to any political party?

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Yes they are	35	68.6	68.6	68.6
No they are not	4	7.8	7.8	76.5
Valid I can't tell	11	21.6	21.6	98.0
4.00	1	2.0	2.0	100.0
Total	51	100.0	100.0	

The table shows that, 35 out of the 51 respondents think the two stations are aligned to a political party. This represents 69% of the total respondents. 4 respondents which represent 7.8% think the two stations are not aligned to any political party while 11 respondents which represent 21.6% say they are unable to tell whether or not the two stations are aligned to any political party.

Table G shows which political party the respondents think Oman FM is aligned to.

Which political party do you think is aligned to Oman FM?

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
NDC	2	3.9	4.1	4.1
NPP	41	80.4	83.7	87.8
Valid It is not aligned to any political party	6	11.8	12.2	100.0
Total	49	96.1	100.0	
Missing System	2	3.9		
Total	51	100.0		

This table shows that 41 respondents which represents 80.4% of the total respondents believe that Oman FM is aligned to the N.P.P. 2 respondents which represents 3.9% think Oman FM

is affiliated to the NDC while 6 respondents which represents 11.8% think that Oman FM is not aligned to any party however 2 of respondents which represents 3.9% refused to answer the question.

Table H illustrates which political party the respondents think is aligned to Montie FM.

Which political party do you think is aligned to Montie FM?

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid	NDC	37	72.5	75.5	75.5
	NPP	5	9.8	10.2	85.7
	It is not aligned to any political party	7	13.7	14.3	100.0
	Total	49	96.1	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.9		
Total		51	100.0		

It could be observed from the table that 37 out of 51 respondents think that Montie FM is aligned to the NDC. This represents 73% of the total respondents. 5 respondents which represents 9.8% think that Montie FM is aligned to the NPP while 7 respondents which represents 13.7% think Montie FM is not aligned to any political party. However 2 of the respondents refused to answer the question.

Table I shows some of the reasons why people think the two stations are affiliated to political parties.

What do you think could be the reason behind the station's affiliation to these political parties?

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid	Because it is the party of the owners of the stations	14	27.5	28.0
	Because the stations receive financial support from the political parties	4	7.8	36.0
	Both (a) and (b)	24	47.1	84.0
	None	8	15.7	100.0
	Total	50	98.0	100.0
Missing	System	1	2.0	
Total		51	100.0	

From the table, 14 respondents out of 51 which represent 27.5% think that the stations are aligned to political parties because the owners of the station belong to the political parties. 4 of the respondents which represent 7.8% also think that the stations are aligned to political parties because they receive financial support from the parties. 24 of the respondents which represent a greater percentage of 47.1% think that the stations are aligned to political parties because of both reasons, that is, the owners of the stations belong to the political stations and the political parties provide financial support to the stations. However 8 respondents which represent 15.7% said that there is no reason why the stations are aligned to political parties.

Table J shows the answers provided by respondents when they were asked whether they think Oman FM and Montie FM are practising an ideal form of Journalism.

Do you think Oman FM and Montie FM are practising an ideal form of journalism?

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid Yes	13	25.5	26.5	26.5
Valid No	36	70.6	73.5	100.0
Total	49	96.1	100.0	
Missing System	2	3.9		
Total	51	100.0		

From the table, 13 out of 51 respondents which represent 25.5% answered “Yes” which means they think the two stations are practising an ideal form of journalism. 36 out of 51 said “No” they think the two stations are not practising an ideal form of journalism. This represents 30% of the total respondents however 2 respondents refused to answer the question.

Table K shows what the respondents had to say when they were asked to give reasons why they said the two stations are not practising an ideal form of journalism.

Why do you say so?

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid Because they are in favour and support of a particular political party	40	78.4	83.3	83.3
Valid Because they are not in favour or support of any political party	8	15.7	16.7	100.0
Total	48	94.1	100.0	
Missing System	3	5.9		
Total	51	100.0		

From this table, out of a total of 51 respondents, 40 said they think the stations are not practising an ideal form of journalism because the stations are in favour and support of a particular political party. This represents 78% of the total respondents. 8 respondents said they do not think the two stations are in favour or support of any political party. It represents 15.7% of the total respondents. Only 3 respondents refused to answer the question.

Table L shows the names of radio stations respondents mentioned when they were asked to name a station they think is practising an ideal form of journalism aside Montie FM and Oman FM.

Which local radio station do you think is practicing the ideal form of journalism with regards to its political show?

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage	
Valid	6	11.8	11.8	11.8	
	Adom FM	11	21.6	21.6	33.3
	Atinka FM	1	2.0	2.0	35.3
	Joy FM	5	9.8	9.8	45.1
	Kesben FM	1	2.0	2.0	47.1
	None	2	3.9	3.9	51.0
	Okay FM	1	2.0	2.0	52.9
	Oman FM	1	2.0	2.0	54.9
	Peace FM	21	41.2	41.2	96.1
	Sunny FM	1	2.0	2.0	98.0
	Unique FM	1	2.0	2.0	100.0
	Total	51	100.0	100.0	

This table shows that, the majority of the respondents which is 21 out of 51 think that Peace FM is the local radio station that is practising an ideal form of journalism. This represents 41.2% of the total respondents. The local station with the second highest number of respondents is Adom FM with 11 out of 51 respondents representing 21.6% followed by Joy

FM with 5 respondents representing 9.8%. other stations such as Okay FM, Atinka FM, Kesben FM, Oman FM, Sunny FM and Unique FM had 1 respondent each representing 2.0% each.

Table M shows what the respondents said when they were asked to say what the stations they mentioned above (in table K) do differently from Oman FM and Montie FM.

What does the above-mentioned station do differently from Oman FM and Montie FM?

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid	41	80.4	93.2	93.2
They are neutral and not partial to any political party				
Valid	3	5.9	6.8	100.0
They are the same as Montie FM and Oman FM				
Total	44	86.3	100.0	
Missing	7	13.7		
System				
Total	51	100.0		

From the table, 41 out of the 51 respondents which represent 80% said the stations they mentioned above are neutral and not partial to any political party. This, according to them, is the difference between their chosen stations and that of Oman FM and Montie FM.

Table N shows the answers the respondents gave when they were asked to make suggestions that would make the two stations under study practice good journalism.

What do you suggest Oman FM and Montie FM are to do in order to practice proper journalism?

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid	They should work according to the Ghana Journalist Association's (GJA's) code of ethics	42	82.4	85.7	85.7
	They are already practising proper journalism	7	13.7	14.3	100.0
Total		49	96.1	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.9		
Total		51	100.0		

From the table, 42 out of the 51 respondents which represents 82% suggested that the two stations under study should work according to the GJA code of ethics. Only 7 respondents said the two stations are already practising an ideal form of journalism therefore they wouldn't make any suggestion however, 2 respondents refused to answer the question.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the discussion of findings, conclusion and suggestions. The data is also going to be interpreted, discussed and analysed. The answers provided by the respondents to the questionnaire distributed are going to be discussed and see how they can be related to the audio recordings of the two programmes being used for the study. A comparison will be made between our findings and the GJA code of ethics. It also contains a concluding paragraph as well as suggestions made to both the institutions that were used for the study and scholars who may like to conduct further research on the topic.

5.2 Findings and Discussions

The statistics, as shown in table A, majority of the respondents answered all the questions. At least 44 out of the 51 respondents answered all the 12 questions. This represents 86% of the respondents therefore the findings gathered from the respondents can be accepted as the views of the majority of the people participants used for the study. As represented by table B, majority of the people are active radio listeners who listen to the radio on daily basis.

Tables B and C also reveal that majority of the respondents are familiar with Oman FM and Montie FM and have listened to political programs on both stations. Table B reveals that 96% of the respondents know about the two stations while table C reveals that 86% of the respondents have listened to political shows on both stations. This means that respondents are in a better place to judge the stations with regards to their political shows.

Tables E and F reveal that majority of the respondents are of the view that Oman FM and Montie FM are politically biased because they are aligned to political parties. It is also revealed that 82% of the respondents think that the two radio stations are politically biased. This is revealed by 42 out of the 51 respondents as presented by table E while Table F further reveals that 69% of the respondents are aligned to political parties. This was said by 35 out of 51 respondents.

Tables G and H further substantiate the claims of respondents as revealed by tables E and F above. Table G reveals that 41 out of 51 respondents think that Oman FM is aligned to the NPP. This represents 80% of the respondents while table H reveals that 37 out of 51 think that Montie FM is aligned to the NDC. This represents 72% of the respondents.

Meanwhile, an earlier observation made from the recordings of Pampaso on Montie FM and Boiling Point on Oman FM also reveals that Oman and Montie are affiliated to the NPP and the NDC respectively. This is not different from what the respondents have said.

During Boiling point on Oman FM, the production crew selected topics that were seriously criticising the then NDC government. The producers of the show could have used the gatekeeping theory to select topics that could be debated on neutral grounds but the “Gateman” used his powers to select only topics that attack the credibility of the NDC. The NDC government was also accused of being corrupt with a bribery allegation made against the then President Mahama. The producers of the program did not call any member of the communication team of the NDC or anybody from the government to respond to the corrupt allegations. There was no member of the panel from the NDC therefore the show lacked a balanced panel. All the panel members were from the NPP and they verbally attacked the NDC with the slightest opportunity gotten.

Montie FM on the other hand has provided enough reasons to convince us that they are aligned to the NDC. From the Pampaso program, the host was heard clearly declaring his support for the NDC and their presidential candidate while verbally attacking the NPP and their presidential candidate. Just like Oman FM, they also used the gatekeeping theory to select topics that only attacks the credibility of their main political opponent, the NPP. There was no member of the panel from the NPP and no NPP member was called to respond to all the allegations made against the party on the show.

It is therefore found out that the two stations under study are politically biased which is in contrast with guideline 6 of the code of ethics for the Ghana Journalist Association (GJA) as provided in chapter two of this work which states that:

“A Journalist must recognise the public’s right to fair, unbiased, accurate, balanced and comprehensive information”.

However, the information given by these two stations on their programs were only in favour of their political parties therefore they were not balanced and fair to the public. The stations also failed to apply guideline 9 of the GJA’s code of ethics which states that

“A Journalist does not suppress news, information and materials on the basis of threats, inducements, and individual preferences or for personal gain”.

Both stations however appeared to uphold the principles of media freedom and independence as well as the right of the public to be informed. The two hosts, Mugabe and Kwabena kwaakye of Montie FM and Oman FM respectively were able to say all of the things they said on their programs because of the freedom of the media and freedom of speech under the pretence of informing the public. They indeed informed the public but whether the information given was true or not we cannot say because they failed to state the sources of the information they gave out.

It was also difficult to establish whether the information given out on both Pampaso and Boiling Point were facts, commentary or opinions of the hosts of the programs therefore we cannot say that the two stations are being objective. They also went contrary to guideline 16 which states that:

“A Journalist does not intrude into anybody’s private life, grief or distress unless justified by overriding consideration of public interest.”

Kwabena Kwakye during his interview with Kennedy Agyapong allowed him (Ken) to get personal with some personalities such as the Chairperson for the Electoral Commission Madam Charlotte Osei and an Army Commander called Samson Oje. Mugabe on the other hand attacked the personal life of the flag bearer of the NPP talking about his hometown, family and father’s properties.

Guideline 24 of the GJA code also talks about the use of indecent languages by journalists. It states that:

“A Journalist Shows good taste, avoids vulgarity and the use of indecent language and images”.

But the host of Pampaso on Montie used a lot of vulgar language while attacking the NPP. Though Kwabena Kwakye did not directly make use of vulgar language, he allowed Kennedy Agyapong during his interview to use such languages to attack people. Kwabena could have stopped Kennedy Agyapong but he didn’t.

It was also found out that there are two reasons why Montie FM and Oman FM are affiliated to political parties. The first reason is that the owners of the radio stations belong to the parties the stations are aligned to. The second reason is that the stations receive financial support from the parties. 42 out of the 51 respondents made this revelation. This represents 82% as revealed by table I. this means that Oman FM is affiliated to the NPP because it is owned by Kennedy Agyapong who is an NPP man and also the NPP provides financial

support to Oman FM. The same with Montie which is owned by Harry Zakor who is an NDC man and also the NDC provides financial support to Montie FM. This means the two stations have violated guideline 10 of the GJA code of ethics which states that:

“A Journalist Does not accept a bribe or any form of inducement to influence the performance of his/her professional duties”.

It was also found out that majority of the people think that the partisan nature of the two stations does not make them ideal journalists or media houses. This was said by 36 out of the 51 respondents which represents 70% as illustrated by table J. interestingly, when the respondents were asked to mention any of the local stations in Accra that they think practices an ideal form of journalism, 21 out of the 51 which represents 41% mentioned Peace FM, making them the station with the highest respondents. The station with the second respondents was Adom FM with 11 out of 51 representing 21.9% as illustrated in table L. therefore majority of the respondents think that Peace FM and Adom FM are not politically biased like Oman FM and Montie FM.

It was also found out that majority of the respondents were aware of the GJA code of ethics and were using it as a measuring tool to check the kind of journalism practised by some Ghanaian media houses. According to table N, when respondents were asked to make suggestions that would make Montie FM and Oman FM to practise an ideal form of Journalism, 42 out of 52 respondents which represents 82% of the respondents suggested that the two stations should work according to the guidelines provided in the GJA code of Ethics.

5.3 Conclusion

The purpose of the study was to measure the ethical standard of Oman FM and Montie FM who have a public perception of being aligned to the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and National Democratic Congress (NDC) respectively. First of all, Radio recordings of Oman FM's

Boiling Point and Montie FM's Pampaso were analysed to determine whether there would be any evidence of political bias on both shows. After the analysis it was observed that both stations were guilty of being politically unfair to the public. Secondly, there was a confirmation of the public perception about these two stations as majority of the respondents who were interviewed with a set of questionnaire around Dansoman were of the view that Oman FM is for the NPP while Montie FM is for the NDC. The study revealed that:

- The public's perception about the two stations is that, Oman FM is affiliated to the New Patriotic Party (NPP) while Montie FM is affiliated to the National Democratic Congress (NDC).
- The political shows of both stations are biased and unfair because they only discuss issues that will attack their political opponents while being beneficial to their affiliated parties.
- The political shows of both stations are presented in a way that contrasts with the code of ethics of the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) therefore both stations are unethical and do not practice an ideal form of journalism.
- The stations would only be named among stations that practice ideal journalism if they work according to the GJA code of ethics.

After the study, it can be concluded that Oman FM and Montie FM's alliance with the NPP and NDC is directly affecting their way of work. Their quest to discuss issues that are beneficial to their affiliated parties has made them go contrary to the GJA's code of ethics making them unprofessional. This was personally observed after a careful study of the phenomenon. It was also the perception of majority of the respondents used for the study.

Instead of the stations being fair with the dissemination of information to the general public, they have made their programs platforms where they verbally attack each other in the

political conflict between the NPP and NDC. Montie FM's Mugabe would use his Pampaso programme to attack the NPP and its flag bearer by making all sorts of allegations. Oman FM's Kwabena Kwakye will also use his Boling Point programs to verbally attack the NDC.

The respondents who chose Peace FM and Adom FM over the two stations under study claim that Peace and Adom FM are more politically balanced with their shows and the only way Oman and Montie can be placed on the same level with them (Peace and Adom) is that they work according to the GJA's code of ethics therefore they (respondents) can relate to information given out by Peace FM and Adom FM as being credible than information given out by Oman FM and Montie FM

5.4 suggestions

From the findings of the study, it can be established that Oman FM and Montie FM are not ethical with their work and the only way they can be accepted by the people to be professionals is by working with the GJA code of ethics therefore the first suggestion is that they apply the GJA code of ethics in selecting both the panels and issues for their shows.

Secondly, attempts by the researcher to get the programs managers for both stations proved futile therefore other researchers can conduct further research into similar topic by trying to get the programs managers for both stations to respond to the findings of the study.

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APPENDIX A

A Compact Disc (CD) containing the recordings of Pampaso and Boiling point.

APPENDIX B
QUESTIONNAIRE USED FOR COLLECTING DATA

THE ETHICAL STANDARD OF GHANAIAN LOCAL RADIO STATIONS AS THEY ARE USED AS WEAPONS OF POLITICAL CONFLICT BETWEEN THE NPP AND NDC: A CASE STUDY OF OMAN FM AND MONTIE FM.

Dear respondent,

The following questions have been drafted in order to get to know the public's perception about the ethical standards of two local radio stations namely Oman FM and Montie FM.

The answers are going to be used purposely for this study therefore please try to answer them honestly and be assured that every information you provide here would be handled in a professional and confidential manner.

Please select from the options (a, b, c, d) provided, which one you think best answers the question by circling or crossing out.

Thank you.

1. How often do you listen to the radio?
(a) Daily (b) Weekly (c) Monthly (d) Never

2. Have you heard of Oman FM and Montie FM?
(a) Yes (b) No

3. Have you listened to any of their political programmes?
(a) Yes (b) No

4. What do you think about their political programmes?
(a) They are neutral (b) they are biased towards a particular political party

5. Do you think these two stations are aligned to any political party?
(a) Yes they are (b) No they are not (c) I can't tell

6. Which political party do you think is aligned to Oman FM?
(a) NDC (b) NPP (c) It is not aligned to any political party

7. Which political party do you think is aligned to Montie FM?
 - (a) NDC
 - (b) NPP
 - (c) It is not aligned to any political party
8. What do you think could be the reason behind the stations' affiliation to these political parties?
 - (a) Because it is the party of the owners of the stations
 - (b) Because the stations receive financial support from the political parties
 - (c) Both (a) and (b)
 - (d) None
9. Do you think Oman FM and Montie FM are practising an ideal form of journalism?
 - (a) Yes
 - (b) No
10. Why do you say so?
 - (a) Because they are in favour and support of a particular political party
 - (b) Because they are not in favour or support of any political party
11. Which local radio station in Accra do you think is practising the ideal form of journalism, with regards to its political show?

.....
12. What does the above mentioned station do differently from Oman FM and Montie FM?
 - (a) They are neutral and not partial to any political party
 - (b) they are same as Montie FM and Oman FM
13. What do you suggest Oman FM and Montie FM are to do in order to practice proper journalism?
 - (a) They should work according to the Ghana Journalists Association's (GJA's) code of ethics
 - (b) They are already practising proper journalism