UNIVERSITY FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

USE OF INTEMPERATE LANGUAGE FOR POLITICAL

BROADCASTS: A STUDY OF 2016 ELECTION WITHIN

TAMALE METROPOLIS OF NORTHERN REGION OF GHANA

NABERE JOHN

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FACULTY OF INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

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BY:

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DECLARATION

Student's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this University or elsewhere.

………………………   Date …………………………...

Name: Nabere John

Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis was supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University for Development Studies.

……………………………   Date: ....

Name: Dr. Damasus Tuurosong

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my family, especially my late father, Thomas

Nabere of blessed memory.

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ABSTRACT

Studies have shown in Ghana that the mass media often serve as platforms for the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts. This study examined the implications of the use of intemperate language on radio during political broadcasts within the Tamale Metropolis. It aims at assessing the extent to which radio contributors in the Tamale Metropolis use intemperate language during political broadcasts. Using a mixed research design, primary data were obtained from radio Listener Groups, editors and discussants, regulatory bodies, serial callers and party communicators. Data were collected using interviews, focus group discussions, questionnaire and content analysis. The results indicated that, radio stations in the Tamale Metropolis use intemperate language during political broadcasts. Intemperate language used included; unsubstantiated allegations, insulting and offensive comments, and remarks endorsing violence, divisive comments and tribal slurs. Furthermore, the study revealed respondents' and key informants awareness of the fact that, intemperate language is used during political broadcasts in the Tamale Metropolis. Indeed, radio stations in the Tamale Metropolis face some challenges in their attempt to curb the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts. The study recommends that, the Ghana Independent Broadcasters Association (GIBA) and the National Media Commission (NMC) should ensure that punitive measures are meted out to those who use intemperate language on radio during political broadcasts. It is further recommended that, there be organization of decent language usage workshops for both media and the citizenry to help curb the indecent expressions on our airwaves during political broadcasts

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ABBREVIATIONS

CPP   Convention Peoples' Party

GBC   Ghana Broadcasting Corporation

GFP   Ghana Freedom Party

GIBA   Ghana Independent Broadcasters Association

GJA   Ghana Journalists Association

GNA   Ghana News Agency

ISD   Information Services Department

MFWA   Media Foundation for West Africa

NCA   National Communications Authority

NDC   National Democratic Congress

NDP   National Democratic Party

NLP   New Labour Party

NPP   New Patriotic Party

PPP   Progressive Peoples' Party

PVMI   Publicly Validated Monitoring Instrument

WB   World Bank

WTO   World Trade Organisation

EC   Electoral Commission

PNC   People's National Convention

NMC   National Media Commission

PNDC   Provisional National Defence Council

NBC   National Broadcasting Commission

CFI   Civic Forum Initiative

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

According to World Bank report (2001), radio plays a very significant role in the socio- economic and cultural development of communities. The report further indicates that radio serves as a powerful tool for the eradication of poverty and the enhancement of humanity in the areas of education, health and technology, really bridging the gap between the developed and the developing nations. The report further indicates that an appreciable number of people, constituting 75% of the entire world's population conveniently use radio for their day to day business, thus revealing and recognizing the important role radio plays in championing the course of humanity (World Bank, 2001).

Radio has played significant roles in the development of communities. Through the appropriate application of educational materials coupled with professional dialogues and discourses, the needed transformation is brought to bear on society (Mefalopulos, 2008). For instance, Okafor (2005) noted that, in the event where communities are given the opportunity to explore their communities and control their own developmental projects, they eventually become a driving force and can rise to the task of managing challenges on their own, an impetus to self-empowerment, accountability and transparency. In light of this, donor's support in the form of funding developmental projects can easily be facilitated. Also, Sy (1994), argued that radio is undeniably the most veritable source of information, entertainment and education. Its accessibility in terms of cost and the fact that it can be received by large

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number of people, who may be scattered over a vast area, makes it different from the other media platforms.

Radio was introduced to the then Gold Coast in 1935 by the then Governor Sir Arnold Hodson. The first broadcast service station was established in the same year by Sir Arnold Hodson called "Station ZOY." The station was established as a public service tool that brought news, entertainment and music into the homes of its initial subscribers. From 1939, the station was used to support classroom activities as well as the spread of British propaganda during World War II. Initially, an offshoot of the Public Relations Department, now Information Services Department (ISD), the station was established as a department on its own in 1953 and was renamed the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) to serve as the mouthpiece of the government (GBC, 2016).

Having established rediffusion stations in district centres to expand radio broadcasting from Accra, radio in Ghana remained a state monopoly until 1995 when the University of Ghana's 'Voice of Legon', now Radio Universe was established. Prior to the proliferation of the media in Ghana in 1996, the print and electronic media became the monopoly of the state. With the coming into effect of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) agreement, the Parliament of Ghana, in 1996, passed the National Communication Authority (NCA) Act 524, which established the National Communications Authority (NCA), whose mandate was to check the dissemination of information from the media houses to ensure effective and efficient communication either in print or electronic for the orderly development of the communication system in the country (NCA, 2016).

By the Act, it is the core responsibility of the NCA to give air spaces to prospective investors in the media fraternity and to take oversight responsibility of the communication activities and services in the country. The NCA was also charged to enhance and suppress all forms of acts which would not augur well for press freedom and independence. It is to bring on board all available and relevant means to promote excellent journalism eschewing nepotism and parochialism of all kinds. The NCA also has the mandate to carry out investigations, to advise and find amicable settlements to issues made against it by any human organisation. It is made up of individuals of diverse groups of "civil society" namely, the Trades Union Congress, the Association of Private Broadcasters and the Ghana Journalists Association (NCA, 2016). Furthermore, Articles 4 and 14 of the code of conduct for the Ghana Independent Broadcasters Association (GIBA) stipulate quality standards on Political Party Broadcast in Ghana (GIBA, 2012).

With experiences from most political upheavals after Ghana's independence in 1957, the country is now regulated by the Republican Constitution of 1992 (Ghana's Constitution). The formation of political parties and the practice of multi-party democracy to some extent have given the citizenry the opportunity to join any political party of choice for the exercise of one's franchise. Also, due the abolition of the criminal libel law, the National Communications Authority (NCA) has granted authorization for the proliferation of the media in Ghana. Currently, Ghana can boast of 412radio stations authorised to operate as at the close of December 2015, out of which 313 are currently operational (NCA, 2016). The National Media Policy of Ghana recognises the electronic, print film broadcasting, wire services, advertising and public relations as dimensions of the media. According to it, the broadcast media comprise radio and television involving transmission by airwaves, cable or satellite of

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sound or images for simultaneous reception by mass audience. Over the years, the NCA has discharged its mandate in the allocation of broadcast frequency. In view of this, the Tamale Metropolis has lately witnessed an increase in media activities. FM radio stations have increased from 8 in 2010 to currently fifteen (15) radio stations in the Tamale Metropolis. These are; Radio Savannah, Radio Justice FM, Zaa Radio, Tawosul FM, Suhupiali FM, Ridge FM, ABCD FM, 123 FM, Simly Radio, Diamond FM, Filla FM, Kesmi FM, North Star FM, Bishara Radio and Tamale Radio.

Hence, no longer do people listen to radio through diffusion boxes or immobile radio sets. The invention of miniature devices equipped with components has also given radio vast mobility, making it the predominant news source for on-the-go population (Bittner and Bittner, 1977). The average Ghanaian including political activists can now heap a sigh of relief because a new dawn of political emancipation has come. People are no longer under shackles and bondage to register their displeasure with regard to the odds in the system. Regrettably and very much unfortunate, the new dawn of democracy which promotes freedom of expression, has been seriously abused by a few political activists, politicians and serial callers during political broadcasts in the Tamale Metropolis.

Various forms of intemperate expressions are used on air during political broadcasts (Marfo, 2012). The reckless use of intemperate language on radio during political broadcasts is on the ascendancy and appropriate measures have to be put in place to avoid unforeseeable occurrences (Fordjour, 2016). As the media have the power to influence their listeners, sight must not be lost of the fact that any intemperate language used over the radio cannot be underestimated, bearing in mind the role of the media in the Rwandan genocide.

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Notwithstanding, the proliferation of radio stations presupposes an era for the manifestation of massive economic and social development activities within communities in which the Tamale Metropolis cannot be left unmentioned. Anyanwu (1999) opined that the progressive development of any community rests on the anal of qualitative dissemination of information and above all the decency of the language used. According to him, it is imperative that ideas are properly synthesised in order to retain the relevant ones and those that are divisive and promoting violence are discarded. For Stone (1989), it behoves on every community to take keen interest in its own development pursuit in order to maximise any form of development given that technology, skills and expertise are available to enhance one living condition. Hence, a research on the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts on radio particularly in the Tamale Metropolis is worth investigating.

1.2 Problem Statement

While radio programmes provide a platform for reaching out to the electorates, some politicians and activists resort to radio to verbally abuse and provoke opponents. Such abusive language on radio, which sometimes include insults, hate speech and ethnocentric slurs have a huge potential for inciting people to violence, especially during election periods (Media Foundation for West Africa, 2016; Marfo, 2012).

A good number of media platforms are used by people in a bid to de-humanize, incite, provoke and condemn others (GNA, 2012). For instance, the expression "All die be die" which was used by Nana Akufu Addo, then presidential candidate of (NPP), during the 2012 political campaign is a typical example of intemperate language usage. Certainly, this was not taken kindly by most Ghanaians and was therefore not

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surprising when the National Peace Council descended heavily on him and condemned the expression (www.peacefmonline.com. July 6, 2012). The Council lamented that such inciting expression had the potential of spelling the doom of the nation (GBC News, December 9, 2012; citifmonline.com, December 9, 2012).

Also, on 9th March, 2015, an NDC communication member of the then NDC regime was questioned on Angel FM to express his view with regard to a press conference which was held by the NPP in which it condemned the State of Nation Address performed by the NDC. The said communicator described the Press Conference by the minority as; 'Bullshit, bogus, useless and a form of cantata' (Fordjour, 2016).

At Angel FM again, Mr Kennedy Agyapong, Assin North Parliamentary Member, insulted his own party colleagues as people who do not reason for leaking a recorded tape to NDC containing some vital information (Fordjour, 2016:4). Mr Kennedy again was reported to have threatened that there would be serious disturbances at Odododiodio in Accra within 20 days and notified the national security of his intention. According to him, the security agencies had failed to protect the citizenry (myjoyonline.com, July, 2012).

Kennedy Agyapong, was again reported to have insulted the chairperson of the Electoral Commission, Mrs Charlotte Osei, that 'she got her position by giving sexual favours to certain personalities and was also alleged to have revealed that some distinguished officials in authority invited Mrs Charlotte Osei to *offer her body for the electoral commission seat* (Myjoyonline.com, June, 2016). Clearly, this shows the extent to which intemperate language is used during political broadcasts.

Again, there was a political issue dubbed 'Montie trio' involving Salifu Maase, popularly known as Mugabi, Alistair Tairo Nelson and Godwin Ako Gunn. They were charged for threatening to murder the Justices of the highest judicial body, who presided over the lawsuit meant to unravel the controversy surrounding the validity and reliability of Ghana's voters' register (Citifmonline.com, August, 2016). They made the otherwise treasonable statements on a programme known as 'Pampaso' also known as 'Bia Gya' (Open Fire). For all intent and purposes, the utterances made were uncalled for and had serious security implications (BNI, 2016; Graphic.com, August, 2016).

Additionally, a daily monitoring of 4,759 radio programmes on 50 radio stations conducted by the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA) prior to Ghana's Parliamentary and Presidential elections in December, 2016, employing a Publicly Validated Monitoring Instrument (PVMI), revealed that, barely a week passed by without political leaders and their supporters engaging in politics of insults or indecent expressions in the form of unsubstantiated allegations, insulting and offensive comments, provocative remarks and expressions connoting tribal slur, among others. For instance, a research conducted by MFWA over some selected radio stations revealed that a total of 343 indecent expressions were captured within three months. Evidently, findings by the MFWA indicate that officials, supporters and affiliates of seven political parties were culprits of using abusive expressions. These are; the New Patriotic Party (NPP), the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC), Progressive People's Party (PPP), National Democratic Party (NDP), People's National Convention (PNC), Conventions People's Party (CPP), and Ghana Freedom Party (GFP).

Affiliates of the New Labour Party (NLP) were also cited severally for indecent expressions. Out of the 343indecent expressions recorded, 232were made by affiliates of the seven political parties and the NLP. The remaining 111indecent expressions were made by persons whose political party affiliation could not be found on the programmes monitored. A breakdown of the categories of indecent expressions recorded and their frequencies are presented in Table 1 below:

Table 1.1 Categories of Indecent Expression

Expressions	Frequency
Unsubstantiated Allegations	127
Insulting and offensive comments	127
Provocative remarks	52
Remarks endorsing violence	20
Remarks inciting violence	8
Divisive comments	7
Tribal slurs	2
Total	**343**

Source: MFWA, 2016

Owing to the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts, the MFWA cited presenters of radio programmes for allowing radio contributors to use intemperate language during political broadcast. The MFWA in its outfit, impressed upon the National Media Commission (NMC), the Ghana Independent Broadcasters Association (GIBA) and the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) to implement remedial actions to forestall the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts. Unfortunately, until now, no specific action can be traced in dealing with the use of intemperate expressions especially as the 2016 election draws closer. The

hard won democratic credentials of the country must be guided devoid of any indecent expression during political discourses.

The offensive and derogatory remarks which characterise the airwaves during political broadcasts leave much to be desired in this era of democracy. The question is, if not freedom of speech in the name of democracy, what can best explain the behaviour of most politicians and their supporters which of late has tainted the political culture of Ghanaians? It is against this back drop that the media in Ghana, especially the radio stations, have been criticized for corrupting the conscience of the people by portraying violence and crime that have the potential to erode national identity (BNI, 2016; Anquandah, 2012).

The popularity of the media in Ghana, particularly coming on the heels of the liberalization of the airwaves in 1996, presupposes an era where the media will be more relevant in people's lives than the narrow perception as a tool of communication. However, eye brows are raised about the falling standards of journalism and the gross departure from the respect for ethical standards of the profession in many parts of Africa (Kunczik, 1999; Karikari, 1996).

In a country where the media is seen not only as a key development partner but regarded as the fourth estate of the realm, it becomes justifiable to take up the fight against non-compliance with ethical standards, especially during political campaigns. With the media being regarded as a powerful tool for development, questions have been raised as to whether radio stations, especially in the Tamale Metropolis allow political activists to use their platforms to make indecent and insulting statements

during political broadcasts. The study, therefore, sought to examine the use of intemperate language on radio during political broadcasts in the Tamale Metropolis.

1.3 Research Questions

1.3.1 Main Research Question

What were the implications of the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts on radio within the Tamale Metropolis during the 2016 elections?

1.3.2 Specific Research Questions:

The study seeks to provide answers to the following specific questions:

a. To what extent is intemperate language used on radio during political broadcasts?

b. How did the use of intemperate language on radio affect the 2016 elections in Tamale Metropolis?

c. Why do radio contributors use intemperate language during political broadcasts?

d. What challenges do radio stations encounter in their attempt to curb the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts?

e. How can the use of intemperate language on radio be curtailed during political broadcasts?

1.4 Research Objectives

1.4.1 Main Research Objective

The main objective of this study is to examine the implications of the use of intemperate language on radio during political broadcasts within the Tamale Metropolis in the 2016 elections

1.4.2 Specific Research Objectives:

Specifically, the study seeks;

a. To assess the extent to which intemperate language is used during political broadcasts.

b. To examine how the use of intemperate language on radio affected the 2016 elections in the Tamale Metropolis.

c. To establish why radio contributors use intemperate language during political broadcasts.

d. To assess the challenges radio stations encounter in their attempt to curb the use of intemperate language.

e. To determine ways radio stations adopt to curtail the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Arguably, radio is the most ideal source of information for majority of people in Ghana. The significance of radio continues to grow despite challenges in accessing electricity. The establishment of the National Communications Authority (NCA) in 1996, which initiated the deregulation and pluralisation of the airwaves, enhanced the benefits of the medium. Potential benefits of radio include; increased access to information and educational materials that are available in different languages from radio stations that target diverse audiences (Gathigi, 2009). The study will gather data on intemperate expressions used on radio during political broadcasts and show how these expressions impact on the development of Tamale. This research finding will help broadcasters in the media fraternity to know the kind of programmes that attract listeners and how to plan or select programmes to satisfy audience preference. Furthermore, the work will inform stakeholders such as the National Media Commission on the formulation of appropriate policies aimed at directing the operations of the media houses. The study will raise key issues regarding the role of

media policy implementation agencies. Finally, this study will ultimately, contribute to already existing literature on impact of radio on development, which will be the foundation for further research into the topic.

1.6 Scope of the Study

According to Patton (2002), there is no laid down rule precisely for how a research is to be focused. How broad or narrow a research may appear, depends very much on the purpose, the resources available and the interest of those involved. The study covered radio stations in the Tamale Metropolis. Currently, there are fifteen (15) radio stations operating in the Tamale Metropolis, namely; Radio Savannah, Radio Justice FM, Zaa Radio, Tawosul FM, Suhupiali FM, Ridge FM, ABCD FM, 123 FM, Simly Radio, Diamond FM, Filla FM, Kesmi FM, North Star FM, Bishara Radio and Tamale Radio.

The study focused on the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts in the Tamale Metropolis. Four radio stations were selected for the study, namely: Savannah Radio, Filla Radio, Tawosul FM and North Star FM. As expected, the content of recorded morning shows of these four radio stations were analysed for intemperate expressions. However, to solicit the perspectives of radio listeners within the Metropolis, four Radio Listener Group Members were interviewed.

Key informants from institutions such as the National Media Commission, Ghana Journalists Association and Ghana Independent Broadcasters Association were also interviewed. The generalizations of the study could be applicable to other radio stations in the Metropolis or regional capitals in Ghana where intemperate language is used during political broadcasts.

1.7 Study Limitations

Even though a study of all the fourteen radio stations in the Tamale Metropolis would have been more appropriate, there were constraints of time and financial resources which made it impossible. Prominent among the limitations was the fact that, the entire Metropolis could not be covered to seek everyone's view because of time and financial constraints on the part of the researcher. Also, there was apathy on the part of some respondents.

Some of the respondents (audience) felt reluctant to respond to certain questions due to personal reasons. Also, as the nation encounters energy challenges, poor broadcast media reception signals and occasional breaks in transmission were encountered. This affected recording of some of the morning show programmes. Again, poor documentation within libraries on the subject under consideration, impacted negatively on the work. Based on this, the researcher did not get access to some critical information and had to rely on other sources for such information. Notwithstanding all these limitations, the research was undertaken, taking advantage of the limited resources available. The limitations were unable to serve as a setback to the overall success of this important study.

1.8 Operational Definition of Terms

In view of the purpose of this research, the following terms may be explained as follows:

i. **Content:** refers to the programmes that are produced by radio stations;

ii. **Catchment area:** refers to the specific areas where radio signals can be received;

iii. **Technological or advanced radio listening devices:** refer to any device, equipped with radio receiving function including mobile phones, mp3 players, tablet computers, computers, car stereo and satellite receivers

iv. **Radio**: refers to an electronic device that sends information to various people regardless of location, race, sex as well as other social, economic and political factors (Karikari, 1994).

v. **Intemperate language:** a political climate or environment characterized by the use of indecent expressions aimed at, provoking and dehumanizing a person especially a political opponent, which has the potential to illicit negative reaction or response in the form of verbal attack or physical violence (Marfo, 2012). In this vein, all forms of provocative speech, hate speech, inciting speech and indecent words which tend to belittle, criminalize and condemn political opponents are considered as intemperate language.

vi. **Political Campaigns:** refers to organized effort which seeks to influence the decision making process of electorates.

1.9 Organization of the Work

The study was organized in five chapters. The introduction of the study which is Chapter one constitutes the background to the study and also introduces the problem that was investigated. It further presents the research questions and objectives, significance of the study, scope of the study, limitations of the study and the operational definitions of terms. Chapter two was dedicated to reviews of current literature on relevant works done in the area of research. It examined the theoretical and conceptual works that relate to radio broadcast and language use. This section provided first the theoretical framework, and second, reviewed empirical literature.

Chapter three constituted the methodology of the study. This section of the study provided the various research methodological techniques that were used to deal with the research questions. In view, the section considered the following elements; the study area, research design, study population, sample size and sampling techniques, sources of data, data collection tools, data processing and analysis.

Chapter four was dedicated to results and discussions. It dealt with analysis of the research questions raised. The researcher in this regard made use of thematic discussions and descriptive statistics.

Chapter five covered summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations arrived at. This part of the thesis provides information on the outcome of the study (research findings), and the conclusive statements made on the basis of the findings obtained. Also, recommendations and suggestions were made regarding future researches in the same or similar areas.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

</div>

2.1 Introduction

The chapter seeks to review literature that is related to the study. It presents the theoretical framework and reviews literature on politics and democracy in Ghana, radio and its contribution to development, intemperate language on radio as well as the media and regulatory environment.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

According to Crotty (2010), a theoretical framework looks at the philosophical stance informing the methodology and, thus, provides a context for the research process and grounding its logic and criteria. It is, therefore, necessary to guide the research analysis with a body of theories. The study employed the securitization theory to examine the use of intemperate language on radio during political broadcasts.

2.2.1 The Securitization Theory

Securitisation theory was developed by the Copenhagen School of thought during the 1990s. The theory operates under the values and norms that are determined by 'securitizing actors', 'speech acts' and 'referent objects'. It is a framework through which exclusionary logic and processes can be critically examined and thus, exceptional measures legitimised. Buzan, Waever and de Wilde (1995), identify securitisation as a form of, "linguistic representation," by which an issue is presented as an existential threat (McDonald 2008: 563).

Securitising move indicates the presence of a threat, dependent on the presence of audience acceptance of the discourse. Thus, the speech act brings about the security threat. Waever (1995: 56) indicates that security is not a part of normal politics; instead, the process of securitisation indicates that there is something wrong with normal politics. The ultimate outcome of ensuring that people use decent expressions during political discourse is to put aside 'normal' politics and introduce measures outside normal politics to check any potential threat. Through analysis of this process, it can be discerned how and why issues are responded to in a certain way.

However, it is viewed in some circles that securitisation thrives on political choices. "Security can never be based on the objective reference that something is in and of itself a security problem. That quality is always given to it in human communication" (Buzan and Wrever 1997: 246). The threat can, thus, be used to legitimize a political action which might not otherwise appear as legitimate. The Copenhagen School draws a distinction between securitisation and politicisation whilst considering both processes as inter-subjective (Buzan et al., 1998: 30).

When an issue is politicised, it becomes a public choice which falls within the domain of normal political deliberations and this form part of normal politics. On the other hand, when extra ordinary measures are put in place by way of checking a speech act which is considered to be an existential threat, it is removed from the corridor of normal politics and qualifies as a necessity of emergency politics and to be left to the decisive action of securitising actors (Fierke 2007:108). Claiming an issue to be a potential threat can legitimise the methods and means adopted by the state to protect citizens from such threats. That is to say, ensuring that appropriate measures are put in place to check indecent use of expressions during political broadcasts is justified on

the grounds that such measures would not be introduced under normal political conditions.

The overriding importance of the securitisation theory suggests how language is inadvertently used to stimulate action and support from an individual or a group of people. The securitisation process supports the use of language as a 'speech act', which relies on the expression of a meaningful utterance, bringing out a certain unpredicted force which is backed by some per formative action from an audience (Waever, 2004). Consequently, securitization theory offers a chance for any securitizing actor (state) to win the support of people (citizens) through a 'speech act' (e.g. 'all-die-be-die') and the adoption of measures outside normal politics (security tag) to deal with potential threats that are (ills) legitimately harmful to the very survival of securitising actors (Taureck, 2006).

Securitisation process comes into the public domain with challenges bordering on the reckless use of language and mindless peddling of insults which very much threaten the survival of the hard won democracy and its enviable credentials. The speech acts which are embedded with threats are very fundamental in the politics of today and must therefore be given the needed attention in any agenda of political security. The outcry of most people as far as Ghana's political discourse is concerned, has widened the gap of intemperate language usage to such an extent that there is need to eradicate such an unhealthy occurrence in the body politics. This can only become possible through the use of extraordinary measures, even though that would be an affront to freedom of expression guaranteed by democracy.

Indeed, if it is true to say that the present political state of Ghana in view of her body politics poses a serious threat to her democratic credentials; it goes without saying that security actors such as political elites have a daunting task to employ all available extraordinary measures to promote and to ensure the very survival of our fragile democracy. It is time to put all hands on deck to fight any existential threats which are inimical to the practice of democracy. The enforcement of section 207 and 208 (1) of Ghana's 2003 criminal code (Amendment), Act 646 to sanction any person or group of persons found guilty of using intemperate language to insult or provoke others during political broadcasts cannot be under estimated. Undoubtedly, this could be one of the best means of securitising language in order to promote sanity and peace in any human society.

According to Columba and Vaughan- Williams (2010), securitisation actors have what it takes to affect other political players when it comes to using exclusionary measures to deal with intemperate expressions which have the high degree of causing havoc in any human society. The question that has run through the minds of many in the political front hinges on how one can ensure that not every single issue that comes to the political lime light does not fall within the precepts of security? According to Buzan and Wrever (2003: 71), any attempt to give analysis of securitisation as a tool which can be used to clamp down on the use of intemperate language should address questions such as; when and under what conditions and who securitises what issue".

Emmers (2007) opine that the Copenhagen School of Thought has made provision for a broader dimension for the handling of issues in society. For Emmers, three dimensions are outlined in the theory of securitisation. He was of the view that an

issue at hand could be looked at as politicised, non-politicised or securitised on condition that, the issue is not one calling for state intervention, the issue could be tackled within the confines of standard politics and finally, the issue warrants immediate action outside the recognised standard politics (Emmers, 2007). This means that an act of security can transcend the political spectrum depending upon the conscious effort of the securitising act. The fact is that every securitization act becomes a support base or a force to reckon with when it comes to taking decisions and distributing resources for the development of society (Emmers, 2007).

The theory of securitisation also stipulates that issues which hinge on politics, environment and human security can effectively be securitised. Social groups such as ethnic and religious groups are important referent objects of security.

It is worth mentioning that a speech act can receive the needed condemnation in society if and only if the relevant bodies are satisfied and convinced beyond doubt that the concerned speech act does not pose any threat to society or any referent object in society. In other words, the process of ensuring that an intemperate language is securitised not to pose security threat to society, care must be ensured to ascertain from society whether there is a universal acceptance that such a speech act does not possess an existential threat. The use of intemperate language with its attendant threat to democracy, society and the rule of law calls for the need for extraordinary measures to tackle the use of intemperate language. The process of securitization provides enormous support and benefits to the state in terms of the efficient management of complex problems as well as the possibility of having overwhelming support for dealing with issues that are detrimental to state security.

Nevertheless, although the theory of security is of much relevance in present security issues and democracy, the theory has its weaknesses. This theory has come under serious criticisms in many dimensions. McSweeney (I996) was of the view that the theory was narrow and shallow, for it perceived society as singular in nature and lost to give it the dynamism and fluidity that it deserves. According to him, looking at society as a singular identity amounts to total failure of the fact that society has several complexities and one cannot draw any meaningful conclusion on society by merely observing a minute aspect of a complex situation. Emmers (2007) and several other political thinkers argue that in an attempt to let the theory meet the needed desire of society, thus making it realistic and practicable, security actors can infringe on civilians' rights and liberties.

For instance, in the case of developing countries such as Ghana, the government can use the state apparatus to suppress freedom of speech, the media and even make criminality out of issues. Furthermore, it is clear that there is no clear cut dichotomy between politicization and securitisation in the body politics of society and once the boundaries designed to make a distinction between them are not themselves properly and carefully outlined, all form of impressions would be created in the minds of people. Indeed, in view of the political situation as against what is prevalent in the system, whether society likes or not, erroneous impressions would come forth from many circles (Emmers, 2007).

Additionally, the method and technique adopted by the School of Thought in analysing speech acts in the body politics has also been criticised in another dimension. The theory was criticised on the basis that it is too Western in approach and does not seriously yield itself to the aspirations, dynamics and the multifaceted

environment of developing countries (Wilkinson, 2007). Copenhagen School's style of analysing security has been criticized as being Eurocentric in nature as it does not reflect the concerns and dynamics of questions raised by the issue of security in other parts of the world (Wilkinson, 2007). This notwithstanding, considering that the process of securitization brings together actors, speech acts, and referent objects, one may consider the use of discourse in various speech acts in relation to the process of securitization. Hate speech, as a form of language use, may be present in political discourse, and may possibly provide a threat to the security of the referent objects. The weakness or otherwise of this theory would be highlighted against the backdrop of adapting securitization processes in managing the increasing trend of the use of insults and derogatory language in Ghana's political discourse. This theory enabled the author to perceive intemperate language as a threat to the security and peace of society in general.

2.3 The Concept of Politics and Democracy

2.3.1 Politics

Politics is about having a firm control over a system to take bold decisions, and these decisions are reached through careful consideration and reconciliation of diverse opinions to arrive at consensus and a compromised position. In a democratic political system, one critical issue to consider is the choice of political leaders. The process of selecting leaders is consistent with the deliberative conception of democracy, which involves open discussion with the potential of leading to an agreed judgement on policy (Miller, 1992). The deliberative conception embodies elements of argument, in which individuals work to build support for their own position while at the same time undermining support for an opponent's position (Schiffrin, 1985).

The political environment of transitional democracies appears to be very much tensed with hot exchanges and abusive use of language especially in the run up to general elections. It is acknowledged that such an uncompromising stance by key players within the political space during elections falls within the purview of the concept of argument culture, where people's values, aspirations, attitudes or beliefs influence individuals to approach public discourse in terms of war-like interactions (Tannen, 1998).

Ghana is not isolated from this high tensed-atmosphere prior to general elections in terms of the use of insulting and inciting development. It is clear that political players in Ghana employ such negative styles during political discussions with the aim of winning such debates which may probably contribute to one's political fortune. As a result, most concerned citizens wish that the use of intemperate language in such manner and for such purposes be dealt with (Emmers, 2007).

The most important aim and desire of any political activity is to put appropriate structures and processes in place which rival groups and ideas would compete over scarce means and ends, priorities and differences (Bluwey, 2002). This indicates that the concept of politics serves as a conduit for discussing and reconciling views to reach a consensus that broadly caters for the national interest. The definition acknowledges that there will be divergent views yet that should not drive actors or participants into using abusive language or to conduct themselves in a manner which is likely to be detrimental to democracy and peace.

It can be inferred from the view of Bluwery that politics is about how to reach a compromise or consensus; it is about how best conflicts or disagreements are settled amicably devoid of chaos. However, Kochman (1984) points out that the distinctive key players on public discourse must consider all sides to the issue and actors must

remain rational; one side should seek to avoid actions or statements that others find offensive and insulting, there is no monopoly of truth; flexibility is paramount; and strong self-assertion is to be avoided.

Political activities are seen as the processes of choosing leaders to bold decisions and in these processes or activities, the conduct of political actors and supporters need to be decorum, guarded and be circumspect in speech, actions and inactions. The ability of a nation or people to engage in a civil discussion and selection of their leaders without hostility, acrimony and insults determines their level of political maturity. Politics, though some have misunderstood it and do understand it in derogatory terms, classically is concerned with the appropriate way through which leaders are chosen to make authoritative allocation of scarce resources. This looks at the relationship of power sharing, rule or authority and the various means by which a state or political system discusses or deliberates on issues of national interest (Magstadt and Schotten, 1996). This view does not synchronise with how the concept of politics is perceived generally by the Ghanaian populace.

2.3.2 Democracy

The term democracy refers to the system of government in which much power and authority is vested in the ruled. Courtesy to Abraham Lincoln, the father of democracy, it is the government by the people, of the people and for the people. One can infer from this that the ruled in any system of government yield considerable power that they can make and unmake a political regime. It is the type of government which is composed of selected representatives of the electorates based on their collective concern. The few chosen must work for the interest of the ruled in the best capacity as they can. Democracy as a moral tool and a political practice suggests that

it is an institution which society cannot do without it for the realisation of their dreams and aspirations. The concept of democracy is a process; this means it is a continuous process of enhancing and ensuring that people have equal access to fundamental human rights and civil liberties (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 1997).

In Ghana, the criminal libel law which was perceived to be a hindrance to press freedom by media rights organizations including the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA), dated back to the country's first Criminal Code, the 1892 Criminal Code Ordinance which was later amended in 1934. This law made it extremely hard for media practitioners to play their watchdog role effectively and with its abrogation; Ghanaians won an important struggle for liberty and, especially, for freedom of expression. The era marked a complete collapse of an oppressive regime which suppressed and very much repressed the freedom and liberties of Ghanaians (Emmers, 2007).

Media watchdogs including Article 19, the London-based organization campaigning for the freedom of expression across the world, welcomed the government's action as "a step in the right direction", while others like the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA), an institution which champions the course of journalists and the media, lauded government's decision to repeal the criminal libel law on the basis that it would afford journalists the opportunity to practise their profession without fear or intimidation (Emmers, 2007).

Journalism and for that matter the media fraternity assumed a wider dimension and coverage when the 1992 Republican Constitution came into fruition. It brought to an end series of political upheavals by the military and paved way for multi-party

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democracy in January 1993. Ghana has transitioned democratically since 1992 to become a beacon of democracy, flourishing in a liberalised society where freedom of speech is enshrined in the constitution. Ironically, Ghana with its enviable democratic credentials, it is sad to say that there is much abuse of freedom to such an extent that no single day rolls by without abusive and insulting expressions being peddled by the media or the citizens. However, there was congenial atmosphere for the private media to flourish alongside the public or state-owned media (Magstadt and Schotten, 1996). Ghanaians actually experienced an appreciable rise of the private media in 2001 following the abrogation of the obnoxious criminal libel law. However, the electronic media experienced much growth and expansion comparative to the entire private media fraternity. Despite the successes chalked by Ghana in terms of successfully and consecutively carrying out six general elections within the Fourth Republic, a lot is still to be done to ensure that the aspirations, needs and above all, the tenets of democracy are adhered to without any compromise (Magstadt and Schotten, 1996).

There is the need for everyone to come on board to build a community devoid of unnecessary frictions, bitterness and the "pull him down attitude" which does not promote development. Ghana's democracy must be the kind of democracy whereby leaders must not beg the citizenry to respect peace and desist from unhealthy practices in the advent of elections.

The 1992 Constitution of Ghana, Chapter Five (5), very much considers human rights and civil liberties to be crucial and Article 21 (1a) stipulates the freedom of all persons as well as the press. The year 2001, saw the abrogation of the criminal libel law to ensure freedom of expression and the provision of a congenial climate for people to express their views (Egbuchulam, 2002).

According to Coleman and Alger (1996), freedom of speech in the democratic dispensation surfaced to protect the marginalised in society whose ideas were seen to be stigmatising. They were of the view that society should provide appropriate measures to help the voiceless while at the same time ensuring that people have their rights to free expression. Reiterating the need to make some provisions for the voiceless in society, O'Neil (2004), also indicated that it is important for persons or human institutions to express freely, disagreed on issues and even speak against policies perceived to be detrimental to development. It must be stated that the abolition of the criminal libel law was to promote free expression in the system, but unfortunately, some disgruntled and scrupulous individuals capitalise on it to unleash their venom on others during political campaigns and elections periods and this does not augur for peace and development in any given country.

Regrettably, democracy in Ghana is seriously bedevilled with scrupulous and disgruntled elements whose activities to say the least is terrible and very much characterised by abusive pronouncements which do not reflect the international commendations and praises often showered upon her. For example, reference is made to Nana Akufu- Addo, apparently the Presidential candidate on the ticket of the NPP, to have said at a rally ground when he was privileged to address his party faithful in the Eastern Region, he persuaded them to be strong and courageous in order to win the 2012 general elections. In his persuasion, he indicated "all die be die" (Daily Graphic, February 10, 2011).

It was again revealed at the same platform that, the National Youth Organiser, in the person of Anthony Karbo declared that in the advent of NPP losing the 2012 elections, the country would be blood- washed. It must be put on record that the

reaction of NDC to Nana and Karbo's statements was very appalling very much characterised by personal vendetta.The NDC General Secretary, Mr Johnson Asiedu Nketiah mudded the political waters by mentioning that Nana Akufu- Addo had demonstrated beyond every reasonable doubt that he was desperate to become a president and would not leave any stone unturned to fulfil his dream (Daily Graphic, February 10, 2011).

Mr Johnson Nketiah labelled Nana Addo's expression as bellicose and belligerent implying that Nana Akufo-Addo "sees the NPP as identical to the Akan ethnic group and even in opposition he sees himself as the leader of this Akan group which he must galvanize into war against all other ethnic groups in Ghana with the sole objective of capturing political power come 2012". The uncouth expressions which are affront to democracy are gradually creeping into the political landscape of Ghana's body politics and they have serious political and security implications.

Thankfully, almost all the district capitals of Ghana can boast of one or two radio stations. As far back as 1993, the press has not relented in its power under Article 162(6) of the Constitution to "uphold the responsibility and accountability of the government to the people of Ghana". Notwithstanding the successes chalked by the media, there is plethora of evidence around that the media in Ghana are undergoing a serious credibility crisis. Journalism has recently declined in public esteem. The media have been criticised on the basis of promoting religious bigotry and political chickenry (Asekun-Olarinmoye, 2013).

Intemperate language, in the form of abusive expressions, incitement and tribal slurs which are used by a section of scrupulous and disgruntled party faithful during

political broadcasts have been outlined as some of the indecent expressions which tend to abuse media freedom in the country. It came to light that some journalists even contravene their code of ethics and mount political platforms to champion their selfish political interest. In the Tamale Metropolis, it can be observed that, some media outlets create the opportunity for their panellists to carry out discussions where all sort of intemperate expressions are used and this often raises eye brows about their profession since they have a code of ethics to contend with (Asekun-Olarinmoye, 2013).

2.4 Contribution of Radio to Development

Radio is an important tool for the mobilisation of resources in the modern world of today and a very strong factor in the harnessing and enhancement of the socio-economic and cultural demands of society (Egbuchulam, 2002).The author is of the view that, the best, reliable, safest and less expensive in terms of cost of having access to information is radio.Asekun-Olarinmoye (2013) opines that radio acts as one significant tool among media tools due to the fact that it covers an appreciable cross section of communities in the world. It transmits information very fast to respective listeners as the issues crop up.

Onabajo (1999) also indicates that radio can appeal and consciously affect an increasingly large listener, thus accounting immensely to national consensus building. Again, radio is a strong tool capable of covering areas such as empowerment, economy, education, health related issues, democracy and socio- political issues (Onabajo, 1999). Radio is essentially a tool meant to transform, build and provide the needed development in a globally competitive world.

For Kuewumi (2009), radio has revolutionised the whole enterprise of human endeavour and has now assumed a permanent place in the lives of many whereby they are taking through issues which are informative, reformative, nurturing and much more, benefitting from the provision of relaxation, re invigoration and resuscitation. Radio with its huge benefits makes it a mass information Chanel being used frequently in any given society.

Ansah (1985) opines that the liberalisation of the airwaves would bring about the creation of jobs as it was the experience of Asia and Central America. In spite of the massive endorsement for the proliferation of private radio broadcasting in Ghana, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) did not want to give chance for the private media especially the print media to operate. It was not until the year 1994 May, when Accra had a private radio station known as "Radio Eye". After 24 hours of radio broadcast, the station was closed down by the security forces. The development led to rioting in Accra marking the initial stage of protest against government monopoly. In 1995, "Voice of Legon" now Radio Universe was granted license to operate in Accra as a private radio station. Since 1995, Ghana has witnessed the proliferation of private radio stations (Ghana web, Tuesday, 25 January 2005). Every Ghanaian now can access information from as many radio stations as possible which was not possible in the early 90's where GBC monopolised the system. Now, the radio stations are many making it possible for radio listeners to choose any station to access Information. This raises questions on the pace of development particularly in Northern region as radio stations exist in almost every District.

2.5 Contribution of Radio to Development: Empirical Review

Radio daily feeds us with information, teaches us and calms our nerves. If radio is well understood and its potentials realized, hardly will there be any one that will live without a radio. Many anxious moments will be healed."(Kuewumi (2009:148). Radio plays significant roles in development as indicated by Ajaebgu, Akintayo and Akinjiyan (2015) who conducted a study on radio listening habits among university students and their attitude towards programmes at Redeemer University and found that radio has the potential to engender development in every sector of the economy. It is a useful device in translating information to a large group of audience at the same time. This is because it goes beyond the confines of time and space (Onabajo, 1999). However, this study failed to indicate indecent expressions that are traded on radio during political broadcasts.

Egbuchulam (2002) indicates that radio has played a vital role in the area of communication enhancing and promoting the lives of people, ensuring that news, entertainment and education are made accessible to the people in society. Despite the much patronage in the use of radio and the satisfaction often derived from using the internet and web-based for educational purposes, the fact still remains that radio has the comparative cutting urge of serving remotely isolated areas and disadvantaged communities very much aspiring to overcome the pitfalls in illiteracy and physical distance in many countries. Listeners' usage of radio and their attitude towards it is different in comparison to other information sources. Like Onabajo, Egbuchulam did not in any way indicate expressions on radio that could hinder the development that radio seeks to advance.

Courtesy to Oliveira, Portela, & Santos (2012), there is however an unfounded belief that radio listeners advance their personal connotations to radio programmes particularly when the programmes are such that they have some amount of insight in them affording them the opportunity to flex their "political muscles". As the programme is featured, the listener makes an informed decision based upon what understanding that is derived within the cultural perspective. The overwhelming increase in number of radio listeners is indicative of the fact that the radio listeners have come to have a high taste for the liberalised and involving benefits associated with radio programmes (Bamgboye, 2013). It is through this means that audience can express themselves in any way possible particularly during political campaigns.

Participation in radio programmes tends to expose individuals to the politics of the world and all other issues that pertain to the day to day life. Audience are given the platform to make their contributions by way of phoning in during discussions, talk shows and possibly during discussions with leaders of political parties. In this and many ways, radio becomes a formidable force in developing the mental, social, economic, moral, educational, cultural and the psychological needs of the populace. In view of this, Onabajo (1999) opines that radio is a double- edge sword which transcends all societies.

Radio has the power to affect a vast range of people at the same time, but appeals to a single person in a given society. However, instead of politicians to take advantage of this to champion development in Ghana, some rather use it as a propaganda tool. The radio listener receives companionship in instances when radio discussions touch on issues very relevant and appealing (Kuewumi, 2009). The existence of radio as a tool

for development tends to be a mystery because of its power to affect a considerably large number of people and still appeals to individuals.

Radio has the power to send feedbacks to its listeners when issues come to it via text messages, social media and phone- in calls. This kind of interaction ensures that there is constant touch on the part of members of an audience, bringing about a direct line of communication. McLeish (2005) sees radio to be selective in nature. To him, choosing to listen to a particular programme or not depends on a person's thought about the programme under view. For instance, if the programme does not meet his taste, the mind immediately signals for a switch-off. This shows that an individual choice in radio listenership is very much influenced by the mind which really takes place at a time when a radio item does not give the listener the interest.

Audiencescapes (2009) explored Ghanaians' habits with regard to media reception. The study revealed that Ghanaians accessed and used radio most as the source of news and information. The research results also indicated that Ghanaians had much trust and reliance on radio broadcasts as news and information sources, which pointed out that all things being equal, radio had proven to be a favourably significant tool for bringing about development information in Ghana. In their exploration, it was discovered that almost all radio enthusiasts hinted that they gratified their interest in FM stations regularly. Hence, it is imperative for the current study to examine the use of intemperate language on radio during political broadcasts.

Their survey also discovered that majority of residents in the Northern Region accessed radio either in the residences of their friends, open places such as drinking spots or they listen to radio at cafés. Residents had to undergo such difficulties in

accessing radio information in a way to augment their inability to possess radio sets in the comfort of their homes. With regard to residents' opportunity to radio information and how regularly that was, their survey found that 37% of rural residents in the region had access to radio in their friends' home and 30% in open places weekly. While about 71% of rural household dwellers had access to a radio and listened daily, 91% were weekly listeners.

Again on frequency, Ofori-Boateng (1997) sampled the views of 100 students of the University of Ghana based on their interests in radio phone-in talk shows. The findings indicated that although they did not have access to telephones on campus at the time, more than half of the respondents had access to radio phone-in talk shows. This was because students considered the programmes educative, informative and created avenues for freedom of speech and expression. The study also showed that 92% of students listened to radio for more than an hour daily, which was because radio listening, unlike television viewing, could be combined with other activities such as reading.

For Myers (2007) radio helps in sustaining the lives of destitute, ensuring that reports bordering on calamities are made available to rural folks and assisting the voiceless and marginalised in the country. A good number of the FM stations provide music and this goes a long way to impact directly on the moral and cultural lives of the youth. On the other hand, the radio stations provide entertainment to the people and most often hosts of such stations use the stations to sell a political candidate. With time, the small and new FM channels will grow to broadcast issues lingering on health and education. In most disadvantaged countries and societies, people find it

very difficult to buy newspapers on daily basis so the FM radio provides their information need (UNFPA, 2002).

Venkatalakshmi & Chandraleka, (2013) were of the view that FM radio does not only advertise commercial issues, but it also makes provision for socially related information such as religion, morality, crime and its prevention and the human environment. The authorities observed that radio can go a long way to bring about livelihood improvement of people. In fact, the unfortunate ones who cannot have access to radio are automatically marginalised and left for fate to determine their plight. Talk shows make it possible for radio listeners to contribute their quota towards the development of their communities. In this way, they are able to ventilate their views on issues that they want their political leaders to address for them.

In rural areas, the most effective and efficient medium of information is the radio which can broadcast information relating to agriculture and health. It also has the advantage of making information available to receivers without delay (Azarian, 2012). The FM radio makes it possible to have new opportunities for more sustainable development. It helps in alleviating the hardship of the deprived and vulnerable in society through the use of effective communication (Madamombe, 2005).

Finally, research by Kwakwa (2012) on Individual preference for radio stations in the Eastern Region of Ghana identified radio as the most significant instrument for development. Radio broadcasting as an important social phenomenon has been adjudged a major medium of information in the world of today. There are diversely packaged programmes or activities that flood the airwaves comprising, drama, music, news, announcements and education among others that provide useful information to

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the listeners. FM channels inform the youth about the present socio- political events prevalent in their localities in a better perspective. The author conclusively revealed that FM channels are very useful in providing the economic, social and political awareness among the youth in general.

2.6 Medium of Receiving Radio Broadcasts

2.6.1 Mobile phones

An overwhelming large cross section of mobile service consumers numbering above 5 billion are found in developing countries, indicating that developing countries have caught up with the reality that technology is crucial to the socio economic advancement of any country of the world today. Indeed, developing countries have now realised the important role mobile technology can play in the lives of countries which have not yet experienced the vigorous shake off process of laying a solid foundation for development. A solid communication base with all the necessary tools must be put in place to ensure that one can competitively meet the global world of communication (Fitzpatrick, 2012).

Mobile communications undoubtedly provide good chances for the development and advancement of a country, once the human and the economic elements of development would be catered for. Areas in which development would look at includes; possibility of having access to basic health information, readiness to cash in, creating opportunities for jobs and last but not least, whipping up the citizens 'interest in participating in political discourse. Nevertheless, one cannot run away from the task of how people can be assisted, how businesses can be supported to grow and what governments in developing countries can do to help promote their home

based, but infant telecommunication set up, so that they can benefit from the opportunities of mobile telephony (Fitzpatrick, 2012).

Researches made by AudienceScapes (2009) revealed that the mobile communication industry is seriously rubbing shoulders with the radio fraternity. Accordingly, mobile phones have become the most accessible means of communication as far as the media platform is concerned. It was revealed that about 10% of respondents who were contacted indicated that they had a computer at home. It suffices to say that radio and mobile phones' coverage and usage will eventually converge to help meet the communication need of the rural folks. Such innovations often emerged as converged technologies as many rural folks listen to radio through their mobile phones. Radio and mobile phones' coverage and accessibility can potentially form a powerful tandem to reach rural residents. Such innovations often emerge as converged technologies as many rural folk listen to radio through their mobile phones.

Seventy five percent (75%) of Ghanaians surveyed said they have a mobile phone in their home, despite the relatively burdensome cost of phones and phone services, especially to the rural dwellers. Household radio ownership nationally, according to the survey, stood at 86% (http://www.audienceScapes.com). Since this work was conducted in southern Ghana, it is imperative to conduct such a study in Northern Ghana to observe the differences.

In Ghana, cellular phones used to be the preserve of some selected few who were also described variously as privileged and rich. It signified one's economic and social status, but currently, even the person on the lowest step of the economic ladder could be seen using the most modern cellular phone. The mobile phone is now in vogue.

It is a necessity and through its usage, most people have abandoned the use of land lines, which require permanent places such as an office, the home or other places of work. In fact, mobile phones have made communication very easy and assisted in boosting businesses and relationships. This has made mobile phones an integral part of peoples' lives (*Daily Graphic*, Thursday, May 2, 2013: 40).

2.6.2 Satellite radio

A good number of satellite radios are more or less outlets or subsidiaries of stations that transmit information terrestrially, thus, they are terrestrial radio stations that have assumed another important dimension in the radio fraternity by adding technology to an already existing tool of communication, whereby programmes are showcased on satellites to widen their coverage and listener base. Satellite radio has a CD-quality sound, but it is a domestically static medium, to be accessed via a television or radio set connected to a satellite dish. This device however, lacks the advantage of portability (Barnard, 2000: 255).

Satellite radio is designed to have a dish and decoder. In order to have access to satellite radio, so as to appreciate its quality sound and pictures, a consumer must necessarily purchase a satellite dish and a decoder, which will be connected to a television set before one can have access to satellite radio. Some residents of Tamale Metropolis can boast of satellite dishes from operators such as *Multi TV*, *Strong TV* and *Go TV*. These satellite services ensure that resident subscribers have access to some selected radio stations based in Accra. Radio stations based in Accra can be made use of within the Tamale Metropolis through satellite decoders.

2.7 Limitations of Radio Broadcasts

The most serious and perhaps disturbing challenge as far as communication technology is concerned is the inability of a radio signal to go far. A radio signal which can be said to be strong, at best can only satisfy receivers within a stipulated geographical location, indicating that a broader network of radio stations have to be put in place to ensure that effective communication can be done to cover a vast number of people in communities.

According to Hartman (1999) radio signals are also rendered ineffective by weather vagaries and other networks. Additionally, radio signals can be challenged in certain places where there are mountains or other shady objects. An individual radio transmitter can suffer some amount of interference from other electrical gadgets leading to poor radio reception.

Like most other forms of electronic communication, radio needs electricity both at the point of the transmission and the point of reception. While battery-powered radios are common, these power needs are more cumbersome than those of land line telephones, which can operate using electricity already in the lines to make calls even during periods of emergency or power outages. A powerful radio transmitter, such as a regional broadcast station, requires large amounts of electricity at all times to send out its signal (Hartman, 1999).

Radio communication relies on a very limited spectrum of bandwidth frequencies. This is why commercial radio stations sometimes seem to overlap or blend together, and why the regulatory radio body, National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), strictly regulates the use of all publicly-owned airwaves. Radios require a relatively large amount of bandwidth relative to the amount of data they transmit, leading to

more and more air space being allocated for cell phone networks and wireless Internet networks.

Discourses of propaganda are frequently accompanied by distortions of facts and by appeals to the passions and prejudices of the public. A major objective of propaganda is to persuade the audience to believe the propositions of the speaker. For instance, in deprecating other people of influence in the Ghanaian society texters draw on name calling in order "to make us form a judgement without examining the evidence on which it should be based" (Goshgarian, 2004: 157).

Safi and iqbal (2015) conducted a study on uses and needs gratification of FM radio broadcast in native Pashto Language from Mardan. Their study proceeded from a quantitative survey analysis of the youth of Mardan city and, thus, data was collected through questionnaire. Another limitation is that the transmitter of FM radios may not reach long areas. It airs those issues which are central to them like farming, health issues and education (Safi and Iqbal, 2015).

The limitations of using radio in particular and the media in general for the promotion of development may be best expressed in the argument that, "Mass media have proved in many, many countries to be a necessary but not a sufficient condition for development," (Schramm, 1964:4) According to Mosia, Riddle and Zaffiro (1994:3) radio can be used to denounce exploitation, discrimination and minority rule that came with colonialism. One negative repercussion of radio relates to intemperate use of language.

2.8 Intemperate language on Radio

A survey conducted by the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA) (2016) on the use of hate speech and other insulting expressions on 60 selected radio stations within the country, revealed instances of indecent expressions. The theme was for Promoting Issue-based and Decent Language campaigning for a Peaceful, Free and Fair Elections in Ghana in 2016. Their survey revealed that insults and unsubstantiated allegations by politicians were paramount in the build-up to the elections. Hence, it is important to examine the use of indecent language on radio stations in the Tamale Metropolis. Table 2.1 illustrates findings on the categories of expression;

Table 2.1, Specific Categories of Indecent Expressions Recorded by Political Parties

Category of Indecent Expression	Political Party Affiliation to expressions									
	NPP	NDC	NLC	NDP	PPP	CPP	PNC	GFP	Unknown	Total
Insulting & Offensive Comments	27	32	11	7	5	1	2	0	42	127
Unsubstantiated Allegations	45	22	3	5	4	1	1	1	45	127
Provocative Remarks	17	10	0	0	1	0	1	1	22	52
Remarks Endorsing Violence	11	5	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	20
Remarks Inciting Violence	2	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	8
Divisive Comments	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Tribal Slur	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Insulting & Offensive Comments	27	32	11	7	5	1	2	0	42	127
Unsubstantiated Allegations	45	22	3	5	4	1	1	1	45	127
Total	104	78	14	12	12	6	4	2	111	343

Source: MFWA (2016); Quarterly report from April to June 2016

Research by Ofori (2016) on the use of intemperate language in Political discourse in Ghana found that insults in politics have reached an all-time high in recent political discussions. In recent years, politics in Ghana has become characterized by personal attacks, vilifications, bickering, and insults.

Coker and Nartey (2012) also researched on "when men of God go wild: a study of flaming in sermonic, discourse on a Ghanaian radio network" and indicated that the use of such intemperate language could be grouped into two major matrices: denotative insults and presupposed/inferential insults. According to the authors, for most people who use intemperate language, it is an indication that they have little or no knowledge of social morals since in certain societies these behaviours are taboo.

Furthermore, Marfo (2012) undertook a research on "Thinking of Peace, Democracy and Politics of Insults in Ghana: the paradox of freedom and culture of violence". The objective was to examine the extent to which politics of insults in the name of freedom of speech has characterised the Ghanaian political system. Data collected were mainly secondary and were gathered from some speeches made by some members of the executive, the legislature and other leading political figures/politicians on the Ghanaian media (especially the radio).

According to the author, the abolition of the criminal libel law which made it possible for people to express themselves freely has promoted the use of intemperate language on the airwaves. Ironically, intemperate language has characterised the political system of the country and this does not augur well for our fragile democracy. Reckless resort to hate speech by leading politicians and their supporters were peddled on the media especially the radio. In the words of the author, a political opponent in Ghana is largely considered as 'a sub-human who needs no recognition

and sympathy'. This statement on the use of language is sad considering the current democratic dispensation. The challenge however is that, no one is made to face the law or prosecuted. Most politicians in the country have taken the democratic peace enjoyed in the country for granted.

Again, on the 8th of December, 2012, whiles presidential and parliamentary elections were still in progress, the NPP Secretary General, Kwadwo Owusu Afriyie reportedly organized a press conference in Accra and apparently charged the party supporters to celebrate as the Party's presidential candidate, Nana Akufo Addo Dankwa was in the lead in terms of votes cast, an indication that he has already won the presidential election. He said that all other parties can go to hell with their predictions (Daily graphic, 2012). Such expression was offensive and deadly bearing in mind the consequences of self-proclaiming victory as witnessed in Cote d'Ivoire between the then president Gbabgo and the current president Quattara in 2010.

Indeed, politics of insults has gained root in our political discourse especially in Africa. However, the serious challenge is that, there is little literature or virtually none on the term 'politics of insults'. Politics of insults is inimical to peace as it creates dis-unity, fosters strong sentiments and galvanizes faction building among citizens. The infamous Rwanda genocide, for instance, might have had its own root causes (Allan, 2007; Hintjen, 1999; Meadow, 2009; Kellow and Steeves, 1998). Nonetheless, they all acknowledged the fact that the hate speech perpetrated on the Rwanda Radio did contribute in deepening animosity and fuelling the violence in which several people were massacred with impunity.

Fordjour (2016) undertook a research on the theme, "Foul Language in The Ghanaian Electronic Media; a case study of some selected radio stations in Kumasi, Ghana". This paper looked at foul language used in some advertisements, interviews, political and social shows. It concluded that much intemperate language is used on radio in Ghana and this must end.

In his submission on "Halt Illegalities on Radio", Kwame Karikari explained that due to the lack of clear rules and guidelines governing the operations of radio stations in the country, operators have resorted to all kinds of illegal activities that endanger the health of the people and distort the cultural values and ethics. He was of the view that, the use of offensive language on radio is becoming so rampant that, it should be curbed to avoid an unforeseeable occurrence.

On Tuesday, 17th March, 2015, Raymond Archer, the Editor of the "Daily Searchlight" interviewed the then Deputy Attorney General, Mrs Dominic Ayine concerning a court ruling the government was contemplating appealing against it. In the cause of the interview, the Deputy Minister lost his temper and said; "You *are asking me stupid questions and I am not ready to tolerate that nonsense……my friend, if you misbehave, I will drop the line,*" which he certainly did. This tape was played on Kessben FM in Kumasi. In another development, a programme on Kessben FM featured another form of foul language. A serial caller told the panellist to stop talking like a fool and "wise up". Advertisements on some radio and television stations are full of foul languages (Fordjour, 2016).

Fordjour (2016) also maintained that some media practitioners use foul language to spice their reportage and many people commend them and that urges them to perpetuate that practice. This is evident in some radio broadcasts on some rape cases

and some marriage programmes. Perhaps, some people like such language because of the fact that there has been cultural prohibition on their usage and they consider their usage as a sort of revolution. They hardly hear such words and would have preferred uttering them but for the prohibition on their usage.

According to the author, some public figures are intentionally provoked so that they unleash unpleasant language in order to ridicule them. Some radio presenters ask them provocative questions and that makes them use abusive words. Most of these foul utterances are used as jingles and the motive behind is to entertain the audience. Some of these jingles are used to expose the ignorance, incompetence and the narrow-mindedness of some public figures. Also, local radio stations entertain advertisers, interviewees and other media stakeholders to use foul language for monetary gains. There are no punitive measures against perpetrators in order not to lose their monetary gains.

At the interrogation, the two suspects admitted making those statements and acknowledged that their remarks were regrettable and unfortunate. The BNI observed that thus far, several electronic and print media outlets have become notorious for their intemperate vituperations, personal attacks and outright insults, among others. This is a serious security concern that we will not allow to fester. "As Part of our constitutional mandate to safeguard Ghana's Political environment for all Ghanaians, the Bureau notes that the rights of self-expression and media freedom are enshrined in our constitution, and several governmental and non-governmental institutions have a primary responsibility to regulate the communication sector and avoid inflammatory commentary that has the potential to threaten the peace and stability of the country" (BNI, 2016).

2.9 Media and the regulatory environment in Ghana

The criminal libel and seditious laws, which were the object of the repeal legislation of 2001, can, therefore, be traced to the first Criminal Code, the 1892 Criminal Code Ordinance and its subsequent amendment in 1934 (Allan, 2007). This law was used to suppress journalists and the media for more than a century before it was repealed in 2001. "There are laws that prevent the publication of seditious, defamatory, obscene stories, or any news which will infringe against the Official Secrets Act. Apart from these, specific governments have passed laws which depict their attitude to the practice of journalism" (Allan, 2007:17).

The provisions of the 1892 Criminal Code Ordinance on criminal libel and sedition and the 1897 Newspaper Registration Ordinance were both enacted to respond not only to the emerging nationalist press of the time, but also to the broad agitation of the people of the Gold Coast against the infamous 1894 Crown Lands Bill, which sought forcibly to seize the people's right to the land in the Gold Coast as was done in apartheid South Africa and other systems of settler colonialism elsewhere in Africa.

Until the media landscape was liberalised, the laws which generated most controversy were two laws on the licensing of papers published in March 1989: "The Newspaper Licensing Law 1989 (PNDC Law 211 as amended) and a Legislative Instrument (L 11417). Newspaper Licensing Registration 1989, Section 1 (1) of Law 211, state that no person shall print, publish or circulate any newspaper except under and in accordance with a licence granted to the publisher by the Information Secretary." The repeal of the Criminal Libel and Sedition Law in 2001 brought a measure of respite to journalists, particularly those in the private media.

2.10 Conceptual Framework for the Study

From the figure below, political programmes from political parties and other stakeholders who are actors (including electorates) play critical roles in politics and influence the outcome of elections. This can be seen through adherence to the ethical code on elections which seeks to promote the use of decent expressions during elections or campaign period. On the other hand, violations of this code of conduct by actors and stakeholders through the use of indecent or intemperate language may result in violence, demonstrations amongst others. Figure 2.1 clearly presents the framework.

Figure 2.1. Conceptual Framework
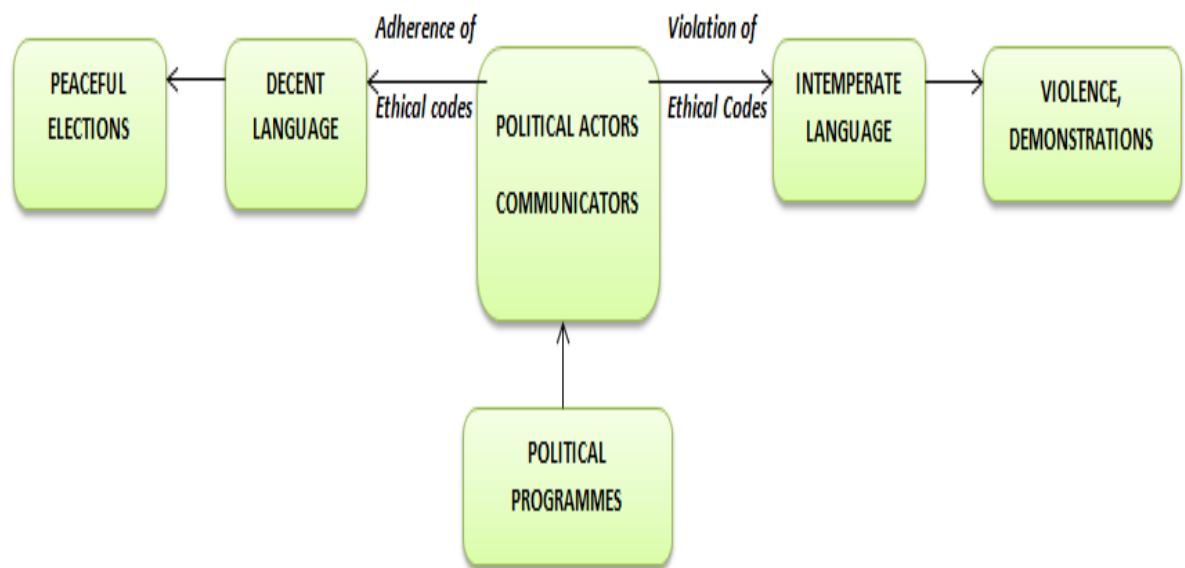
Source: Author's Construct, 2017

2.10 Conclusions

This chapter presented the theoretical framework and literature reviewed on politics and democracy in Ghana, radio and its contribution to development, intemperate language on radio, the media and regulatory environment. A conceptual framework

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has also been developed from the review indicating possible variables to guide the analyses. With the media being regarded as a powerful tool for development, the literature provided evidence on how this role is tainted with the use of intemperate language by political activists during campaigns. Much of the literature reviewed on intemperate language or hate speech revealed that much research work had been carried out on the use of intemperate language on radio, but such works had been of national character. There is the need to examine the use of intemperate language on radio at the community level, hence the choice of Tamale Metropolis which happens to be one of the hot spots with regard to politics. This important piece of work will largely contribute to already existing literature on impact of radio on development. Although some of the variables used on the conceptual framework were tested outside Ghana, they are still relevant to the current study.The literature reviewed, provided the basis for the methodology adopted for the study. It also served as the framework within which the results of the analysis, recommendations and conclusion were situated. The next chapter presents the methodological framework adopted for the study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology adopted for the study. It presents the study area, research design, population, sample size and sampling procedure, instrumentation, data analysis and presentation, ethical issues and study limitations.

3.2 The Study Area

The Tamale Metropolis is located in the central part of the Northern Region and shares boundaries with the Sagnarigu District to the west and north, Mion District to the east, East Gonja to the south and Central Gonja to the south-west. The population according to the 2010 Population and Housing Census is 233,252 representing 9.4 per cent of the region's population. Males constitute 49.7% and females represent 50.3% (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014).

The proportion of the population living in urban localities (80.8%) is higher than that living in rural localities (19.1%) of the metropolis. The population of the metropolis is youthful (almost 36.4% of the population is below 15 years), depicting a broad base population pyramid which tapers off with a small number of elderly persons (60 years and older), representing 5.1 per cent. The total age dependency ratio for the district is 69.4(GSS, 2014).

3.2.1 Location, Size and Physical Features

The Tamale Metropolis is one of the 26 districts in the Northern region. It is located in the central part of the Region and shares boundaries with the Sagnarigu District to the west and north, Mion District to the east, East Gonja to the south and Central

Gonja to the south-west as already noted above. The Metropolis has a total estimated land size of 646.90180sqkm (GSS, 2014). Geographically, the Metropolis lies between latitude 9º16 and 9º 34 North and longitudes 0º 36 and 0º 57 west.

Tamale is strategically located in the Northern Region and by this strategic location, the Metropolis has a market potential for local goods from the agricultural and commerce sectors from the other districts in the region. Besides, the comparative location of the Metropolis within the region, the area stands to gain from markets of countries within the West African Region such as Burkina Faso, Niger, Mali and the northern part of Togo and from the area to the southern part of Ghana. There are 115 communities in the Metropolis (GSS, 2014).

Most of the rural communities have a large expanse of land for agricultural activities and serve as the food basket for the Metropolis. However, these communities still lack basic social and economic infrastructure such as good road networks, school blocks, hospitals, markets and recreational centres, thereby hindering socio-economic development, poverty reduction and reducing the general phenomenon of rural-urban migration. The Metropolis enjoys electricity supply from the national grid and about 70% of the communities are connected (GSS, 2014). With the expansion of electricity in the Metropolis, there is also an expansion of Small and Medium-Scale Enterprises in the area.

3.2.2 Agriculture

Only a small proportion (26.1%) of households in the metropolis is engaged in agriculture. In the rural localities, the proportion of households engaged in agriculture (43.3%) is high. Most (84.8%) of the agricultural households in the metropolis are involved in crop farming, 52.9 per cent in urban and 47.1 per cent in rural localities.

Fishing and farming are the agricultural activities that engage the least proportion (less than 0.1%) of households in the metropolis (GSS, 2014).

3.2.3 Literacy and Education

Of the population 11 years and above, 60.1 per cent are literates and 39.9 per cent are non-literates. The proportion of literate males (69.2%) is higher than that of females (51.1%). Five out of ten people (54.8%) indicated they can speak and write both English and a Ghanaian language. Of the population aged 3 years and older (84,897) currently attending school in the metropolis, 52.9 percent are males and the remaining 45.1 percent are females (GSS, 2014).

Among those who have attended school in the past, males constitute 58.6 percent and the females represent 41.4. This indicates that among those who attended school in the past and those who are doing so currently, males have higher proportions. Among those currently attending school, 15.1 per cent are in nursery, 18.2 per cent in JSS/JHS, 12.5 per cent in SSS/SHS and the largest proportion (40.0%) is in primary. Only 5.7 per cent of the population 3 years and older in the metropolis are currently attending tertiary institutions (GSS, 2014).

3.2.4 Information Communication Technology

Of the population 12 years and above, 53.7% have mobile phones. The proportion of males who own mobile phones (55.5%) is higher than that for females (44.4%). Only about 7.4 per cent of the population 12 years and older use internet facilities in the metropolis and 9.5 per cent of the total households have desktop/laptop computers (GSS, 2014).

3.2.5 Health

About 2.0 per cent of the total population of the metropolis has one form of disability or the other. Almost equal proportions of both females and males of the population suffer disability. The types of disability in the Metropolis include sight, hearing, speech, physical, intellect and emotional impairment.

Emotional disability is the commonest in the Metropolis, affecting 29.1 per cent of the disabled population. The second commonest is sight disability which also affects 26.8 per cent. About 48.7 per cent of the disabled population are employed, 3.9 per cent unemployed and 47.3 per cent are economically not active (GSS, 2014).

3.2.6 Relief and Climate

Generally, the Tamale Metropolis is about 180 meters above sea level. The land is generally undulating with a few isolated hills. The Metropolis has only one rainfall season in a year and this has affected effective agricultural production in the area. Daily temperature in the Metropolis varies from season to season. During the rainy season, residents experience high humidity, and slight sunshine with heavy thunderstorms, compared to the dry season which is characterized by dry harmattan winds from November-February and high sunshine from March-May (GSS, 2014).

This climatic feature offers a unique opportunity for the preservation industry in that it could use the sunshine as a natural preservative. Another untapped potential of the Metropolis is the development of artificial parks and gardens that could take the advantage of the high sun rays by building swimming pools, parks for both children and adults to relax during the excessive sunshine period. By this, most families would be able to enjoy good family reunion during the weekends and holiday periods. The

Metropolis could also derive needed revenue from the development of these potentials.

The Metropolis is poorly endowed with water bodies and this has affected the regular flow of water into households within the Metropolis. The only natural water systems are a few seasonal streams which have water during the rainy season but dry up during the dry season.

The Metropolis lies within the savannah woodland zone in the country. The trees in this zone and for that matter the Metropolis are short scattered wood lots in nature. Major tree types in the Metropolis are *Dawadawa,* Neem, Acacia, Mahogany, and Baobab, among others. The Metropolis is endowed with naturally grown tall grasses during the rainy season which are used to make the local mats popularly called, "Zanamat" (GSS, 2014).

The making of the "Zanamat" by some farmers during the dry season reduces the rural-urban migration levels of the youth. Also, the major economic tree is the Shea tree which has gained international recognition. The picking, processing and marketing of the Shea nuts has over the years engaged almost all households in the area. Undoubtedly, these Shea related activities have contributed in employing the youthful population increased household incomes and reduced poverty. Cashew and Dawadawa are also widely grown in the Metropolis.

The main soil types in the Metropolis are sandstone, gravel and mudstone that have weathered into different soil grades. Due to seasonal erosion, soil types emanating from this phenomenon are sand, clay and laterite ochrosols. The availability of these

soil types have facilitated real estate development in the area as estate developers have resorted to using these materials in the building industry (GSS, 2014).

3.2.7 Political and Administrative Structure

The Metropolitan Chief Executive is the political head of the Metropolis. There are two constituencies in Tamale namely: Tamale South and Tamale Central, and two sub-metros which are Tamale South and Central. The Metropolis has a total of 59 Assembly members comprising 18 appointed and 41 elected members and also a total of 205 unit committee members (GSS, 2014).

The Assembly has very active sub-committee members who work hard to achieve the objectives and the goal of the Assembly. In 2015, a taskforce group known as the "BILCHINSI" was formed to assist in the governance of the metropolis by ensuring discipline among the youth in the Metropolis. This voluntary group is also assisting the police force in the Metropolis to reduce and prevent crime and violent acts by policing the neighbourhoods, especially at night (GSS, 2014).

Apart from the Local Government structures, there are eminent traditional chiefs and sub-chiefs who are also working hand in hand with the Metropolitan Assembly in promoting peace, stability and development in the area. Traditionally, the YaNaa is the overlord of the area but he enskins the GukpeguNaa as his subject over the traditional administration of the Metropolis (GSS, 2014).

3.2.8 Social and Cultural Structure

Historically, the northern regions of the country had vast land cover with smaller population sizes and the Metropolis is no exception. This area begun experiencing

high population growth after many people with different ethnic backgrounds started migrating from other areas to settle there, thus making it a cosmopolitan area. The Dagomba are the majority and other ethnic groups such as Gonja, Mamprusi, Akan, Dagaaba and groups from the Upper East Region also reside in the Metropolis (GSS, 2014).

Also found in the Metropolis are nationals from other African countries and from across the globe. The area has deep- rooted cultural practices reflected in activities such as annual festivals, naming and marriage ceremonies. Some of the festivals that are celebrated annually in the Metropolis are Damba, Bugum (fire festival) and the two Muslim Eid festivals (Eid-ul Fitr and Eid-ul Adha). The Metropolis is dominated by Muslims and followed by Christians, spiritualists and traditionalists (GSS, 2014).

3.2.9 Markets and Financial Institutions

There are four major markets in the Metropolis namely; Central Market, Aboabo, Kukuo and Lamashegu. In addition to these, there are satellite markets in other communities. The Central market comprises mini shops and stalls. The central business district of the Metropolis is also fast developing with new business ventures. There is an uncompleted modern super market block, that was started during the 1970s but has been abandoned due to lack of financial resources. This facility, when completed would provide space for offices, stores and shopping centres for businesses. When completed it would offer permanent accommodation for a lot of traders roaming the streets and those occupying open spaces in the metropolis.

There are sanitation facilities ranging from 1No. 24-seater water closet (WC), 1No. 10-seater KVIP and aqua privy in some of the markets, but these are inadequate. The Lamashegu and Kukuo markets are yet to be provided with sanitation facilities. The

Assembly has an abattoir located at Shishiegu in the Tamale South-Sub Metro. This abattoir has the capacity of generating waste for bio-gas production. That aside, this facility is the landfill site that receives 250 tons of waste daily. The landfill site is a huge potential for the generation of not only bio-gas but also for generation of bio-gas and for production of fertilizer which could be very useful to farmers.

There are many international, national and local financial institutions in the metropolis. Prominent among these are the Bank of Ghana (the Regulator), Barclays Bank, Standard Chartered Bank, Stanbic Bank, Ghana Commercial Bank, Agricultural Development Bank, Zenith Bank and Unibank amongst others (GSS, 2014).

3.2.10 Communication

The Tamale Metropolis also enjoys telecommunication services. New mobile communication service providers such as Airtel-Tigo, Expresso and Glo are now operating alongside the major networks (MTN and Vodafone). Broad-band service has been introduced in the Metropolis, which is encouraging as it links the Assembly to the worldwide web. It has also proven very useful in business transactions for both public and the private sector. The Metropolis has lately witnessed an increase in media activities (GSS, 2014).Below is a Map of the Metropolis showing communities where these radio stations are located;

Figure 3.1 Map of the Tamale Metropolis

MAP OF TAMALE METROPOLITAN ASSEMBLY
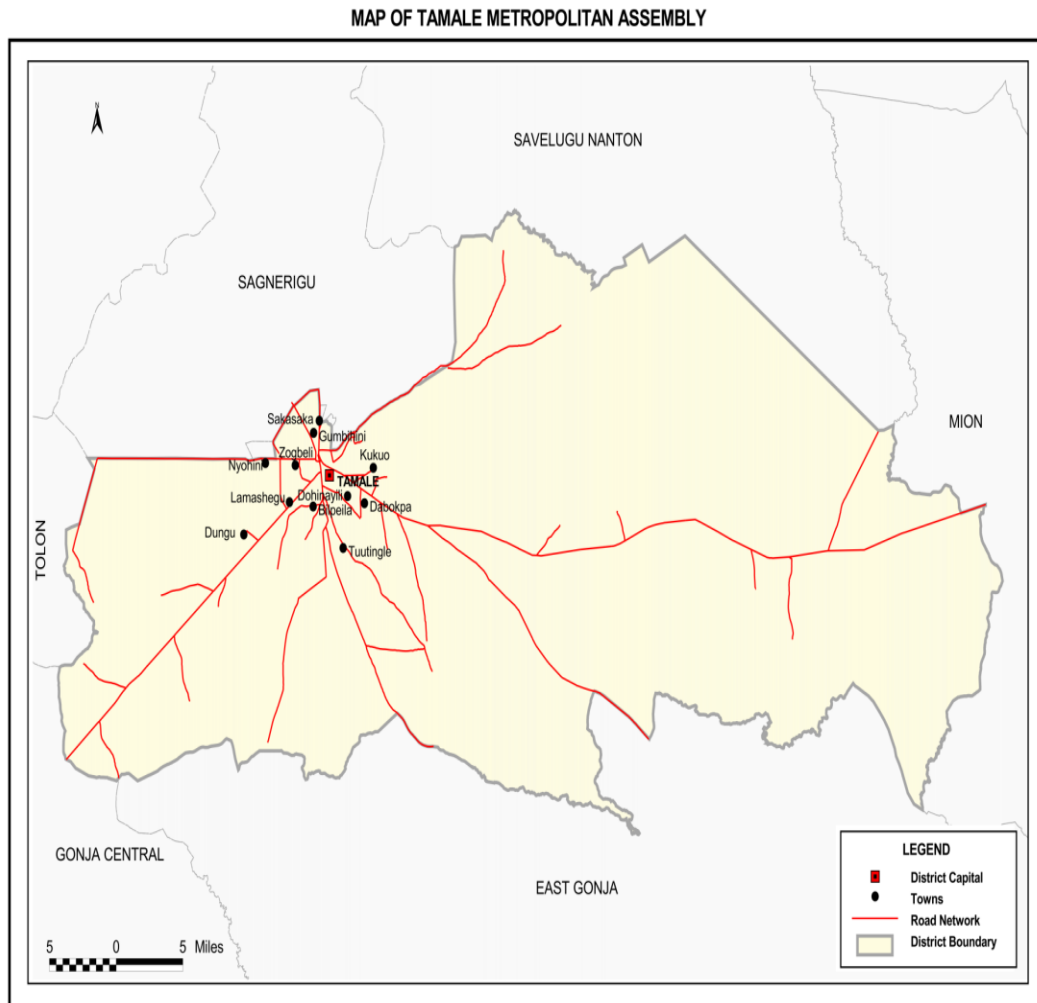
Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2014

3.3 Research Approach

The study involved both qualitative and quantitative approaches. This is termed mixed method research (Collin et al., 2007). Qualitative and quantitative methods can be combined and this allows deepening of understanding through cross-validation of data (Bryman & Bell, 2007). The qualitative method gives an insight into the formulation of the problem and generates ideas for later or future quantitative research. Though not quite flexible as qualitative approach, quantitative method tends to allow generalisation of results and predictions (Winchester, 2005). The qualitative research

approach made it possible for the study to employ interviews, focus group discussion and open-ended questions to elicit the needed information from the respondents.

The open-ended questions were designed in such a way as to give the respondents an opportunity to freely express their opinion without any restrictions. The comments, contributions and views expressed by the respondents, provided additional information that confirmed or otherwise, the results obtained from the quantitative data. The responses obtained from the interview and focus group discussion conducted gave a voice to the figures obtained from the quantitative analysis and also helped to easily triangulate the results.

Again, the quantitative approach also made it possible for the researcher to obtain responses using the closed- ended questionnaire which was analysed quantitatively using the appropriate statistical tool thus Statistical Package for the Social Scientists (version 21). The results generated from these analyses gave numerical values and interpretation that provided bases to lay a claim about an event. The application of mixed approach of research in this study, provided an avenue for holistic analysis of data for the study, thereby providing answers to both "why" and "what" questions in the questionnaire (Kuranchie, 2016). The quantitative aspect of the study involved the quantification of the data and generalization of the results from the sample of the population of interest (Creswell, 2008). Qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews allowed the construction of meaning and incorporation of different perspectives regarding the use of intemperate language on radio during political broadcasts and how society deals with such situations.

3.4. Research Design

According to Berger (2000), a research design is the structural plan for conducting a test of the research's hypothesis or research question. It also specifies the process of data collection and analysis. A research design defines the domain of generalization; that is, it indicates the extent to which the obtained interpretation could be generalized to different situations (Amoani, 2005).

The study adopted the descriptive survey and case study design to assess the use of intemperate language during political campaigns in the Tamale Metropolis. A survey is about taking a particular area representative of the rest of the population (Al-hassan, 2015:53). For Collie & Rine (2009), surveys ensure efficient data collection about a large population and are less susceptible to errors. Conversely, the main weakness of survey design as compared to other designs, relates to the possibility of respondents not giving out true nature of events or state of affairs. This is due to the fact that in survey design, the researcher relies on reports of behavior rather than observation of behavior.

The descriptive survey gives the opportunity for the researcher to describe the situation as they occur naturally (Kuranchie, 2016). Best and Khan (1998) also described a descriptive survey as a design that is concerned with conditions or relationship that exist such as determining practices, aptitudes and opinions that are held, processes that are ongoing, and trends that are developing. The researcher considered this design suitable in order to describe the occurrence, practices and the situation-using questionnaire as a main instrument to gather the required information to determine the status of the subject of the study.

Again, a descriptive survey was considered as a perfect design as the researcher was interested in describing some aspect of a population by selecting unbiased sample of individuals who would complete the survey instruments. Babbie (2005) opined that, descriptive survey seeks to provide measurement and report characteristics of a population or phenomenon. This design provides both quantitative and qualitative data that describe people and their behaviour, opinion, situations, attitudes and perception using simple statistical tools and presenting them in a systematic manner so that a valid conclusion can be made (Kuranchie, 2016).

A case study research design was also considered suitable for this study to enable the researcher to gain a deeper and clearer understanding to address the questions in the study. According to Yin (2003), one cannot merely adopt a research strategy because of the research questions asked but a case study strategy is always preferable and appropriate when a "how" or "why" question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the investigator has little or no control. Nkoom and Zuberu (2015), described a case study as a research tool use in investigating a phenomenon or a situation of an individual, groups, programmes, institutions or other Social unit. According to Yin (2008), a case study helps researchers to understand a complex social phenomenon and also have a holistic and meaningful investigation of real life events. A case study allows the researcher to present data collected from multiple methods like interviews, observations, focus group, questionnaire among others (Palena, Shyam & Carolyn, 2006). This study espoused interviews and focus group as prime instruments to gather qualitative data, which provided a complete, and a comprehensive data for the study.

3.5 Study Population

According to Nachmias and Nachmias (1992), 'population is the aggregate of all cases that conform to some designated set of specifications'. It is the entire aggregation of items from which samples can be drawn for a study. The author conducted this research in the Tamale Metropolis. The study population involved the recorded Morning Show programmes aired between November, 2016 and December, 2016, recognised Radio Listener Groups in the Tamale metropolis, political party communicators and other stakeholders or Gatekeepers such as the radio programme hosts and their producers, National Media Commission (NMC), Ghana Journalist Association (GJA) and the Ghana Independent Broadcasters Association (GIBA).

Radio stations in Context: There are 14 FM radio stations currently in the Tamale Metropolis and these radio stations are; Radio Savannah, Radio Justice, Zaa Radio, Tawosul FM, Suhupiali FM, Ridge FM, ABCD FM, 123 FM, Simly Radio, Diamond FM, Filla FM, Kesmi FM, North Star FM, Bishara Radio and Tamale Radio.

The Savannah Radio is the only state owned radio station in the Northern Region. It was established in 1996 with the aim of promoting the cultural and socio-political needs of the people in the Northern region. Its programmes are in English and Dagbaani. Also, due to the uneasiness and disturbances by the youth of Tamale in 2005, Fiila (89.3 FM) was established in 2006 with the aim of promoting peace and development in the Northern Region by ensuring that the people most especially the youth are informed about governmental policies. North Star (92.1 MHz) was established in 2007 with the aim of producing and broadcasting programmes geared towards promoting peace building and development of the Northern Region, as well

as complementing the activities and businesses of individuals, communities, institutions and agencies that conform to the station's mandate.

Finally, Tawosul (95.7 FMs) was established in 2011 mainly to support communal activities and small businesses within the Metropolis. Dagbaani is the main language for the station with English as a supporting language. All these radio stations have their recognized listener or audience groups residing in the Metropolis.

3.6. Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

Sampling is the process through which a part is derived from a whole towards naming it. According to Fischler (2013), the sample size of a survey is the subgroup of the target population that the researcher plans to study for the purpose of making generalization about the target population. Most typically, this refers to the number of units that were chosen from which data was gathered. According to Nexaku (2012), it is imperative to select areas with interesting issues that fully address the subject under study.

A combination of probability and non-probability sampling methods were employed in this study. With the adoption of the probability sampling, simple random sampling technique was engaged to select the recorded radio programmes and the members of the listener groups. The non-probability sampling on the other hand, employed purposive sampling techniques to select the political communicators, officers at NMC, GJA, GIBA and the workers at the radio stations.

Purposive sampling technique was used to select the only state-owned radio station and the community radio in the Tamale metropolis. Radio Savannah was purposively selected because it is the only public radio station in the Metropolis and as such there

was the need to gather data from this media house. Again, Tawosul Radio was purposively selected because it is the only community radio in the Tamale metropolis and therefore there was the need to elicit information from this radio station.

The heads of Programmes for the four (4) media houses, the heads of GJA, GIBA and NMC were selected purposively for interview, to retrieve the needed information for the study. The communication officers of the various political parties (NDC, NPP, PNC, CPP and NDP) were also selected purposively to elicit the needed information for the study. This group of people were considered very relevant to this study because, they are the key actors in the use of intemperate language in political broadcasts. Again, the leaders of the recognized listener groups of the sampled media houses were purposively selected for the focus group discussion.

In the case of the probability sampling, simple random sampling was engaged with the aid of MS. Excel to select two private radio stations out of the twelve (12) private radio stations currently operating within the Metropolis. Random selection was necessary because all privately owned stations had equal chance to be selected (Panneerselvam, 2007). Hence, Fiila FM and North Star FM were randomly selected. Again, simple random was used to select 114 out of the 160 recorded morning show programmes.

Sample Size

The procedure for selecting these programmes followed a mathematical approach proposed by Yamane (1967) for sample size determination specified as:

n= $\frac{N}{1+N(e)^2}$

Where;

n = sample size

N= sample frame = 160 recorded Radio Programmes

e = error or significance level = (0.05) 2

Therefore, n = $\frac{160}{1+160(0.05)^2}$ =114.29

From the calculations, the sample size of the study is 114 recorded morning show programmes between the period of October and December 2016.

Again, the study adopted census survey to select the entire population of four recognised listener groups in the Tamale Metropolis. This selection was done in accordance with the view of Gay Geoffrey and Airasian (2012), that Census surveys are usually conducted when a population is relatively small and readily accessible. The total population of the various listener groups was 48 respondents which were used for the study. Below is the summary of the population of the various listener groups;

Table 3.1 Population of Listener Groups

Population	Frequency
Savannah Radio Listener group	10
Filla Radio Listener group	13
North Star Radio Listener group	11
Tawosul Radio Listener group	14
Total	48

Source: Field Survey, 2016

3.7. Sources of Data

Data for the study were obtained from primary and secondary sources. Primary data were obtained from in-depth interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs),

questionnaire and content analysis. Secondary data on the other hand were gathered from reports, journals, media websites and brochures from the NCA. The secondary data collected from libraries and the internet were gathered, synthesized, critically evaluated and conclusions drawn from them.

3.8. Data Collection Instruments

Questionnaire, Interviews, Focus group discussions, Content analysis were the prime data collection instruments employed in this study.

3.8.1. Questionnaire

The questionnaire for this study was structured into both open-ended and close-ended. The close-ended questionnaire required respondents to tick or mark ([√]) the appropriate box provided whilst the open-ended questionnaire required the respondent to provide a brief answer in the space provided on the questionnaire. Even though open-ended questionnaire requires a little effort by the respondents, it is an avenue for the respondent to provide for a greater depth of response, revealing their frame of reference and possible reasons for their responses (Nkoom & Zuberu, 2015).

3.8.2. In-depth Interview

In-depth interviews were conducted to enable the researcher obtains in-depth information for the study. Kuranchie (2016), the goal of a comprehensive interview is not to get answers to predetermined questions but rather to find out the perspective of the participants and their experience on the issue at stake. Interviews were then conducted with stakeholders from NMC, GJA, GIBA, Political Party communicators as well as radio editors and discussants to obtain relevant data. Heads of Savannah Radio, North Star FM, Fiila FM and Tawosul FM were also interviewed. The responses from the interviews were subjected to narrative and descriptive analyses to

confirm or otherwise the findings from the focus group discussions and quantitative analyses.

3.8.3. Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussions were conducted for four listener groups in the Tamale Metropolis. These were; the Savannah Listener Group, Filla Listener Group, North Star and Tawosul Listener Groups. This was to obtain collective information on the use of intemperate language on radio during political broadcasts. The discussions involved eight members each from the listener groups which lasted over a period of thirty minutes.

3.8.4 Content Analysis

Content analysis was employed to solicit data from Radio Listener Groups, key informants and the analysis of 114 sampled morning show recorded programmes.

3.9. Pretesting

A pilot study of the structured interview was conducted on Savannah Radio and Filla FM, as well as a recognized listener group, Tawosul group to ensure the quality of the structured interview and also to ensure that, the design of the study and the methodology were likely to produce the information required. The questions were reviewed to suit the design of the research and understanding of the participants. This exercise was conducted for a week.

3.10. Data Processing and Analysis

The instrument designed for this study was meant to extract contents of radio discussions. Contents of morning show programmes from the four radio stations-Savannah radio, North Star FM, Filla FM and Tawosul FM were extracted for

analysis. As posited by Hancock (1998), extracting of contents aids in the categorization of verbal or behavioural data for the purposes of classification, summarization and tabulation. Analysis of media content was carried out in terms of the frequency of intemperate language usage. Hancock contends that the content of data collected involves giving descriptive account of the data. The process involves coding and classifying in order to identify from the transcripts, the extracts of data that are informative and can be utilized to meet the objectives of the study.

According to Lacey et al. (2001), first and foremost, upon the transcription of the data, the researcher was enjoined by the content analysis procedure to become familiar with the transcriptions by reading and re-reading the data and making memos and summaries of interesting or relevant observations before the formal analysis began. The next step involves the researcher making a list of different types of information that were found based on the notes that were made in the first step. The researcher then proceeded to read through the list of data items and categories. Each item was dealt with according to similarities in meaning. The next step involved the building of major and subthemes.

Major themes were built by linking categories that were alike and maintaining the original, smaller categories as minor themes. The researcher then perused the minor and major categories of data and compared and contrasted the various categories to fine tune the elements in the main and subthemes. The process was repeated for each transcript until all the transcripts were analysed and themes developed for each. Upon completing the teaming of each transcript, the researcher proceeded to combine the information on all the transcripts thereby obtaining one document.

Upon obtaining a single document, the next step was to integrate all identified themes and categorize them in order to avoid repetitions. Once the themes and subthemes were integrated, the researcher then proceeded to do the discussion of the information obtained in conjunction with the literature that was reviewed. The discussion was guided by the theoretical framework and the objectives of the study.

At the heart of this approach is coding. Such codes as tags, lines and labels were assigned against the pieces of data. The point of assigning such codes was to attach meaning to these pieces of data. Specifically, I employed open coding to summarise the data by pulling together identifiable patterns in order to find conceptual categories in the data. The main function of open coding, according to Punch (1998: 210), is "to expose theoretical possibilities in the data." This was followed by axial coding so as to find the relationships between the categories.

However, this method of analysis was not rigidly pursued step by step since the analysis of data tended to be cyclical. This process was particularly useful as it encouraged the researcher to rigorously examine the data in order to arrive at valid conclusions rather than skew findings or think of them. Content analysis is, however, criticised for doing little in ensuring the validity of its findings (Krippendorff, 2004). This limitation was surmounted by engaging in independent coding using the available coding system in the spirit of achieving internal reliability of the findings such that conflicted observations were collaboratively resolved. It was useful to establish the reliability of this work, given that qualitative research is often "a very personal process because two researchers analysing a transcript will probably come up with different results" (Dawson, 2002: 128).

An analytical approach that combined both qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis was employed. Qualitative data were descriptively summarized in the form of comprehensive statements and analytical descriptions, taking into consideration the responses provided to Focus Group Discussions and structured interviews. They were coded based on themes before analysis was done. Quantitative data gathered through the structured interviews were analysed with the aid of SPSS version 21 and presented using frequencies distributions and percentages.

3.11. Ethical Considerations

Blumberg et al. (2008) defined ethics as the study of the right behaviours and address the question of how to conduct research in a moral and responsible way. Cohen et al. (2005) added that 'researchers must take into account the effects of the research on participants, and act in such a way as to preserve their dignity as human beings'. Ethical clearance was sought from the University for Development Studies, the NCA and the media houses.

A consent form was attached to the questionnaire. The questionnaire was administered to respondents after verbal consent was sought from them. The purpose of the study and questionnaire was explained to participants in a language that they understood and were informed that participation was voluntary. They were also informed that the researcher had no conflict of interest in the study, and that it was purely an academic work. For confidentiality, respondents were required to write their names on the questionnaire.

They were informed that they had the right to withdraw from participating, even after they had consented to do so, without it affecting them in any way. Data elicited from respondents was also treated as private and confidential by securing the hard copy

under lock. The hard copies were stored in a cabinet under lock for future reference, should the need arise.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the study, taking due cognizance of the research objectives. First, analyses and discussions are presented on the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents. The other sections discuss issues relating to the extent to which intemperate language was used during political broadcasts, how the use of intemperate language on radio affected the 2016 elections and why radio contributors use intemperate language on their radio programmes. The chapter also focuses on challenges radio stations encounter in their attempt to curb the use of intemperate language and ways by which the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts can be curtailed.

4.2 Demographic characteristics

4.2.1 Age and educational background of respondents

Table 4.1 below shows Age and Educational Background of Respondents

		None	Primary	JHS/Voc./Tech	Tertiary	Total
Age Between 15and 19years	Freq./%	1(2.1%)	5(10.4%)	6(12.5%)	2(4.2%)	14(29.2%)
Between 20 and 24 years	Freq./%	1(2.1%)	2(4.2%)	17(35.4%)	2(4.2%)	22(45.8%)
25 years And Above	Freq./%	6(12.5%)	6(12.5%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	12(25.0%)
Total	Freq./%	8(16.7%)	13(27.1%)	23(47.9%)	4(8.3%)	48(100.0%)

Source: Field Work, 2016

This section presents findings on the demographic characteristics of respondents. The research established that 29.2% of respondents were between the ages 15 – 19 years, 45.8% were aged between 20 – 25 years, while 25% were between the ages 25 and above. The study also found that 47.9% of respondents had attained J.H.S, Vocational and Technical education. Meanwhile, 27.1% of respondents were found to have attained primary level of education while 16.7% indicated that they had no education at all. In all, 22 respondents, representing 45.8%, were between the ages 20 – 24, constituting younger listeners within the metropolis.

The study found that, most respondents who were interviewed were adults and hence, had in-depth knowledge and experience as far as political broadcasts on radio were concerned. Quite apart from respondents having an insight into political issues aired on radio, they also demonstrated some commitment and objectivity in responding to issues. For example, in my interaction with one respondent, a member of Savannah Radio Listeners' Group, had this to say; *"As* for me, as far as politics is concerned, I am always prepared to speak the truth. I am grown and I know much about the politics of the day."

However, a respondent, between the ages of 20- 24years, did not hesitate to reveal this: "Most of us the youth, we do not say what we hear or see, but we listen to what our parents tell us." Another respondent had this to say; "When it is elections, we have no choice than to go our parents' ways. They always tell us that they understand politics more than us." The study revealed that, the youth in the Tamale Metropolis, actively take part in political issues, but fall short when making informed decisions on developmental issues. This is because they have to play to the gallery of their parents. This clearly shows that, some of the youth in the Metropolis are naive when it comes to taking informed decisions to improve their lot in the Metropolis.

4.2.2 Gender and Educational Background

Table 4.2: Gender and Educational Background of Respondents

			None	Primary	J.H.S/Voc./Tech.	Tertiary	Total
Gender	Male	Freq./%	2(4.2%)	7(14.6%)	18(37.5%)	4(8.3%)	31(64.6%)
	Female	Freq./%	6(12.5%)	6(12.5%)	5(10.4%)	0(0.0%)	17(35.4%)
	Total	Freq./%	8(16.7%)	13(27.1%)	23(47.9%)	4(8.3%)	48(100.0%)

Source: Field Work, 2017

Out of the 48 respondents, 64.6% were males with the remaining 35.4%, constituting females. In terms of respondents' level of education, 13 out of 48 respondents, representing 27.1% had been educated to the primary level, while 23 respondents representing 47.9% had been educated up to the Junior High/ Technical/ Vocational level and another 4 respondents, representing 8.3% had been educated up to the tertiary level. The remaining 8 respondents, making up 16.7% had no formal education. Interrogating a respondent about what device he uses to access information from the networks, this was his response: "I use radio. I cannot operate the other devices that my colleagues use."

The researcher found that, listeners' educational levels influence their preference of radio listening devices in the metropolis. The study again found that, the higher a listener's level of education, the more advanced the device(s) used to listen to radio in the Metropolis. This discovery is confirmed by a respondent's submission as indicated: "I use my mobile phone to access news at all-time. The phone is always with me." However, factors such as high cost of advanced devices and the preference for traditional devices also influence older listeners' choices of radio listening devices. This finding is confirmed by a female respondent, a member of Tawosul

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Radio Listeners' Group who had this to say: "The wireless set in this shop was bequeathed to me by my father and it is from it that I get music and news of the day. Those expensive devices used by the youth are not part of the older generation."

4.2.3 Age and Ability to Speak Multiple Languages

The table below shows the ability of listeners to speak multiple languages.

Table 4.3 Age and Ability to Speak Multiple Languages

			Yes	No	Total
Age	Between 15 and 25 years	Freq./%	2(4.2%)	12(25.0%)	14(29.2%)
	Between 26 and 35years	Freq. %	3(6.3%)	19(39.6%)	22(45.8%)
	36years and above	Freq. %	2(4.2%)	10(20.8%)	12(25.0%)
	Total	Freq. %	7(14.6%)	41(85.4%)	48(100.0%)

Source: Field Work, 2017

Another important factor that increases or decreases the listenership of radio in the Tamale Metropolis is the language medium through which a radio broadcasts its programmes. The majority of respondents were of the opinion that the language for radio broadcast should be Dagbaani. According to respondents, songs and other entertainment programmes are mostly in English and due to this, they cannot benefit as they do not understand English. The study found that majority of respondents aged 26 to 35 years (39.6%) could not speak multiple languages. About 25% of those between ages 15 to 25 years reported that they could not speak multiple languages while 20.8% aged 36 and above maintained same stance. In exploring if one's inability to speak English could affect one's chances in political choices, a respondent had this to say: "Master, (referring to the researcher), if you do not speak English, you will not know exactly what the politicians are doing in the country. Sometimes,

friends who speak English share the happenings with us, but because we belong to different political parties; they will distort information to their favour. All political news should be broadcast in Dagbaani." A respondent, between the ages of 15 to 25 years lamented; "I do not speak English, but the morning show programmes are broadcast in English making it difficult for some of us to contribute to the discussions through phone in calls. Can you imagine that a very respectable politician in the Metropolis aired on North Star FM that the youth have been given money by the NDC party to vote for John Dramani in the 2016 elections? I heard this report from a friend who speaks English and it disturbed me very much." Inferring from the respondents' submissions, it is clear that, the ability to speak multiple languages, increases or decreases the listenership of radio broadcasts in the Tamale Metropolis.

4.3 Reasons for Listening to Radio

In examining the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts in the Tamale Metropolis, the researcher found it imperative to investigate why people listen to radio.

Figure 4.1 Reasons for listening to Radio
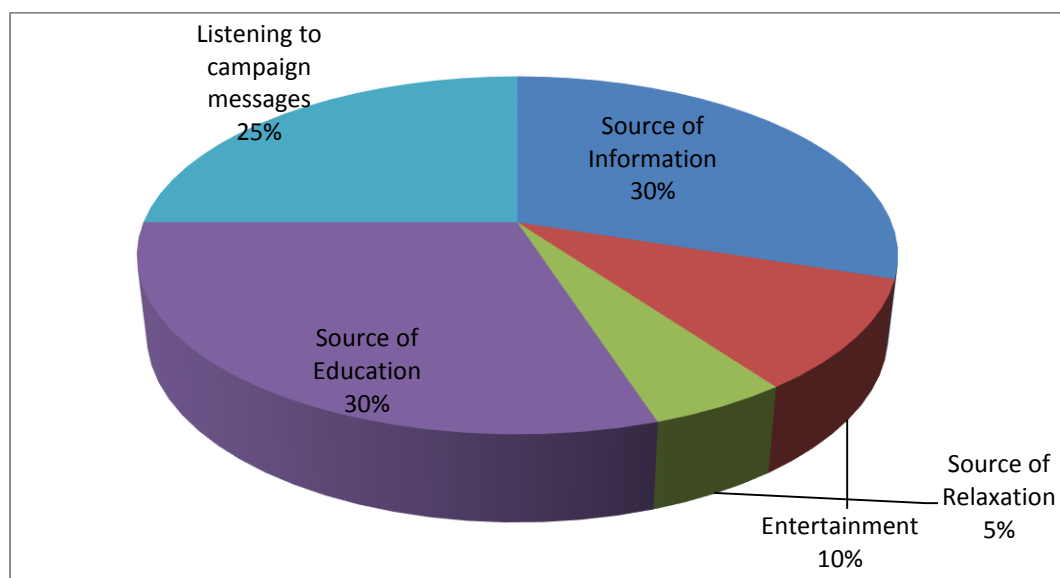
Source: Field survey, 2016

As part of the study, it was important to investigate from respondents in the Metropolis why they listen to radio. The study found that, the respondents had different reasons for listening to radio. As seen in Figure 4.1 above, 30% of respondents listen to radio for education and 30% listen to radio for information. This finding supports the view of Sy (1994) who indicates that radio is undeniably the most veritable source of information, entertainment and education. Again, 25% of the respondents listen to radio for campaign messages and 10% of the respondents also listen to radio for entertainment, whilst the remaining 5% of the respondents listen to radio for relaxation. In view of this, Egbuchulam (2002) indicated that, radio has been a major communication tool for improving the quality of people's lives, bringing to their doorstep news, entertainment and education through its programmes.

4.4. Listeners' preferred radio programme

In the Tamale Metropolis, radio stations have lots of programmes that they air to the general public. While some members of the public may opt for talk shows, others may prefer different programmes. As indicated by Fitzpatrck (2012), the choice of radio programme influences one's behaviour on a social issue. In the light of this, the researcher explored listeners' choice of radio programmes. It is important to know which programmes are more listened to by both youth and adult or which FM radio channels gratify their needs most. Members of Radio Listener Groups in the Metropolis had different preferences with regard to radio programmes.

Some respondents reported that their preference for radio stations like North Star Radio was influenced by the kind of talk shows the station broadcasts. The data collected for the study showed that, morning show programmes in the Metropolis were preferred by the majority of listeners (39.6%) as compared to listeners who preferred talk show and feature/magazine programmes constituting (18.8%) and (6.

3 %) respectively. The percentage difference between the listeners of "morning show" and the rest of the programmes suggests that, information given on radio in the morning show gets to a considerably high number of people in the Metropolis. The reason found was that most respondents made time in the morning to listen to morning shows. This revelation was reiterated by a respondent: "I will be honest with you; almost every adult in my family listens to the morning show programmes. They say they are educative."

Figure 4.2 Radio Listeners' Preferred Programmes
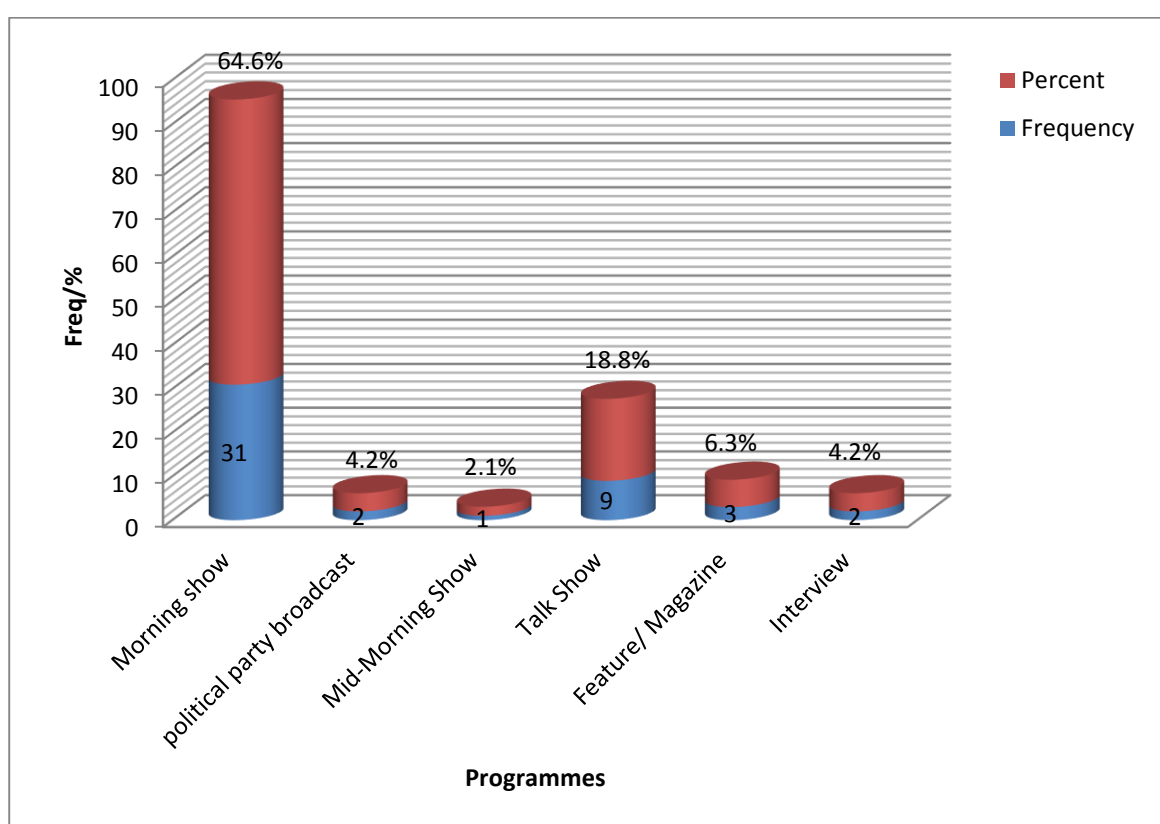
Source: Field Survey, 2017

In a focus group discussion, a respondent indicated:

I listen to radio programmes basically to obtain information about the happenings in

 My community and the country. That is why I do not miss morning

 Shows. Political issues are discussed during the morning shows.

Again, from Figure 4.2, 6.3% of the respondents indicated that they listen to magazine programmes or features, 4.2% said they listen to political party broadcasts and interviews whilst the remaining 2.1% of the total respondents indicated mid-morning shows as programmes they listen to. The results suggest that, a greater number of people in the Metropolis listen to morning shows representing (64.6%). Although some respondents did not indicate intemperate expressions as major inspirers for tuning to these stations, the study found that various listeners or fan-based groups in the Metropolis take delight in listening to intemperate expressions such as tribal slurs, unsubstantiated allegations and remarks inciting violence.

4.5. Medium for accessing radio broadcasts

Information in the 21 century plays a very important role in the development of every society. The medium through which this information is accessed is mostly wireless radio as opined by Marfo (2012). In the Tamale Metropolis, most inhabitants use either wireless radio with other applications and internet, while others use mobile phones to access information. Against this backdrop, the study sought to investigate the medium through which respondents of this study access their information. Table 4.4 below illustrates this finding.

Table 4.4 Medium for accessing radio broadcast

Description	Frequency	Per cent
Radio set	20	41.7
Mobile phone device	11	22.9
Internet radio	5	10.4
Others	12	25.0
Total	48	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2017

It was also observed that 41.7% of respondents within listener groups use radio set as a medium for accessing information. About 23% and 10.4% use mobile phones and internet radio as means of accessing radio broadcasts, respectively. This shows that the majority of respondents in the Metropolis still depend on radio as a medium for receiving radio signals to listen to their preferred programmes. This study confirms Marfo's findings (2012), which indicate that the medium through which information is accessed is mostly wireless radio. In the Tamale Metropolis, most inhabitants use either wireless radio with other applications such as internet and mobile phones to access information.

In an interview with one of the respondents on why she preferred the use of the radio set, she indicated thus;

Radio set is what we the illiterates can comfortably operate and listen to what is happening in our country. When there is power outage, you can use dry cells battery and still listen to what is going on in the country. Another respondent said: "I do not have to struggle to buy a television set or a mobile phone because my shop is close to a radio station. I access my information from that."

Another respondent who also tunes to Fila FM asserted, "As you can see, I use only radio here. I get all information on the elections from the various candidates on the radio stations". It is clear from the respondents' 'views that, radio is a reliable and convenient medium to receive information at any point in time.

To further solicit the views of respondents on the medium through which they access information in the Metropolis to inform them about the use of intemperate language

during political broadcasts, this was revealed by one of them: "I am always with my mobile phone, I do not want to miss any political discussion on my station, in order for me to take informed decisions on political issues in the Metropolis. " This report from the respondent confirms an earlier one that, the level of education of a respondent determines the choice of radio listening device.

4.6. The Frequency of Listening to Radio

The study examined how frequently respondents listen to radio in the Metropolis. Figure 4.3 below shows the results obtained from the respondents

Figure 4.3 Frequency of Listening to Radio
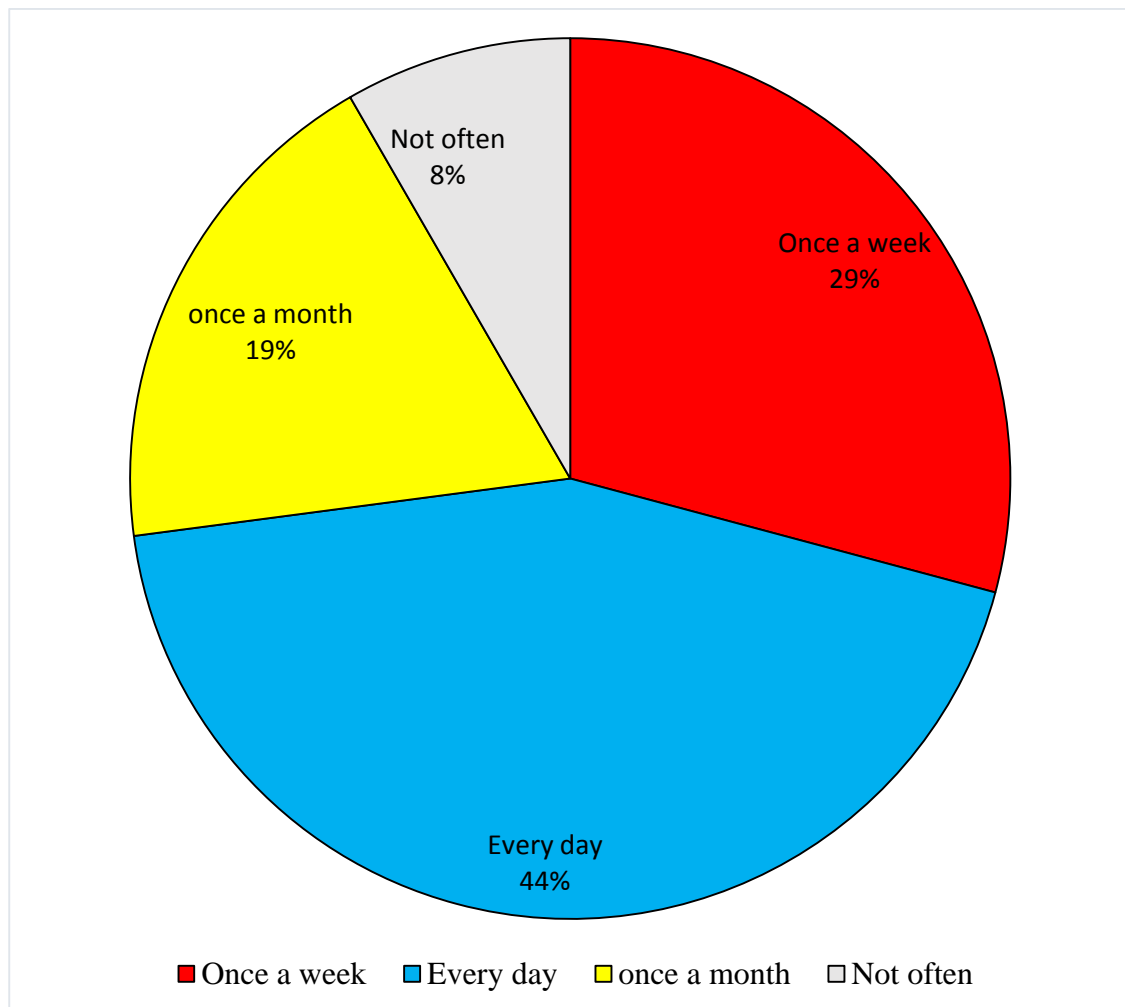
Source: Field Survey, 2017

The study found that 44% of respondents listen to radio every day, 29% listen to radio once a week, 19% listen to radio once in a month and the remaining 8%, do not often listen to radio. The results imply that, the majority of the respondents listen to radio on daily basis which makes it possible for them to be abreast with political discussions in the Metropolis and the various forms of intemperate language used during political broadcasts in the Tamale Metropolis. In an interview with a respondent in Sakasaka, he said:

"This radio is always on. We don't put it off unless there is power outage, or we are going home. Apart from going home in the evening to watch TV, radio is the only source of information. It also entertains us here.''

Another respondent, revealed to me: "Sincerely speaking, I do not listen to radio often, I do not like the way some people talk, especially during political seasons." It could be inferred from the submission of the respondent that, the eight per cent of respondents who indicated that they did not listen to radio often might be those respondents in the Metropolis who are displeased about the disregard for the use of indecent expressions during political broadcasts as revealed by the study. Invariably, the study revealed that intemperate language is used on the airwaves during political broadcasts.

4.7. Frequency of Listening to Political Programmes.

As part of the objective of this study, it was important for the researcher to examine the rate at which the respondents listen to political programmes on radio. The results from the respondents are shown in Figure 4.4 below.

Figure 4.4 Frequency of listening to political programmes.
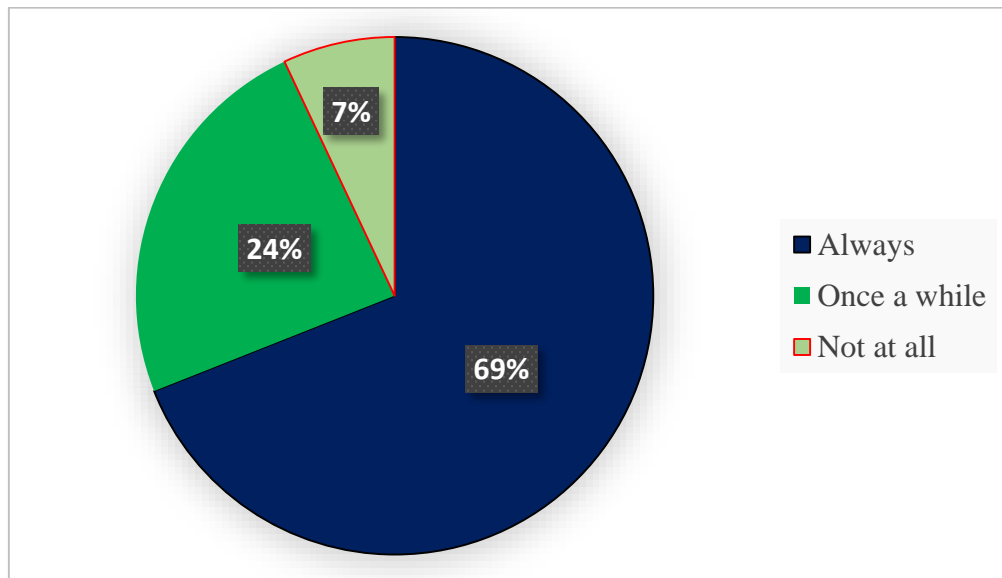
Source: Field survey, 2016

The results presented show that, the majority of respondents (69%) always listens to political broadcasts on radio. In an interview, a woman who is a member of the Fila Radio Listener Group confirmed this finding by stating: "I always have the radio with me and do listen to political broadcasts daily. Some of the political discussions are really interesting and I enjoy every bit of it, but some are also heart-breaking and very provocative". Another respondent also had this account: "There is no single day that I do not listen to radio. Even if I am not well, I still listen to radio."

From the analysis, it came to light that, 24% of the total respondents listen to political programmes on radio once a while. A member of Savannah Radio Listener Group in the Tamale Metropolis asserted: *"I am always busy and find it difficult listening to political broadcasts on Radio Savannah. I only listen to those discussions in the morning around 8:00 am due to my work schedule. As you can see, I am a trader and hardly make time to listen to political broadcasts. However, when I come home in the evening and they are discussing political issues on the radio, I listen".*

Another respondent, a member of Filla Radio Listener Group in the Metropolis recounted thus: "I always make time for the morning broadcasts before leaving for work and when I return from work in the evening, I watch television." This statement implies that, much attention is given to political issues in the Metropolis, an added advantage for the researcher to solicit information on the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts.

Again, the remaining 7% of respondents pointed out that they did not like to listen to political broadcasts. In an attempt to examine why they do not listen to political programmes, a member of the North Star Radio Listener Group had this to say;

Honestly, I do not listen to political shows on radio because they do not always say the truth. They try to defend every action of their political parties by using abusive and provocative words which are sometimes not good for listening.

Sometimes when you listen to how these politicians are spending our money, I feel pity for myself. I just heard that our President together with his brother [referring to Ibrahim Mahama], has offered our Chairman [referring to the Northern Regional Chairman of NPP] a sum of GH¢3.3 million and a V8 Land Cruiser to denigrate the reputation of Nana Akufo-Addo. Ghana is for all of us, but some think it is for them. Both NPP and NDC are the same. I find it painful when I hear these things.

4.8. Listeners' Preference for Radio Station

The study once also investigated what informs the choice of respondents' listenership to a particular radio in the Metropolis. In a focus group discussion, respondents expressed their preferences with regard to radio stations in the Metropolis. The majority of respondents preferred listening to privately owned radio stations. They expressed the concern that, these stations do not have any government or political influence over their operations. A member of North Star FM Listening Group

confirmed this claim by stating:*"...For that station, [referring to North Star FM] you can speak your mind, but for the others [referring to community and state owned radio stations] they behave as if they always want to cover up the bad deeds of people. The private stations are ready to say exactly what is happening in this country and we can express our opinions without any fear of intimidation".*

To further suggest that the private and state-owned radio stations stifle information and prevent the public from expressing their views on air, a respondent in an interview said: "I listen to North Star FM always. I express my views on political issues freely, unlike the state owned and community radio stations which tend to be economical with the truth and unnecessarily prevent the public from speaking the truth." Another respondent who was interviewed lent support to this claim in the following words: "*I do not like the way the state and community radios in the Metropolis behave. They make it quite difficult for us to return fire to our political opponents when they insult on radio*." The aforementioned submissions suggest that, some of the respondents have the perception that, the state and community owned radio stations are usually not fair and just in handling issues in the Metropolis, especially when they have to do with politics. Respondents were of the view that the influence of state and community-owned radios undermines credibility and fair judgement on political issues. This view confirms Asekun-Olarinmoye (2013), finding that, the media have come under criticisms for being influenced by politicians to distort information, fan ethnic conflict to their benefit and raise high political tensions in the country. On the other hand, some of the respondents also believe that, the state and community radios are rather more credible and reliable.

A discussant at a Focus Group Discussion also lamented thus, *"Some serial callers of political parties [referring to NPP and NDC] do not speak well at all on the private*

radio stations. For me, because Radio Savannah is for the Government, you cannot talk anyhow while on air. Sometimes, the host can cut the line if you do not talk well. One man [referring to a serial caller] phoned in during a political discussion and was cut off the line when he began to make statements which could not be substantiated. He became annoyed and threatened to burn down the station but he could not. This is why I prefer Radio Savannah to the other private stations in the Metropolis".

The leader of Tawosul Radio Listener Group revealed that his preferred radio station in the Metropolis was Tawosul FM. He had this to say; "*I benefit so much from this station. Moral values and educational materials are obtained, and above all, it is a station that promotes peace and unity.*" Another member of Tawosul Radio Listening Group indicated the reason for his preference of Tawosul radio to other radios in the Metropolis in the following words: One *cannot be part of every discussion on radio or listen to every radio station. We have children here and if we choose to tune to radio stations that use foul language like North Star and Fiila, the children will learn the wrong things. My radio dial is on Tawosul FM. On this station, the local language [Dagbaani] is used. It helps us and educates our children by instilling in them moral values and cultural identity.*

4 .9 Extent to which intemperate language is used

The study once again explored the extent to which intemperate language is used during political broadcasts in the Metropolis. The study took into account the content of recorded morning shows and the in-depth interviews conducted with respondents and other relevant bodies of the study. Analysis revealed that, the majority of respondents (41.7%) indicated that the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts was very high. Most of these respondents attributed the use of intemperate

language to the discussants and panellists from the two main political parties which are the NPP and the NDC.

Table 4.5: Extent to which radio stations broadcast intemperate language

Description	Frequency	Percent
Very High	20	45.7
High	16	33.3
Low	6	12.7
Very Low	4	8.3
Total	48	100.0

The study also revealed that 45.7% of respondents indicated that the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts is very high. In an interview, a respondent said: *"I cannot deny totally that there has not been the use of some vulgar words on radio but I think unlike 2012 election campaign season, this year's election has seen some level of decency in the use of abusive and provocative words. It seems the radio stations are putting some regulatory mechanisms in place to curtail the unruly behaviour of some of the politicians".*

The study revealed that, not only do the panellists from political parties engage in the use of intemperate language, but radio presenters are also guilty of such unfortunate behaviour. A respondent asserted: *"Sometimes it is very disheartening to hear the insults and unsubstantiated allegations some of the panellists and even presenters of radio stations peddle on air. In fact, the least said about them the better. Just last week, the host of Filla FM in a discussion programme wanted to restrain a serial caller from making an unsubstantiated allegation, but ended up calling the serial caller a bastard".*

Clearly, the host of the programme had meant to ensure sanity for the discussion to go on and consciously or unconsciously, ended up being the worst perpetrator of intemperate language usage. Another respondent said, "*The host of North Star morning show usually does not speak well. How can you refer to human beings as 'things'? I heard this on one of the shows* he hosted."

To support the study, the researcher identified some of the intemperate expressions that were used during political broadcasts by analysing the content of recorded morning show programmes from four selected radio stations in the Metropolis. It came to light that, out of the 114 sampled recorded morning show programmes, 86% contained intemperate expression whilst the remaining 14% were without any intemperate language. This result supports the finding revealed in Table 4.5, that the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts is very high in the Tamale metropolis.

In view of this, it suffices to say that the extent to which intemperate language is used on radio during political broadcasts in the Tamale Metropolis is generally high.

This revelation poses a threat to our democracy and peace in the country considering the untold hardship the use of intemperate language on radio had on Rwanda. In view of the peace and tranquillity enjoyed in the Metropolis, a respondent lamented how some radio stations are used to insult and provoke people unnecessarily. Some of the respondents think that radio stations in the Metropolis should not give the chance to politicians to talk anyhow on radio. In fact, the liberalization of the airwaves coupled with the abolition of the Criminal Libel Law which has broken what authorities refer to as the 'culture of silence' in Ghana is a good thing, but a respondent in a focus group discussion cautioned:

"We thank God that, the average Ghanaian now has the freedom to express himself in matters of political interest which was unthinkable in the military regime. However, the fact that one has access to a radio station does not mean one can flout the rules with impunity. We have witnessed a series of offensive and abusive words by our key political leaders in this country without the laws taking them on. No party faithful should be given too much chance to insult people on radio to jeopardize our hard won peace".

Some respondents indicated that all forms of pronouncements, blatant incitement and reckless resort to hate speech by leading politicians and their supporters are peddled on the media, especially radio in the Metropolis. Another discussant emphasized that although intemperate language is used on radio during political broadcasts, he still thinks the media and radio stations for that matter, do not use intemperate language and most of them abide by their code of operations. This view was challenged by another respondent from Tawosul Listener Group, who held the view that radio stations use intemperate language in most of their broadcasts. She gave examples of some of the intemperate language used: "*Sometimes, a political opponent is largely considered as a sub-human who needs no recognition and sympathy by some of these stations. Some party members do same but I must admit that radio stations cannot be exempted from this. I know what I am talking about*".

An interview with the Northern Regional Chairman of the Ghana Independent Broadcasters Association (GIBA) and the Northern Regional President of the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) had this to say in view of the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts in the Metropolis: "In fact, we cannot pretend that intemperate language is used during political broadcasts in the Metropolis. My heart bleeds when I hear all manner of insults and incitements to cause violence on

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our airwaves all in the name of politics. I have had a number of discussions with stakeholders to address this unfortunate situation which has bedevilled us. *He further stated that: "The current trend of freedom of speech and how people, particularly political party faithful, express themselves on radio is worrying and if care is not taken, serious issues can emerge going forward."*

He cited examples of villages within the Metropolis that were burnt down and properties destroyed beyond recognition, all in the name of power. For him, the radio stations cannot be solely blamed for the use of abusive words on radio but political party communicators as well.

An interview with radio editors also revealed that, mutual respect, which is a basic ingredient of human security is virtually out of the vocabulary of most people both young and old who are party affiliates. To editors, they give the chance to every party to be part of their radio discussions. However, it is up to the parties to comport themselves while on air. They continued that, these acts only fuel violence and do not promote peace and sanity in the country. They also indicated that the big wigs in political parties need to be careful in their speech, as the young ones copy from them.

An editor of Filla FM lamented about some of the statements which are made by our key political leaders, which are considered inappropriate and incite their followers to misconduct themselves. He continued: *"Sometimes our leaders are the cause of this rampant use of intemperate language on our air waves. For instance, our former president Jerry John Rawlings ironically referred to his fellow former president, John Agyekum Kufour, as 'Ata Ayi' (a notorious armed robber in Ghana). ...he did not even apologise or justify his statement which caused some of the supporters of NPP to reply this comment by raining insults on former President Rawlings and the leaders of*

the NDC party. I believe if our leaders desist from this behaviour, their supporters will follow suit".

The use of intemperate language is against the background of the fact that Buzan, Waever and de Wilde (1995), in securitization theory, argue that foul expressions have the tendency of causing violence.

4.9.1 Frequency of Intemperate Language on Radio Stations

The study examined how frequently intemperate language is used on each of the four selected radio stations during political broadcasts in the Tamale metropolis. Thorough analysis of 114 sampled recorded morning show programmes was done and the results are shown in Table 4.6 below.

Table 4.6: The frequent use of intemperate language by Radio Stations

Radio Station	Frequency	Percentages (%)
Savannah Radio	13	11.40
Filla Radio	32	28.08
North Star Radio	48	42.10
Tawosul Radio	21	18.42
Total	114	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2016

From table 4.6, it was revealed that much intemperate language was used on North Star Radio in comparison to the rest of the radio stations with 48 intemperate language items representing 42.10 % of the recorded morning shows. Filla FM was

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considered the second radio station where 28.8% of the total recorded morning show programmes, contained such language. Tawosul Radio and Savannah Radio are considered the stations which used the least intemperate language with 18.42% and 11.40% respectively.

The statistics show that, the two leading radio stations with high intemperate language are privately-owned radio stations. This suggests that, most of the private radio stations do not care much about the implications of the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts. Having analysed the category of morning show programmes recorded, the researcher observed numerous instances where intemperate language used on these radio stations were not regulated. In an interview, a Programme Editor of one of the private radio stations (Filla FM), said: *"It is perceived by most people that we those in the private radio stations do not regulate our programmes, but the fact is that, we usually devote a lot of time for the political show discussions where young politicians are also given the chance to participate in the discussions. We sometimes discuss controversial issues which sometimes lead to heated arguments resulting in some of the panellists going overboard."*

The study further found that, in the Metropolis, hardly a week passes by without one hearing insults of various forms on radio. This finding is in line with the report by the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA) that hardly a week passes by without political leaders and their supporters engaging in politics of insults in the form of provocative remarks, call to fight or violence, promotion of disunity, and 'expression connoting tribal slur', among others.

Some respondents recalled that, the proliferation of politics of insults and its ramification on the peace of Tamale and the country as a whole attracted

condemnation and comments from various personalities and bodies including the Ghana Journalists Association, the National Peace Council, and Civic Forum Initiative (CFI) among others, calling for an end to such behaviour. However, respondents could not trace or even mention similar condemnations in the run-up to the 2016 general elections. For instance, a member of Filla Listener Group in Lamashegu reported that: "*I don't remember any relevant body condemning such expressions*".

Another finding to reveal the degree of reckless vociferation of intemperate language usage during political broadcasts in the Tamale Metropolis can appropriately be captured in the expression of a respondent, a member of Savannah Radio Listener Group as follows: "*Everyone knows about me in Tamale. I do not fear any big man. Nobody feeds me and no person can sit on my rights. I take part in political discussions and I insult when the need arises.*" The current study, therefore, questions the role of relevant bodies like the GJA in the Metropolis. Aside, compliance with the code of conduct by journalists and the media as a whole is also questionable. The study further revealed that, it is not the radio stations per say that initiate intemperate language usage, but most politicians in the metropolis who are architects of the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts.

4.9.2 Rating of Intemperate language used by Politicians on Radio

This section presents findings on rating of politicians' use of intemperate language during political broadcasts. About 62.5% of respondents rated politicians' use of intemperate language on radio as high. Only 4.2% respondents rated the use of intemperate language on radio by politicians as low. Findings on this are shown in Figure 4.5.

Figure 4.5 Rating of Intemperate language used by Politicians
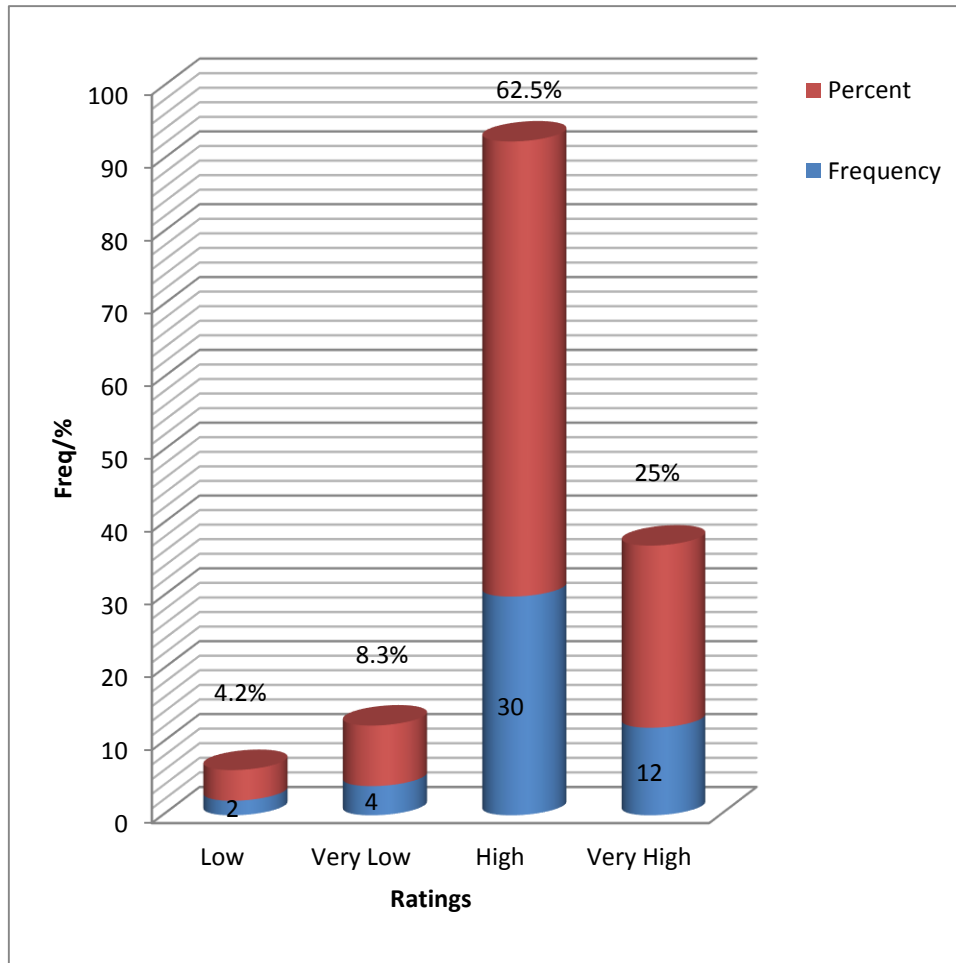
Source: Field Survey, 2016

4.9.3. Use of intemperate language among politicians

As part of this study, it was found imperative to examine the activities of some key informants such as serial callers, panellists and political party communicators with regard to the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts. The findings revealed that, serial callers use intemperate language most (73%). This was followed by panellists of political parties constituting 14%. Finally, 13% of respondents indicated that presenters at radio stations use intemperate language the most. This means radio presenters are still the least offenders as far as the use of intemperate

language during political broadcasts is concerned. A respondent from Filla Radio Listener Group had this to say:

"*My brother, we are in an era of democracy and you cannot stop anybody from expressing his views. Whenever I switch my radio on, particularly this campaign time, most callers use indecent expressions. For instance, last week one caller described another caller's views as "nonsense" and "foolish". For me, this is dangerous and as a country we have to do something before things become worse, like it has happened in other countries where they experienced wars.*"

Another respondent, a mechanic and Tawosul FM Listener Group member lamented about the use of foul language by some presenters at radio stations in the Metropolis. He Said: "*…Look, the situation is serious, listening to a North Star presenter on Tuesday [referring to the morning show], I was very surprised that a whole presenter insulted a serial caller on an issue. It is very sad*". This view was reiterated by a trader who confirmed this unfortunate behaviour of some presenters.

However, an interview with News Editor of North Star Radio revealed that their outfit always complies with the GJA code of conduct and do not in any way incite others. The Manager of North Star Radio also revealed how difficult it was sometimes trying to curb intemperate language usage on radio. For him, once a caller makes an unfortunate comment, the system is programmed to delay it for only 10 seconds and after that it is aired. Though he did not indicate how intemperate language usage is handled by radio stations, he said the panellists and serial callers are conscious of the effects of foul language usage. Figure 4.6 presents findings on this.

Figure 4.6 Group of politicians that use intemperate language most
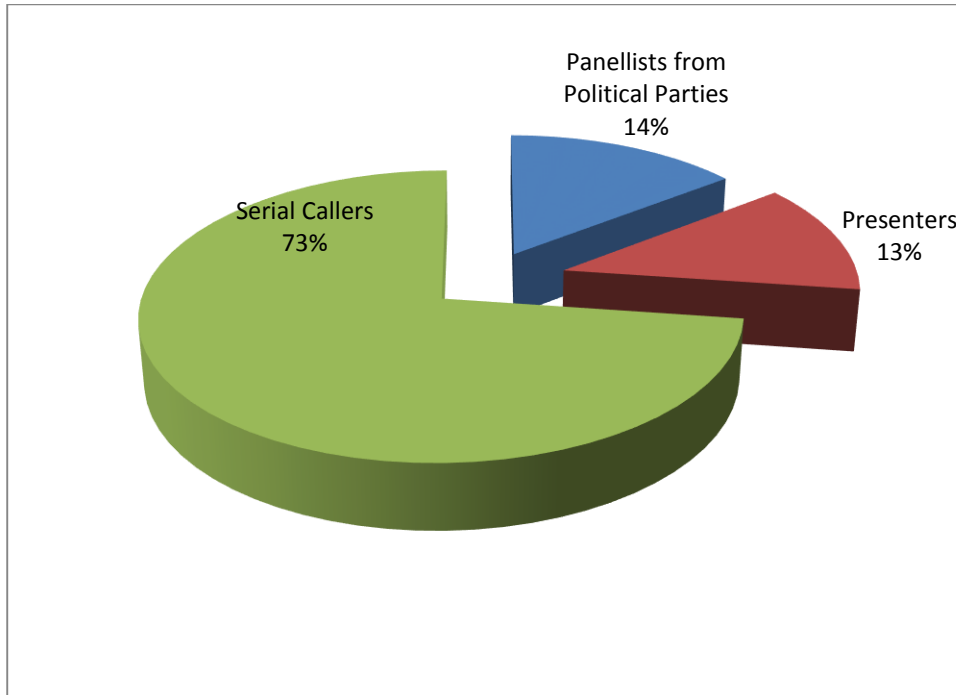
Source: Field Work, 2017

4.9.4 Categories of indecent expressions

Finally, the researcher transcribed and analysed indecent comments or expressions from the discussions on the radio stations (Filla, Tawosul, North Star and Savannah Radio). This was relevant to enable the researcher to categorise the indecent expressions found in the recorded sampled morning show programmes. For the purpose of analysis, the researcher categorised the indecent expressions under seven headings. These included; unsubstantiated allegations, insulting and offensive comments, and provocative remarks, remarks endorsing violence, remarks inciting violence, divisive comments and tribal slurs. Table 4.7 represents the categories of indecent expressions.

Table 4.7 Categories of Indecent Expressions

Category of Indecent Expression	Frequency	%
Unsubstantiated allegations	61	17.8
Insulting and offensive comments	33	9.6
Provocative remarks	11	3.2
Remarks endorsing violence	16	4.6
Remarks inciting violence	10	2.9
Divisive comments	2	0.5
Tribal slurs	1	0.2
Total	**343**	**100**

From Table 4.7, unsubstantiated allegations, (17.8%) insulting and offensive comments (9.6%) were the leading indecent expressions from the recorded and sampled programmes analysed from the four radio stations. For instance, in a Newspaper review segment discussion at North Star FM, which touched on a newspaper headline, "NDC's Babies with sharp teeth", an NPP panellist had this to say: "*Do not mind those small boys, (referring to the young NDC parliamentarians) they are not grown enough, but because they have been privileged to be in parliament, they always want their presence to be felt. They must always ensure that they have their facts right before they present them to the public. I am referring to the allegation that we (referring to NPP party) lost the 2012 elections because Ghanaians were fed up with the party.*"

There was a serious rebuttal from an NDC panellist who had this to say: "*The child, who knows how to wash his hands clean, will always eat in the king's bowl. I mean that the sharper the teeth of an NDC Baby, the sharper the mind.*"

There was another Newspaper review item which had to do with the disqualification of candidates after the EC said it found anomalies on the presidential nomination forms. As part of the discussion, the NDC panellist on the programme said: "*Blood will flow if any one insults John Mahama and Charlote Osei*". Another panellist also indicated that, Hassan Ayariga was right when he said the EC chair, Madam Charlotte Osei, was a prostitute and mad for disqualifying him as a presidential candidate. This statement made by an NPP panellist was not received kindly by the NDC panellists on the programme which culminated into raining of insults from both NDC and NPP panellists.

This development suggests that the panellists support and contribute to the use of indecent expressions regardless of their implications for peace. The curtain had to be drawn to a close by the host, realising the mounting tension and rising tempers of the panellists of the two dominant political parties, NDC and NPP. At Filla FM, there was a Newspaper review item, captioned, "The role of money in politics" which was to be reviewed under discussion by NDC and NPP panellists. The issues unfolded at the discussions were as follows: An NDC panellist began the discussion process and this was what he said: "*My friend, (referring to the host of the programme) we cannot pretend that money wins elections in our today's political agenda, but wisdom must come in to play in order not to deplete the national coffers as we witnessed after the 2008 elections. The nation had to fall heavily on the International Monetary Fund (I M F) to finance most of our developmental projects.*"

In reaction to the submission of the NDC panellist, an NPP panellist had this to say: "*We are a proud party. We do not steal state money to canvass for votes. You can check our track records and if only you are sincere to yourselves, (referring to NDC)*

you will admit that NPP is the most credible and reliable political party in Ghana."
He added: "*Our party is self-financing; it is not one of those political parties which
have to steal from the state in order to come to power.*" A serial caller phoned in and
contributed by saying: "*sincerely speaking, too much stealing goes on today by some
politicians and this does not augur well for us as a third world country. After
elections, we have to resort to unnecessary borrowings in order to survive as a
country.*" In a discussion at Savannah Radio, involving Regional Party Organisers of
four political parties (NDC, CPP, NPP and PNC to deliberate on measures to put in
place to ensure free and fair elections, the following ensued:

The NDC Regional Organiser, taking his turn, had this to say: "*As a matter of fact, I
began my campaign tour of the region three weeks ago and so far, I have been able to
appeal to our supporters to demonstrate maturity in their handling of political
issues.*" He continued by revealing this: "*We are very poised to win this year's
election and if any bastard comes our way, we shall not spare him.*" The host of the
programme immediately asked the NDC Regional Party Organiser to retract the word
"bastard" used in his submission, but he indicated that, he never meant to insult any
person. The host was still insistent that the word "bastard" should be retracted to pave
way for smooth discussion. The NDC Regional Party Organiser eventually retracted
his word, but the harm had already been done. Taking his turn, the NPP Regional
Party Organiser said: "*It is unfortunate for my colleague on the other political divide
to appear insulting, but he must know that NPP will not leave any stone unturned to
win the 2016 elections. If it demands that we kill, or steal to come to power, we shall
do it.*" The CPP and PNC Regional Party Organisers on the other hand revealed that
they had educated their members to be circumspect in dealing with political issues.
They added that their party followers would go into the 2016 elections devoid of any
misbehaviour. Their sense of decorum was reacted to by an NDC panellist as; "*We*

are not fools, we shall vote for our own. We cannot afford to entrust the destiny of this country in the hands of any hungry politician. The devil you know is better than the angel you do not know." The study found that, the two political parties, the NDC and NPP were very poised to win the 2016 elections, amidst the use of intemperate language.

4.10 Intemperate language and the 2016 elections in the Tamale Metropolis

This section seeks to present findings on how the use of intemperate language on radio during political broadcasts affected the 2016 elections in the Tamale Metropolis. In a focus group discussion, it was revealed that intemperate language associated with the sexual organs was used on radio by both men and women during political broadcasts. The study revealed that, some prominent politicians in the Metropolis were mocked and disgraced. For instance, it was revealed that, a seasoned female politician used her mother for rituals because she wanted to win primaries to become a Member of Parliament in her constituency. The same woman was disgraced on air by a serial caller who purported that the woman visited a shrine in Togo to seek power for her Presidential candidate to win the 2016 election.

The study found the development to be so dehumanizing and embarrassing. The study also revealed that some floating voters in the Metropolis indicated that they would not identify themselves with any political party, not to talk of voting during the 2016 elections. This issue was disclosed to the researcher by a respondent, a member of Tawosul Listener Group in the Metropolis. This was his lamentation: "*I do not know what is wrong with the people of Dagbon, do we have to insult one another in order to achieve what we desire*". A lot of people have indicated that they would not exercise their franchise during this year's elections. According to some of them, their relatives had been insulted and castigated unnecessarily by serial callers on air. He

continued: "*On Filla FM, a caller insulted my brother who is the Regional Chairman of NDC that he was the most useless person on earth and that our father was even an armed robber.*"

The reporter further mentioned that, within an hour, there was a serious clash between some NDC and NPP youth purported to have been caused by the careless expression made by the serial caller against the Regional Chairman of NDC. The worst aspect of the development was that, five lives were lost on that fateful day and the number that sustained various degrees of injuries and had to be hospitalised was not known. The researcher then found out from a respondent, a member of Savannah Radio Listener Group, the rationale behind the use of intemperate expressions during political broadcasts in the Metropolis and this was what he revealed: "*My son, (referring to the researcher) a good number of people use such intemperate expressions to discourage and prevent political opponents whom they consider threats to their political career.*" At Gushegu in the Tamale Metropolis, it was revealed that, houses numbering fifty six were burnt down by NPP supporters who alleged that their Presidential candidate for 2016 election, Nana Addo was described at Filla FM Radio by a serial caller suspected to be an NDC faithful as a "bastard".

When the Young Foot Soldiers of NDC heard about the atrocities meted out to their brothers and sisters at Gushegu, they descended on a village called Yaba and burnt down some houses belonging to the NPP supporters. My interaction with a respondent revealed that, some of the NPP supporters who burnt down the houses at Gushegu, took refuge at Yaba which led to its attack by the Young Foot Soldiers of NDC. It was not surprising when a respondent, a member of Savannah Radio Listener Group lamented that, it was unfortunate that in the Tamale Metropolis, intemperate expressions were peddled on radio during political broadcasts, but the National Media

Commission was silent. He added that any person or group of persons found engaging in the use of intemperate language of any form in the Metropolis during political broadcasts should be dealt with drastically to serve as a deterrent to others who may wish to do same or similar acts. The study found that, there was an element of voter apathy in the Metropolis during the 2016 elections.

In a focus group discussion with a Radio Listener Group in the Metropolis, it came to light that most of the eligible voters   indicated that they were discouraged and scared by the campaign messages that went on prior to the elections. There was low voter turnout, reasons being that, most voters were scared that fighting would erupt at voting centres and that could result to shooting and burning down of houses. An interview with a respondent at Lamashegu to ascertain from her the voter turnout at the centre that she voted, this was what she revealed: "*My brother, it was not easy on that day. I happened to be the third person to cast my vote, and after that, I ran home to protect our property. My uncle, who was a polling agent told me after the voting that the majority of eligible voters did not come out to vote.*" When I questioned the respondent what could be responsible for the low voter turnout hinted by her uncle, she disclosed this: "*The kind of tension that was created by the supporters of the two powerful political parties (the NDC and NPP) prior to the elections was sufficient for everyone to be cautious. We anticipated that there was going to be bloodsheds whereby guns and other dangerous weapons would be used.*"

As part of the study, the researcher examined the effects of intemperate language on the 2016 elections by analysing the categories of indecent expressions used during political broadcasts in the Tamale Metropolis. The study analysed 114 sampled recorded morning show programmes and the results revealed the following in Table 4.8 below.

Table 4.8 Content analysis of categories of Indecent Expressions

Category of Indecent Expression	Frequency
Unsubstantiated Allegations could lead to conflicts	102
Insulting and offensive comments could cause chaos	89
Provocative remarks could lead to conflicts	67
Remarks endorsing violence could lead to war	41
Remarks Inciting violence could negatively affect the elections	53
Divisive comments are dangerous to the peace of the Metropolis	71
Tribal Slurs could lead to conflicts	69

Source: Field Survey, 2016

From Table 4.8, it became known that, out of 114 recorded morning show programmes at the four radio stations in the Metropolis, 102 comments were unsubstantiated allegations which led to conflicts. The results suggest that, unsubstantiated allegations which were peddled on radio are the most commonly used intemperate language on radio stations in the metropolis. Also, insulting and offensive comments which have the tendency of causing chaos were identified as the second most commonly used intemperate language on the airwaves in the Tamale Metropolis. Again, remarks that endorsed violence and could lead to war were considered the least used intemperate language in the metropolis.

The data analysed, shows clearly that the use of intemperate language was on the rise in the metropolis during the 2016 political broadcasts.

The researcher also sought to examine the impact of intemperate language on the 2016 elections by exploring political parties' affiliation to the use of indecent expressions during political broadcasts in the Tamale metropolis. Table 4.9 presents results on this. These results were obtained from the analysis of 114 recorded sampled morning show programmes.

Table 4.9 Party Affiliations and Indecent Expressions

Political Party Affiliation of Culprits									
Category of Indecent Expression	**NPP**	**NDC**	**NLC**	**NDP**	**PPP**	**CPP**	**PNC**	**GFP**	**Unknown**
Insulting & Offensive Comments	20	18	1	3	2	1	2	0	11
Unsubstantiated Allegations	21	19	3	5	4	1	1	1	16
Provocative Remarks	11	9	0	0	1	0	2	1	10
Remarks Endorsing Violence	8	5	0	0	2	0	0	0	1
Remarks Inciting Violence	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Divisive Comments	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tribal Slur	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Total	63	57	4	8	9	5	5	2	38

Source: Field Survey, 2017

Findings in terms of each political party's usage of indecent expressions are shown in table 4.9 above. The parties, NPP, NDC, NLC, NDP, PPP and CPP were selected because they have large followers in Ghana's political landscape. It can be deduced from the table that the NPP is the highest in terms of indecent expressions used.

A respondent in Sakasaka noted that political party interests become glaring during electioneering period making the ideals of truth, fact-checking and objectivity casualties in the process. Simply put, they are sacrificed on the altar of jarring penchant for intemperate, indecent, unethical language expressions and personal vendetta. The result is the resort to character assassination, insults, lying, unsubstantiated allegations and unwarranted outbursts of fury, provocation and inciting of violence.

Again, MFWA (2012), indicated that, the NPP as a political party used insulting/offensive comments, unsubstantiated allegations and provocative remarks during the 2012 elections, in the quest to winning power from the incumbent NDC. This according to the MFWA was the reason for the court case between NPP and NDC in 2012 after the declaration of NDC as the winner of the election. According to the MFWA, insulting/offensive comments, unsubstantiated allegations and provocative remarks were the three most frequently used types of indecent expressions by the NPP against its political opponents as against a list of 10 of such expressions. The findings above support another research conducted by MFWA (2012), which revealed that, on the average of four (4) indecent expressions recorded on daily basis, (MFWA) between April and December 2012, they counted 174 indecent expressions by political party affiliates. Their study also observed that, the NPP had the highest number of expressions of intemperate language.

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Moreover, the research found that, some issues largely contributed to the use of indecent expressions on radio in the Tamale Metropolis prior to the 2016 elections. The Northern Regional Chairman of NPP was reported to have said that, the then President, John Mahama and his brother, Ibrahim Mahama, offered him the sum of GH¢3.3 million and a V8 Land cruiser to denigrate the reputation of Nana Akufo-Addo as an ethnic bigot. The NDC denied the allegation, however, on the back clash of previous reports of bribery and corruption allegations against the incumbent party, (NDC) the damage had already been done. Owing to this, some panellists and serial callers went on air and insulted the Northern Regional Chairman for coming out to say such a thing against the President, John Mahama.

Finally, the Supreme Court decision to grant former Attorney General, Martin Amidu's request to orally examine business person Alfred Agbesi Woyome from whom the state was trying to retrieve 51.2 million Ghana cedis wrongfully paid to him, became a serious political issue in political circles. As these issues prevail, elections were expected to be conducted without any challenges come December 2016. This the study found among others, to be the architects of indecent expressions during political broadcasts in the Metropolis. As indicated by one respondent, the allegation levelled against the President, and the Woyome's scandal played a critical role in the use of indecent expressions during political broadcasts in the Tamale Metropolis. For instance, a serial caller on a morning show on Fila FM, described Woyome as a fool.

4.11 Why radio contributors use intemperate language during political broadcasts

The researcher examined why some radio contributors use intemperate language on air. The study found that, there was the demonstration among party faithful to win the 2016 elections at all cost (Victory at all cost) as exemplified by an NPP party communicator on a morning show programme at Filla FM. He had this to say: "*I am calling on all members, (referring to all NPP supporters) to wake up from our slumber and win this year's elections. We allowed our opponent too much breathing space and that took us into opposition.*" The poise for victory was reiterated by listener groups and serial callers in the Metropolis.

A member of a North Star Listener Group revealed this: "*We must win this year's elections hands down. If it demands that I should sell my store and use the proceeds to canvass for votes, I shall do so.*"

A serial caller who registered his pleasure by phoning into the discussion at North Star FM said: "*We must unseat the NDC by hook or crook. We must use all available tactics to come out of opposition.*"

Reacting to the poise for victory mood of the NPP affiliates as far as the morning show programme at Filla FM was concerned, a discussant said: "Look, we are better off than the NPP. We have the track record and we have done it before. To achieve victory, we shall be alert and vigilant." By way of provoking the NDC panellists on the show as well as their serial callers, an NPP discussant said: "*We are very aware of all the fraudulent means the NDC adopted to win the 2012 elections. I wish to say this without any fear that, the 2012 election was characterised by cheating, stealing and*

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vote buying by the NDC." This allegation was not taken kindly by the NDC supporters, and this forced a Listener Group Member to Filla FM to say: "*We must focus on the development of Ghana and stop talking about petty issues. Why do we have to be provoking one another in the name of politic*s? From the submissions so far, it is clear that, radio contributors use intemperate language during political broadcasts for rebuttals and in defence of their respective parties.

It was also found that some party communicators and radio contributors use intemperate language to spice up their presentation of issues. Some people in the Metropolis delight in that and thus, commend those who engage in it. This was evident in my interaction with a respondent. Perhaps, some people like such indecent language because of the fact that there has been cultural prohibition on their usage and they consider their usage as a sort of revolution.

Some public figures (Presidential candidates, Members of Parliament and National Chairmen of political Parties) who are party members are intentionally provoked so that they unleash unpleasant language. Some radio presenters ask some of the public figures provocative questions and that makes them use abusive words. Most of these foul utterances are used as jingles and the motive behind this is to entertain the audience. Some of these jingles are used to expose the ignorance, incompetence and the narrow-mindedness of some public figures.

The study found that, local radio stations encourage advertisers and 'popular interviewees' from political parties to use intemperate language for monetary gains. There are no punitive measures against perpetrators in order not to lose their monetary gains and ultimately victory in the elections.

4.12 Challenges of Radio Stations and the use of Intemperate Language

The study sought to examine the challenges radio stations encounter in their attempt to curb the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts.

The study found that the majority of radio stations (Filla, Savannah, Tawosul and North Star) had some challenges in dealing with the use of intemperate language on radio.

The study found that, a major challenge radio stations encounter in their attempt to control the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts is the threat of destroying or burning down radio stations in the Metropolis by political party communicators and serial callers. The data collected from the field revealed that, this threat is mostly carried out by affiliates of the two main political parties, the NDC and NPP.

Another challenge radio stations encounter in their attempt to control the use of intemperate language is threats of beating presenters up by serial callers and political party communicators. Most of the respondents from Choggu, Lamashegu and Sakasaka were of the view that radio stations sometimes make attempts to control the use of intemperate language. A respondent in Choggu exclaimed,

"*My brother [referring to the researcher] it is not easy at all. They [referring to radio stations] always try but you know these our people, it is really difficult handling them" (political party communicators* and serial callers)

Following the threats of beating up presenters during political discussions, an interview was conducted with the Managers of Filla FM, Savannah Radio, Tawosul FM and North Star radio to find out what measures they put in place to check such occurrences. According to these Managers, they have always tried to discourage these

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party communicators and serial callers from issuing their threats, but to no avail. An interaction with a radio Listener Group in the Metropolis revealed that, some political figures such as the Regional Chairmen are partially responsible for the unfortunate threats often issued to radio presenters in the Metropolis during political broadcasts. Furthermore, some political parties also threaten radio stations in defiance, that they will no longer turn-up for discussions on their show if they are not allowed to talk the way they want. Some of the party members think that preventing their party communicators from airing their views, or going in for rebuttals amounts to total denial of their inalienable rights.

Another challenge radio stations encounter in their attempt to curb the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts is the threat of job losses from those who own the radio stations. The study found that, one presenter was sacked because he prevented a panellist from airing his views on an issue. A respondent who revealed this had this to say: "*If you are employed as a presenter in a private radio station in the Tamale Metropolis, you cannot do anything on your own.*" Last but not least, threats of character assassination and threats of not funding radio stations, or relevant projects in case of party victory are other challenges radio stations encounter in the Metropolis during political broadcasts.

4.13 Ways to curtail the use of intemperate language

This section presents findings on ways by which the use of intemperate language could be minimised during electioneering campaigns in the Tamale Metropolis. First, the majority of respondents to the study indicated that to deal with the use of intemperate language, there is the need for education and sensitization in the Metropolis. Some respondents were also of the view that, the National

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Communication Authority, in collaboration with the Ghana Independent Broadcasters Association should sensitize staff of the various radio stations in the Metropolis on the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts and its related consequences. A respondent, a teacher in Sakasaka, reported that, the only way by which radio stations can deal with or reduce the use of intemperate language is by education. A participant in a Focus Group Discussion asserted:

"….*I think we need to make candidates for the various political parties understand the need to set the pace by expressing themselves decently so that others can follow their example. As the saying goes, leadership by example"*.

Another respondent said:

"…*We are all from Tamale and setting an example is important. You cannot talk anyhow on radio and expect that your party wins. A good example is really important*".

More so, enforcing the law by arresting those who cause fear and panic is yet another solution that emerged. An interview with a focal person, the editor at Filla FM had this to say: "I *think we all have a collective responsibility to ensure that decent language is used on our airwaves. I recommend enforcing the law to the letter. In fact, all those who use intemperate language on radio should be given out by the radio stations for the law to take its course"*.

However, an interview with an NPP party communicator at North Star Radio, revealed his view with regard to dealing with those who use intemperate language on radio. He had this to say: "*How can you cause the arrest of a party member for a mere comment that cannot be substantiated? For me, one party is first and any other thing is second. We need to defend our own and nothing else"*.

This shows clearly how difficult it is for the law enforcers to deal with perpetrators of intemperate language usage during political broadcasts in the Tamale Metropolis.

The study also found that, to reduce intemperate language use, there was the need to sanction political parties whose members use intemperate language during political broadcasts. This applies to party agents and representatives, or communicators who for the sake of party affiliation, insult other people or promote violence on radio. An interview with the Host of a Morning Show at Savannah Radio revealed that sanctioning parties is a sure way of ending the use of intemperate language. A participant on the show had this to say: "*Denying Party communicators who use intemperate language during political broadcasts the access to radio stations is another way of solving the problem of intemperate language usage on radio. The political communicators of the two main political parties, NDC and NPP, should also be denied access to radio stations whenever they indulge in intemperate language usage to serve as a deterrent to other party communicators in the Metropolis.*"

Finally, some respondents were of the view that, all serial callers using foul language should be cut off while on air.

5.0 Summary of Findings

The study provides findings on the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts in the Tamale Metropolis. To guide the analysis, the researcher adopted the securitization theory. The analysis revealed that intemperate language used during the 2016 political broadcasts impacted negatively on electorates and the electoral process. There are, however, some challenges in dealing with this menace. The summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations has been presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the study, conclusions drawn from the findings and recommendations made to enhance political broadcasts in the Tamale Metropolis. The chapter further makes suggestions on potential researchable areas.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The study examined the implications of the use of intemperate language on radio within the Tamale metropolis. The main findings are summarized as follows:

The study found that radio stations in the Tamale Metropolis use intemperate language for political broadcasts. These stations are Filla FM, Savannah Radio, Tawosul FM and North Star Radio.

The study revealed that most persons in the Metropolis seem not to know the implications of intemperate language usage on radio most especially during political broadcasts. Categories of intemperate language used included; unsubstantiated allegations, insulting and offensive comments, and remarks endorsing violence, divisive comments to mention a few.

Findings from the research on why radio contributors use intemperate language on their programmes show the need for "victory at all cost" as espoused by an NPP party communicator. Other reasons why radio contributors use intemperate language on their programmes are for rebuttals and defence of their respective parties. It was also found that the need to spice up reportage is yet another factor which creates room for the use of intemperate language during political broadcast.

Some challenges radio stations encounter in their attempt to curb the use of intemperate language during political broadcast include; threats of destroying or burning down radio stations, beating presenters up, boycotting of political discussions by Panellists, threat of job losses from owners of radio stations, threat of character assassination and not funding radio stations or relevant projects anymore in case of victory.

Ways in dealing with the use of intemperate language during political broadcast include; education and sensitization of the citizenry, political candidates setting the pace for decent language usage, enforcing the law, sanctioning parties who use intemperate language, denying party communicators access to radio stations. Serial callers who use intemperate language should be denied the chance to speak on air.

5.3 Conclusion

Though some efforts are always made by radio presenters to curb the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts, the fact remains that the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts is on the increase in the Tamale Metropolis. This unfortunate development is attributed to what is termed, "victory at all cost attitude."

Most political communicators and serial callers use intemperate language in the form of unsubstantiated allegations, provocative remarks, and remarks endorsing violence which undoubtedly threatens the peace and development of the Tamale Metropolis. Radio presenters in the Tamale Metropolis have failed to abide by the tenets of professional journalism. Instead, they tend to distort reportage for their personal gains.

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Radio stations in the Tamale Metropolis are bedevilled with challenges when it comes to finding solutions to the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts.

5.4 Recommendations

In the light of the findings and conclusions drawn from the study, it is worth considering the following: The National Media Commission and the Ghana Independent Broadcasters Association should take punitive measures against users of intemperate language particularly during political seasons. It is important that both radio and television networks formulate editorial policies about the content of text messages that are read on their airwaves in order to maintain sanity of expression.

Text messages from serial callers containing foul language should not be entertained on the airwaves as a measure of checking indecent expressions. The reason is that derisive messages have the potential of causing chaos in any human environment. Besides, the youth could corrupt their good morals by these social deviants. Managers of Radio stations in the Tamale Metropolis should ensure that discussants on shows use decent expressions to educate and inform the masses. This can be achieved by hanging up on all those who use such indecent expressions for selfish political gains. Political parties should educate their members, particularly party communicators, on the need to desist from using indecent language as it has the potential of causing chaos. Last but not least, political organisations seeking to give information to the general public in the Metropolis through radio are recommended to do so by adhering to the ethical code of conduct.

5.5. Areas for Further Studies

The researcher conducted the study on four radio stations in the Tamale Metropolis. It is suggested that a similar study should be carried out in other communities in the country to make room for a comprehensive research document highlighting the overall impact of the use of intemperate language during political broadcasts. The under listed are research areas which can be explored in future:

Research into whether any relationship exists between the use of intemperate language in politics and voting behaviour of electorates in Ghana;

Research into stakeholders' role as far as the use of intemperate language is concerned.

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APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE ON USE OF INTEMPERATE LANGUAGE FOR RADIO LISTENERS

1. Gender: a. Male   [ ] b. Female [ ]

2. Age: a. Between 15 and 25 years [ ] b. Between 26 and 35 years [ ]

   c. 36 years and above [ ]

3. Educational Background: a. None b. Primary [ ]   c. J.H.S/SHS/Voc./Tech. [ ]   d. Tertiary [ ]

4. Ability to speak multiple languages: a. Yes [ ]   b. No [ ]

5. If yes, indicate these

   languages………………………………………………….

6. How often do you listen to political broadcasts on radio a. Everyday   [ ]   b. Once in a week   [ ]   b. More than once in a week   [ ] c. Once in a month   [ ]   d. Never [ ]

7. Through which medium or tool do you access radio broadcast in the Metropolis

   a.   Radio set   [ ] b. Mobile phone device [ ]   c. Internet radio   [ ]

       d. Other (s), please specify………………………………

8. Which radio station do you listen to most?

   ………………………………………..

i. What is your favourite radio programme? a. Morning Show b. Political Party Broadcast c. Mid-Morning Show d. Talk Show e. Feature/ Magazine f. Interview g. Other(s)

   …………………………………………………………………..

9. How frequent do you listen to Morning shows? a. Everyday   [ ]   b. Once in a week   [ ]   b. More than once in a week   [ ] c. Once in a month   [ ]   d. Never [ ]

10. How do you rate the use of intemperate language on radio

a.   Low   [ ] b. Very Low   [ ] b. High   [ ] c. Very High [ ]

11. Give examples of such languages during political broadcasts

………………………………………………………………………………

12. Which of these people use such languages during political broadcast on radio

a.   Panellists from Political Parties [ ]   b. Presenters [ ]   c. Serial Callers   [ ]

d. None [ ] e. Other (s) Specify: ……………………………………..

13. In your view, which political party use intemperate languages the most during radio broadcast…………………………………………………………………

14. How does the use of intemperate language affect development in the Tamale Metropolis? ....

15. Why do radio stations allow the use of intemperate language on their networks

16. Do radio stations encounter challenges in the attempt to control the use of such language a. Yes   [ ] b. No [ ]

17. If yes, what are some of the challenges?

…………………………………………

18. In your view, how can the airwaves in the Tamale Metropolis be sanitized?

…………………………………………………………………………………

19. Additional comment

(s)…………………………………………………………….

APPENDIX II

INTERVIEW GUIDE ON USE OF INTEMPEARTE LANGUAGE FOR

EDITORS

1. What constitute intemperate language?

2. Extent to which radio stations used intemperate language in 2016 elections

3. Forms/ types of intemperate language used

4. Programmes on which intemperate language was used

5. Effects of intemperate language (esp. on peaceful conduct of elections)

6. Personalities who used intemperate language most on air.

7. Extent to which radio stations abide by GIBA 2012 Code of Conduct

8. Measures adopted by radio stations to curtail intemperate language usage

9. Challenges stations encountered in preventing intemperate language usage

10. Reasons for use of intemperate language on air.

APPENDIX III

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE/ CHECK-LIST FOR RECOGNIZED

LISTENER GROUPS

1. Why radio stations allow the use of intemperate language

2. Challenges radio stations encounter in dealing with use of intemperate language

3. Sanitization of the media

4. Which radio station often use intemperate language

5. Programmes on which intemperate language is used

APPENDIX IV

CODING FRAME FOR RADIO PROGRAMMING

ii. Name of Radio

Station……………………………………………………….

iii. Date of Programme

Broadcast……………………………………………………

iv. Time for Programme

Broadcast……………………………………………………

v. Analysis of Language Used a. Intemperate b. Descent

vi. Programme Duration (In minutes):

……………………………………………..

vii. Type of Intemperate language: a. insult [ ] b. Tribal Slur

viii.   Language used: a. English [ ]   b. Dagbani [ ]

ix. Source of Programme Content: a. Research b. interview c. Press releases d.

GNA e. Other (s)

…………………………………………………………………..

x. Analysis of Programme: (Issues Discussed) ……………………………

xi. Final Remarks:

……………………………………………………………………