Post-truth, the Print Media and Political Messages in Ghana

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Abstract: Post-truth is a regular component of electioneering campaigns and political discussions among politicians in sub-Saharan Africa. This regularity and dearth of literature have made the concept attractive to researchers who are interested in exploring its intricacies. This article examines the post truth strategies adopted by Ghanaian politicians of the two leading parties in their politically aligned newspapers -The Daily Statesman and The Enquirer. Three strategies were detected, namely kairos, disinformation/misinformation and strategic transmission of lies. By strengthening their gatekeeping performance through close examination and vetting of political statements before publishing them, newspaper editors stand the chance of moderating post truth politics and its attendant notoriety on the political scene of Ghana.

Keywords: Post-truth, politics, propaganda, framing, media, strategy, Ghana.

Introduction
In 2016 the Oxford Dictionary entered the term “post-truth” as the Word-of-the-Year. It was first used to characterize the blatant dishonesty and cynicism of political campaigns associated with Brexit (Lockie, 2017). Post-truth describes a political culture in which political discourse is framed largely by
appeals to emotions disconnected from the details of policy (Calcut, 2016; Higgins, 2016). It thrives on the repeated assertion of taking points to which factual rebuttals are ignored in order to pave way for lies instead of facts. It is a technique politicians use to water down very sensitive issues which are in the public gallery that everybody is aware of in order to discredit the factual argument made by the opposition. In their quest to gain political power, politicians intentionally bend or ‘twist’ the truth to win political points or gain advantage over their opponents.

The idea of lies and relegation of facts in post-truth politics makes it seem like a form of propaganda. However, there is a thin line between the two concepts. Propaganda is simply the suppression and distortion of facts to design a message to persuade its intended audience to think and behave in a certain manner. To Baran and Davis (2012:76), it involves the no-holds-barred use of communication to propagate specific beliefs and expectations.

On the other hand, post-truth is making unsubstantiated assertions and manufacturing evidence that will be consistent with people’s emotions, beliefs and values in order to drive public policy and decision making (Calcut, 2016). Politicians capitalize on people’s inability to recognize post-truth to sway the electorate’s opinion about politically risky issues of national interest in order to gain political points and further their parochial interest. Post-truth politicians do not completely avoid or eschew the truth but then, they intentionally tilt or twist the obvious and manufacture their own evidence such that it would ignite the emotions and beliefs of the electorate. Post-truth politics therefore depicts how politicians try to be economical with the truth so that whatever they say about the issues in controversy would be consistent with people’s already held beliefs and emotions. Being an emerging political escape to winning power, it is likened to propaganda that thrives on lies and it is visible in content published by professional reporters and citizen journalists (Okorie et al., 2018; Adeyemi et al., 2016).

**Rationale and Significance of the Study**

In this study, we seek to demonstrate that post-truth politics, as it pertains in other parts of the world, is not different from Ghanaian politics. We do so by exploring communication strategies Ghanaian politicians employ to ‘twist’ or misrepresent the truth, focusing on the newspapers of the two leading political parties in the country, viz. pro-New Patriotic Party’s (NPP) *The Daily Statesman*
and pro-National Democratic Congress’s (NDC) The Enquirer.

The present study is of importance to researchers who have interest in rhetoric, politics and/or communication by focusing their attention to the new trend of politics in the world (Odiboh, et al. 2017; Omojola, & Yartey, 2016). This is because it seeks to fill a huge gap in the political rhetoric, political communication and media studies in Africa as much attention has not been given to this area. The research is without doubt useful for attempting to establish clear distinctions between post-truth and other related concepts such as propaganda, deception, lies and truth in the study of politics.

**Review of Related Studies**

Current studies on the language of Ghanaian politics in the media are critical in focus. While some have examined speech acts such as invectives and insults used by politicians, others have sought to explore the notion of indirectness and vagueness among politicians in Ghana. Agyekum (2004) analyzed the use of invective language in modern Ghanaian politics with focus on the public speeches of the flagbearers of the two leading political parties in the country, namely the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC). He notes that invectives are more emotionally laden and considered inappropriate and embarrassing, purposely to offend the addressee(s) or targeted group. In invectives, the speaker says something that is painful to the addressee and thus, offends him. Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a framework, he examined ten excerpts of political invectives drawn from various Ghanaian newspapers, laying emphasis on the language, style and the social constructs of the text. He argues that the effect of the rhetoric of invectives is that the addressee is demeaned, lowered in status and considered as empty. He again argues that invectives are used as offensive tools to threaten addressees.

Ofori (2016) agrees with Agyekum that politicians, instead of presenting the public with absolute truth, rain insults on their opponents in order to gain political points or advantage over their opponents. Like Agyekum, Ofori (2016) draws on CDA in examining the kinds of intertextuality used in the representation of insults in pro-New Patriotic Party (NPP) and pro-National Democratic Congress newspapers in Ghana. With the aid of Fairclough’s discourse-as-discursive-practice (Fairclough, 2003) and van Dijk’s (1998) concept of ideological square, he examined 69 news articles in both pro-NPP and pro-NDC newspapers,
which he sampled from between 2012 to 2014. The newspapers are *Daily Guide*, *The New Statesman*, and *The Chronicle* constituting the pro-NPP newspapers, while *The Informer*, *The Palaver*, *The Al-Hajj*, *Enquirer*, *Radio Gold* online constitute the pro-NDC newspapers. In his findings, the use of direct, strategic and indirect quotations to report insults and voices of the people takes center stage as these are the variables that, according to Ofori (2016), make a news item to be considered as newsworthy. He further explains that the various insults are represented along the line of ‘Us’ vs ‘Them’ dichotomy, in which the NPP/NDC papers present themselves in positive terms, and the opposition in negative terms. Again, he argues that the polarization of how media institutions emphasize the positive actions of in-group members, and de-emphasize its negative actions on one hand, as well as de-emphasize the positive actions of the out-group. Ofori (2016) further observed that positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation are manifested in the representation of insults in NPP and NDC papers. Pro-NPP papers, the author emphasized, directly quoted the voices and insults of non-politicians targeted at the out-group. Ofori’s research was detailed and his approach to the study was reliable.

An earlier work on the nature of indirectness in Ghanaian political discourse by Obeng (1997) fairly supports the observations of Ofori (2016). The study of Obeng sought to describe how politicians, in dealing with potential face-threatening acts or politically risky topics, avoid the obvious and communicate indirectly in order to protect and further their own careers to gain both political and interactional advantage over their political opponents. He demonstrates that indirectness employed by politicians relies on metaphors, proverbs, circumlocution, innuendo, and evasion. For Obeng (1997), politicians avoid candid or obvious statements and choose to communicate indirectly, especially when the topic of the discourse communicates difficulty. He showed that political actors in Ghana tend to communicate in vague ways in order to protect, further their own careers and gain both political and interactional advantage over their competitors. He pointed out that indirectness is more pervasive in developing democracies than developed democracies, and went further to note that while evasion is the highest employed indirectness strategy by western politicians, the metaphor and proverb are the
highest indirectness strategies employed by politicians in Ghana.

**Theoretical Framework**
The study is underpinned by the framing theory, within the specific context of political economy. The reason for the choice of the theory is that the media, especially newspapers, frame stories by shaping them in a way that would serve their interest just as post-truth politicians shape facts in order to serve their parochial interests. The theory is useful for understanding how politicians try to make sense of everyday life by framing stories in a way that would appeal to the emotions of the sympathizers of a particular political party. Framing theory is also relevant because it has the potential to influence public opinion about certain controversial issues or occurrences. The theory was first developed by the sociologist Ervin Goffman in 1974 to “provide a systematic account of how we use expectations to make sense of everyday life situation and people in them” (Baran & Davis, 2012:330). To this extent, framing may be considered as “selecting perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text” (Hanggli, 2010: 145), or more precisely the presentation of information to “an audience and how the selection of one method or content of presentation over another affects how an audience perceives a person, event, or issue” (Kaid, 2009: 18). Framing could therefore be seen as the central organizing idea for content that provides context through a series of process such as selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration (Zauder, 2007). In other words, the media frame issues to control public opinion about the reality of our everyday life. Sometimes, public opinions have to be regulated in order to champion a particular course that is of national interest (Lippmann, 1922).

Techniques of framing news are multiple. These include headlines, subheads, photos, photo caption, leads, source selection, quotes selection, logos, statistical and charts and concluding statements (Tankard, 2001). Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), for example, identify the following as five basic framing techniques:

1. **Metaphor**: To frame a conceptual idea through comparison to something else.
2. **Stories**: To frame a topic via narrative in a vivid and memorable way.
3. **Slogan, jargon, and catchphrase**: To frame an object with a catchy phrase to make it more memorable and relatable.
4. **Spin**: To present a concept in such a way as to convey a valuable judgment that might be an inherent bias by definition.
5. **Contrast**: To describe an object, person, etc. in terms of a less visible comparison.
Framing is quite different from agenda setting. While agenda setting tells the audience what to discuss and what to think about, framing goes further by showing the audience how to think about those issues (Scheufele, 1999). Framing theory is useful in addressing how economic constraints limit the way stories are published in the media. This theory investigates the means of production by looking at how economic institutions sponsor the media to promote their interest and agenda (Baran and Davis, 2012). This raises the important question of ownership and financial support as having a political or ulterior motive for either running the true picture a particular story in the media or withholding some facts from its production such that it would appeal to the emotions of a particular group of people, through gatekeepers such as editors. The funding model of a media institution is of primary significance in the potential outcome of content from that institution. This is a key issue raised by political economy media theorists and it identifies the influence of economic and politically motivated subversions and manipulations of the media (Herman & Chomsky, 2002; Bennet, 2003; McChesney, 2004). These include attempts to promote democracy and liberalism whilst entrenching systems favoring those in elevated positions of power and wealth (McChesney, 2004). These individuals are mostly located within the realms of politics and they exercise this influence over the media to their own advantage. They influence the media to project issues such that would appeal to the emotions of their followers. Shoemaker and Mayfield (1987) observed that ideologies of people who finance the media determine media content. When the power elite completely finance the media, news content should reflect the ideas and the values of the elites. When a newspaper receives financing or funding from politicians or political parties, its content is likely to be influence by those politicians.

Method and Data
Data collection was limited to two topical issues published by pro-NPP Daily Statesman, pro-NPP and The Enquirer newspapers: the “Montie 3 saga” and the “restoration of nursing training allowances”. Data were collected from 1st July to 31st December 2016 since this period happened to be the time when these topical issues trended. Even though there were other political issues published in these newspapers, the emphasis in this article, however, is on these two sensitive issues which were captured in the political columns of the newspapers. Three news articles, one on each topic of the subject matter, were
conveniently sampled from the political column of each newspaper. Data therefore comprised two articles from *Daily Statesman* and one from *Enquirer*. To get the three news articles on the two politically sensitive matters namely the “Montie 3 pardon” and the “restoration of the nursing trainee allowance” in the newspapers, ten (10) articles published within the last quarter of the year 2016 (from October 2016 to December 2016) of both newspapers were conveniently sampled. A convenience sample is motivated by analytical interest in an available body of texts that is known not to include all texts in a population that the analyst is concerned with. Such a sample is convenient in the sense that the analyst does not care to make an effort or find it too difficult to sample from that population (Krippendorf, 2004).

**Discussion**

Analysis of the data showed three basic communication strategies were used by Ghanaian politicians to engage in post-truth in the pro-NPP *The Statesman* and pro-NDC *The Enquirer* newspapers, viz. (a) kairos, (b) misinformation and disinformation and (c) outright lies.

**Kairos: The enabling environment**

Our analysis revealed that the newspapers provided a kairotic moment or an enabling environment for politicians to engage in post-truth politics. The *Statesman* newspaper, for example, on August 24, 2016 published a story on the “Montie 3” saga, a trio that threatened to cause mayhem to the judiciary, with the headline “PPP, PNC condemn Mahama for granting pardon to the Montie 3”. This story presented an opportune moment to politicians to engage in unbridled post-truth in the heat of the 2016 electioneering process as it presented the then President, John Mahama as backing the trio, and therefore calling the bluff of the judiciary. The excerpt below illustrates how the opposition party, the NPP, framed the developing story.
From Excerpt 1, it could be seen that the story was reported in response to the former President Mahama’s decision to free the “Montie 3” through a presidential pardon. The president remitted the remaining prison sentence on the Montie trio, namely Salifu Maase (alias Mugabe), Alistair Nelson and Ako Gunn. The leaders of the aforementioned political parties wanted to register their displeasure to the president’s decision and also to let their party supporters know that the decision of the president was not right and was done in bad faith, and this was done through the Statesman newspaper. The newspaper provided the enabling environment for the politicians to engage in post-truth politics by giving the story a headline that appealed to the emotions and sentiments of the electorate without necessarily providing any factual evidence to support it. The headline of the news article is an important part of every news story because often the success of a particular story is highly dependent on its headline. It is the headline that ushers a reader to the entire story (Bednarek & Caple, 2012). This implies that if an editor of a newspaper frames a headline in a manner that gives a particular party an advantage over the others then such a newspaper paves the way for post-truth to ferment. The next excerpt illustrates how the same story was framed by the pro-NDC The Enquirer newspaper on 24th August, 2016.
The story was made out of an opinion of Mr. Solomon Yaw Nkrumah, the National Communication Officer of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) with respect to the former president’s decision to pardon the ‘Montie 3’. The headline of the story has been framed in a manner that provides an enabling environment for politicians to engage in post-truth. The headline was written by the editor of the newspaper and not the politicians. Thus once a politician witnesses that his statement or comment has attracted a headline that has the tendency to appeal to emotions, he or she will continue to peddle inaccurate information. The sentence “Prez shows class” as the headline of the story suggests that former President Mahama did massively well by granting remission to the “Montie 3” through a presidential pardon, a decision which attracted a lot of condemnation from some section of Ghanaians as an attempt to undermine our judicial system as institution. As a pro-NDC newspaper, the paper framed the headline such that it would ignite emotions and sentiments of NDC supporters especially those who signed a petition for the former president to activate his pardon power under Article 72 of the 1992 constitution to grant remission to the trio. This gives credence to the political economy theory which states that those who finance media institutions can limit or bias the way issues or stories are published in the media.

The following analysis relates to the restoration of nursing trainees’ allowance, which became topical in
the build-up of the 2016 presidential polls. It was considered as one of the key policies that could determine who won the polls. *The Daily Statesman* run a story on it in its July 25, 2016 edition on page 4 with the headline “Angry student nurses reject Mahama’s vote-buying allowance”.

**Excerpt 3**

![Angry student nurses reject Mahama’s vote-buying allowance](image)

The story was published with respect to a decision made by the leadership of the Concerned Student Nurses of Ghana for its members to reject the monthly allowance. From Excerpt 3 above, it can be seen that how the headline is framed provides an enabling environment for post-truth to thrive. This is because the newspaper has framed the headline in a manner that appeals to the emotions and sentiments of the sympathizers of the NPP. The headline clearly indicates that the former president John Mahama wanted to use the allowance to bribe the nursing students for their votes since the 2016 general election was fast approaching at that time. The headline supports Lockie (2016) views that post-truth politicians manufacture their own fact to meet their political needs.
It can be seen from excerpt 4 that the newspaper has quoted the politician verbatim and it is another way by which the media provide the enabling environment for post-truth to thrive. When politicians realize that the media just pick up whatever they say without doing any thorough investigation before they publish it for the public to consume, they will continue to paint misleading pictures about politically sensitive issues and this is the genesis of post-truth politics. Mr. Atik Mohamed, who is the General Secretary of the People’s National Convention, is quoted in the news article saying: “To this end, we find the decision by the president to grant remission to these the Montie trio reprehensible, as it clearly undermines our collective efforts at deepening democracy and promoting national cohesion. By this singular decision, the President has sought to establish a

By this singular decision, the president has sought to establish a precedent that suggests that individuals with sympathy to the NDC convicted of crimes against the state are more deserving of his mercy than any ordinary Ghana”. This was an attempt to suppress the truth and the veracity of the issue in controversy and it was done to offend the emotions and sentiments of those who do not sympathize with the president and his party. It is the responsibility of the media to scrutinize and filter claims made by politicians in order to ascertain the veracity or otherwise before they get to the public by activating their gatekeeping role. So, if the media present whatever politicians say and even quote them verbatim without scrutinizing it, which provides an avenue for post-truth to thrive.
Excerpt 5

He said, per the history since the return of multiparty democracy under the fourth republic, NDC party has remained the only political entity which respects and truly practises good governance and rule of law.

Also, it is seen in excerpt 5 that the general secretary was quoted in the same story saying “It is our view also that, the president’s decision further provides insurance for all his sympathizers and NDC supporters in general who wish to foment trouble in this year’s election to do so with impunity knowing pretty well that the president will be there to guarantee their freedom”. This is a clear manifestation of how the media provide the avenue for politicians to engage in post-truth politics. By that statement the general secretary portrayed the former president as being insensitive to the freedom of Ghanaians who do not support his party. He further portrayed that the former president’s decision was to incite his party supporters to cause chaos and disturbances in last year’s election but failed to provide evidence to justify it. Post-truth politicians eschew the truth and present issues in manner that appeals to the emotions and sentiments of their sympathizers behave in a way they (politicians) want them to and this gives credence to the framing theory which is used to underpin the study.

Misinformation and Disinformation

According to Nyhan and Reifler (2015), false or inaccurate information may continue to influence beliefs and attitudes even after being debunked if it is not replaced with an alternative causal explanation. When citizens are frequently misinformed about a political issue or candidate, post-truth politics will emerge. In the analysis of the content we found out that the newspaper presented inaccurate information about the former president’s decision to pardon the ‘Montie trio’ and this gave birth to post-truth politics. This was an attempt to manipulate the truth of the matter as to whether or
not the former president’s decision was right. The Statesman newspaper which is pro-New Patriotic Party paper on August 24, 2016 made a story on the “Montie 3” saga with the headline “PPP, PNC condemn Mahama for granting pardon to the Montie 3.”

Excerpt 6

The leadership described the move by the government as politically motivated and deceptive tactics to win their sympathy ahead of the December elections.

Excerpt 6, which can be found on paragraph six of the news story featured in the August 24th, 2016 edition of the Statesman with the headline “PPP, PNC condemn Mahama for granting pardon to Montie 3”, shows visibly the presentation of misinformation. The reason being that the paragraph portrays there are so many innocent Ghanaians who are serving prison sentences simply because they are not sympathizers of the National Democratic Congress (NDC). Even though there might be some innocent prisoners in Ghanaian jails, how it is presented in the newspaper saying that they are there simply because they are not sympathizers of the NDC cannot be treated as the accurate representation of such information. It was meant to smear the former president and his NDC administration.

Another news story that is also featured in the 25th July, 2016 edition of the Statesman with the headline “Angry student nurses reject Mahama’s vote-buying allowance” (Excerpt 7)
The ninth paragraph of the news story says, “The ripple effects were enormous and massive to the extent that, student who could not cope with the situation dropped out of school, while those who wished to enroll in the nursing training institutions had their dreams quashed”. This is a clear indication of misinformation and it paints a misleading picture to the public especially those who do not sympathize with the former president. It portrayed him as being so heartless to Ghanaians who want to be trained as nurses. Scrapping the allowance resulted in exponential growth in enrollment figures in nursing trainee institutions. So, presenting the reverse in the story and how it has been framed will make the public believe that the decision resulted in a decrease in enrollment in nursing trainee institution across the country. When politicians realize that newspapers present misinformation, they (politicians) will capitalize on it and peddle any information that they think will serve their interest.

Strategic Transmission of Lies
Lying is to make an untrue or false statement about something. According to Bok (1999 as cited in Fleming and Zyglidopoulos, 2016), people lie to others when they “communicate messages meant to mislead them, meant to make believe what we ourselves do not believe” (Bok, 1999: 13). In the context of politics, post-truth politicians manufacture their own evidence in order to further their political agenda and parochial interest. The Statesman reported a story on the restoration of the nursing trainee allowance with the headline “Angry student nurses reject Mahama’s vote-buying allowance” as is illustrated in Excerpt 8.
This story reported the response of the student leadership of nursing training institution across the country. An element of lies can be seen from Excerpt 8 which is the ninth paragraph of story in the aforementioned edition of The Daily Statesman. It is considered a lie on the grounds that the story failed to provide evidence to substantiate the assertion that indeed students were dropped out of school when the allowance was scrapped just as post-truth politicians withheld facts to water down issues that have the tendency to cause political tragedy.

There was no statistical proof of an estimated number of students who were dropped out of school as a result of the allowance withdrawal. This was an attempt to twist the truth such that it will perfectly serve the interest of the opposition party, the NPP.

Another lie is found in the 24th August, 2016 edition of the Enquirer which is pro-National Democratic Congress (NDC) newspaper and the story is headlined “Prez shows class”. Here is an example in Excerpt 9.
In the sixteenth paragraph of the aforementioned publication, Mr. Solomon Nkansah, communication officer of the governing party, The National Democratic Congress said “The NPP also undermined the independent views of the of the Supreme Court when it capriciously increased the number on the Supreme Court [bench] in 2002 to overturn a verdict involving lawyer Tsatsu Tsikata” The decision to add a number to the supreme court bench is constitutional. Hence for him to say that it undermines the independence of the court is a lie. The media are supposed to subject politicians’ claims to scrutiny to ascertain the truth before they are transmitted as news. Once the media refuse to examine politicians’ statements before publication, it gives politicians insurance to peddle falsehood provided it will give them political advantage and this gives rise to post-truth politics.

Conclusion
The study set out to analyze how the Ghanaian print media engaged in post-truth politics, using content analyses from the Daily Statesman and Enquirer - the pro-New Patriotic Party and the National Democratic Congress newspapers respectively. The study revealed three basic communication strategies implemented by Ghanaian politicians to engage in post-truth in the two newspapers. We observed that the media created a kairotic moment, or an enabling environment for post-truth to thrive. Analysis of the data set also revealed that the two Ghanaian newspapers circulated misinformation to the public because of the media’s unbalanced gatekeeping system, made manifest in their inability to scrutinize the claims made by post-truth politicians with respect to politically sensitive issues. Third, the study also showed that The Daily Statesman and The Enquirer strategically disseminated lies aimed at diverting attention from the truth. False information was spread by these newspapers about the opposition to discredit it.

The study revealed the print media created the enabling environment for post-truth to thrive in the country. They allowed politicians to peddle misinformation and lies which paved the way for post-truth to perpetuate in the country. One implication of this is that print media in Ghana should strengthen its gatekeeping role in order to subject political claims to scrutiny before they are published. Not doing so could have serious implication in terms of conflicts and even terrorism (Morah & Omojola, 2011).

Future researchers should also consider analyzing the content of radio morning show programs that deal with politically risky issues and investigate the condition under which politicians try to be
economical with the truth if telling the absolute truth will make them lose grounds politically. Also, to confirm that indeed the media create the enabling environment for politicians to engage in post-truth, further studies should consider analyzing the content of information politicians post on social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and Instagram with respect to politically risky issues and examine if they exhibit some elements of post-truth.

**Recommendations**

The following summarizes our recommendations:

1. The print media in Ghana, and possibly in sub-Saharan African nations, should strengthen their gatekeeping role in order to monitor political claims to before they are published.
2. Stories published by media houses should be shaped by such news values as accuracy and actuality in order to make them objective (Omojola, 2008).
3. Further research is required into the analysis of the content of radio morning show programs that deal with politically risky issues to examine conditions under which politicians try to be economical with the truth if telling the absolute truth will make them lose politically.
4. It is also important for researchers to explore the political economy of the media in sub-Saharan African countries concerning what factors create the enabling environment for politicians to engage in post-truth.
5. There also is the need to study the phenomenon of post-truth on social media. Specifically, studies are needed to analyze the various strategies used by politicians to engage in post-truth on various social platforms.

**References**


