

Towards a Better Ghana:
Unveiling Talk Radio in the Media Landscape of Ghana



Master thesis

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‘There is another world but it’s inside this one”

(Paul Éluard)



Foreword

My curiosity for the continent of Africa has been the main drive for my academic career for the last couple of years. It already started in the last year of high school, when me and my classmate wrote about the scale of corruption in Kenya and Ethiopia for our *'profielwerkstuk'* (final project in high school). A bachelor's degree in International Development was the next step, to get to know a little bit more about the world in general. A master's in International Development followed with elective courses at the University of Leiden in African Studies. Liking the courses in the field of African Studies so much is what made me decide to finish the one year master course. The master's degree in African Studies provides a thematic deepening in my academic career and gave me the opportunity to explore my natural curiosity for the continent of Africa. The lectures within the program of African Studies were inspiring, confronting and made even more questions arise. My curiosity grew and grew, what would it be like to visit this continent?

My master's thesis within the field of African Studies was the perfect opportunity to set my first steps on the African continent. As I always try to find a topic close to my heart, I searched for a topic which both embedded my interest but also my passion. My bachelor's with a major in Technology, Policy and Communication provided me a broad background and the skill to analyse topics from different angles. Later on this developed into a focus for communication within my masters International Development. This focus for communication was strengthened by my affection for the medium of radio. Since I can remember, I've always had a small radio set in my room. The medium intrigues me with its reach, content and connection to its listeners. For my thesis I combined my love for radio and my interest in communication into the topic of my master's Thesis.

The choice for Ghana was determined by a combination of things. This country is often described as 'Africa for beginners' (Briggs, 2014) and as I was greener than green, this might be a perfect country to start my exploration of the African continent. Furthermore, my supervisor Prof. Dr. Gewalt always talked with so much passion about his adventures in Ghana. You could really tell that he owed some good memories to this country. Lastly, the press freedom is really high in Ghana according to several academic sources (Avle, 2011) (Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011) (Tietaah, 2013). Critical, curious and eager as I am, I wanted to see and experience this 'high press freedom' for myself. My love for radio, my curiosity for Ghana and my interest in communication were all combined into this Master thesis.

Although I knew my first fieldwork would be an adventure, I never expected to be so amazed by this experience. As Paul Èluard once said, "there is another world but it inside this one". I feel very fortunate to experience everything and meet so many wonderful people along my journey. Special thanks to the whole crew of Citi FM especially the newsroom and the CBS team, your input and effort were indispensable. Moreover, your warmth, jokes and honesty made me feel at home and part of the Citi family within no time. I would like to thank the listeners of Citi FM for their openness, honesty and enthusiasm. Furthermore I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Ntewusu, Prof. Dr. Gewalt, Prof. Dr. Tietaah and Prof. de Bruijn. Your academic vision, inspiration and support helped me through writing this thesis successfully. I also would like to thank St. Fundatie van Renswoude, Leids Universiteits Fonds, Curatorenfonds and Lustra + for the financial support and the faith in my research. Last but not least, I would like to thank my family and friends who supported me unconditionally along the way. For all of you who inspired and supported me, medaase!

Table of Contents

Foreword.....	1
Introduction.....	5
Problem statement	5
Aim of the research.....	5
Research questions.....	6
Relevance	6
Overview of the chapters	7
Analytical framework.....	8
Media anthropology	8
Everyday talk.....	8
News as stories	9
Agenda-setting.....	10
Framing.....	11
Methodology	13
Fieldwork.....	13
Sources and types of data	13
1) Participatory observation.....	13
Daily rhythm.....	14
Extended case method.....	14
2) Content analysis	15
3) Interviews	15
Voice recorder	16
Limitations	16
Chapter 1: Broadcasting in Ghana	18
African media landscape	18
Radio in Africa.....	19
‘Talk radio’	20
Radio in Ghana.....	21
Influencing radio?	23
High press freedom	24
Experiencing press freedom.....	25
Emergence of talk radio in Ghana	26
Chapter 2: The making-of talk radio.....	28
Citi FM and the Citi Breakfast Show	28
06:00 – Pre-broadcasting	29
06:20 – Opening and newsround.....	29
06:50 – Meeting CBS team	30

07:15- Music break and kick-off 2 nd hour	33
07:30 – Running stories, part I.....	34
08:00- Tech and social media trends	35
08:10 – Running stories, part II	35
09:15 – Other topics and wrapping up.....	36
Chapter 3: Framing at play	38
Target group of the CBS.....	39
Framing the problem: <i>dumsor</i>	40
Technical facts	41
Experiencing the problem.....	42
Laughter	43
Follow-up.....	45
Beyond ‘talk radio’	46
Female ‘power’	46
Flowing decision making.....	47
Role main-host	48
Not talking about certain topics	49
A better Ghana	50
Chapter 4: Towards a better Ghana	52
A watchdog identity	52
“Two-way thing”	53
Claiming a position	55
Relevance.....	55
Credibility.....	56
1) Diversity	57
2) Objectivity.....	57
3) Autonomy	58
Chapter 5: listening to the CBS.....	60
Sharing the passion	61
Setting the agenda?.....	61
Opening the phonelines.....	62
Bring reality by listeners.....	63
Discussion.....	65
Bibliography	69

Introduction

Problem statement

By the mid-twentieth century, there were estimated to be more than a million radio sets in Sub-Saharan Africa, nowadays there are more than 100 million (Fardon and Furniss, 2000). “The growth in African broadcast culture on radio has been spectacular by whatever quantitative or qualitative criteria we choose to measure it by” (Fardon and Furniss, 2000: 1). The importance of the medium is marked by its capability to “link to the oral and the aural in the history and cultural practices of the continent (Hofmeyer by Gunner, Ligaga & Moyo, 2011:1). The fluidity of radio combined with its pervasive presence makes the medium extent in its range and potential. The combination of ‘ordinariness’, the focus on everyday life with the ability to engage with moments of high national and cultural drama is what makes radio such a powerful medium (Gunner *et al.*, 2011). Radio has the capability to reproduce the everyday and also facilitate items of national significance through its focus on great, unifying moments (Scannel; Hendy by Gunner, Ligaga & Moyo, 2011). Nevertheless, the power of radio is complex as it provides a basis for social meaning in Africa (Gunner, Ligaga & Moyo, 2011).

Social meaning is also generated in a new genre on the radio horizon: talk radio. Talk radio programs have an interactive nature, which opens space for dialogue and debate. The emergence of the multiplicity of radio on the African continent is relatively new and contributes to an expanding popular engagement with its genres and a steadily energised public sphere (Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011). There are new voices on air, which can create the possibility of the making of a particular kind of popular democracy (Nyamnjoh by Gunner, Ligaga & Moyo, 2011). This research will explore these ‘new’ voices and what they mean in the Ghanaian context. The research will provide a deeper understanding of the production of talk radio and its way of addressing issues by answering the main question in the research: *Why does the talk radio program ‘Citi Breakfast Show’ position itself as a watchdog in the media landscape of Ghana?* The research will answer this question on the basis of three months of fieldwork at the Accra-based English speaking radio station Citi FM, analysing the morning program Citi Breakfast Show. The Citi Breakfast show is a program in the genre of talk radio and will serve as a case study in this research. The voices on the Ghanaian airwaves will be analysed and put into context in the media landscape of Ghana, contributing to an understanding of the current developments of radio in Africa.

Aim of the research

This research aims at understanding the production of a talk radio program and grasps the dynamics connected to this process. Furthermore, it tries to explain the position of the talk radio show in the media landscape of Ghana. The research captures the current media landscape in Ghana. This landscape contextualizes the research and helps to give the reader a better understanding of developments in Ghana. Furthermore, the research describes the making-of a talk radio program. The ‘Citi Breakfast Show’ serves as a case study and an illustration of the practical side of making a talk radio program. The practical side of making a talk radio show has little to not been emphasized in academic literature. This research fills this knowledge gap by providing insight in the production of a talk radio show. The research also analyses the approach of the program on the basis of the concept of framing. The framing by the radio show brings the reader a deeper notion of the program, its intention and the (possible) impact. Moreover, the role of the listener is critically analysed and examined on the basis of recent research about talk radio on the continent of Africa. The genre of talk radio aims to give listeners a platform to

express themselves. The research will reveal how and to what extent the voice of the listeners is genuinely expressed by talk radio in Ghana. All these different aspects lead to answering the main question and explain the actual positioning of the talk radio program in the media landscape of Ghana.

Research questions

To fulfil the aim of this research, several questions need to be answered. The first research question will go into the media landscape of Ghana: it will be explored and will function as the research's context. The second research question will go into productional process of the talk radio program in Ghana. The third research question will look into the issues that are raised and the possible framing which is at play while making the radio program. The following research question provides an understanding of how the frame is legitimized by the Citi Breakfast Show. The last question covers the listeners' perception on the program and how they contribute to it. To summarize, the questions posed in the research are:

Why does the talk radio program 'Citi Breakfast Show' position itself as a watchdog in the media landscape of Ghana?

- What does the media landscape in Ghana look like and how did radio develop throughout the years?
- How does the producing Citi Breakfast Show works in practice?
- What frame is constructed by the Citi Breakfast Show?
- Why does the CBS defines itself as a watchdog?
- What is the role of listeners in the program?

Relevance

This research is centralized around the medium of radio. Although radio is used for years in Africa, studies on radio are still underdeveloped in the field of African Studies (Fardon & Furniss, 2000). There is literature on radio in the field of African Studies but most is covered by practitioners, lobbies and interest groups rather than anthropologists or political scientists (Fardon & Furniss, 2000). However, the importance of radio gets more and more acknowledgment, also by academia: "radio in contemporary Africa impinges on every aspect of the current changes in the sub-continent, reflecting and affecting social, cultural, political and economic processes (Fardon & Furniss, 2000, p. 16). The medium is also seen as one of the most important media in Africa (Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011). "Radio impinges so widely on African public life, and is doing so in such rapidly changing ways, that it does seem safe to predict that research on virtually any aspect of contemporary Africa that neglects radio will be missing a large part of the big sound stage" (Fardon & Furniss, 2000, p. 19). The task for research in radio is to value it's complex social value (Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011). This research will contribute to the knowledge on radio as a medium in Africa.

This research actively contributes to the understanding of talk radio on the continent of Africa, a rapidly emerging genre of radio (Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011). Where many studies apply Western theories and empirical studies to the African context (Atton & Mabwezara, 2011), this research assists in examining the program within the Ghanaian context instead of comparing it to 'Western' views. The research also contributes to the academic debate by providing a practical description of making a talk radio program. This has been missing within the academic literature so far. Besides, the relation between radio and audience will be further

explored. Talk radio claims to facilitate a stage for listeners to share their opinions and experiences (Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011). However, the research critically examines this assumption and presents food for thought on the relation between talk radio and its listeners. Further, the research touches upon the increasing usage of technology in the making of a talk radio program. “What is lacking is a close look at how African journalists have forged new ways of practicing journalism in the context of technological changes in newsrooms as well as in the wider context of news production” (Atton & Mabwezara, 2011, p. 667). The description and analysis of the program do show at how technological developments are used in the making of a talk radio program.

Lastly, the research contributes an unique angle by using the concept of framing into relation to a talk radio program. A communication angle provides another light on the issue of talk radio in Ghana.

Overview of the chapters

The research questions will be translated into different chapters of the research. The first chapter digs into the media landscape of Ghana, which is constructed throughout the years. The role of radio is especially emphasized in this sketch and the development of talk radio is also explored. The second chapter goes into the practical side of talk radio, where a description of the Citi Breakfast show provides insight in the dynamic process a making talk radio. The third chapter explores the way of addressing the topics on the basis of the *dumsor* issue. This chapter sets out the frame used by the CBS. The fourth chapter explains the position of the CBS as a watchdog and provides insight in the legitimation of the frame used by the CBS. In the fifth chapter, the role of the listeners is explored. This chapter analyses the role of listeners in the program and examines how the talk radio program interacts with the listeners. The discussion actively summarizes and elaborates on the appearing complexities posed in the research. Lastly, the discussion launches questions and inspiration for future research.

Analytical framework

To analyse the role of talk radio in the Ghanaian context, different theoretical concepts are used from the fields of social science and oral history. Furthermore, the concepts are chosen on their value within communication science and their suitability to contribute to answering the main question of the MA thesis.

Media anthropology

Mass media has been almost a taboo topic in anthropology as it was perceived as miles away from a field that was centralized around tradition, the non-Western and the vitality of the local (Ginsberg, 2005). Although anthropology was a bit hesitant towards media studies in the beginning, the last couple of years media and anthropology have coalesced. Media is becoming ubiquitous even in the more remote areas, anthropologists have acknowledged the value and significance of media. There is more and more attention for the growing presence of film, video and radio as part of the everyday life of people throughout the world. Media can be perceived as a form of vehicles for the mediation and expression of social processes and cultural meanings on field sites (Ginsberg, 2005).

As anthropology works most often with the concept of 'ethnography' this method can also be applied to media. The creation of an ethnography of media does usually start with an interest in understanding questions generated by the phenomenon itself, motivated by a desire to comprehend the popularity, power and passion attached to certain kinds of media production and viewing (Ginsberg, 2005). In this research, the phenomenon is talk radio itself connected to its power and popularity in the media landscape in Ghana. "It quickly becomes apparent in almost every case that answering these questions leads to an appreciation of the complexity of how people interact with media in a variety of social spaces and the resulting shifts in the sense of the local as its relation to broader social worlds becomes almost a routine part of everyday life" (Ginsburg, 2005: 20). This process of understanding the social relations of media production, circulation and reception entails a focus on the everyday practices of social actors as producers and consumers of different forms of media. "The object of study of mass media anthropology is the system of cultural transmission through mass media" (Osorio, 2005, p. 36).

As anthropology focuses mainly on studying culture, this is also the main objective of the study on mass media. Media anthropology does not mainly focus on the subject itself but tries to see the interconnections related to the subject. Mass media anthropology focuses on how culture shapes society through the mass media, how a way of being is transmitted to people by mass communication (Osorio, 2005, p. 36). "Ethnographers look at media as cultural artefacts enmeshed in daily lives, to see how they are imperfectly articulated with (and sometimes created as a counter to) larger hegemonic processes of modernity, assimilation, nation building, commercialization, and globalization, but in terms that draw attention to those processes are being localized" (Ginsberg, 2005, p. 20).

Everyday talk

The idea of influence on 'everyday life', forms a starting point for engaging with radio's cultural practices (Certeau by Gunner, Ligaga & Moyo., 2011). "Radio must therefore be seen as a process of culture involving an exchange of meanings among members of society rather than a mere instrument of power" (Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011, p. 5). Taking into account this statement, one of the concepts used in the MA thesis is the concept of 'everyday talk' as described by Kim and Kim (2008). Kim and Kim (2008) describe everyday talk within the context of a political arena as: "we mean non purposive, informal, casual, and spontaneous political conversation

voluntarily carried out by free citizens, without being constrained by formal procedural rules and predetermined agenda” (Kim & Kim, 2008, p. 53). As Barber (1984) argues: “such everyday political talk undertakes the essential function of a strong democracy” (Barber by Kim & Kim, 2008: 54). Kim and Kim (2008) argue that within everyday talk, citizens can achieve a mutual understanding of the self and others. Everyday talk gives citizens the opportunity to explore their own interests, interests of other and what fits the common good (Kim & Kim, 2008). Thus, the concept of everyday talk emphasizes the importance of informal talk. As Moscovici (1985) explains: “A country where people do not talk for the sake of talking is simply one where people do not talk at all” (Moscovici by Kim & Kim, 2008: 56).

Conversations are important in getting to understand a certain phenomenon and in this research the concept of talk radio. Through conversations, we construct reality (Ford, 1999). “Our realities exist in the words, phrases, and sentences that have been combined to create descriptions, reports, explanations, understanding etc., that in turn create what is described, reported, explained, understood etc. When we describe, we create what is being described in the description” (Ford, 1999, p. 485). This way of looking at conversation is a socially constructed view, you perceive the knowledge of reality as a construction on itself what is created in the process of making sense of things (Astley, Knorr-Cetina, Weick by Ford: 1999). This view helps to critically analyse the conversations and see what they actually construct. You can discover what reality is by examining the conversations and the discourse presented.

Everyday talk is not a new phenomenon within social studies and in oral history. Especially personal stories can be seen as an important source of experimental data (Gurbium & Holstein, 1998). Stories can provide insight in the meanings attached and the shaping of lives within a specific community: “stories are analysed as much for the ways in which storytellers and the conditions of storytelling shape what is conveyed as for what their contents tell us about lives, even while emphasis on the free play of narration is now perhaps excessive.” (Gurbium & Holstein, 1998, p. 163). Stories can reveal the layers of everyday life, as stories have the capability not only to describe but are also part of an ongoing process of composition (Gurbium & Holstein, 1998). Stories can reveal the actual meaning of a situation, as perceived by the person. Personal stories are just one part of the academic elements which touch upon the concept of storytelling. Interesting is the linkage of everyday talk with the concept of dialogue. Dialogue has a goal of understanding the other as the other, what will transform the issue and increase the quality of contact (Freire by Kim & Kim, 2008). The informal conversation is the practical form of dialogue (Kim & Kim, 2008). However, this does not mean that every conversation is a dialogue but the dialogue can be created through conversation (Kim & Kim, 2008). A conversation can be elevated to dialogue, when each of the participants contributes to the ‘flow’ of the joint action (Kim & Kim, 2008, p. 57).

News as stories

As the study of mass media is one with a long history, many views have passed in the past. This thesis is written as a combination of cultural theory and an organizational view. These approaches are analytically distinct: the organizational view finds interactional determinants of the news in the relations between people and the cultural view finds symbolic determinants of news in the relations between facts and symbols (Schudson, *The News Media as Political Institutions*, 2002). However, a cultural account of news helps to understand the generalized images and stereotypes. This research approaches news from a cultural theory angle. A proper definition is written by Baran and Davis (Baran, 2005): “the underlying assumption that our experience of reality is an ongoing, social construction, not something that is only sent,

delivered, or otherwise transmitted to a docile public... Audience members don't just passively take in and store bits of information in mental filing cabinets, they actively process this information, reshape it, and store only what serves culturally defined needs" (Baran and Davis by Baran, 2005: 431). News is perceived as a form of culture and it is generated by the public meaning making (Schudson, *The News Media as Political Institutions*, 2002). "It is a material product and there are political, economic, social and cultural dimensions to understanding its production, distribution, and appropriation by audiences (Garnham by Schudson, 2002: 251). News is "not what happens, but what someone says has happened or will happen" (Sigal by Schudson, 2002: 255). So to understand news, we need to understand who the sources are and how journalists deal with them (Schudson, *The News Media as Political Institutions*, 2002, p. 255).

Related to this cultural view is news that is perceived as a product of storytelling. This means that just as with stories, a news item has a beginning, middle and an end (Schudson, *News as Stories*, 2005). The news is represented as a 'true' story, it's about something which did happen. "Because it's a true story, it is responsible not only to literary convention but to a faithful rendering and even a verifiably faithful rendering of what really happened" (Schudson, *News as Stories*, 2005, p. 121). Journalists tell stories professionally: they write to enliven, to honour, to soothe, to commemorate and sometimes to embolden and impassion (Schudson, *News as Stories*, 2005). News is perceived as a set of literary forms: "to see that news is a set of literary conventions is to recognize that news is culture and reproduces aspects of a larger culture that the reporter and the editor may never have consciously articulated" (Schudson, *News as Stories*, 2005, p. 126). This means in practice that the media is produced by people who (unwittingly) work within a particular cultural system. "Journalists operate not only to maintain and repair their social relations with sources and colleagues but also their cultural image as journalists in the eyes of a wider world" (Schudson, *The News Media as Political Institutions*, 2002, p. 262). The system the journalists work in is filled with cultural meanings. This system is organized by sourcing what determines who is a legitimate source/speaker/conveyer or information to a journalist. The system lives by a certain pre-set picture of the audience. "News as a form of culture incorporates assumptions about what matters, what makes sense, what time and place we live in, what range of considerations we should take seriously" (Schudson, *News as Stories*, 2005, p. 126).

Agenda-setting

News seen from a cultural perspective points at the agenda setting-aspect of the news. Agenda-setting is a concept which states that the media may not tell us what to think but media will tell us what to think *about* (Baran, 2005). This means that the media has a major power in the selection of topics. "In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue, but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position" (McCombs and Shaw, 1972 p. 176). The power of the media lies in the capacity to pay a certain amount of time or dedicate a certain amount of space to a specific story and its placement on the page or in the broadcasting. Furthermore, the repetition and consistency of stories plays also an important role. The more people see a story presented in the media, the more people get the signal that the issue is of major importance (Baran, 2005). "A news story is supposed to answer the questions who, what, when, where, and why about its subject, to understand news as culture requires asking of news writing what categories of person count as a *who*, what kinds of things pass for facts, or *whats*, what geography and sense of

time is inscribed as *where* and *when*, and what counts as an explanation, or *why*" (Schudson, *News as Stories*, 2005, p. 126). The news makes certain modes of explanations important and rejects other ones (Carey by Schudson, 2005).

Framing

Related to the concept of agenda-setting is the concept of framing. "The concepts of frames and framing are widely used throughout the social sciences, particularly in the fields of conflict and negotiation management, political activism, and social movements" (Van Herzele & Aarts, 2012, p. 66). Recent work in these areas show that most studies conceptualise framing as the process of either applying frames to situations or using frames to convince others of a specific interpretation of the situation (Benford and Show; Dewulf *et al.*, by Van Herzele & Aarts, 2012). This points at two features of frames: they are either stored in memory as a cognitive feature or they have an instrumental function in influencing public opinion. This last function is used in this research because this feature refers to the media frames which are active in the world around us. "In this respect, the focus of research is often on the content of frames, including predispositions to support a certain interpretation: knowledge, cultural identity, ideology, etc." (Van Herzele & Aarts, 2012, p. 66).

Framing is an interesting concept as it can provide us insight in the way of perceiving a certain issue. "A frame involves a cognitive framework that governs the subjective meaning we assign to social events" (Goffman by Scholten & Van Nispen, 2008: 184). It gives an answer on the question 'what is going on?' in a certain situation or 'what is the problem presented to be?' (Van Bommel, Van Hulst, & Yanow, 2013). Or as Goffman's classic question reflects: "What is it that's going on here?" (Goffman by Van Herzele & Aarts, 2012: 65). People make sense of situations by asking themselves (explicitly or implicitly) what is happening. In connection with this process, Goffman states that: "definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principals of organization, which govern events- at least social ones- and our subjective involvement in them" (Goffman by Van Herzele & Aarts, 2012: 65). Framing is the ordering device of this process, people select and label the relevant features of the situation and unite these into an understandable picture. People behave according to their understanding of this situation, their framing. "In short, by framing the situation people come to an understanding of what is going on" (Van Herzele & Aarts, 2012, p. 65)

Framing is a powerful tool to influence the way people perceive a certain issue. Framing involves selection and salience, stated Entman (1993). "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1992, p. 52). Framing is a powerful tool because it highlights (salience) certain aspects and hides other aspects (selection).

The approach of analyzing the frames will be done in the context of framing in an interactional co-construction (Aarts & van Woerkum, 2006). In the interactional framing approach, people construct social realities in conversations (Dewulf *et al.*, 2009; Ford *et al.*, 2009; Pearce and Cronen, 1980). "Frames are communicative devices that individuals and groups use to negotiate their interactions. Within this approach, the term *framing* may be more appropriate, since it captures the dynamic processes of negotiators' or disputants' interactions" (Dewulf, et al., 2009, p. 160). Framing is considered as the dynamic enactment and shaping of meaning in the ongoing interaction (Dewulf by Van Herzele & Aarts, 2012). This interactional approach to framing, indicates how the situation should be understood (Dewulf, et al., 2009), as meanings are co-constructed in the interaction (Van Herzele & Aarts, 2012). The frames

construct and develop the conversation, where participants try to negotiate the relevant framing on the spot (Dewulf, et al., 2009).

This approach displays how participants construct meaning while they are interacting (Dewulf, et al., 2009). “While people are framing their experiences in interaction with others—whether those others are imagined or physically present (Wieck 1995, p. 39)—questions are generated concerning what the problem is, who is responsible, what interventions are acceptable, and what should be done, by whom, and how to do it” (Felstiner et al; Gamson; Fischer by Van Herzele & Aarts, 2013: 67). When people ask themselves those questions, they actively make sense of the situation and create their own understanding of it. Moreover, they construct the problems and opportunities they face with their perception of the situation. “When people in interactions frame an event or phenomenon, they try to achieve social ends and thus become active agents (Ford; Aarts & van Woerkum; by Van Herzele & Aarts, 2013:66). This makes this approach relevant for analysing the talk-radio due to the topics which are addressed during the show. Through interaction and dialogue on-air, an issue is framed in a particular way. The research will go into the frame which is constructed by the makers of the talk radio program and how this is presented in the program.

Methodology

This thesis was based on several academic methods which were combined to answer the research questions. This chapter tries to provide transparency on the used methods to gather the different sorts of data. Firstly, the fieldwork and its practical development are explained. The sources and the types of data will be described in the second part. Lastly, the limitations of the research are discussed to outline the constraints in the gathered data. This chapter tries to create an understanding of the practical side of the methods used. Moreover, the chapter tries to grasp the dynamic situation of field work in a totally new environment.

Fieldwork

The data was gathered within three months of fieldwork in the capital of Ghana, Accra. Before going into the field there was contact with a radio station in Accra. The radio station where the research would be conducted had to be English speaking. Ghana has many local languages but there was not enough time to get skilled in those languages. The first idea was to approach Joy FM because they are the oldest English speaking radio station in the capital (Avle, 2011). Furthermore, Joy FM was the most notorious as their name was mentioned several times in preparing the fieldwork. However, the different attempts to get into contact with the radio station were unsuccessful. As a result, Citi FM was contacted and a meeting was arranged. After meeting the head of HR and the Director of News Programming was introduced, collaboration was arranged. The fieldwork started with an official status as 'research intern' of Citi FM.

Conducting fieldwork at Citi FM was everything you can wish for as an academic. It was challenging and interesting at the same time. Citi FM was very welcoming and appreciated the academic research which was going on at their station. Furthermore, the atmosphere was very promising and the crew of Citi FM made one feel at home immediately at. Citi FM exists for more than 10 years and is the big opponent of Joy FM. Moreover, the team of Citi FM is quite young. Most people who work there are relatively young, varying from 23 till 35 years old. This makes Citi a unique environment and an interesting case study for the research. The research was conducted in the headquarters of Citi FM from the 9th of February till the 7th of April 2015.

Sources and types of data

1) Participatory observation

Participatory observation is used to get an understanding of how the making of the show works in practice. Participant observation gathers mostly qualitative data: "field notes taken about things you see and hear in a natural setting; photographs of people's houses; audio recording of people telling folk tales; video of people making canoes; getting married; having an argument; transcriptions of taped, open-ended interviews, and so on" (Bernard, 2011: 257). As a participant observer, you observe some aspect of life around you and will participate in life around you. Furthermore, you record what you can (Bernard, 2011). This will provide insight into the way of working within the organisation. "Participant observation involves immersing yourself in a culture and learning to remove yourself every day from that immersion so you can intellectualize what you've seen and heard, put it into perspective, and write about it convincingly" (Bernard, 2011: 258).

Participatory observation was the most appropriate method to actually observe the process of making a broadcasting which determines the actual show on-air. The method gathered material to actually analyse the making-of the Citi Breakfast show. Getting an understanding of the making-of the Citi Breakfast show (CBS) would provide insight into the

decisions made on the actual content of the show: the different topics, sources of input and the angles discussed in the program. Furthermore, the behind-the-scene situations showed the main way of working among the team members of the CBS.

In practice, the participatory observation was mostly done in the headquarters of Citi FM, Adabraka. As the Citi Breakfast Show is made every morning from Monday to Friday, this was the place to be for relevant observations. Participatory observation was also applied during the rest of the day. 'Hanging out' as described by Bernard (2011) was a main task during the days at Citi FM. "Once you know, from hanging around, exactly what you want to know more about, and once people trust you not to betray their confidence, you'll be surprised at the direct questions you can ask" (Bernard, 2011, p. 277). Not every answer will get an answer by asking questions, there are many things that people can't or won't tell. By hanging out, you build trust or rapport (Bernard, 2011). This may seem unsound but participatory observation is a strategic method to get more information. However, one can be truthful by being objective and confidential in conducting the observation.

Daily rhythm

The participant observation had a specific rhythm as the Citi Break Fast show started every day at 06:20. My day as a researcher started every day at 05:15, when an employee of the CBS gave me a ride to the office. We arrived between 05:50 and 06:10 at Citi FM, depending on the traffic. Often my colleagues headed upstairs before entering the studio annex before entering the studio around 06:15. The show ends at 10:00 by the main host introducing the news reader of that day and everybody leaving the studio. Sometimes some of the panel stay and discuss something. Most of the times everybody leaves the studio as the panellists are also part of another part of the organisation.

The rest of the day was mainly spent in the newsroom where about 12 journalists worked on the topics of the news bulletins. The "prime" news moments are at 06:00, 12:00 and 17:30. A recurring event every day was the 12.30 meeting, right after the news of 12.00. This meeting was a central led meeting by one of the journalists and the crew discussed the content for the news of 17.30. New points for the Eyewitness program and Point Blanc (part of Eyewitness news) are discussed. Every member of the newsroom was obliged to attend this meeting. During the meeting, the previous topics covered in the news are discussed and evaluated. The different topics were one by one checked if they were covered and discussed when necessary. The topics which were successfully covered were erased. News topics were proposed for the 17:30 news and the Eyewitness program. The 12.30 meetings were always very lively as all the reporters (13 in total, depending on who was present and who wasn't) were discussing the different angles and information about the news items. The meetings also showcased the main way of working: by a way of discussing. The day ended between 16:00 and 17:00 for me. However, most of the journalists worked about 10 to 12 hours a day. There were certain shifts, as one started early in the morning he or she could leave around 17:00. Nevertheless, most people worked longer than the 'arranged' times.

Extended case method

During the stay in Ghana, a lot of topics were discussed by the radio show. Discussing all of these topics would display too broad a range of topics and eventually damage the nuance and significance of this research. As a methodological basis for the research, the work of Gluckman (1940) is an inspiration. The work of Gluckman on social structures in northern Zululand starts with a description of the events he witnessed on a single day in 1938 based around the opening of a bridge (Cocks, 2012). On the basis of this single day, Gluckman tried to grasp the underlying

system of relationships beyond the obvious range of social differentiation present (Cocks, 2012).

The extended case method is a form of participatory observation where one tries to connect everyday life to its extra local and historical context (Buraway, 1998). The extended case method uses reflexive science to translate the unique into the more general, from 'micro' to 'macro' (Buraway, 1998). The extended case method led to the findings of one particular topic which will be explained in the third chapter of this research. The topic has been heavily experienced and discussed (by the researcher and others) during the field work. This provided the inspiration to analyse the topics addressed.

2) Content analysis

The Citi Breakfast show is made every week from Monday to Friday. The broadcastings are also recorded by the radio station itself and saved on the network of the radio station. For the purpose of the research, the broadcastings were copied and kept as a source for analysis. The broadcastings are kept as a back-up and addition to the field notes made during the participatory observation. As the participatory observation serves mainly to grasp the off-air discussions, the broadcastings represent the on-air content. The copies of the broadcasting were kept as material for analysis.

In the month of March the access to WhatsApp messages was also realized. WhatsApp is the main way of reacting to the Citi Breakfast Show for the listeners. The WhatsApp messages come in on the main computer in the studio where the WhatsApp program is installed. The WhatsApp messages were everyday copied one by one. This was the most appropriate at the end of the show otherwise it was too crowded in the studio. However, the WhatsApp program sometimes restarted itself again and some of the messages were lost them. This could sometimes be prevented by copying the messages sooner but this was not always appreciated by the CBS team. This could distort the proceedings in the studio. Later on, the numbers were also used to get into contact with the listeners and ask their permission for an interview.

3) Interviews

Interviews were part of the method while conducting the research as well. As the research looks at the social process of making radio, interviews are the perfect method because the research wants to get hold of feelings or attitudes (Gray, 2006). "Interviewing is a powerful way of helping people to make explicit things that have hitherto been implicit- to articulate their tacit perceptions, feelings and understanding" (Arksey and Knight by Gray, 2006: 3). The research wants to dive into the deeper meaning and perception of talk radio, what makes interviews a logical choice. "Marshall and Rossman (2006) are convinced that when thoughts, feelings, beliefs, values and assumptive worlds are involved, the researcher needs to understand the deeper perspective worlds that can only be captured through face-to-face interactions" (Columbus & Mustvairo, 2012, p. 123). Interviews are useful if you want to capture the story behind the participant's experiences (McNamara by Mutsvairo & Colombus, 2012). Therefore, the team of the Citi Breakfast Show are interviewed as well as listeners.

The research held focused interviews. "The focused interview is based upon the respondent's subjective responses to a known situation in which they have been involved" (Gray, 2006: 4). The focused interview is the most suitable because the subject of the interview is the talk radio and the knowledge of the interviewee on the programme. Therefore, the interview will be focused around this topic. The focused interview is used to interview the staff of the CBS but also to conduct interviews with the listeners. The focused interview is combined with the semi-structured way of interviewing. The main topics were written down in the

interview guide. Key words were used to get the directions of the covered topics. As every person had a specific role in the team, the questions were often adapted to the field of interest/expertise. However, the input from the interviewees was determining the direction of the interview.

On the one hand, the staff of the Citi Breakfast Show was interviewed. This was done in the last month of the fieldwork. The timing of the interviews was a bit later in the research because one first needs to understand situations before you actually can interview somebody about it. The interviews were also planned in the second half of the research because it was better if the team was a bit familiar with the research and the researcher. The interviews were held in the building of Citi FM. Most of the members of the Citi Breakfast Show were interviewed (7). Nevertheless, 2 interviews were not conducted. The first one is with co-host 1 who was time after time unavailable for an interview. The technician was also not interviewed, as he was rather uncomfortable with the concept of interviewing.

On the other hand, listeners were interviewed. Before interviewing them, there has been contact on the phone to arrange a potential interview. A short introduction of the research and the goal was explained. In total 19 listeners were interviewed. The interviewees were assured their input was anonymous and confidential. The main goal of the research was also explained as well as that Citi FM also would get a copy of the report. The selection was based on variety: the listeners were selected on the topic of their reaction, the day they reacted and their availability. This process was not representing any form of method as there were many reactions and there was only limited time for the interviews. The logistics of doing the interviews was determinant because the public transport in Accra is rather difficult. During the day there is a lot of traffic which makes travelling from A to B rather difficult. Most interviews were conducted in the offices of the listeners or public spaces. Reflecting on this way of working, this was not the most 'safe' strategy. Some of the crew members pointed this out. He explained that it was not safe for an *obruni* (what means white in the local Twi language) to go around town and meet strangers.

Voice recorder

The interviews were all recorded. However, the technical details distorted the interview sometimes and the cliché of low batteries was also present. Besides a voice recorder, notes were also taken. This was to back-up the technical flaws of the voice recorder and to write down things you cannot hear on the recordings.

Limitations

The first limitation of the research is the lack of two interviews of the staff of the CBS. The first is with co-host 1 who always has a tight schedule. He works 5 days a week from 06:15 till 20:00 and on Saturday he presents a big news program. This made it hard to make an appointment with him. Despite the several attempts to make an appointment, the interview did not take place. Several times the appointment was moved to another time. Nevertheless, this process kept on going until the last day of the fieldwork. It is very unfortunate that the interview with co-host 1 did not take place. His input for the program is big because he is the parliamentary correspondent. Moreover, he is one of the more famous faces of Citi FM. He has besides his work for Citi FM also his own news show from Monday to Friday at 17:30 and on Saturday morning. This makes him a rather important figure at the radio station. Secondly, the technician of the CBS was not interviewed either. This decision was based on the a personal level because the technician is an introvert person. The acknowledgement for his work already caused some

excitement as he comes across as quite shy. During the copying of the WhatsApp messages, he was often alone in the studio. This was the perfect opportunity to ask him my questions and due to the informal setting, the technician was more relaxed. The questions I wanted to ask him were posed but not in a setting as with an interview.

The second limitation was the participatory observation. Employees of Citi FM work long days, days of 12 hours are not an exception. These long days are the 'social' norm: it's not written anywhere but if you leave earlier than that people ask: 'why are you closing so early today?'. This was a dilemma for the research. On the one hand you want to fit in within the culture, hang around as long as you can and stick to the working schedule as others. You don't want to miss out on anything. On the other hand, being a researcher is a different role than most of the employees. The key skill for a participant observer is to be alert: everything can be a clue for your research. This makes it quite tiring especially when you work these long days. In the end the duration can undermine the quality of the participant observation. The more you stay, the less focus one creates for the research. This was certainly a dilemma while conducting the research and points at the limitation here.

The third limitation was the choice for the listeners. Access to the listeners was quite a difficult task. First some listeners were recommended by the main host and co-host 2. Those knew the listeners personal or well due to their active listening to the show. Due to the recommendation by the main host and co-host 2, they cannot be perceived as a listeners who represents the 'average' listener. There In the end 4 listeners were contacted who were recommended by the main host and co-host 2. Then the opportunity occurred to get access to the WhatsApp messages. The messages are sent from the mobile phones from the listeners themselves. This provided the opportunity to copy the messages and the numbers of the listeners of each day. The WhatsApp messages were copied in the month of March so the listeners are the ones who responded in this particular month. Moreover, listeners can also react on the show via Facebook and Twitter. To get to know listeners via this way is quite hard because one needs to contact the listeners online what can be quite indirect. Keeping the limited time of the research in mind, the WhatsApp messages seemed more appropriate and direct to contact the listeners. Furthermore, the selection of the listeners was based on variety. Listeners were selected on the topic of their reaction, the day they reacted and their availability. This process was not representing any form of method and obviously did affect the representativeness of the listeners. Nevertheless, the interviews with the listeners were done to get an understanding and general image of the listeners of the CBS. The data will be used for qualitative research only what makes this less important. The interviews with the listeners are not a representation of the listeners but construct more an illustrative approach towards the listeners.

The fourth limitation is created by the language used by the radio station. The radio station is English speaking what does limit the research. The spoken language limits the listeners and the reach of the radio station. However, the researcher was not skilled in any local Ghanaian language so there was no choice but conducting the research at an English speaking radio station. The influence of the language is something which needs to be taken into account as it influences the outcome of the research. Besides that, the fieldwork of Citi FM is used as a case study so the research does not claim any representing figures. The field work is used as an illustration of *how* a talk radio program can possibly be made and its influence. A statistical representation was never the aim of the research, the focus of the research was gathering qualitative data. This choice for qualitative research does limit the research.

Chapter 1: Broadcasting in Ghana

“Radio in Ghana? It’s big business”

(Producer 2, Interview 2015)

The African media landscape and the history of radio on the continent provides a background to actually understand the current practice of broadcastings in Ghana. Talk radio is a new feature in the dynamic landscape of radio making and facilitates a new stage for multiple voices on air. This chapter tries to grasp explanation of how talk radio emerged in Ghana. The vibrant history of radio in Ghana is inevitably to describe the tremendous changes throughout the years. Ghana moved from one TV station, two national short waves networks and three FM stations owned by the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation to the current 28 TV stations and 247 radio stations with broadcast authorization (Tietaah, 2013). This chapter sketches the media landscape of Ghana and provides an explanation for the arrival of talk radio in Ghana.

African media landscape

Before examining what position radio has in the media landscape of Ghana, one need to understand the current dynamics of the African media landscape. The embrace of communication technologies in postcolonial Africa can be described in three waves on the basis of the work of Paterson (2013). The first wave was the transition from colonial to post-colonial media. This media turned out to be propagandistic, ran by the elite, lacking particular diversity in content and only slightly more democratic than the media under colonial regime (Paterson, 2013).

The second wave was characterized the effects of a growing liberalization of the media in many countries since the early 1990s (Hydén et al, 2002; Spitulnik, 2008; Njogu and Middleton, 2009; Nyamnjoh, 2005; Kastfelt, 2003; Wasserman, 2011 by Grätz, 2013). This liberalization has led to several developments. Firstly, there has been an increase in new and (state-) independent newspapers, radio and TV stations as well a general broadening and diversification in the institutional field of media production (Grätz, New media entrepreneurs and changing styles of public communication in Africa: introduction, 2013). Secondly, neoliberal reforms encouraged business initiatives and also motivated many Africans to develop new modes for earning a living, including media-related activities. Thirdly, the accessibility is also increased with the easy availability of media technologies. For instance, the inexpensive FM radio sets and mobile phones which are sold for a small amount. Lastly, the global media wares are easily connected to local centres of media production and are connected to transnational flows of information and entertainment (Grätz, New media entrepreneurs and changing styles of public communication in Africa: introduction, 2013). All these developments have led to an new openness and a multi-voice of public expression, as well as the emergence of new media actors with an increasing competition with respect to their share of public spaces, audiences, clients and also economic success (Grätz, New media entrepreneurs and changing styles of public communication in Africa: introduction, 2013).

The third and last wave is the one that is intertwined with democracy, also known as “the one with the democratic promise” (Paterson, 2013, p. 3). The rapid embrace of interactive and personal communication technologies provides the opportunity to “Africa’s new media pluralism” (Ronning by Paterson, 2013: 3). This last wave is accelerated by increasing availability and appropriation of new information and communications technologies. The use of

Internet is rapidly increasing in sub-Saharan Africa as more and more people gain access (Mutsevairo, Columbus, & Leijendekker, 2014). “Cell phone adoption has exploded all over the continent, so much so that today most Africans have access to a mobile device” (Mutsevairo, Columbus, & Leijendekker, 2014, p. 4). This also influenced the way people access the Internet as many people are connected to the 3G network (Mutsevairo, Columbus, & Leijendekker, 2014). Mobile phones and digital media create opportunities for alternative and multimedia productions (Grätz, *New media entrepreneurs and changing styles of public communication in Africa: introduction*, 2013). The mobile phone has increasingly occupied a central position in the media landscape in Africa. “Over at least the half decade there has been mounting evidence that the technology is being used, to varying degrees, by citizens to contribute to news-making and information exchange in influential ways” (Mabweazara, 2011; Moyo. D, 2009; Moyo. L, 2011 by Paterson, 2013: 2).

The rapid increase of Internet-use has led to an emergence in citizen journalism in many Sub-Saharan African countries. This development might not be as obvious in sub-Saharan Africa as in Europe or the US. However, “vibrant online communities exist in many countries, and citizen journalists are increasingly using digital technologies such as blogs, SMS, social networks, microblogs, video-sharing platforms and mapping, to report and comment on a wide range of topics (Mutsevairo and Columbus by Mutsevairo, Columbus & Leijendekker, 2014:5). The importance of citizen journalism has been highly emphasized in times of crisis for example during the violent aftermath of the 2007 Kenyan elections. In this situation, the reports from conventional media are absent so citizen journalists serve as a means to express emotions, create spaces for discussion and relay critical information (Zuckerman by Mutsevairo, Columbus & Leijendekker, 2014). This rise of Internet has been influencing and enables citizens to become their own “broadcasters and reach large numbers of people in unprecedented ways at trivial cost” (Goldstein and Rotich by Mutsevairo, Columbus & Leijendekker, 2014: 5).

Radio in Africa

In the light of these developments of Africa’s media, radio also unfolded in a particular way. By the mid-twentieth century, there were estimated to be something over a million radio sets in Sub-Saharan Africa, nowadays there are more than 100 million (Fardon & Furniss, 2000). “The growth in African broadcast culture on radio has been spectacular by whatever quantitative or qualitative criteria we choose to measure it” (Fardon & Furniss, 2000, p. 1). The importance of the medium is marked by its capability to “link to the oral and the aural in the history and cultural practices of the continent (Hofmeyer by Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011:1). The fluidity of radio together with its pervasive presence makes the medium extent in its range and potential. “For radio particularly, its accessibility – in terms of affordability, ubiquitous message transmission- to rural, particularly non-literate, populations is incomparable” (Karikari, 1994, p. 1). Radio can serve both the needs of the rural and urban communities, what makes radio highly suitable to African social usage (Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011)

The combination of ‘ordinariness’, the focus on every day with the ability to engage with moments of high national and cultural drama that makes radio such a powerful medium (Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011). Radio has the capability to reproduce the everyday and also wave in items of national significance through its focus on great, unifying moments (Scannel; Hendy by Gunner, Ligaga & Moyo 2011). Radio can, along with other forms of mass media, produce new social meaning, shift subjectivities and have huge affective power (Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011). “Radio is a tremendous means for scientific education, political enlightenment and socio-cultural progress” (Habib Sy by Karikari, 1994: ix). Radio was firstly and foremost

used by states to promote its own ends and used an oppressive top-down format. "Africa's radio broadcasting systems of post-colonial era are but a pale carbon copy of the former colonial systems' radio broadcasting philosophies and practices" (Habib Sy by Karikari, 1994: viii). The first movement against this use was the emergence of multiple voices in radio broadcasting (Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011). These multiple voices do get even more ways to access the airwaves as social media is more and more used in the production of radio.

'Talk radio'

The multiple voices on the airwaves are currently presented in a particular genre of radio, 'talk radio'. "Talk radio is generally defined as a format characterized by conversation that is initiated by a programme host and usually involves listeners who telephone to participate in the discussion about topics such as politics, sports or events (Ruben & Step by Bosch, 2011: 76). Talk programmes have an interactive nature, what opens space for dialogue and debate. The emergence of the multiplicity of radio on the African continent is relatively new and contributes to an expanding popular engagement with its genres and a steadily energised public sphere (Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011). "Radio stations have taken advantage of this public acceptance of radio and now engage in interactive programming with the public" (Ufuoma, Community radio regulation and its challenges in Ghana, 2012, p. 199). This varies from comparing newspapers in the morning, daily talk shows with phone-ins and other ways to make listeners participate in radio. One of the interactive upcoming programmes is talk radio, which is part of the genre participatory media (Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011) where the audience can actively participate in the content of the program.

Talk radio is seen as a mix between infotainment and pavement radio. Infotainment is often used in tabloids, where some argue that these tabloids are purely being sensationalist entertainment (Bosch, Talk radio, democracy and citizenship in (South) Africa, 2011). On the other hand, some state that the tabloids contributed to giving a voice to ordinary people, where the elite do not dominate mediated debates. Pavement radio refers to the informal communication networks on the continent where the distinction between broadcaster and listener is blurred. In pavement radio, the stories selected are dependent on the popularity of stories (Bosch, Talk radio, democracy and citizenship in (South) Africa, 2011). Talk radio can be seen as a mixture of these two: populist and participatory at the same time. Talk radio emerges as a kind of citizen and civic journalism (Bosch, Talk radio, democracy and citizenship in (South) Africa, 2011). Talk radio allows the audience to have a presence and create a feeling of access to the mass media (Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011). Whether this access is an illusion or not, it creates a starting point for citizens to understand politics and their engagement within public sphere (Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011). "Participation in talk radio reflects active agency, which is a critical requirement for the growth, consolidation and sustenance of democracy" (Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011, p. 21).

Talk radio shows often follow a model for call-in radio talk shows. These shows were invented in the US, where they exist since the 1940s (Halper by Grätz, 2014). This format has become a radio staple throughout West African countries and in multiple languages. "It has been enabled by new media laws governing the mass media and information technology introduced in the mid-nineties, with a growing freedom of expression and the proliferation of new media technologies such as computer-based radio production, mobile phones and the Internet" (Grätz, Radio Call-In Shows on Intimate Issues in Benin: "Crossroads of Sentiments", 2014, p. 26). Also in Ghana, these formats were introduced in the early 1990's by private radio stations such as Joy FM or Choice FM (Grätz, Radio Call-In Shows on Intimate Issues in Benin: "Crossroads of

Sentiments", 2014). Through the years, talk radio has become a major asset of the broadcasting culture. "In fact, the vibrant, usually unrestrained and passionate discussions over the airwaves are one of the vivid pieces of evidence that observers of Ghana political landscape point to in touting the country as an exemplar of democratic culture and consolidation on the African continent" (Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011, p. 20). Talk radio has become a tool for citizens to discuss sensitive and/or controversial political and social issues, without the fear of government intimidation (Bosch, Talk radio, democracy and citizenship in (South) Africa, 2011). Talk radio has provided a stage for citizens to engage in the formal and informal debates, where talk radio is the "easiest, quickest and relatively inexpensive means to bring issues to the court of public opinion" (Boateng by Bosch, 2011:77).

An interesting link is the connection between talk radio and citizen journalism. In the traditional format of talk radio, the listeners could call in to respond on certain topics. With the rapidly development of the Internet and social media the format of talk radio is also influenced. Where social media and online resources get more and more influence, talk radio programmes adapt to this development. Furthermore, the role of citizen journalism might also gain more influence. Citizen journalism are often 'incidental journalists' who happen to be in a particular place who happens to witness, capture and publicise events (Allan by Mutsevairo, Columbus & Leijendekker, 2014). The increasing role of citizen journalism together with the development of Internet might also influence the talk radio programmes.

Radio in Ghana

Radio has also a long history in Ghana. Radio broadcasting began under colonial rule in 1935, when the British government set up a relay service in Accra and Cape Coast to broadcast the Empire Service from London (Avle, 2011). Radio was mostly used as a tool for education, facilities were arranged to let schoolchildren listen to the broadcasts in 17 towns (Avle, 2011). When Ghana became independent in 1957 under the vision of Kwame Nkrumah, the argument of education was still used to keep radio broadcasting under strict government control (Avle, 2011). Nkrumah stated that the citizenry needed to be re-educated and build the nation on national and African consciousness (Avle, 2011). Media served the so called 'nation-building' project: "the media were also appropriated and invested with the duty of knitting the diverse-ethno linguistic and social-political groups within the new nation state into a collective tapestry" (Tietaah, 2013, p. 207). However, the government had a huge developmental agenda comparing to its available funds what slowed radio expansion down (Avle, 2011). In the meantime, several legal regulations were put in place which openly restricted the freedom of expression (Tietaah, 2013).

The Nkrumah regime was overthrown in a coup d'état on the 24th of February 1966 and for the next 26 years, the faith of the media was rather unfortunate. There was a culture of silence and there was practically no political newspaper (Ufuoma, Community radio regulation and its challenges in Ghana, 2012). The first military rule (1966-1969) was notable for the dismissal, jailing journalists and for anti-media-friendly legislations. The second, third and fourth military juntas which followed were responsible for limiting independent private press. The state media was micromanaged by the different military regimes from 1972 till 1979 (Tietaah, 2013). The state broadcasting service, Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, was seen as a propaganda tool to control and disseminate information (Buckley by Ufuoma, 2012). Access to media was mostly limited to urban areas as the state-owned media lacked the infrastructure, technologies and resources to run services throughout the whole country. Urban residents also

depended on the foreign radio services like the BBC, British Broadcasting Corporation, and VOA, Voice of American, who broadcasted through satellite (Ufuoma, Community radio regulation and its challenges in Ghana, 2012). The military regimes came with economic hardships, what gave the governments a reason to address the IMF and the World Bank for funds. The two institutions provided funds but under strict conditions, for instance major regulatory changes (Avle, 2011). "Privatization was the key word and many state-owned media were diversified with the government retaining less than 10% interest in many industries" (Avle, 2011, p. 12). However, it took until the early 1990s under Jerry Rawlings to make media privatization a political goal (Avle, 2011).

This all changed with the re-democratization process of 1992, when Ghana adopted a neo-liberal policy as well as the 1992 Constitution. These two changes made socio-economic and political growth of the society possible (Ufuoma, Community radio regulation and its challenges in Ghana, 2012). "Ghana re-joined the democratic bandwagon in January 1992 following sustained local agitation and international pressure for a return to multi-party democratic governance" (Tietaah, 2013, p. 207). This change was created by the start of the decentralization process. "This remarkable expansion of the horizons for broadcast media is largely accountable to a libertarian constitutional construction that acknowledges the pivotal role of a free and pluralistic media in securing Ghana's neo-democratic experience" (Tietaah, 2013, p. 207). Together with the pressure from Western countries and international organisations who addressed the economic and political underdevelopment started the current wave of democratisation began in Ghana (Ufuoma, Democratising the media in the new democracies of Ghana and Nigeria: Challenges and prospects, 2014). "Communications policies in the global arena have been influenced by the Western principles of the free flow of ideas and information, strengthen on a daily basis through agreements, treaties, loans and media assistance packages" (May, Price by Ufuoma, 2014: 89).

Legislations made this movement possible, where especially Article 162 emphasizes the goal: "explicitly provided freedom to own media without any impendent and editorial freedom to publish without any form of censorship" (Ufuoma, Community radio regulation and its challenges in Ghana, 2012, p. 194). The tone was set in the Ghanaian media landscape: all policy documents were aiming at openness of the media space and the encourage public access to media (Ufuoma, Community radio regulation and its challenges in Ghana, 2012). The legislations provided a foundation for institutional establishment for a regime of broadcast pluralism in Ghana (Tietaah, 2013). The 1992 constitution, the National Media Policy (2000) and the National Telecommunication Policy all promoted the openness of the media space, in order to enhance public access to mass media and encourage participation (Ufuoma, Community radio regulation and its challenges in Ghana, 2012). "The formulation of these communications policies reformed the media from government mouthpiece(s) to platforms of rational debate" (Perkins by Ufuoma, 2014: 89). So Ghana moved from one TV station, two national short waves networks and three FM stations owned by the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation to nowadays 28 TV stations and 247 radio stations with broadcast authorization (Tietaah, 2013). Some even state that the political discourse changed due to the media's new participatory platform. Participatory journalism has expounded the political debates and engaged oppressed people in advancing the democracy in Ghana (Karikari by Ufuoma, 2014).

Today radio is an influential medium in Ghana: it has grown in the last decades to have one of the most liberal and independent media environment on the continent (Avle, 2011). "It plays a preeminent role in Ghana's broadcast media scape, compared to television and the print media" (Avle, 2011, p. 10). Radio in Ghana has become a medium for the educated and the

uneducated, there is a huge increase in the number of people with radio sets in Ghana (McKay by Ufuoma, 2012). “People listen to the radio mostly in the morning before work, so they are aware of the issues and debates for the day, and in the evening to get a summary of the day’s news” (Hasty by Ufuoma, 2012: 198). Whereas television is spread by the ratio 10:1 and print media outnumbers television stations but print media does still fall short comparing to the number of radio stations (Avle, 2011). Avle (2011) constructed a table to show the distribution of radio stations in Ghana. The number of radio station on air in Accra was 24, in the Ashanti region 29 Central region about 19 and in the Northern region 4. This shows the thick distribution of radio in the country: in 2009 there were 219 radio receivers per 1000 people comparing to 13 televisions per 1000 people (Abbey-Mensah by Avle, 2011).

Region	Percentage of national population*	Number of FM stations (2002)	
		FM licenses issued	On air
Greater Accra	15.8	17	14
Ashanti	17.3	12	9
Western	10.0	3	3
Central	8.6	6	6
Eastern	11.5	5	2
Brong Ahafo	9.9	8	8
Upper West	3.1	2	2
Upper East	5.0	1	1
Volta	8.8	3	3
Northern	10.1	2	2
Total	100	59	49

* Population estimate for 2002 figures are from 2000, approximately 18.9 million people. Estimated population for 2009 was about 20 million.

Sources: Alhassan 2005, ChangeGhana.com 2011 (accessed March 2011 via <http://changeghana.com/home/featured-articles/commercial-fm-radio-stations-in-ghana-2009>), Ghana Statistical Services 2009, National Communication Authority Annual Report 2008.

Figure 1: **The distribution of private FM radio stations in Ghana**

source: Avle, 2011

The current radio landscape in the urban area of Accra is very dynamic. Radio is everywhere: on mobile phones, in public spaces, on billboards over town and in the *tro tro* (the main public transport) (Observations, 2015). The main players in the radio business are Peace FM, Joy FM and Citi FM. Peace FM is the biggest Twi-speaking radio station in the area of Accra. Joy FM and Citi FM are both competing in the English speaking radio stations. Joy FM was the first English speaking radio station in Accra and went on air to provide alternative news and programs to listeners in and around the Greater Accra region (founders Joy FM by Avle, 2011). . After the creation of Joy FM, a year later the online platform Myjoyonline.com was launched as “the first Ghana based news site streaming live radio” (Multimedia Ghana Ltd by Avle, 2011). Citi FM was the first direct opponent of Joy FM. The relatively young radio station has been broadcasting for around 11 years now (Interviews, 2015).

Influencing radio?

Also the staff of the Citi Breakfast Show describes radio as an influential medium. One of the producers explains: “radio in Ghana, it’s big business. In Accra only you have more than 40 something radio stations. Which from what I know, from my research, it’s quite bigger than radio stations in New York. See the population of New York, see the population of Accra. New York is a cosmopolitan and we have 42 radio stations. It’s big business” (Interview producer 2, 2015). The

main host illustrates this with an actual example: *“radio has become more influential. I will give you an example: yesterday the [...] of parliament wanted to meet influential journalists in Ghana. [This is an] quote on quote. There were about 17 people in that room and about 12/13 of us were radio journalists”* (Interview main host, 2015). Radio is seen as the main medium where people listen to, what makes it the story of the town. *“If you go into town and you ask somebody, they will tell you the story in town ... We heard it on this and this [radio] station. It is very accessible to people”* (Interview producer 2, 2015). Although the staff of the Citi Breakfast Show might have a preference for radio due to their commitment to it, it does show the value they ascribe to the medium.

The accessibility of radio also makes a particular function possible for radio in Ghana. The role of radio is praised for its multi-functionality. Producer number 1 calls radio an informing, entertaining medium and a tool for checking government. *“Radio seems to be the habita between the public and the authorities, for me, that’s the role radio plays”* (Interview producer 1, 2015). People will call the radio station where they would normally go to the police to report. He explains that this shows how big the impact of radio is: *“It’s accessible in every rural community in Ghana, every person can afford a radio set or have one on their phone. The impact on radio is immense and we cannot underestimate the role of radio in keeping government in check and helping national development.”* (Interview co-host 2, 2015). Co-host 3 even emphasizes how radio can fulfil a gap where public institutions are often missing. *“I think it’s so important, that’s how people get informed. Government is absent in so many places: police stations, hospitals. There is nothing but people have their radio station, it’s how people get to know things.”* (Interview co-host 3, 2015). The main host of the show adds that radio makes the Ghanaian democracy more functional (Interview main host, 2015). He illustrates this with an example: *“before the 2000 elections, there has not been a real change in power. Radio station opened up the electoral process by sending correspondents around the country to police the elections, to give live reports of what was happening ... Because of that, radio became very credible in the eyes of the Ghanaian public”* (Interview main host, 2015).

High press freedom

Ghana is known for its growth to one of the most liberal and independent media environments on the continent (Avle, 2011). *“Ghanaian media, in general, have grown exponentially over the course of the last two decades of democratic rule, not just in number but also in their influence of public sphere”* (Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011, p. 20). *“The media in Ghana has also blossomed under the political liberalisation since 1992. The country’s media is regarded as one of the most vibrant and free in Africa with more than 3000 newspapers and 150 private FM radio stations (EIU, 2013; Reporters Without Borders, 2013 by Lenthardt et al.,). This is also shown in the figure by the Freedom House (2013 by Lenhardt et al., 2015). The blue line represents the average of Sub-Saharan Africa, where the orange line represents Ghana. This shows how high the press freedom actually is in Ghana, comparing to the other countries. “According to the Reporters Without Borders 2013 Press Freedom Index, Ghana ranked third overall in Africa, improving its global rank from 67th in 2002 to 30th out of a total of 170 countries” (Reporters Without Borders by Lenthardt et al., 2015: 13).*

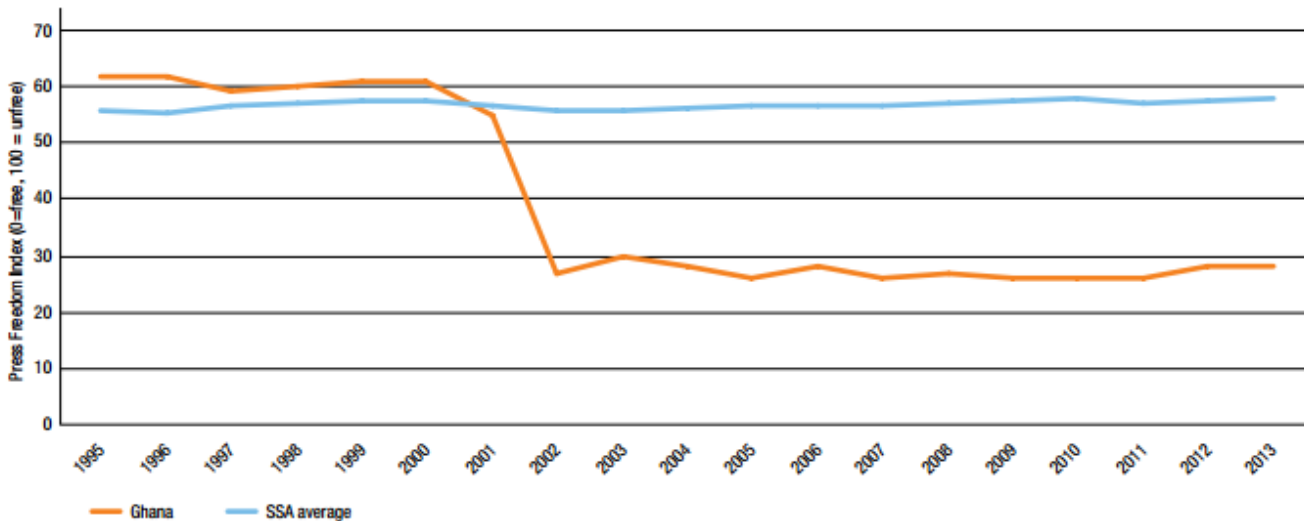


Figure 2: **Freedom House Press Freedom Index 1995-2013**

Source: Freedom House by Lenhardt et al., 2015

Ghana is at the top spot together with Mali and Mauritius one of the freest countries in sub-Saharan Africa (Gunner, Ligaga, & Moyo, 2011). Ghana was the second highest ranking African country on the World Press Freedom Ranking (Freedom by Avle, 2011). Liberalization and hybridization of the media have played a key role in the establishment one of the most liberal media environments on the continent (Avle, 2011). The high press freedom is a characterizing feature of the media in Ghana.

Experiencing press freedom

The staff of the Citi Breakfast Show also acknowledge this high press freedom (Interviews main host, co-host 2;3;4;producer 1;2, social media editor). *“It is not surprisingly that Ghana ranks very highly in all the parameters: freedom of the press and the openness of expression”* (Interview main host, 2015). Producer 2 illustrates this with a recent case from South-Africa where somebody said something to the president and he was sent to court. *“You hardly find that in Ghana. It changed drastically since the beginning of the 4th republic. It improved year after year. One thing of democracy is press freedom. And our democracy is growing as a country”* (Interview producer 2, 2015). It also has direct consequences for the team itself, as producer 1 illustrates: *“When we wake up in the morning, no government official directs us what to say. Nobody dictates our line of programming”* (Interview producer 1, 2015).

Nevertheless, the picture is a bit more nuanced than just the fact that there is high press freedom in Ghana. *“Press freedom is good, here... basically you can say what you want, you get harassed but you don’t get the kind of harassment that you go home and that there are people waiting with sticks at your gate, arrest you and throw you in a dark cell. The kind of harassment you get is when the person you spoke about sends you a text message where he says: hey, be careful, next time I see you we’ll find you. But when he meets you, he buys you a drink”* (Interview co-host 4, 2015). Also co-host 3 does admit that there is *“subtle arm twisting”* (Interview co-host 3, 2015) on the different topics you can address and the reactions to that. However, one does not hold this as a reason to stop presenting their views: *“I will say what I have to say, I will be respectful about it but I will say it anyway. What I have to say, I will say”* (Interview co-host 3, 2015).

Furthermore, legally there might not be a limit on the topics. “[There are] *no taboos on topics, at least not legally. If you look at the way our society is, it’s difficult to talk about sex openly on the radio. When it comes to religion, religious differences it’s quite unsettling for many people when you talk about religion differences. Feminism... we are learning and adapting but there is more room for improvement*” (Interview co-host 2, 2015). Co-host 4 describes Ghana as a bit of a prudent society, even a bit hypocritical. He perceives this as logical, taking into account the moralistic background where they come from (Interview co-host 4, 2015). It’s more a moral boundary: “*sex is a bit of an issue, you cannot really discuss on radio. It’s a no go area. Ethnicity becomes a bit of a problem. Religion is a big no-go area, you have to be very very careful when you discuss religion here. So those are the really big ones. There are not political constraints but there are social constraints talking about it.*” (Interview co-host 4, 2015). However, it also matters how you discuss certain topics. “*If you approach it from a mature level, you’re able to have a conversation. If you’re not going to speak out of ignorance, read the right material and spoken to the right officials you are able to speak about everything. Race, sex, religion. Everything.*” (Interview producer 2, 2015).

Lastly, the team also addresses the responsibility which comes together with the freedom of expression. “*If you have the freedom, you need to be responsible. Because if the president says something and you disagree, back your argument with some facts. Make an intellectual argument. [There is] a lot of loose talk on radio*” (Interview co-host 2, 2015). The other side of the press freedom in Ghana consists of the responsibility to back your statements with facts and other supporting material. The team sees this as their responsibility to verify stories with research, what leads to credibility (Observations, 2015). “*Press freedom I think, we’ve done pretty well in that regard. Misused it, but we’ve done pretty well. I mean... principles of journalism would require that. If you can’t verify, you can’t attribute, you can’t promise. But we do a lot of that here, verification and attribution is very low [...] That is a bit of a problem.*” (Interview co-host 4, 2015). On the other hand, it’s explained as professionalism what lies the foundation for credible news making. “*In a lot of the small stations in the country people are not even university graduates. Some of them are DJs and presenters, who speak nicely. They have no idea of the impact they have and the influence they ... So they are unprofessional in their conduct, so they are quite disorganised*” (Interview main host, 2015). The responsibility of press freedom is from experience also a quest for professionalism where trust in the medium is built by credibility.

Emergence of talk radio in Ghana

The previous sketch of the environment of the development of talk radio describe the aspects which are intertwined with the development of talk radio in Ghana. Several aspects can be pointed out as causes of the emergence of talk radio in Ghana. Firstly, throughout the years the setting of media and especially making radio in Ghana has been changed tremendously. The setting in Ghana changed from a tight, government-controlled media landscape to a country with high press freedom. The media in Ghana has blossomed since the 1992 political liberation (Lenhardt, Menocal, & Engel, 2015). Especially radio is mentioned as being a vibrant and independent media outlet (Lenhardt, Menocal, & Engel, 2015). This also connects to the experience of the team of the Citi Breakfast Show, they praise the high press freedom in Ghana as a liberated working environment. The high press freedom in Ghana made space to experiment with making independent and critical radio. The topics in Ghana are politically not limited what gives the programs enough food for discussion and programming for the talk radio programs.

Secondly, radio is a very accessible medium in Ghana. The access to the medium is emphasized as it perceived as the easiest way to get to people. “*Ghanaians don’t like to read. If*

you look at the way our society is organized, people find it easier to listen to the radio than to watch TV. Portable radio sets at work, smartphone with radio: it's an easy way to get to people" (Interview co-host 2, 2015). Radio is very accessible because it breaks with the illiteracy radio, it's cheap and its always present (Interview main host, 2015). The accessibility of the medium gives it his power and determines its reach within the Ghanaian society. The genre of talk radio is closely connected to the input of listeners. The accessibility of radio makes the active input of listeners possible and in this way, it creates the opportunity for the realization of talk radio.

Besides the high press freedom and the accessibility of radio, the increase in cell phones also contribute to the development of talk radio. Where talk radio is characterized by interactivity, this genre could only develop where interactivity is made available by resources. The talk radio programs "take advantage of widespread mobile telephony access among listeners" (Tettey, 2011, p. 22). A characterizing feature of talk radio is that's it's driven by discussion and the fact that it's live, what gives listeners the chance to react immediately. "The immediacy of response has been made possible by increased access to telephones, particularly cell phones" (Tettey, 2011, p. 23).The interactivity is not only made possible by the increase in cell phones but also by the emergence of new information and communication technologies on the Internet (Tettey, 2011). This lead to the closely related part of talk radio and the listeners who express their view by text messages (Tettey, 2011). During the conduction of the field work, social media was mainly used to express the views of listeners for instance, WhatsApp, Facebook and Twitter (Observations, 2015).

The high press freedom, the accessibility of the medium radio and the increase in cell phones and new information technologies made the emergence of talk radio in Ghana realistic. All three aspects do characterize the media landscape in Ghana and contribute to the emergence of talk radio programs in Ghana. Talk radio can nowadays be perceived as a key feature in the new broadcasting landscape in Ghana (Tettey, 2011). "In fact, the vibrant, usually unrestrained and passionate discussions over the airwaves are one of the vivid pieces of evidence that observers of Ghana's political landscape point to in touring the country as an exemplar of democratic culture and consolidation on the African continent" (Tettey, 2011, p. 20).

The media landscape in Africa has been going through major changes the last couple of years and this has also influenced radio making on the continent. Ghana has travelled a long way from a tight government-controlled media sphere to a liberated and vibrant media landscape. The high press freedom is a characterizing and unique feature of Ghana. The accessibility of radio makes the medium rather popular in Ghana what is shown in the increase of radio stations in recent years. The increase in cell phones as well as the development of other information technologies did contribute to the emergence of talk radio in Ghana. This development made the interactivity possible with listeners, what is a characterizing aspect of talk radio. All three aspects provided space within the media landscape of Ghana to experiment with critical and independent radio making. The dynamic media landscape of Ghana made the realization of a lively and diverse talk radio genre in the country possible.

Chapter 2: The making-of talk radio

“Then we get back into the studio and set the agenda for the day”

(Co-host 2, Interview 2015).

Before diving into the actual analysis, a description of the program is necessary. Talk radio programs fulfil a particular space on the airwaves with their lively discussions. Their presence is broadly covered in recent academic literature. However, a specific and detailed description of the making-of a talk radio program was missing within academic debate. For the reader to be able to understand the influence of talk radio, one has to understand how such a program is made. This chapter will describe the making-of the Citi Breakfast show and the many aspects which are involved in the production of the show. Although the Citi Breakfast show is a case study, the in-depth description of the show provides insight in talk radio programs and their construction in general. This chapter is based on a participatory observation for two months in the headquarters of Citi FM in Adabraka, Accra. To illustrate an average morning for the Citi Breakfast Show, the morning of the 10th of February is taken as an example.

Citi FM and the Citi Breakfast Show

The Citi breakfast show is the morning show of the radio station Citi FM. Citi FM is a radio station located in Adabraka, Accra the capital of Ghana. Citi FM is an independent radio station and generates its income mainly from advertisements. On the frequency of 97.3 FM Citi FM broadcasts English radio programmes. Citi FM aims to “combine a comprehensive and credible news function, backed by innovative listener-driven on air programmes, and exciting promotions with vibrant audience participation” (Citi FM, 2015). The mission statement of Citi FM is “to build the most influential Radio Brand by attracting the largest possible discerning audience through innovative and quality programming” (Personal photo, 2015). Furthermore, the radio station is known for its innovative on-air programs combined with their live programs. For example, Citi FM organises every year the MOGO festival. This festival is a week full of Ghanaian music, ending with the prestigious MOGO awards for the best Ghanaian artists.

Citi FM tries to profile itself as a credible radio station by covering the vibrant Ghanaian political scene with objective and balanced live reports, news features and documentaries. “The station has become known as a strong advocate for consumer issues, including road safety, sanitation, education, good health care, security and so on” (Citi FM, 2015). Citi FM has different programs besides the Citi Breakfast show, like Brunch in the Citi, Traffic Avenue and Eyewitness News. Citi FM also runs the annual Management Development Month, the 10 days of investment and the Heritage Month Series. Citi FM claims to commit to an analytical business news, what gained confidence of listeners and advertisers (Citi FM, 2015).

Citi FM is a relatively young radio station with more than 11 years of broadcastings. Citi FM is seen as the main challenger of Joy FM, the other English speaking radio station. In 10 years they have become almost equal in terms of impact and influence (Interview main host, 2015). “For example in the 2012 presidential election debate, only Citi FM and Joy FM were used to moderate the presidential debate. We are the two leading English language radio station in Ghana: by revenue, by influence, by reach and by size” (Interview main host, 2015). Citi FM represents itself as the alternative for Joy FM and perceives itself as a credible number two (Interview main host, 2015). Citi FM gained several awards since its take-off. In 2007, the radio station was

recognized by the BBC as new radio station of the year. The same year the Citi Breakfast show got an award for being the talk/interactive show of the year. The Eyewitness news got also an award in 2011 by the Chartered Institute of Marketing in Ghana. Several journalists also gained awards for their documentaries. In 2012, Citi FM was recognized as the most Innovative Newsroom in Africa for its use of digital media (online, social and mobile) in its dissemination at the 16th Telkom Highway Africa Awards (Citi FM, 2015). “Citi 97.3 FM has also been acknowledged by the Ghana Journalists Association for its objective and balanced coverage of political stories in the interest of good governance and peace building” (Citi FM, 2015).

The Citi Breakfast Show (CBS) is the morning show of Citi FM. The show is on air from Monday to Friday from 06:00 till 10:00. The Citi Breakfast show starts every day right after the news of 06:00. The 06:00 news is perceived as an important news bulletin, as it is perceived as the first news people listen to (Observations, 2015). As most people are preparing to go to work or are already heading to work, this news is of major importance as many people listen to this news bulletin. The show is presented by one main host and four co-hosts support the show with their different opinions and skills. Two producers actively contribute to the show and a social media editor keeps the listeners on-line up to date. Lastly there is also a technician who keeps the CBS technically in control. Overall there are nine people actively working on the content of the Citi Breakfast Show. However, there is also tight collaboration with the Citi FM newsroom in the form of information exchange and (live-) reports.

06:00 - Pre-broadcasting

Between 06:00 and 06:15, the main host and the two co-hosts enter the studio annex. The technician is often already in, he also works for the news of 06:00. Co-host 2 is often the one who is in first, he looks through the newspapers: scans them quickly and divides the papers in two piles (one for himself and one for co-host 1). The main host enters afterwards, often with suggestions for stories. Co-host 2 and the main host often chat about what is actually going on that day. Around 06:15, the main host enters the studio and prepares by screaming loud. He does this every morning, sometimes it several times before going on air. This is most likely meant as an energizer. Co-host 1 enters the studio annex a couple of minutes before the newsround starts. Co-host 2 hands over the newspaper to co-host 1 and both enter the studio, ready for the newsround of that morning.

06:20 - Opening and newsround

The Citi Breakfast show starts around 06:20 with a motivational song, speech or fragment. This is the opening of the show. After the first song or fragment, the main host opens the show around 06:30:

“28 minutes past 6, the 10th of February 2015. This is the Citi Breakfast Show with [name main host] and I am here with [name co-host 1] and [name co-host 2]. Gentlemen, Good morning. GOOD MORNING [name main host]!!! [co-host 1 and 2 scream loud]. How are you? [asks co-host 1]. I am fine, thank you. How are you guys? [answers main host] [Co-host 1 and 2 laugh] We are good [answers co-host 2] (Broadcasting CBS: 10-02-2015).

ON AIR

The good morning-greeting is a returning ritual. The two co-hosts greet the main host in an enthusiastic and loud way, where the main host replies with asking how they are. This is a habit in the content of the show. Even if the main host forgets, the two co-hosts remind him of the habit:

ON AIR

“Okay, so let’s go straight into the newspapers. Oh! I forgot to say good morning [main host]. We were waiting for you [co-host 1 replies]. Ask me again and I will give you an answer [main host answers]. Good morning [name main host] [co-host 1 and 2 yell]. The two of you should ask me [explains the main host]. Good morning [replies co-host 1]. GOOD MORNING [name co-host 1]! [yells main host]” (Fragment broadcasting CBS, 24-03-2015).

After the good morning greetings, the newspaper review starts: “[Main host] *It’s time for the newspaper headlines, a lot of screaming headlines today on our front pages*” (Broadcasting CBS: 17-02-2015). Sometimes the two co-hosts make a link with something actual which is a big topic. They refer to this specific event or topic after they did the good morning-greeting. In this way, the two co-hosts introduce a current topic in a light and humoristic way. For example on the 10th of February, two days after the loss of the national team of Ghana ‘the Black Stars’:

ON AIR

“*The hangover is over* [yells co-host 1]. *The what?* [asks main host]. [Co-host 1 repeats] *the hangover is over. The hang-over?* [main host repeats]. [Co-hosts 1 and 2 reply] *yes yes. Why?* [asks the main host]. *The AFCON hangover it is over* [co-host 2 replies] [Co-host 1 laughs] *It will finish today. We have come back to reality* [main host]. *Yes we’ve come back to the dumsor..* [co-host 1]. [Main host interrupts] *No it starts tomorrow!* [Co-host 1 and 2 laugh, making a complaining noise]” (Broadcasting CBS: 10-02-2015).

This fragment shows how the hosts try to connect to what happened a few days ago (the loss of the national team of Ghana) with the newsround. The hosts connect the past with the actual topics which are described in the newspapers for that day. Furthermore, they connect an relatively ‘old’ news to something which is relevant, the *dumsor* what is the current electricity crisis in Ghana. *Dumsor* is the popular name for it in the local Twi language. *Dumsor* is the Ghanaian term to describe power outages, where *dum* means to turn off and *sor* to turn on/make light. The term is from the Twi dialect of the Akan language.

The newsround actually consist of two parts. In the first part, the main host and the two co-hosts read out the main headlines of all the newspapers. The different newspapers discussed are the Daily Graphic, the Ghanaian times, the Chronicle, the Inquirer, The daily express, Today newspaper, Business and Financial Times, The graphic business, Today Newspaper, General Telegraph, Public Agenda and Weekend Finder (Observations, 2015). All the headlines are read out from the different newspapers. After the newspapers, the online forums are reviewed. As Citi FM also has an online news platform, this one is discussed. Also other online forums from other radio stations are reviewed, *peacefmonline.com* and *myjoyonline.com*. After this, the details are more intensively discussed. “[Main host] *Let me take you to the story of..*” (Broadcasting CBS, co-host 1, 17-02-2015).The discussion is led by the main host and the two co-hosts join him with their points of view. The co-hosts both have a different field of interest, as one is specialized in parliamentary affairs and other one has a more technical background, he is an engineer. The three gentlemen discuss the newspaper articles in more detail. The newspaper round has a particular function as it serves as a screening of the newspapers for the listener, who doesn’t have to buy the newspaper themselves. Furthermore, the newsround often launches the topics discussed for the rest of the morning.

06:50 - Meeting CBS team

After the headlines of the morning, a sport journalist comes in to read out the sport news. This is around 06:50 till 07:00. From 07:00 till 07:20 is the business news read out, what is done by a journalist from the business segment. During the sport and the business news, the team of the CBS enters the studio annex. This is the room next to the studio, where the producers work from.

During the sports and business news, the CBS team discusses the content for the show off-air. The main host, the two producers, the social media editor and the co-hosts are present. The meeting is very informal and this is emphasized by the use of mobile phones and laptops which most of the team members use during the meeting. This meeting is the first moment where the CBS team comes together for that day. The meeting is an important moment because the Citi Breakfast Show works without any scripts. The show is mainly determined by the input of the team members.

The following fragment from the 10th of February does illustrate this way of working and shows how the team arranges the show for that particular morning. "The main host walks out of the studio, looking on his phone. He puts his phone down and greets producer 1. He [main host] calls everyone with an insisting tone for a production meeting. He says that there are several urgent issues, the first issue is the Chronicle article about the salaries. He says we need to figure out what is actually mentioned in the law. Is there anything about the height of salaries of the ministers? Who could we talk to? Co-host 3 reads out the percentages of the different categories and wonders about the explicit definition of all the categories. The main host continues with a second issue of sodomy, as there are different angles to this topic. There are different situations in connection to this topic. The main host emphasizes the angle that this case is one of instant justice. As the social media editor has a clip of the boy who is abused, the clip is showed to the members of the team on his phone. The team discusses the content of the clip, who made the clip? The main hosts adds that there is also an event at a school, where one boy raped another one. The parents took the boy out of school but the other boy is still in school, threatening other kids. Homosexuality is a difficult topic, as most of the stuff is hidden again. The main host adds to the school story a specific bathroom scene, how the boys were busted in an act of sodomy. Main host adds that they should focus on how authorities focus on the issue, like the school and how is the tolerance to gay people in these organisations. No one really knows what the actual crime is. The team discusses whether homosexuality should be criminalized. What form should be punished? And how would one call it? And it is not only the legal position, one also counters the stigmatization in the public like at the beating in the Volta region. It depends on how you see it but would there be a lack of justice or a lack of confidence in the police? This is how violence was created. Somebody compares with the examples of Nigeria and Uganda. Ghana actually criminalizes the sexual act and banned the marriage between the same sexes. But what if one has the same sex relationships? Somebody comments that the way we speak about being gay, does spread hate. You generate further attacks by the way you talk about it. The main host continues, it's a sensitive case so we should talk about the crime and not the rest. So we put it as a case of justice. We should call two lawyers on the case. And who else could we talk to? The team discusses further about the topic of salaries. Co-host 2 is surprised that the salaries of ministries is not something public. This should be public or was this already in the planning? We should add more aspects to it, adds the main host. Co-host 3 is still discussing the topic of homosexuality, as she is speaking passionate about it. Producer 1 shakes his head and disagrees with her. It should not happen. Producer 1 and co-host 3 disagree with one another. Producer 1 makes some provoking comments where the rest of the team actively disagrees with. The team goes on, where the main hosts asks if there is anyone who can comment on the Nigerian case. If there is for the PDP any genuine person we could talk to? A name is posed. The main host proposes to get incoming calls [from listeners] on the Nigerian case and notice their name and number"(Observation CBS, 10-02-2015).

The fragment shows that the informal character and even the chaotic character of the meeting. The decision making process is characterized by a particular way of working:

discussion. Discussion is the main way of working among the CBS members. As described before, the working atmosphere among the team members is very informal. Discussion is a tool to exchange information and come to consensus. The informal atmosphere in the studio was set by all the team members who all actively present their opinion and angles to the topic. Furthermore, the informal setting is emphasized by the use of laptops and smartphones to share the latest information with each other. The CBS team works in a vibrant environment where being critical and asking questions is the norm. Discussion and asking critical questions is the core way of working for the team.

Another fragment also illustrates the critical thinking within the team of the CBS. Another fragment also illustrates this goal of the meeting, this was on Monday 23th of March: 'Co-host 1 and co-host 2 enter the studio annex after the newsround. Co-host 1 asks if anybody knows what we are doing today. The main host responds that we already outlined it. Producer 1 explains co-host 1 what the outline is for that morning, they will talk about the concept of dictatorship and Nkrumah. The main host intervenes and explains it is not only about dictatorship. He explains that Nkrumah did a similar thing but it's different because Ghanaians are different. As Singapore was still a part of Malaysia and with the political party, the situation made the dictatorship more possible. These two are not the same, dictatorship in Ghana was not the same. The main host continues, because who defines what is good or bad for a country? Who says that dictatorship is bad? Who says that some kind of democracy is good? The social media editor adds that it is also about resources. He states that we failed by ourselves, the resources and the West was interested. It does not mean that this should be a leadership failure (Observations, 23-03-2015). The main host questions main stream thinking on dictatorship and democracy and the social media editor puts it into a different perspective by raising the issue of resources. The fragment shows how discussion sharpens the members for the show and puts in different perspectives.

Discussion is not only a way of working, it also serves another goal. By discussing the topics, the team exchanges information. If you look closer at the fragment on the 10th of February, one can tell that there are different moments where information is exchanged and verified. For instance, the clip which is shown by the social media editor or where co-host 3 reads out the percentages of the budget review. As the team exists of nine different members, exchanging information is essential. The team members share the different topics and their opinions, sometimes with the support of online material. Another illustration on exchanging information can be given on the 27th of February, the day after the State of the Nation. Co-host 1 announced that Mahama did more than 500 promises in the State of the Nation, which lasted for more than two hours. The main host reacts shocked, if this is serious? Main host asks co-host 2 to take his time and guide them and the listeners through it.' (Observations CBS, 27-02-2015). This observation illustrates the constant exchange of information between the members of the CBS team

After exchanging information, the team decides on the topic for this morning. Through the exchange of information and discussion, a plan for the show is made. "*Then we get back into the studio, set the agenda for the day*" (Interview co-host 2, 2015). Exchanging information and the discussion are a tool to determine the content of the show for that particular morning. Clarity on the plan of the show is key because there are often many topics to cover. Tasks are divided, as everyone has a specific role or task within the team. This is illustrated in the fragment of the 10th of February, where the main host has some suggestions for the broadcasting. The team exchanges the information on the different topics and fill in the angles they want to cover. They decide for example on the case of sodomy to cover it from the legal

angle, as the topic is otherwise too sensitive in their perception. Furthermore, they develop the topic of the postponement on the Nigerian elections. They decide on deepening this topic with the help of calling in from possible (Nigerian) listeners.

The role of the main host in the meeting is often the decisive one. This is also shown in the fragment from the 10th of February, where he insists on a production meeting. Furthermore, he suggests the topics for the broadcasting although the actual topics are discussed by the whole team, before actually going on-air. Lastly, he also makes a conclusion of the discussion of the team. Different moments illustrate this: “so just to be clear, first do the demonstration in Kumasi with the interviews on how the demo went. Secondly, the state of the nation” (Observations CBS, 26-02-2015). ‘I will start with yesterday issues, play co-host 2’s piece with the market documentary and see if there is anyone in Kumasi to comment on it’ (Main host, Observations CBS, 25-02-2014).

07:15- Music break and kick-off 2nd hour

After the sports- and business segment and the production meeting, the second hour of the show starts. The second hour starts with music. On the 10th of February, the song is a Ghana-song by some school children which is followed by a typical Ghanaian song (Broadcasting CBS, 10-02-2015). After this, fragments of a documentary are played. As the elections in Nigeria were officially postponed, Citi FM gathered some interviews with Nigerians. The fragments illustrate various opinions on the postponement. After the fragments, the CBS plays a Nigerian song. The main host interrupts the song in the end and opens the second hour of the show:

“Nigeria Djaka djaka and [name singer]. This morning I want us to reflect briefly on that country and the developments there. But that’s not the only issue we’ll be discussing. A leaked report from the Chronicle suggests the lot of money being paid to our ministers and the amounts were told upwards 20.000 Ghana cedi’s a month. We’ll get you some further details of that report and bring you the details of the report we know to be true. There is the [...] report what spells out what needs to be paid to these officials. How different are the figures being mentioned by the Chronicle from what was recommended in the document?” (Broadcasting CBS, 10-02-2015).

ON AIR

Here the main host connects a fragment of a documentary with music, the Nigerian song. He intertwines the music and documentary for a kick off for the rest of the program. He starts with referring to the song and the topic to which the song is related, in this case the postponed election in Nigeria, and mentions it briefly. After this, he introduces the other topics and parts of the show. This way of opening the second hour is characterizing. Another example illustrates this way of presenting the second hour. On that morning, the CBS opens with a song which sings about *dumsor*, the current power outages in Ghana. The singer sings several times ‘turn on the light ECG’, where ECG refers to the Electricity Company in Ghana. The main host opens the second hour of the show by, again, interrupting the end of the song and start the second hour: *“turn on the light, ECG has made the trend. I think if we get to take social media trends, it will be trending number 1. I am telling you”* (Broadcasting CBS, 17-02-2015: 04:30). Again, the CBS connects music with the actualities. Music is a break from all the discussion and information in the program. Nevertheless, the music is often also used as a kick-off for the discussion for the rest of the show.

“That was [name business journalist] with the breakfast edition of the Citi business news. It’s 14 minutes past 7. And it’s Friday! I kind of liked the dumsor dairies. More on this later on. Also more on this analysis and free advice on government by [name]. Let me just read a couple of lines on this [...] He has other points he’s raising but I think we will talk about it later on. And is it true

ON AIR

that there is a divide in the NDC about how to respond to the load shedding dumsor crisis? [...]All that coming up later in the morning. Plus the author of a book called Oxford Street, oh yes, that's in the last hour of the show” (Broadcasting CBS, 20-02-2014: 43:10).

The announcement at the beginning of the second hour serves as a warming up for the listeners, as most of the topics which will be discussed are shortly introduced. This might interest the listener to stick to the radio. After the kick-off the second hour, birthday wishes from listeners are also read by the main host. Listeners can send in their birthday wishes by texting or messaging their message through WhatsApp. It is also possible to call Citi FM and give your birthday wish through the front desk. Often this message is written down and brought into the studio during the broadcasting. Besides the birthday wishes, commercial announcements are also made. The live presenter mentions several commercial companies who paid to read out their advertisements.

ON AIR *“Happy birthday to [name listener], you are one year old today. This is from your father [name father] and mother [name mother] and your siblings [names siblings]. Yes you are one year old today god bless you and make you shine the star you were born to be from mom and dad and [names siblings] (Broadcasting CBS, 10-02-2015).*

07:30 - Running stories, part I

After the announcements, the first topics are discussed. These are the running stories of that particular day. *“We spend the first part of the show discussing running stories” (Interview main host, 2015).* How a topic is discussed on the show depends on the topic itself. As the CBS has a panel of co-hosts with all a different background and expertise, the panel is often used as a discussion panel. Most of the co-hosts are also a journalist so they are sometimes also covering the stories brought. A fragment from the 12th of March illustrates this, where the co-host and also parliamentary journalist explains a running story on a government budget review. The co-host was yesterday on location, what makes it a running story for that morning.

ON AIR *“[Main host] All right let's find out what is really the issue with this eh.. it's not a supplementary but a budget review. It is quite interestingly reviewed with parliament not agreeing on how to go about it. So [name co-host 1] you were in parliament yesterday. You were in parliament when the president addressed the nation and said that the finance minister was engaging with parliament to reveal some estimates. What is really going on with this matter? [Co-host 1] Well, [name main host], I don't even know where this matter is actually going to fall. But what is clear... [co-host 1]” (Broadcasting CBS, 12-03-2014).*

However, the panel is not always used to discuss the running stories. Sometimes sources from outside are also used. This is the case on the 10th of February, when a Nigerian source explains his view on the postponement of the elections.

ON AIR *“But I want to go to Nigeria and speak to a man who has many powers chief. [name] is a columnist entrepreneur, politician, journalist a fashion mogul and also a Nigerian patriot. He joined us to talk about the situation of Nigeria, if the postponement makes sense, what is the situation on the ground [main host].” (Broadcasting CBS, 10-02-2015).*

The CBS tries to get both sides of the story and cover the postponed Nigerian elections. The person in the fragment is more critical to the government so the CBS also invites the spokesperson from the president to give his opinion on the postponement:

ON AIR *‘It's a quarter to 8 on the CBS we are crossing over to speak to [name person]. He is the main media spokesperson for the president [...] in Ghana. We just spoke to [name person] who is a*

journalist who believes or supports APC, the opposition party. And who's party does not seem to understand why the election is being postponed. What does the governing party think?' (Broadcasting CBS, 10-02-2015).

So when the panellists do not have the full knowledge on the topic, sources from outside are used to comment on the topic. This is illustrated with the case of the postponed Nigerian elections, where first a critic of the government is invited to speak on it. After this, they also speak to a representative of the current government of Nigeria, what gives two sides to the story. Another source which is often used is the input from listeners. Later in the second hour, text messages are often read out as well as Twitter comments. Sometimes the phone lines are opened for listeners to comment on the specific topic.

08:00- Tech and social media trends

'[Main host] *Tech and social media trends is next and then we'll get into the numbers regarding salaries*' (Broadcasting CBS, 10-02-2015). Around 8 o'clock there is the social media trends item, where co-host 2 does discuss the latest technical and social media trends with the main host. Co-host 2 has officially a degree in building technology (Interview co-host 2, 2015). As he has expertise in the technology field, he is appointed to do the technical and social media trends.

ON AIR

'[Main host] *What is trending [name co-host 2]? Well, [name main host] you took us to Nigeria earlier and I also take you back to Nigeria. This week something interesting is happening in Nigeria [...]*' (Broadcasting CBS, 10-02-2015).

The technical and social media trends are a fixed part of the show. The items discussed are often intertwined with the content for the rest of the show. The item on the postponement on Nigerian elections gives inspiration for the technical and social media trends where the latest Nigerian apps are discussed by co-host 2. Overall, the item covers different trends. On the one hand, this item focuses on the technical trends. Technical trends like new apps, new gadgets or latest programs. On the other hand, the item focuses on what is going on at social media. As social media is influenced by the actual news, the news and the social media trends often relate. Besides that, the popular social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter are also a way for the listeners to respond to the show. This makes the item very relevant for the show.

ON AIR

'[co-host 2] *This morning it's all about the demonstration that is going on [name main host]. That is where everybody is tweeting about. And also an interesting conversation about the luxury cars seems to have caught people's attention. Let me read some of the messages that have come across the luxury cars...*' (Broadcasting CBS, 10-02-2015).

The show relates to the social media platforms and connects it at the same time to the running stories of that day. After the tech and social media trends, the main host warms up the audience for the following hours of the show. He announces the next topics and motivates the listeners not to tune out. '[Main host] *we'll be back with some numbers, don't go anywhere*' (Broadcasting CBS, 10-02-2015).

08:10 - Running stories, part II

'[Main host] *Alright let's go back into the main story. Twelve minutes past eight on the Citi breakfast show. The story that shook both of us during the newspaper review is the Chronicle story you read. [co-host 2] Yeah, the story about the ministers MP's fleecing Ghana. [main host] Okay [co-host 2] The paper says ...*' (Broadcasting CBS, 10-02-2015).

ON AIR

The second part of discussion in the show starts. In this part of the show, the running stories are deeply analysed with the help of the panel. On the morning of the 10th of February, co-host 2 reads out the article of the Chronicle to clarify the headline of the newspaper. The panel of co-hosts does discuss the different allowances of the Ministers. After looking into the different allowances, the main host interrupts by questioning the source: “*we need to know what is official and what not*” (Broadcasting CBS, 10-02-2015). The team looks into the ‘truth’ of the allowances on another report they have from an official committee. This report is covered by co-host 1, who has a background in parliamentary issues. He gives some explanation based on the highlights from the executive summary. The main host, co-host 1, co-host 2 and co-host 3 discuss the different angles from the issue. After the panel discussed the article of the Chronicle and the different angles to it deeply, the main host interviews the former minister of Finance:

ON AIR

‘[Main host] *How surprised is he from the claims of the Chronicle? Where is the full report so that we can all read it for ourselves? Dr. [name interviewee] thank you for joining us...* (Broadcasting CBS, 10-02-2015).

After this, the main host extracts the main points made in the interview and reads out the number of the studio for listeners to react on it. Later, the reactions of the listeners are discussed. If there is any message in particular interesting, the main host reads it out and takes it up as a point for discussion. The point raised by the listener is taken up by the panel which discuss it intensively.

ON AIR

‘[Main host] *She’s making an interesting claim.. the question we should be asking is why we even pay housing allowance in the first place. She says [...]*’ (Broadcasting CBS, 10-02, 2015).

09:15 - Other topics and wrapping up

In the last hour, there is often space for other topics than the running ones of the morning. In the last hour there is also often place for guests, certain (commercial) interviews or any other topics which is not discussed yet. On the 10th of February, the two sports journalists tell about their experiences on the African Cup (observations, 10-02-2015). Around 09:58, the main hosts closes the show:

ON AIR

‘*Well that’s it for the Tuesday edition of the show. My name is [full name main host]. I had a swell time. I hope to do this again tomorrow. Time for Citi News at ten with [name journalist]*’ (Broadcasting CBS, 10-02-2015).

This chapter described the different parts of the Citi Breakfast Show. The different parts of the show give the show some variety and try to connect with the listeners. The most important moment in determining the content of the show is the CBS team meeting at 06:50. During this meeting the members discuss and exchange information before making a decision on the topics of that particular morning. How the topics are covered depends on the nature of the topic. Sometimes the panel of co-hosts presents their views, opinions and expertise on the topic. Otherwise external expertise is brought on by phone or guests in the studio. A last input for covering the topics are the listeners who can react through the diverse social media platforms. This chapter used the morning of the 10th of February as a main illustration to describe a morning for the Citi Breakfast team. The description of an ‘average’ morning on the Citi Breakfast Show gives insight in the practical construction of the program and provides a background for the actual analysis of the talk radio program.

Producing the Citi Breakfast Show: a visual insight



Picture 1: **The newsround**
Source: Citi FM, 2015



Picture 2: **View from the studio,**
Birthday wishes for the listeners in front
Source: personal photo, 2015



Picture 3: **Mission statement Citi FM**

Source: personal photo, 2015



Picture 4: **Studio Annex**

Room next to the studio where the CBS team is mostly gathered

Source: personal photo

Chapter 3: Framing at play

“They tune in and have a smile on their face while we’re dealing with important issues”

(Main host, Interview 2015)

This chapter will go deeper into the topics covered by the Citi Breakfast show. Many topics were discussed during the field work in the headquarters of Citi FM. The topics discussed on the show are diverse and all have a socio-economic value for Ghana. This chapter captures the different angles given to the topics based on the coverage of one topic in particular: dumsor. This will be done by using the concept of framing: what frame is actually constructed by the Citi Breakfast Show? The approach of the CBS will be highlighted and this will reveal the framing at play used by the makers of the Citi Breakfast Show.

This chapter constructs a deeper understanding on the topics of the Citi Breakfast Show. The analytical tool to analyse the different topics is framing. The chapter analyses the frame what is constructed by the *radio makers*. The concept of framing provides the opportunity to look deeper into the reality which is constructed by the Citi Breakfast Show. Framing is an active device to choose certain descriptions of reality to accomplish certain goals. “These descriptions may have to do with the content of how actors perceive the world (issue framing) but this has consequences for the process of they interact with others (process framing) and/or how they relate to the other actors involved (identity framing)” (Van Bommel & Aarts, 2011, p. 3). Exactly this process is analysed in this chapter. How do the makers of the show frame the topics they address in the show? Which aspects are highlighted and which are neglected? To what perspective does framing lead? And lastly, how does the addressing of the topics collide with the talk radio format as described in the academic debate? The team of the Citi Breakfast Show are active agents of framing issues which are addressed during the show. Framing is an active device to distinguish descriptions of reality, what is also done by the content of the Citi Breakfast Show. Furthermore, frames can reveal how certain issues are approached because: “frames as such are not objective agenda items but equivocal discussion topics that are named, blamed and claimed through the way actors argue and negotiate about them” (Felstiner, Abel and Sarat by Van Bommel & Aarts, 2011: 3). Framing is a verb, what reveals the active core of the concept: framing as a practice. This chapter will look deeper into the framing of the Citi Breakfast Show by the team what will also lead to a deeper understanding of the show itself. This chapter grasps the most characterizing features to reveal the framing used in the Citi Breakfast Show.

Target group of the CBS

Before analysing the issues addressed, a contextual note needs to be made. The Citi Breakfast Show is part of the morning radio shows which are characterized in Ghana by: “the comprehensive scanning, reading and translation of the newspaper of the day” (Thompson & Yeboah, 2013, p. 371). The focus on these morning shows is to refer to sources in the stories, discussion by people who are knowledgeable enough to provide further information and clarify controversial points (Thompson & Yeboah, 2013). This serves as a starting point for the show as this determines the content and goal of the program. Furthermore, Citi FM is an urban radio station which also has a particular target which needs to be reached. This is translated into a specific focus and a specific target group. The focus of Citi FM lies on business in Ghana. This is an aspect where they distinguish themselves from other radio stations in Ghana (Interview main

host, 2015). Besides that, the CBS also focuses itself on a particular group of listeners. The target group of listeners are the middle to high class Ghanaians who speak English (Interview Producer 2, 2015). Their age varies from the young graduates till the middle-aged listeners (Interview co-host 4, 2015). “We know that our listeners are younger than other radio stations so we try and factor it into the way we discuss our issues. [...] we try and discuss it in an issue in the way the young people like to hear it” (Interview main host, 2015). Listeners continued education, have a reasonable income and they are technical savvy: they all have a phone, laptop, iPad and are online (Interview co-host 2, 2015). This also intertwines with the interactivity by social media by which they try to connect to the listener. The target of listeners the show wants to reach is a contextual feature which obviously influences the way of addressing the topics.

Framing the problem: *dumsor*

During the two months fieldwork at the headquarters of Citi FM many topics were discussed. The newsround opens the show and discusses all the articles in the newspapers. “The Citi Breakfast Show sets the agenda for the day by scanning social, economic and political terrain to present real issues at the doorstep of the ordinary Ghanaian” (Consultancy, 2013, p. 3). This is also something which is confirmed by this research. Topics can be classified as socio-economic issues which are at stake in the country. The show is often ruled by current affairs concerning the country (Observations, 2015).

An example of a returning topic of the Citi Breakfast show is the *dumsor*. *Dumsor* is the popular description of the current power outages which Ghana is currently facing. *Dumsor* is formed from two words in the local Twi language, “dum” means off and “sor” means on. The power outages in Ghana are due to the lacking generating capacity which is currently 400-600 megawatts less than Ghana needs (Wikipedia, 2015). Ghana has been experiences power outages for the last three years, what makes them the longest country experiencing it (Darko, 2015). “Governments over the years have had the provision of energy services high on the developmental agenda but despite the good intentions of all these governments to increase access to energy services, existing policies and plans have not delivered effective results, especially in the rural areas.” (Kemausuora, Yaw Obengb, Brew-Hammond, & Dukerd, 2011, p. 5153). When the research was conducted in Accra, the official schedule was 12 hours light and 24 hours off (Observations, 2015). The ECG (Electricity Company Ghana) does not always stick to the schedule as planned due to unforeseen load shedding (Observations, 2015). The impact on Ghanaian society is tremendous due to the irregular power situation. Businesses are affected as well as hospitals, schools and households (Observations, 2015).

The topic of *dumsor* is taken as an example to analyse the covering of a topic. *Dumsor* is a returning topic in the broadcastings of the CBS during the fieldwork. The power outage is an issue what affects all Ghanaians and is a ‘hot’ topic while the field work was conducted. This refers to the method selected while being in the field, the extended case method. *Dumsor* was heavily experienced by the researcher as well as other people in the field. The topic applies to almost everyone in Ghana what made it an accessible topic. Almost everyone in the field had a specific opinion on the topic, what made it an interesting case study. Furthermore, as Gluckman (1940) translated the unique into the more general (Buraway, 1998), *dumsor* is seen as a unique topic. Nevertheless, the coverage of *dumsor* can be used as an example for the covering of topics by the CBS in general. The coverage of *dumsor* reveals the pattern of covering topics by the Citi Breakfast Show in general.

Technical facts

No day goes by or the *dumsor* issue is mentioned in the show (Observations, 2015). The first character of covering the *dumsor* topic is the technical aspect which is highlighted. The technical angle in the *dumsor* issue is a returning angle in the analysis of the problem. As co-host 2 has a background as a technical engineer, he covers the issue. The main host asks co-host 2 to analyse the power situation because he is perceived as the most credible person to cover the issue.

“Let me give you an update how it has been till the 6th of February. To give us a very good impression of how the power issue is. On the 6th of February we have shed 550 megawatts of power [co-host 2]. [...] After the game we increased the power we were shedding to 320 Megawatts. We took the power back [main-host]. Yes. From the 8th we were shedding between the 300-320 -400. This morning, [name main host] the initial request was to shed about 510 megawatts but.. [co-host 2]. 500!? [main-host]. Yes. And GRICO revised the load shedding quota to 570 megawatts [co-host 2]. Eishh why?! [main-host]. We are shedding that between now and 6 p.m. [co-host 2]. 570 megawatts [co-host and main-host in unison]. And the reason is generation deficits [co-host 2]. Eishhh [main-host]. That’s huge [co-host1] That’s back to last 2 weeks level.” (Broadcasting CBS: 11-02-2015).

ON AIR

This fragment shows how co-host 2 provides the main input for the *dumsor* discussion. He provides an overview in technical terms of the latest power updates. To sketch out the development, co-host 2 uses the term ‘megawatts’ to express the development in the power situation. This contributes to the construction of the technical frame. Moreover, the calculation on the megawatts provides a crystal clear overview of the trend in the power outages. The calculation on how many megawatts are still necessary is a returning element in the broadcastings. The illustration of the *dumsor* issue emphasizes a very important approach of the show. Ghana’s political system is ruled by two parties who are constantly in competition with one another. “In the Ghanaian media landscape the order of the day is politics. If you tune into radio: all you hear is politics.” (Interview producer 2, 2015). The CBS tries to pull the political arena out of the issue by looking at other things that are related to the issue. This is illustrated by the focus on the technical aspects of the electricity crisis. The show could have easily focused on the different solutions posed by the two different parties or their future approach to deal with the problem. Nevertheless, the show tries to apply a different view and informs people more on the technical aspects of the problem.

The avoidance of partisan politics can also be linked to the format of talk radio. In the article of Bosch (2011) she explains how radio hosts in South Africa are often very delicate in sharing their political affiliation. This may be seen as a strength comparing to US radio where the political affiliations of hosts are often known. “ [...] the political affiliations of the presenters are often unknown and in the highly politicized terrain of South Africa, this might be quite appealing to listeners and an opportunity for programme hosts to more effectively home mediate political discussions” (Bosch, Talk radio, democracy and citizenship in (South) Africa, 2011, p. 121). Lee (by Bosch, 2011) states that this in some ways is the role of talk radio: it serves as a platform for people to voice their discontent towards government. Talk radio is a place where fear and frustrations can be shared resulting from social and political problems (Bosch, Talk radio, democracy and citizenship in (South) Africa, 2011). This debate is more open when hosts avoid the presence of their political affiliations. Interesting is the similarity in the outcome of the programmes. In the South African show: “opinions are aggregated, analysed and often coalesced into cogency (Bosch, Talk radio, democracy and citizenship in (South) Africa, 2011, p. 121). This is also the case in the Citi Breakfast Show where many topics are discussed and opinions are expressed. The avoidance of the political affiliations and statements gives the debate a more

open character.

Looking beyond the political aspect is a returning approach in covering the topics addressed by the CBS. This connects to the informing principle of the show. Education is seen as a key aspect of the CBS. The show does this to go beyond the partisan politics of Ghana and inform people on other aspects of the problem. Another example to illustrate the education part of the CBS is the Heritage month. The month of March is dedicated to the culture of Ghana, where interviews are played with people who influenced Ghanaian society healingly (Observations, 2015). Furthermore, there are people who give a background into topics which influences Ghanaian culture until now for example history of transportation by a professor from the University of Ghana. *“This month is our Heritage Month, we are educating people about our history. A lot of people don’t know the Ghanaian history. [...] It’s education, we’re educating the public. With discussions we educate the public.”* (Interview social media editor, 2015).

Experiencing the problem

Another aspect which is often highlighted is the experiences and feelings which are connected to the issue. The practical impact of the issue is often mentioned, exchanged and discussed. The program uses the experience of the hosts themselves as well as the experience of the listeners. The example of *dumsor* is perfect to explain this aspect of the frame because everyone is affected by the current power crisis in Ghana (Observations, 2015). Thereby, the experiences of listeners often used to illustrate the impact of the problem and discuss the issue. The experience of the listeners is also a returning aspect in the coverage of the Citi Breakfast Show. Take for example the morning of Thursday the 19th of February. The 19th of February is the day after a demonstration against the current power outages. This demonstration was organised by the opponent (NPP) of the party in government (NDC). This demonstration is called *WonGbo*, what literally means ‘we’re dying’ (Observations, 2015). After an analysis of the demonstration and talking to the NPP, the second hour of the show is dedicated to the listeners. More than 5 listeners comment on the issue and the demonstration. The following fragment illustrates a part of the opinion of Rose from the Volta region, a listener who called in:

ON AIR

“Good morning Rose [main host] , yes good morning [name main host]. Morning [main host]. My contribution is that you cannot completely distinguish politics from development. [...] Coming to the issue that we’re currently facing, it seems that, as I listen to you, you have said that that it’s an issue which has been recurring. Every year it comes. My analysis is that the major source is for energy now is from the water. Our main one Akosombo is from the north. Every year when there is sufficient rain there the problem is stretched for too long. [...]” (Broadcasting CBS, 19-02-2014).

Listeners do not only call in, also their experiences on the power outages are read out by the main host. In this way, the opinions of the listeners are read out and listeners contribute to the topic:

ON AIR

“Somehow the power situation is getting annoyingly erratic. We’re getting quite a number of people complaining that their light has been off this week. So Elvis send a message from one of the estates near lakeside say they don’t have power for the last 4 days. Also a couple of people complaining on the same issue [music played as break] Eric in Kobekro says, [name main host], for the past 3 days we’ve been without power and he has the hashtag freedom avenue. In Ashimoto says the demo has been very good. I’ve had light for the past 3 days. More demo for more light. Thank you NPP [main host]” (Broadcasting CBS, 20-02-2014).

Reading out the messages gives input for the main host to start discussing the *dumsor* issue. He takes the complaining of the listeners to ask critical questions about the load shedding schedule. The input of listeners is not only asked for when talking about *dumsor*. For instance, on the 11th of February, the second hour of the show starts with a reportage of the opinions of people at the passport office. The main host already refers to the experience of people by stating: “*We went to the passport office to ask people: how easy is it to get a Ghanaian passport?*” (Broadcasting, 11-02-2015). Due to the interactivity of the show, it’s easy for listeners to contribute to the show. By using social media like WhatsApp, Twitter and Facebook the threshold is much lower to contribute to the show (Observations, 2015). This makes sharing experiencing a returning feature of the program.

Sharing experiences is a classic example of the content of talk radio programs. Ghanaian audiences want to engage by representing themselves by giving voice to personal experiences and opinions (Tettey, 2011). Sharing this on the talk radio programs gives them the empowerment to comment on the realities of their lives and how they perceive them. Moreover, it gives them the chance to challenge the views of decision makers (Tettey, 2011). Again the Citi Breakfast Shows does closely relate to this described feature of talk radio. The Citi Breakfast Show facilitates a platform for listeners to share their opinions and experiences. The focus is on the experiences what also points out how the topics are chosen: the rate of affection determines a big part of the show. However, the Citi Breakfast Show does not only provides a stage for their listeners, also the hosts get the opportunity to share their experiences. “*So most of the times [we pick] topics that affects us. [...] we use our own experience, we are a tram of 5 people and all together 10 to 12 people involved with different backgrounds and experiences. Whatever affects all of us, it’s safe to say that it affects the masses*” (Interview co-host 2, 2015). The experience of the hosts can be used as a starting point for the discussion, something which goes beyond the traditional format of talk radio. The experiences, feelings and frustrations of the hosts are returning in the discussion on the power outages. On the one hand, this makes the hosts more credible as it shows they also suffer from the *dumsor*. It creates a connection with the listeners as most of them are also affected by the power outages. On the other hand, it’s also an opportunity for the hosts to share their personal frustration. The *dumsor* topic was often also the central point in discussion off-air because it also influenced the lives of the hosts themselves (Observations, 2015). If you came into the studio in the morning, the first things asked was ‘how are you?’ and almost following to that was the question ‘did you had light?’ (Observations, 2015). This shows how the hosts of the show use their own personal experience as an inspiration for the program. An illustration shows how the experiences of the hosts are used to cover the topic show and how essential they are for the program:

ON AIR “*I am practically tired of this conversation. I really don’t know what to do [name co-host 2], you need you to help me here [name co-host 2]. I keep getting people sending messages that their power has been off for too long. Or it has been on for the... And I am asking myself why should I spend precious air time every day talking about erratic load shedding schedule? Why?!* [main-host]. [name main-host], *I agree with you, I am also tired of talking about this whole thing. Look since Sunday the only day I’ve met electricity at home was two days ago’* [co-host 2] (Broadcasting CBS, 20-02-2014).

Laughter

The CBS has a dynamic format where laughter is a solid part of the show. Also in covering the *dumsor* issue, humour is a returning element. For example on the 9th of February, where the topic was discussed during the newsround. The topic was discussed during the newsround,

where the main host and the two co-hosts discussed an article in the Financial Times also wrote an article on the power outages. The ECG (Electricity Company Ghana) apologizes for the power outages for the last couple of years. The co-hosts and the main hosts laugh about the apologies. After the co-hosts and the main host discuss the article and commented on it, the main host reads out a reaction of a listener:

ON AIR *“This is the Ghanaian version of the Genesis chapter 1 verse 1,2,3. This is something somebody send in right now fresh” (Broadcasting 09-02-2015). “[main host] In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. Eheh [co-host 1]. Now the earth was formless and empty. And dum was over the surface of the [laugh co-host 1]. And the spread of God was hovering over the waters and God said, let there be sor. Eheh [co-host 1]. And there was sor. And God saw that the sor was good [laugh co-host 1] and separated the sor from the dum. And God called the sor day and the dum night. And then there was dum and there was sor on the first day. Eheh [co-host 1]. Thousands of years later, a man arose in the nation called Ghana [laugh co-host 1] and decided to undo what have been done by bringing the dum and the sor together. To form its own light called dumsor. This was the beginning of chaos because now a man cannot tell when it will be dum and when it will be sor [laughing co-host 1, 2 and main host] (Broadcasting, 09-02-2015).*

The humour is a returning aspect in the discussion on *dumsor*. In the previous fragment of that particular morning, the main host reads a humoristic comment by one of the listeners. The apologies of the ECG are received by loud and mockingly laughter by the 2 co-hosts and the main host. The comment of the listeners is in line with this humoristic way. The listener combines the general belief in Christianity with the current power crisis. This is received by the hosts in a humorous way and laughter fills the studio.

Another example of the humoristic touch in addressing the current Ghanaian power crisis is a sketch which is also produced by a listener. In the week of the 10th of February, the loss of the national team of Ghana was still fresh (Observations, 2015). The Black Stars reach the final against Cote d’Ivoire but lost the match with penalties (Observations, 2015). Three days after the loss, a commentary on *dumsor* is received at Citi FM. The sketch is recorded by a listener, spoken in the local Twi language and contains a report of a football match. However, this match is between the ECG and Ghana as a country. The voice-over describes in a fast pace and with a lively use of voice how the match develops. The different regions in Ghana are mentioned which also suffer from the *dumsor*. The sketch is received under loud laughter in the studio. The main host comments after the sketch:

ON AIR *“[Main host] This morning there are lots of things. I don’t even know which one to start from. But I think we must give credits to the guy who did the dumsor commentary [main host]. On point [co-host 2]. Eish! [Main host] (Broadcasting, 11-02-2015).*

Later in the broadcasting the main host certifies that the most remarkable thing about Ghanaians is that no matter how bad a situation gets, they find the humorous part in the story (Broadcasting, 11-02-2015). *‘No matter how serious the matter is, they will laugh about it. Exactly [co-host 1]. It’s that why the problems don’t get solved? [main-host] (Broadcasting CBS, 11-02-2015).* Later co-host 2 adds to this that Ghanaians apply a certain principle: *‘if you don’t cry, you laugh and you cannot continue to cry all the time’ (Broadcasting CBS, 11-02-2014).* Also off-air the sketch is perceived as a humoristic piece. Everyone in the studio laughs about the sketch and give enthusiastic reactions on the sketch (Observations, 2015). This conversation by the hosts adds to the humorous perspective by the show. No matter how serious the topics are, they try to give it a lighter layer. They try to make the people laugh.

The illustration on *dumsor* shows the fun factor they try to add to the show. The

fragment of the ECG football match is a returning feature of several broadcastings the following weeks (Observations, 2015). Again, *dumsor* is an example of how humour and laughter are intertwined in the broadcasting. The CBS is a balance of addressing serious issues and humour. *“In all the seriousness, we make time to have fun and make people laugh about the problems. Good music. Good humour. To relax people in the morning and we always find a way of blending all that. It’s a very serious show and we always seem to find a way to make people laugh a bit, kill the stress a bit. [...] Do the serious stuff and have a bit of humour there.”* (Interview co-host 2, 2015). This blending strategy is very much visible in the show. After the big discussions, often songs are played to give the listeners some time to let it settle. The humour makes the topics a bit lighter. *“And I want the CBS to be that place where people can tune in and can have fun, have a good experience in the morning because life is very stressful. So they tune in and have a smile on their face while we’re dealing with important issues”* (Interview main host, 2015).

Humour is a returning feature within the talk radio show format. For example, in a talk radio show in Kenya one person plays the ‘joker’ and “every now and again cutting into the debate and breaking the tension with his jokes” (Odhiambo, 2011, p. 42). Humour can be an important instrument of engagement (Obadare, 2009). This is also the case in the Citi Breakfast Show, the heavy topics are literally lighten up a bit by the joking around. The jokes result in a sustaining the cohesion of groups (Fine by Obadare, 2009). Making jokes of the issue which affects every Ghanaian creates a feeling of unity and makes the subject a bit lighter. However, humour can also be a way to evade the demands of the social world (Freud; Bergson by Obadara, 2009). This can be translated in the way the hosts mock with certain topics: they do not take it too serious when they actually should take it serious. For instance the apologies of the Electricity company where the hosts all laugh about. They should take it seriously but the studio is filled with laughter and sarcasm. So on the one hand the show uses humour to make it less heavy and on the other hand, it’s also used as some kind of resistance.

Follow-up

Another returning element in the coverage of topics is the follow-up feature. This follow-up feature is a characterizing element of talk-radio programs. “Talk radio ensures that issues do not die with the news cycle, but can be kept in the public realms and in the public consciousness for some time” (Tettey, 2011, p. 23). The *dumsor* topic is a true example of the follow-up feature of the show, as almost every day an update is mentioned. The update contains often the current power situation or other information available. Furthermore, experiences can be shared by hosts and listeners (Observations, 2015).

Another example of the follow-up feature on the show reveals itself on the morning of the 11th of February. On the 11th of February the CBS mentions the dis-functioning of the passport office. They got notice of people who were complaining that it took too long. Producer number 2 went out for a report and interviewed people for their opinion at the passport issue for a documentary. In the documentary different people are asked for their opinion and experiences at the passport office. Later, they also took some calls from listeners on their experiences at the passport office (Broadcasting CBS, 11-02-2014). During the show, the office of the Driver and Vehicle Licensing Authority (DVLA) was also mentioned due to experiences of listeners which needed to wait a long time for their license renewal. All this was aired on the 11th of February. The next morning, the 12th of February, the chief executive of the Driver and Vehicle Licensing Authority (DVLA) is in the studio. Producer 1 explains that the DVLA called to Citi FM because they wanted to comment and explain the issue. The passport office also reacted that they will listen to the issue this morning and they might react to it (Observations, 12-02-2014).

'A number of you called and complained about the delays at the DVLA and how you didn't like the process that you go through for procuring a driver license [name mentioned] is the chief executive of the DVLA and is in the studio this morning to answer your questions' [main host] (Broadcasting, 12-02-2015).

Interesting is the follow up feature which is actively used in the show. Where most news just passes on, the CBS uses its content to follow up certain topics. The DVLA is a good example of this, as well as the *dumsor* topic. Repeating the topics and keeping the listeners up to date is a strong feature of the show. Moreover, the follow-up function also shows the amount of power the show has, as it is a platform to announce certain questions. The DVLA invited themselves into the studio to clear up the uncertainties and question surrounding the issue. This gives them the opportunity to comment and explain the issue from their point of view. This shows the power which is embedded within the talk radio program.

Beyond 'talk radio'

Different features within the Citi Breakfast Show were mentioned as a characterizing feature. The different features were also linked to the academic debate about talk radio, most aspects were intertwined with the functions of talk radio. Nevertheless, there are also aspects which move beyond current the talk radio debate and not everything can be understood in the on-air content. The following aspects determine the content of the show. Furthermore, they are also not mentioned within the literature on talk radio what makes them interesting food for thought. Nevertheless, they do influence the format of the CBS what makes their appearance even more interesting.

Female 'power'

A unique aspect of the CBS is the role for a female host on the panel of the show, she is the only woman in Ghana on a radio discussion program in the morning (Interview co-host 3, main host, 2015). Her role and expertise of the show are at the women's issues: *"I am supposed to be there, the Citi's... to represent, to be there for a different view than the men [...] I call myself the 'talking woman'. People will ask questions, why do you have 5 men there? But then you can say that there is a woman on the panel, I am the talking woman: to represent a different view"* (Interview co-host 3, 2015). Her female role is often emphasized on-air but also off-air. On the 17th of February co-host 3 gets involved in a passionate discussion about the role of women in the independence struggle. She states that the role of women in the independence struggle is neglected. Other co-hosts disagree with her and state that they were not involved (Observations, 17-02-2015).

Although her position is unique in the media landscape of Ghana, it's not without any constraints. Co-host 3 knows she was added to the show due to her female view on the topics. She emphasized the importance of the women's perspective: *"Whenever there is an issue, they want a woman's perspective"*. However, she also point at the restrictions for this input: *"It's not about the big things, not about politics or religion or whatever. They [these topics] are reserved for men"* (Interview co-host 3, 2015). When asking her about her personal opinion on the matter, she admits that she still has a problem with the things they do. *"But I'll pick my victories and my battles as they come so..."* (Interview co-host 3, 2015). Also on-air, a fragment illustrates this, when her point is interrupted by the main host: *'imagine a man hit on me and I gathered my friends to go and beat him up [co-host 3]. Okay okay [co-host 2]. It's not the same [main host]. It is the same! [co-host 3]. We are not yet discussing it, so hold on. I know you want pounce [main host]* (Broadcasting 10-02-2015). This fragment shows a certain hierarchy in the team, where co-host 3 gets easily interrupted. This is also noticed by other people. One morning, she entered the studio and explained that her mom stated that she never is able to finish her sentences

(Observations, 31-03-2015).

The struggle co-host 3 is in, cannot be denied. One morning, co-host 3 replaces co-host 2 in the newsround due to a visit in Kumasi. The 26th of February was the day when the state of the nation will be addressed by President Mahama, what made the newsround characterized with statements about the current political environment. During the end of the show, co-host 3 discovers people spread photos of her on social media stating that she is representing the opposition (NPP party). Co-host 3 is clearly upset by this action, you could observe her being sad because it feels unfair. She gets emotional and explains that it's because she is the only woman (Observations, 26-02-2015). Reflecting on this moment in the interview, she reveals her own doubts and question in her struggle: *"Sometimes it's really... I struggle: why are they upset about me so much they are sharing pictures of me? Why are they not upset about the things, the things I am complaining about? Complaining about electricity, about water and all the other issues. Why are they not upset about that? Why are they picking on me? There are 4 people saying literally the same things. Why am I the one you are upset about?"* (Interview co-host 3, 2015). Nevertheless, the struggle does not discourage co-host 3 to do her job. *"The men are harsher, somehow somehow they get away with it [...] My aim is to say I actually think what we do is really stupid and we should change. And I am not willing to negotiate. My aim, when I do that, my aim is to offend you so you think"*. The difference between a woman and a man on the radio is quite big. Co-host 3 explains: *"Oh there is ... God ... so much room I wish I had"* (Interview co-host 3, 2015).

The input of the panel is indispensable for the show, what means that co-host 3 her position in the team does influence the content of the show. Her statements and opinions are often interrupted by the manly co-hosts, what does influence her approach on the topics. Although the picture might not be crystal clear, her input on the program does connect to the gender roles in the country. It is quite remarkable that co-host 3 is the only woman involved in such a radio show. The balance within the team does influence the content of the show although this might not be mentioned within the literature on talk radio.

Flowing decision making

One other thing what immediately catches your eye is the dynamic environment where the CBS is made in. Discussion is the main way of working and 9 people involved makes it often a chaotic scene. One would say that this process needs to be highly structured due to the various topics, people and listeners involved. Otherwise it would not come to a well-structured show. However, this is certainly not the case for the CBS. This was already clear within the first week of the fieldwork: there is not much written down about the show (Observations, 2015). The commercial messages are the only things are written down, they need to be read out for the advertisers at a specific time (Observations, 2015). The dynamic process of creating the CBS makes understanding the process of decision making quite difficult. Especially when there is not a solid structure, or as co-host 3 describes: *"There is no structure but there is a structure, I don't know how to explain it"* (Interview co-host 3, 2015). Co-host 3 continues with an example: *"You see, we were talking about food this morning [Wednesday 4th March]. We are struggling with how to structure the conversation. We arrive at a point. By the time we get there, we pick it and everybody knows what to say, know what we talk about"* (Interview co-host 3).

Due to the fact that there is not much written down, the process of creating the CBS can be described as a flowing process. Its flows 'naturally' out of the members of the Citi Breakfast team. This is quite remarkable as the show is on air from Monday to Friday for 3,5 hours. The show is filled with actual topics and current affairs. An illustration of this organic process where the team is colliding is on the 25th of February. A children's song 'Grandfathers clock' catches the

attention of some of the team members and a lively discussion starts. Someone sang the song and the whole team knew the song too and sing along. They laugh, somebody looks up the lyrics. Suddenly the team is enrolled in a lively discussion on education. They mention that they could not really relate to the song, they not even knew how such a big clock looked like. Still they learned the song in school, what surprised them because it was not something they could really relate to as kids. The team discusses how they can put it into the program: How do we capture it into a discussion? What was the last time the curriculum was reviewed? Why did they stop physics? We need to do a chronological order of the curriculum of Ghana, look at the content and see how they connect to the issues. Later the main host comes out of the studio and the co-hosts suggest to make it an item. The main host react enthusiastic (Observations, 23-02-2015). 2 days later, the grandfather's clock is aroused in a broadcasting (25-02-2015).

This fragment illustrates the flowing decision making of the CBS what certainly determines the content of the show. This flowing process of decision making was a surprise because one would expect a specific structure to determine such a show. However, there is a structure but it's not written down. As mentioned before, discussion is the main way of deciding on the topics where every member plays its part and gives his or her opinion. In the case of making talk radio, describing this decision making process is unique and shows how dynamic making such a show can be.

Role main-host

One other big influence on addressing the topics is the main host. He is the presenter of the show and is leading most of the conversations and discussions. *"As my background as a former news journalist and producer and because I am the director of the news, I am like the main driver of what we should discuss. So.. I have a bigger influence on what goes on air"* (Interview main host, 2015). His role in the radio station makes his influence on the CBS but also in the newsroom and Citi FM quite big. His influence is also acknowledged by himself, he acknowledges that he has a bigger influence about what is going on air. *"Partly because I am the host of the show, I am the driver of the conversation. So if I am not passionate about something, I cannot drive it. Because the listeners are used to my voice, I need to be excited where I am talking about to really connect. I am like more influential in the team than others because of my position"* (Interview main host, 2015). This quote illustrates how he legitimizes his role: because of his connection with the listener, he needs to be passionate and decisive about the subjects of the show. Furthermore, he uses his current position of being the host, to legitimize his bigger influence.

The role of the main host is also known off-air. As already illustrated in chapter 2, he is often decisive in talking about the topics at the 06:50 meeting. For example on the 9th of March. The main host enters the room out of the studio and says he wants a meeting on what to discuss today. He continues with the topic, how people prefer to buy foreign rice and chicken over Ghanaian products. He adds he saw some kind of rice index and the rice from the US was at position number one, followed by rice from Taiwan. He questions why people prefer products from abroad and suggests to call the minister on trade for it. The main host adds he had to buy some stuff yesterday and the only thing what was locally produced was the water. Later the main host discusses with co-host 3 the content. He asks her to read the research paper on the attitudes of Ghanaians on buying local in about 10 minutes. He adds the parts they need to read and which ones to skip (Observations, 2-03-2015). This fragment illustrates how he can push a specific story because he is passionate about it. The foreign buying instead of local buying is something he is very passionate about. During the two months observations, this is a returning concept. For example the day that co-host 1 wears a Ghanaian cloth but it's made in Holland. On

air- as well as off air, the main host expresses his disparagement. Or the day when the main host pushed a story of immigration on the basis of the story of his housekeeper, who wants to move to Libanon (Observations, 03-03-2015). The role of the main host is the one which you cannot deny. His role as presenter makes him a legitimate player of the panel, he needs to be passionate about the topic otherwise he cannot address it properly. However, this makes him a powerful person in deciding on the topics and the content of the show.

The role of a talk radio host is complex and contains several tasks: listening, control, clarifying positions, fostering public understanding and conflict intervener (Botes & Langdon, 2006). Although this complex position of the hosts of talk shows, the actual influence on decision making and their approach of topics still stays mysterious. Their influence is indispensable for the program and the framing of the topics. The main host does set out a specific course and leads the team with its vision. This makes the role of the main host for the CBS essential.

Not talking about certain topics

Lastly, the topics which are *not* discussed are also an interesting and mostly invisible feature of the CBS. Although the members of the team declare that press freedom is high, there are socially boundaries which limit the topics. This was already mentioned by the experience of the press freedom by the members in chapter 1. Talking about sex on radio is for example a difficult subject. It's a no go area (Interview co-host 4, 2015). Related to this topic is homosexuality. Although the members do mention it off air and discuss which angle to tackle the subject, it's not as deeply discussed in the broadcasting (Broadcasting CBS, 10-02-2015). Furthermore, feminism is a topic which should be handled careful and what the CBS already playfully introduces by the presence of a female co-host. This does point at the gender relations in Ghanaian society and thereby also determines the content of the show.

Religion is also a topic which needs to be handled carefully. On the basis of an event on the 23th of February, the team discusses religion in the public space off-air. Co-host 3 makes a fierce statement by claiming that the public space is hawked by Christians. The main host wants to leave the topic (because it was already covered) but co-host 3 sticks to her argument, Ghana is a secular state so we should take religion out. It should not be so prominent. Later co-host 3 comments that she is frustrated, it would be a nice opportunity to make it a national debate. (Observations, 23-02-2015). In the interview she explains that, *"Today nobody was happy with me on Twitter, said we should move religion out of the public space."* (Interview co-host 3, 2015). Another morning a big debate was occurring in the office of co-host 1. The main host and co-host 3 use their voice loudly and ruled the debate. Co-host 1 asks for order, followed by laughter so this was not successful. (Observations 27-02-2014). The discussion is marked by words as way of life, religion, West. Later co-host 3 returns, reacting on the main host. The main host and co-host 3 continue their discussion on religion in public space. Co-host 3 states that religion should be practiced in your own space. The main hosts states it's not African. Co-host 3 states that is an offensive comment because she is also African. Co-host 3 makes an attempt to tweet about it, what the main host wants to prevent. The discussion goes on, co-host 3 makes clear she wants religion to get out of the public space (Observations, 27-02-2015). Although the hosts have a heated debate about it, it is not discussed in the content on air what shows how sensitive this topic is.

Lastly, tribalism is a topic which is hardly mentioned in any broadcasting of the CBS. However, the topic is much noticed and discussed within the team of the CBS. One morning, the team discusses the roots and the role of tribalism in Ghana. The team is surprised by the fact that one cannot discuss tribalism, how is it possible? The main host adds he would like to talk about

it in the program, a 'loose' conversation about the topic. Others add it might be better if listeners cannot comment on the issue because the stereotypes might rule the conversation (Observations, 02-03-2015). Also in discussing on-air content, the topic is mentioned. On the 27th of February, the team discusses an issue which is presented as an ethnicity issue however, most of the team disagree. The decision makers force the issue and make it ethnic but this is not necessary the case (Observations, 27-02-2015). The different fragments illustrate the emergence of the topic although it is never discussed on air.

Although it might be strange to analyse what is actually *not* talked about, it also reveals a certain edge of the frame. Some topics are actually not discussed on the show and in this way, also influences the content of the show. This refers to a critical note by Bosch (2011): "[...] and talk radio becomes the vehicle for the transmission of the discourse that produces social hegemony" (Bosch, Talk radio, democracy and citizenship in (South) Africa, 2011, p. 85). This is certainly the case with the Citi Breakfast Show because they emphasize the social boundaries of Ghanaian society by selecting certain topics to talk about and leave others out. This makes this aspect fitting into the framework of talk radio, the Citi Breakfast Show does contribute to the discourse in Ghanaian society. However, some topics like feminism and religion are discussed but in a very delicate way what might be an attempt to slowly changing the everyday talk about the issues raised.

A better Ghana

All the aspects of the framing point towards frame which strives for a 'better' Ghana. CBS uses the airwaves to push certain socio-economic issues by highlighting the problem existing and gather different perspectives on the issue. The program focusses on socio-economic issues which need to be covered because they are not working properly or need to be developed further. The Citi Breakfast Show is used as a platform to facilitate the exposure of the different issues which are currently influencing the development of Ghana. The show provides insights by discussing the topic and educating their listeners. Furthermore, the issues addressed are used to make decision makers in Ghana aware of the problems experienced by their listeners and the team themselves. The stories are carried by the experiences of 'ordinary' Ghanaians and the hosts themselves, what gives the news story body and makes it easier to relate to by the listeners. The on-air shared experiences are also a tool to show the impact of the issue and the urgency of the situation. The combination of humour and seriousness provides a pleasant variety and makes the program dynamic and interesting to listen to it.

The different aspects which are distilled from the field work do construct a certain frame which is actively presented during the show (on-air) but also during discussions in the team (off-air). The frame can be explained on the basis of the *dumsor* issue which is chosen on the basis of the extended case method (Buraway, 1998). Firstly, the technical facts are highlighted on the power outages issue. This serves the main goal of the Citi Breakfast Show to educate and inform their listeners. Furthermore, the show exchanges experiences on the *dumsor* issue. The CBS provides a platform to share the different experiences and exchange opinions on the matter. This makes the platform rather accessible and open for listeners to contribute and identify with the issues. Moreover, the many experiences also show how urgent some topics are and how people are affected by the issue. This does legitimate the topics and shows how urgent the matter is for the listeners of the CBS. This intertwines with the follow-up feature of the show, what makes it possible to push certain topics. Lastly, laughter and humour is used to make the show a bit lighter and also create a feeling of unity. Everyone in Ghana is in one way or the other affected by the current power crisis and making jokes about it makes the situation more

bearable. It lightens the problems of the day a bit and also contributes to empowerment. Making the jokes about the issues distances itself from the seriousness and provides space put the issue in another perspective. Mocking and joking about the issue and/or the people in charge also contributes to a more critical view towards what is actually happening. It is a playful way to be critical towards the situation and might also be perceived as some sort of resistance. The other aspects might not appear as obvious as the features but the gender roles in the team, the structure of decision making and the topics not talked about do influence the format of the Citi Breakfast Show.

The frame at play in the Citi Breakfast Show all point in the same direction: towards a better Ghana. The Citi Breakfast Show uses the airwaves to ask attention for certain socio-economic issues in Ghana and tries to reach a better Ghana. This chapter analysed the covering of topics on the basis of the dumsor issue, the current power crisis Ghana is facing. The show focuses on education of their listeners and makes the situation more bearable by mocking and joking around. The experiences of the hosts and listeners are used to emphasize the importance of the issues and make decision makers aware of the urgency of the problems experienced. The follow-up feature makes it possible of the show to keep getting attention for certain topics and keep on pushing the interest on the issue. The CBS relates in many aspects to the genre of talk radio but also contains unique aspects. The CBS team actively carries out their pursuit to create a better Ghana and uses the program to contribute to the development of the country.

Chapter 4: Towards a better Ghana

“Radio afflicts the comfortable and comforts the afflicted”

(Producer 1, Interview 2015)

This previous chapter analysed the framing which is evident in the Citi Breakfast Show. The Citi Breakfast Show does actively strive towards a better Ghana. This framing leads to a specific identity which is claimed in the media landscape of Ghana. This chapter will go into the position the CBS ascribes to itself: a watchdog identity. They claim this identity in the media landscape of Ghana in a two-folded way. Their position is explained in this chapter and also the legitimation of this position is deeply analysed. Why does the CBS position itself as a watchdog in the media landscape of Ghana?

A watchdog identity

The quote above from producer 1 describes the role of the CBS in the Ghanaian landscape in a very philosophical way. Nevertheless, this quote does reveal the claimed identity of the talk radio show: a watchdog identity. The two sides of radio are pointed out by the producer. On the one hand, radio can push a certain topic for you what can make you feel more comfortable described by him as ‘*comforts the afflicted*’. He uses the word ‘*afflicted*’ what points at everybody who is influenced by the decision(s). Furthermore, it does emphasize the accessibility of radio as a medium and embeds also a form of legitimatization: everyone can use it if one wants to address his/her challenge. The producer explains this like: “*radio make you comfortable which means if you have a challenge, radio will help you address it for you and help the government to pay attention to do it for you.*” (Interview producer 1, 2015). On the other hand, he talks about how radio ‘*afflicts the comfortable*’. This emphasizes the other side of the story, where decision makers are held responsible via the medium of radio. “*If someone is too comfortable which means someone is corrupt or stealing from the state, radio makes that person uncomfortable*” (Interview producer 1, 2015). This does point out the power which is ascribed to radio and how it actually has the power to influence decision makers. The quote of the producer does reveal the core of the Citi Breakfast Show, “*That is what I think, the role of radio. And as a station by far we’ve been doing it very well: keeping people on their toes*” (Interview producer 1, 2015).

The CBS creates a watchdog identity and uses the program to push certain socio-economic topics on the agenda to reach a ‘better’ Ghana. The CBS creates a watchdog identity by providing a platform for their listeners combined with addressing issues in a critical way. “By playing a watchdog role and helping frame the agenda for public discussion, the press can highlight problems in governance and expose corruption” (Behrman, Canonge, Purcell, & Schiffrin, 2012, p. 87). This can also be seen as a public service which the CBS offers by fulfilling the role of a newshound by actively collecting and disseminating information (Deuze, 2004). So the Citi Breakfast Show claims a watchdog identity with their show. This is also actively acknowledged by the members of the CBS team. “*What we seek to achieve ensure that Ghanaians get a better life. Ensure that things are done right. If things are not done right, we talk about things and get it done right.[...] We ask questions. Put managers on their toes*” (Interview co-host 2, 2015). The main host goes even a step further and shows he wants the show to be the “voice of the voiceless”: “*People who can’t deal with the system, who feel that if they put their issue on the CBS it will get addressed. I want politicians to see the CBS the platform where if they want*

concerning Ghanaians to listen to their point of view. That is the place to put their issue" (Interview main host, 2015). The main goal described by the different members of the Citi Breakfast team reveals an eagerness to contribute to the development of Ghana. When interviewing the different team members, this is always the question where you can actually see the passion in their eyes. The team strives to facilitate a platform for hearing and answering current issues in the country.

“Two-way thing”

The CBS claims a watchdog identity with their talk radio program in Ghana. However, why does the program claim such a position in the media landscape of Ghana? The key to this answer is embedded in the program itself. All the members of the team do emphasize the two-way process which the CBS facilitates: *“push government to do what is right. Transform the minds of Ghanaians. [it’s a] two-way thing”* (Interview social media editor, 2015). This two-way function of the show is a characterizing for the show and therefore, also for their position in the media landscape of Ghana. The CBS does not appear as a traditional watchdog by only keeping government on their toes. They are a dually functional watchdog: they keep an eye on the government as well as their listeners. The main host explains it as: *“having hosted the Citi Breakfast Show for a decade, I have come to understand the latent power of radio for creating a better society by demanding more accountable leadership and more responsible citizenship”* (Akpah, 2015). The program sees it as their duty to keep government aware but also get their listeners on the right track by informing them. The watchdog identity of the CBS is characterized as a “two-way thing”.

The explanation for their position as a watchdog in the media landscape of Ghana can also be found in a “two-way thing”. Firstly, this is explained by their connection to decision makers. The CBS sees itself as the 4th arm of government. *“The parliament is supposed to check the government. Government traditionally supposed to, something we call check and balances between the government. Legislature checks judiciary, judiciary checks executive. Executive checks judiciary. Judiciary checks the legislator. But then there is a 4th arm of government, the 4th arm of state which is the media. We play supervisory role of all of them, we check all of them. And that is what we should do.”* (Interview producer 1, 2015). The Citi Breakfast show sees it as their task to strive for a better Ghana by discussing the topics on their show. The key element in this vision is Ghana, or in the words by one of the employees of Citi FM: *“we want a better life for our children”* (Observations, 22-02-2015). This is also emphasized by the main host: *“and of course, it’s also about Ghana. Whatever we discuss, Ghana has to win. We introduce the one Ghana campaign, whether it’s NDC, NPP or CPP, whoever wins or loses, Ghana must be the ultimate beneficiary. [...] We try and bring the discussion every time focussing on Ghana.”* (Boateng, 2014). The CBS sees the media (including the radio station itself) as the 4th arm of government what makes the agenda-setting feature their task to deliver. They see themselves as the 4th arm of government what gives them the duty to address emerging topics and address issues which are pointed out by their listeners. They perceive it as their main task to check the government what explains the claimed watchdog identity. Contributing to claimed identity is the absence of government in many places. They fulfil the role which left open by government. *“Government is so absent in many places: police stations, hospitals: there is nothing but people have their radio stations. That is how people get to know things.”* (Interview co-host 3, 2015). Due to the absence of government, the CBS can actually pick up the role as a watchdog. They fill up the place where government is absence and check their decisions where decision makers are unable to. Producer 1 illustrates this with an example with water issues: *“The community needs water and they don’t have water.*

The CBS takes it up as a crusade and we speak this people get water [...] The right government officials go there and clear the refuges down like has happened, we have transformed lives. That is satisfaction. Make a change happen” (Interview producer 1, 2015). The producer emphasizes the power of the program by even calling discussing a topic a ‘crusade’. This shows the belief of the team in the work they do: it’s their duty to start a ‘crusade’ and it will make a change in Ghanaian society.

An example of their watchdog position towards the government, appears on the 19th of February. On this specific morning, the CBS wants to get a comment of the minister who referred to the *dumsor* demonstration as ‘a keep fit exercise’ (Observations, 19-02-2015). The CBS tried to reach him but he did not want to comment on the stories. He explained he did not want to comment on stories of yesterday. Later he did not pick the call and an automatic text was replied, which said he was ‘in the cinema’ (Observations, 19-02-2015). Later, the main host refers to this reaction in a sceptical way: *“We called Dr. [name] to speak on this issue, he said to us, or he told our producer that he doesn’t talk about yesterday issues today. Basically that’s what he said. He doesn’t speak about yesterday issues today and he send us a text that he is at the cinema”* [main host] (Broadcasting CBS, 2015). This shows the power dimension which is involved because the minister wasn’t in the cinema (as this was an automatic text as reply) but the show decided to share this response on air. This shows the power the CBS has in the media landscape of Ghana and how they can use this power. Citi FM is a key decision making media house for the government (Interview social media editor, 2015). Even if the CBS tells a negative story about the government and the government decides to hold information due to the position of the CBS, this will work against them not against the Citi Breakfast Show (Interview social media editor, 2015). *“It’s better for you to speak to us, to explain your story. What we say, we will say it anyway: with or without you. It’s better for them to speak to us. If you don’t speak to us it’s at your own benefit because whatever we have, we put it out there”* (Interview social media editor, 2015). The example of the ‘cinema’ shows that the CBS does ‘put it out there’. This fragment shows how the CBS can use it’s platform and assure their position as a watchdog to get answers from decision makers.

Secondly, the CBS also serves as a watchdog for its listeners. This is firstly explained by the main goal of the Citi Breakfast Show. The main function of the show is to educate people. *“We provide the tools to educate people. With different segments of the show, we bring people education. [...] It’s education, we educate the public. It’s our role to support it”* (Interview social media editor, 2015). The main host illustrates this by an example. In the first nine months of 2013 there was the opposition party (of the government) which took the government to the court: *“Citi covered every single day life of the court case. We have people explaining the legal process, every day for 9 months at our own costs. So we contribute to the listeners understanding, public understanding of the election and participation by the dedicated coverage we gave to the election. Every day we were in the court, life. That contributed a lot to people’s understanding”* (Interview main host, 2015). So by informing the general public, the show aims to contribute to the understanding of Ghanaians on different issues. They want to keep their listeners informed and educated. They see it as their duty to keep their listeners informed what makes it possible for the listeners to be an active citizen of Ghana. This explains their watchdog identity for the listeners: they try to raise the awareness of the listeners as well activating them to participate in discussion and debate about issues affecting them. The role towards the listeners is also facilitated by the position of radio in Ghana. Radio is a big medium in Ghana as already explained in chapter 1. This is also acknowledged by the members of the team as well as the listeners. The listeners interviewed described (almost unanimous) the main function of radio as education and

ON AIR

information (Interviews listeners, 2015). As explained by Mano (2011) [radio] “helps ordinary people question and challenge circumstances that oppress them. It makes them aware of their condition and allows them to fight back against the oppressive authorities that ignore the popular will” (Mano, 2011, p. 107). Interestingly, this explains exactly how the CBS plays with the function of their program. Popular has a dual reference by Mano (2011), it points at radio which is consumed by many people in huge numbers (Mano, 2011) and it offers an ability to speak against the ‘power blocs’ in society (Sparks by Mano, 2011). Popularity can be seen as a product of the ‘people’, what challenges that which those in power wish the people to have (Mano, 2011). The Citi Breakfast Show applies to both of those references. The show claims the watchdog identity by its popularity and the accessibility of the radio show. The popularity of them medium radio facilitates the possibility to serve as a watchdog in the media landscape of Ghana. The character of radio in Ghana provides the program the chance to serve as a watchdog.

So the “two-way thing” of the Citi Breakfast Show explains its ‘towards a better Ghana’-frame. The position of the Citi Breakfast Show as a watchdog can be explained by their positioning towards the government as their 4th arm and the absence of government in many places. Besides that, their position can be linked to the main goal of the CBS to educate their listeners and in this way, make listeners aware of their own position in society. Education will lead to the mentioned ‘transformation’ of Ghanaians. The popularity of radio contributes to the watchdog position by facilitating the means of transforming Ghanaian society. This indicates that the CBS moves beyond the traditional watchdog and explains *why* the program functions as a dually functional watchdog.

Claiming a position

The position of the CBS as a watchdog is intertwined with the ‘towards a better Ghana’-frame which the CBS practices. However, claiming a certain position does also ask for a certain legitimation. The CBS uses several strategies to ensure their position in the media landscape of Ghana by touching upon relevance and gaining credibility.

Relevance

The first legitimizing strategy is intertwined with the concept of ‘relevance’. This concept was returning in interviews and the process of decision making about the CBS. The Citi Breakfast show tries to discuss topics which are ‘relevant’ and the team is aware of the different aspects connected to the term: *“it is a difficult task because I am trying to discuss what is relevant. Relevance has a lot of connotations, in terms of news worthiness, in terms of its contemporariness, in terms of its timelessness. There are topics that I discuss which are not necessarily running stories. Issues that are very important. So we can decide to talk about education and it may not be a running story but it might be a topic where people still want to talk about”* (Interview main host, 2015). The term relevance refers to the scope of affecting, how big is the issue and how it does influence people? They decide on the topics by taking into account the effect on people. *“If you’re choosing a topic, you want a topic that would resonate with a listener in the morning [...] This is affecting this community, let’s talk about that. We focus on that. What are the people interested in hearing? That’s what we talk about”* (Interview producer 2, 2015).

The core for the concept of ‘relevance’ is determined by, again, the experiences of the hosts themselves and the listeners. As chapter 3 illustrated, the hosts do share their own experience on several issues. *“We use our own experience. We’re a team of 5 and about 10 to 12 people with different backgrounds and experiences. Whatever affects all of us, it’s safe to say that it affects the masses. We don’t talk about hypothetical stuff, we talk stuff that affects us/experience*

us. So it will have meaning to our listeners.” (Interview co-host 2, 2015). Their own feelings, interests and experiences are often used as the main inspiration for the topics of the Citi Breakfast Show: *“sometimes we pick these on how we feel about it. People might not feel strongly about it out there but we feel this is something we need to talk about. So we’re going to force it down on the audience. Most of the time there is a bit of a personal bias in the choices that we make* (Interview co-host 4, 2015). There is also a certain power here because the makers of the CBS can decide on the topics to discuss: *“we look at what is affecting us, what we think is important”* (Interview co-host 3, 2015). They can decide to start a new ‘crusade’ in the program: *“we could start a new crusade on the show because we believe that as a radio station, we can start a crusade and in short time things are done”* (Interview producer 2, 2015). The Citi Breakfast Team has the power to announce certain topics and angles of discussions on their platform.

Not only the experience of the hosts determine what is relevant and what not, also the input of listeners matters. *“Yes experience comes in but we do not really depend on our own experience [...] Your experience comes in handy but it’s the experience of ordinary listeners that is better placed”* (Interview producer 1, 2015). The feedback of listeners also determines what is relevant and what not, *“there are also times when we have a conversation and a side issue comes up. The public is really responding to that aspect of the conversation. So you realize, this is important to the people so you have to put a halt to everything you else you planned to discuss and go in on that one and discuss that. So sometimes we plan that and sometimes it’s spontaneous and sometimes the public tells us what to discuss. It’s a bit of both.”* (Interview co-host 4, 2015). The listeners are important in addressing the topic, they are perceived as the main point of reference. *“My job is to lead a conversation that stimulates and addressed the concern of the majority of middle class Ghanaians. I am raising issues that are of concern to them. Interviewing people they want to hear on issues that concern them. Giving them a platform to voice out their problems. Talk about the national issues and make them smile and giving them things to talk about in an intelligent way”* (Interview main host, 2015). So the own experience of the hosts is countered by the input of listeners. What is ‘relevant’ is decided by both actors, what leads to an interaction between the radio makers and the listeners. The outcome of this interaction decides what is relevant and what not. Moreover, it legitimizes the topics in the show.

Credibility

Within the team of the CBS, credibility is something which sets the standard for the team. *“There is no issue which the Breakfast Show cannot discuss. Not just discuss, discuss properly. [...] Properly means, the person knows what he is talking about and he is not speaking because he has a microphone. He knows what he is supposed to say. He has researched, he has evidence to back his claims. They are not just empty claims”* (Interview producer 2, 2015). This quote illustrates how serious the research is done which is behind all the stories the radio station brings. Credibility is the backbone of the program. This is also illustrated by co-host 2, who refers to a combined radio interview with radio Gold. Co-host 1 interviewed the deputy finance minister together with another radio station (radio Gold) which is assumed to be more pro-government. *“We go the extra mile: we provide the right answers. The credibility is really important [...] That is why they combined it this morning with radio Gold. When radio Gold is much more in favour [of the government], we ask the critical questions and when radio Gold asks a question, one can breathe a little bit* (Interview co-host 2, 2015). You can tell from the quote that the emphasis is laid on the credibility of Citi FM as a radio station. The credibility is ensured by several strategies: diversity, objectivity and autonomy.

1) Diversity

The diversity among the team ensures the credible position of the Citi Breakfast Shows. The diversity of the team brings the dynamic atmosphere to and leads to the main way of working: discussion. The diversity of the team members with their different background and expertise make it possible to discuss the topics from diverse angles. Discussion helps the team to keep sharp and exchange information as mentioned in chapter 2. *“After the business and sports news, we come and have a conversation. We try and have a discussion. If you go into the newsroom as well, it’s the discussion type of planning there. In the discussion you get different perspectives and in a way, evidence”* (Interview main host, 2015). Co-host 3 explains that the off air discussions with the team enrich her. She emphasizes that your view might shift and you never know when it comes in handy (Interview co-host 3, 2015). *“We fight a lot. Even on air, we fight a lot. It’s good to disagree”* (Interview co-host 3, 2015). Moreover, the on- and off-air discussions do create a feeling of accessibility what possibly might trigger the listeners to intervene or contribute. The main mode of working, discussion, which is fuelled by the diversity of the team members is not only leading to the way of working. As mentioned by the main host, it also generates “evidence” for the team (Interview main host, 2015).

Besides the fuelling of discussion, diversity is also a strategy to legitimize their topics and points addressed. *“The guys I work with, two of them [producer 1 & 2] are in the news production team so they always put stuff from the news, on the platform. So we know what is happening in the news. The 4 others do it in a different way: [co-host 3] works online so she also works in the news, [co-host 1] works in parliament as a reporter, [co-host 4] works outside, [co-host 2] works on events. So these are people who bring their varying experiences in what we do”* (Interview main host, 2015). The quote illustrates how the main host perceives the diversity as a strength for the program. The ‘varying experiences’ are brought to the show as a contribution, it is perceived as an aspect with strengthens the show. The show builds (on the contrary to other talk radio programs) to build an in-knowledge base. *“At Citi we try to build our own expertise. We build our own knowledge instead of depending on other people.”* (Interview social media editor, 2015). The panel of hosts serves as a reflection of the different angles which can be given to the issues. The panel represents the angles that need to be covered. So the diversity in the team is seen as a way to prevent a certain bias in covering the topics: *“We read around and amongst us we have specialists. People are specialized in energy, law, elementary issues, sports and others.”* (Interview producer 2, 2015). The diversity in the CBS team creates an identity of expertise and legitimizes their identity as a watchdog. Their multiple backgrounds construct a knowledgeable identity in the media landscape of Ghana.

2) Objectivity

Objectivity is a difficult concept within academic debate but for a journalist this concept has an extra dimension. “Journalists are impartial, neutral, objective, fair and (thus) credible” (Deuze, 2004, p. 279). So being objective as a journalist is associated with being truthful and neutral. The CBS tries to deal with issues by putting the issues in a balanced way. *“What matters is that we have balance”* (Interview producer 1, 2015). The CBS team tries to give out the ‘right’ information and question every statement (Observations, 2015). They try to look up the facts and discuss the content of the topic with one another. They strive towards objectivity by being balanced (Interview producer 1, 2015). *“When we do the show and we’re [for example] bashing the government for an issue. We do well by giving the government the opportunity to clarify the whole thing, make their point clear.”* (Interview producer 1, 2015). Reflecting two sides of the stories brings the team, to their own understanding, closer to bringing ‘truth’ to the listener.

The team tries to back up their stories with facts and evidence: *“because if the president says something and you disagree, you back your argument with some facts. Make an intellectual argument”* (Interview co-host 2). The factual approach of the CBS translates into mentioning ‘facts’ and ‘truth’ in the program, the show makes it their task to get hold on the facts. They take this task very serious and try to be as accurate as possible. This is illustrated on the 23th of February, when one of the co-hosts heard about a story of a hospital which had to do a surgery in the ambulance due to the power outage. Producer 1 is verifying the story before proposing anything on air. Producer 1 calls with the hospital: ‘Hello Doc, a story following on operation which was done at your hospital. Headlights for its surgery, is this something what has happened? [...] You don’t know. Maybe you can check it and get back to us [...] I will call you back and give you the details.’ (Observations, 23-02-2015). Later producer 1 and co-host 1 discuss the content of the incident. Co-host 1 explains he heard that surgeries were done in the theatres and that the ambulance cannot enter the theatre. Producer 1 asks how it happened, co-host 1 shows a photo. Later co-host 1 and producer 1 call different sources. Producer 1: ‘Doc good morning. Citi FM again [...] Information actually, the light at the OPD were off. So the ambulance was used to work on that [laughing] Okay, thank you Doc. I will try and see if I can leave it or not.’ (Observations 23-02-2015). This example illustrates the fact-finding mission the CBS conducts before putting anything on air. They double check the facts before putting any story out. The fact-checking is also something which is emphasized in the broadcasting, on the 11th of February, co-host 2 shares his research at GreCo with the main host and co-host 1: *‘Yes yesterday I had some interactions with officials at GreCo [co-host 2] I wanted to get a better understanding of what is happening at GRECO [co-host 2] So you went on a working tour? You went on an inspection? [main host] Small inspection [co-host 2] Charlie, We have big people in the studio, eishh. You went for GRECO on a tour. Small inspection to see for yourself. How many hours did you spend there? Speaking to GRECO officials? Looking at the equipment? [main host] I was trying to understand the various... [co-host 2 interrupted] You were on a fact-finding mission! [co-host 1] That is the expression, he was on a fact finding mission [main host] Basically I wanted to assure that the information we’ve been putting out is accurate [co-host 2]. Thank you [main host] [...] What did you find at the GRECO office? [main host]* (Broadcasting CBS, 11-02-2015). This fragment illustrates how the team of the CBS emphasizes their research and fact findings ‘missions’. So the CBS legitimizes their findings and discussions by using research and fact to back-up their material. Moreover, they take their task serious by verify stories before putting them out. However, they also legitimize their stories in this way: by propagating their fact-finding, they legitimize their angles of stories .

ON AIR

3) *Autonomy*

Citi FM tries to actively leave the partisan politics out of their programs. This was already presented in the previous chapter. Leaving the partisan politics out is part of the frame of the CBS and adds to the main goal of educating the public of Ghana. However, it’s not only a goal which they try to reach: it’s also a *tool*. Leaving partisan politics out, leads to a degree of objectivity and contributes to autonomy. Autonomy is seen as one of the core values of journalists: *“journalists must be autonomous, free and independent in their work”* (Deuze, 2004, p. 279). The CBS creates autonomy by actively distancing itself from the partisan politics and the divide of the show. By creating this, the team also gains a certain credibility. They show they work autonomous and work independently: *“we do politics but we don’t allow politicians to drive out our discussions. So we could have a political issue but we try to analyse it deep and get the underlying other this. Not the NPP and NDC to come and argue about it”* (Interview producer 2,

2015). This legitimizes their topics as they show they is not led by the political elite. Interesting is that the CBS perceives the non-partisan approach as something unique. “[...] *before Citi decided to do this everybody was telling us that it was impossible to do it. Everybody thought it would be impossible, everything is politics.*” (Interview producer 2, 2015). The CBS is a proud example of the course of Citi FM not to include the politicians in their content of the show. “[...] *the current show we run is again revolutionary, nobody would think of the concept of putting 5 journalists on radio to discuss issue without politicians, you know, without the party thoughts*” (Interview co-host 4, 2015).

The view is also actively expressed on air. A fragment on the 19th of February illustrates this vision exactly. The main host talks about his worries of how the *dumsor* topics get politicized by the latest demonstration against the power outages organised by one of the political parties (Observations, 19-02-2015). ‘*We are hearing press conferences from [political leaders] but I feel that the dumsor conversation should not been left to the politicians. Because once the dumsor becomes a political issue, it makes it difficult for people with legitimate views from actually making comment that will be taken seriously* main host] [...] *When issues come up and it becomes politics it reduces the interest of genuine non-partisan a-political people from entering. It creates a ‘we’ vs. ‘them’ culture [...] the point I am making is that when an issue affects ordinary Ghanaians and expresses views about it, it tends to get better treatment than when the politicians enter the frame. When the politicians enter the frame, yes it gives the issue traction. Yes it gives the issue more noise but it makes it easy for the government now say: oohh [...] Let me say it’s not that we are saying that NPP does not have the right to enter the conversation, they have the right to demonstrate [...] If you want an issue to be unresolved, make it an election issue. It just becomes who shouts louder* [main host] (Broadcasting CBS, 19-02-2015). This fragment illustrates the view of the CBS explained on-air. The CBS states that an issue get more ‘body’ when it is carried out by the ordinary Ghanaians than when it becomes part of the political arena. The CBS tries to pull the political arena out of the issue by looking at other things that are related to the issue. “*Look at the underlying factors of the issue, the reasons why issues are the way they are*” (Interview producer 2, 2015). These underlying factors are actively put forward in the Citi Breakfast Show: “*our reasoning is that there are more important developmental issues like decentralization, like corruption, like customer service, public service, service of electricity/water, provision of utilities, road transportation. These things are everyday issues where we like to touch on because the development of institutions are very poor in Ghana.*” (Interview main host, 2015). The autonomy of the CBS contributes to their credibility and support their frame to reach a better Ghana.

The CBS ascribes itself a watchdog identity by using a two-way approach: ask critical questions towards decision makers and educate Ghanaians on issues concerning them. The CBS position as a watchdog can be explained. On the one hand, the CBS sees itself as the 4th arm of government and perceives it as their duty to check the government or provide information where government is absent. On the other hand, the main goal of the CBS is to keep listeners informed and educated what keeps the listeners as well on their toes. The popularity of radio facilitates their watchdog position by ensuring their reach to listeners. The show does legitimize their position in the media landscape by several strategies: presenting topics as ‘relevant’ and gaining credibility by ensuring diversity, objectivity and autonomy. All the features contribute to the identity the CBS creates for itself within the media landscape of Ghana, an expert identity on the development of Ghana and a watchdog to ensure the move towards a ‘better’ Ghana.

Chapter 5: listening to the CBS

“The radio is for the listeners and the listeners are there for the radio”

(Interview listener A, 2015)

This chapter will go into the perception of the listeners of the Citi Breakfast Show. This chapter counterbalances the previous chapters by illustrating the perception of the listeners of the CBS. The chapter is based on 19 interviews with listeners from Accra and shows how listeners are actually involved. The findings of the interaction between the listeners and the CBS are placed in the current academic debate on talk radio and the emergence of the genre on the continent of Africa. In the current academic debate, listeners are seen as the heart of talk radio programmes. This chapter will go deeper into this assumption and provides an understanding of the role of listeners in the Citi Breakfast Show.

The Citi Breakfast Show can be characterized as a typical talk radio program. Talk radio is marked by conversation which is initiated by a programme host and usually involving listeners who participate in the discussion about topics like politics, sports, or current events (Rubin & Step by Bosch, 2011). Talk radio consists of a new genre that breaks with previous boundaries of making radio: “through the use of variegated strategies, presenters have managed to break out of this notion of the ‘box’ and have transformed radio into a dialogic space where there are numerous possibilities for listeners to engage more actively with information as it flows out of the radio into the public sphere” (Odhiambo, 2011, p. 41). Highlighted in most descriptions of the talk radio genre is the input of listeners, who are often seen as a central element in the program. “These allow the audience a presence and so create at least an illusion of access to the mass media” (O’ Sullivan by Tettey, 2011: 21). Most of the academic work focuses on the democratic value of the talk radio programmes or at least the democratic potential it has. Moreover, the democratic potential the programs embed, do point out the role of the listeners. Listeners do have a big part in the construction of talk radio programmes and that’s why a research about a talk radio program cannot be contained without the opinion of the listeners. Particular parts of the academic debate did focus on audience studies but these studies are mainly conducted in the US (Bosch, Talk radio, democracy and citizenship in (South) Africa, 2011).

In Ghana, talk radio is also closely connected to its listeners. Talk radio in Ghana can be seen as a change in the roles of audience in the public sphere (Tettey, 2011). Before the introduction of talk radio, only the ones who had an authoritative voice on national or local issues were heard (Tettey, 2011). This meant that only the officially acknowledged experts or who were recognised by their economic or political position. This led to the creation of an exclusive and restricted public sphere where not everyone could participate in. This changed by the introduction of talk radio. This provides “ordinary citizens the chance to inject their voices into the public sphere through phone-in contributions or text-messaging” (Tettey, 2011, p. 22). This widened the political discourse and also made a change for authoritative voices (Tettey, 2011). “Under the current dispensation, authoritative voice is being appropriated by ordinary citizens who feel empowered to comment on the realities of their lives as they see them, challenge official renditions of their reality and call public officials to account in the open and largely unfettered spaces by the instantaneity of live talk radio (Hutchby by Tettey, 2011: p. 22).

Sharing the passion

The broader political discourse gives listeners the chance to be actively involved in the decision making in their country. The active attitude of the listeners of the CBS was also one of the things which were remarkable when conducting the interviews with the listeners. All of the interviewees emphasized how important information was for them and how concerned they were about the current issues in their country. Asking the listeners why they listen to the radio (in general) was often a unanimous answer: to get to know what is going on in the country. *"Well I am a Ghanaian so I have to know what is going on in the nation and around me"* (Interview listener C, 2015). Most of the listeners see the goal of listening to the radio to get informed and get educated on topics. *"We can't be everywhere where things are. If they are helping us with getting whatever we have to know [...] well you don't live in a vacuum. You need to know what is coming to face you. You should always be a good listener, there is always something like the power scheduling or water shortage. You should always be a good listener so you would know."* (Interview listener G, 2015). What stands out in the perception of the listeners is the duty they feel to be informed about the issues which are going on in the country. They truly care about their personal involvement of the current affairs in the country. *"If you listen to radio or the breakfast show you wake up in the morning. There should be something that you have to listen to, this is what the country going through. You wake up to a new page everyday so there should be something where you start the day with."* (Interview listener G, 2015). The eagerness to be informed contributes to the main goal of the show, listeners want to be informed. They also perceive this as the main goal of the show. Educating and informing are the two main elements which are mentioned when asking about the main goal of the CBS (Interviews listeners, 2015).

Interestingly the listeners do know more about the show than one would expect. Most of the listeners appreciate the approach of the show and do acknowledge the verification function of the show. *"But with the CBS they won't do just the report, they go into the core of whatever is happening. They go into the present situation and the way forward."* (Interview Amy, 2015). *"They present the issues as it is [...] the topics are not too high or up above us. They bring the topics to us"* (Interview listener M, 2015). So the show made their approach clear and gained credibility towards its listeners. Furthermore, you can tell the Citi Breakfast Show really relates to the listeners. *"What we the listeners feel or what we are going through. [...] The topics are always centred around the listeners and what we really feel. It really reflects how I feel."* (Interview listener M, 2015). One can tell that listeners do share the passion which also drives the team of the CBS.

Setting the agenda?

Within the debate around talk radio, listeners are seen as the main focus of the programs. Some even see talk radio as the representation of the battle from below (Atton by Mano, 2011). Some statements go even further, by assuming that listeners do set the agenda for the topics in the talk radio programs. *"Certainly, an agenda-setting function is executed in the selection of news items and discussion topics- but by listeners and callers themselves, who use the 'open line' function to call -in shows to set the topics and tone of the debate"* (Bosch, Talk Radio, Democracy and the Public Sphere, 2011, p. 202). So before going into the field, the expected finding was that the listeners were central in the program. However, after a few weeks of fieldwork it became clear that this is not the case. Listeners are involved in the program but the role of listeners is more nuanced than only being agenda-setters. The show works by interaction with the listeners instead serving the agenda of the listeners.

"The majority of Ghanaian audiences just want to engage the public sphere vicariously as their compatriots give voice to personal circumstances and opinions that they share, and seek

appropriate insights and responses” (Tettey, 2011, p. 22). The note by Tettey (2011) also applies to the format of the Citi Breakfast Show. The phone lines are often opened to hear the experiences of listeners and asking for their opinions on the issue discussed. The phone-lines are often opened by the topics which are accessible for example the *dumsor* issue. Listeners are asked to share their experience on the topics. The listeners can express their feelings and experiences in the show, a function which is also emphasized by the listeners interviewed: *“Listeners do have a task, they are expressing the views and the opinions. They express opinions to the whole world, the whole nation. How we feel about the things that are going on and happening around us”* (Interview C, 2015). Listeners do want to get their information across and get the feeling of being heard (Interviews listeners, 2015). *“I want my opinion to be heard, others to hear my opinion on whatever topic they are discussing”* (Interview C, 2015). *“I feel really excited, really excited. You know, it makes you belong. They read my comment, okay my view matters. It’s really exciting”* (Interview listener M, 2015).

So yes, listeners do contribute to the show but are not the leaders of the program. The listeners are more part of an interaction within the show. One listener describes this interaction as follows, grasping the essence of the role of the listeners in the show: *“They are informing and educating us, we give our feedback in form of text, WhatsApp or calling. We’re actually giving input into whatever is being discussed. They get more angles from listeners and it also helps to inform the presenters as well.”* (Interview Amy, 2015). The reciprocity principle does embed the essence of listeners within the show. The listeners guide the presenters through the topics they discuss. *“It’s just like you came to me. You are doing your research and you want to get to know listeners from Citi FM. So I play the role while contributing and you realise, this is the listener. We listeners give them root to ask more questions. [...] We ask whoever you are interviewing on your show ‘we want to know this and this and that and ask him for me this and this’. They will ask some of the questions you have for your own in-depth understanding”* (Interview listener G, 2015). The listeners cannot be seen as leaders of the show but their contribution is essential in the format of the Citi Breakfast Show. The principle of the Citi Breakfast Show is that the listenership is more an on-going interaction with the show instead of the ‘traditional’ agenda-setting function of listeners within the talk radio format.

Opening the phone lines

So how does this interaction takes place then? In the most traditional way of talk radio, people can respond to the show on the basis of the phone lines. The shows generally follow a call-in model which was based on the U.S model (Grätz, Radio Call-In Shows on Intimate Issues in Benin: "Crossroads of Sentiments", 2014). The phone-ins serve as a real-life connection to the listener and the show. *“Phone-ins are the main vehicle through which citizens participate in these talk programmes [...] (Tettey, 2011, p. 22). Sometimes the phone lines are opened for the Citi Breakfast Show. The moment when the phone lines are opened does depend on the topic at stake. The topic needs to be accessible and not too sensitive. People can call in when the main host asks for their opinions, where the lines are opened and directly forwarded to the technical staff. He asks the location and the name of the person, puts the listener through on-air where the main host asks for his or her name and location (Observations, 2015). This process stays tricky as “you never know what they are going to say” (Interview producer 1, 2015). Opening the phone lines is a tricky part because listeners can be seen as intervening in the broadcasting: “intervention occurs when the broadcaster invites listeners to participate in deeper analysis, interpretation and consequent reflection on issues emerging from news items and other burning questions that affect them” (Odhiambo, 2011, p. 46). The topic on which the listeners often can*

react 'live' is accessible and not too sensitive. *"If an issue is very sensitive and we don't want anyone to just say stuff, we do not open the phone lines. We have this discretion"* (Interview producer 1, 2015). This also points at the gatekeeper function of the program. They determine if the listener gets the chance to react on the show or if his/her message is read out.

A more convenient way of facilitating the interaction is by social media: WhatsApp, Twitter and Facebook. The target group of the CBS are people who are tech-savvy and to have at least a smartphone but often also a laptop or tablet (Interview social media editor, 2015). The phone lines might be open for 5 to 10 minutes but the social media provides a chance to get way more comments (Interview social media editor, 2015). *"Our audience is on a platform and our product is the show"* (Interview social media editor, 2015). This makes it also possible to follow the show without listening to it as updates are given by social media editor on the main points of discussion (Observations, 2015). Therefore every listener interviewed referred to WhatsApp at the main vehicle of getting their message across (Interviews listeners, 2015). They use WhatsApp a lot and they also referred to the immediacy which is possible via the WhatsApp platform. It's seen as more reactive unlike phoning in what might be done while they are finishing up the topic of discussion. The listeners see it as an easy medium because they also use it a lot in everyday life (Interviews listeners, 2015). So the new technological information platforms do facilitate the interaction between the listeners and the show.

Bring reality to the show

The team of the Citi Breakfast Show does value the part of the listeners in the interaction and they appreciate the feedback regarding the show. Moreover, the team do examine the program on the basis of the reaction of listeners. *"You know if what you're doing, people like it or not. Within 5 minutes of starting it."* (Interview main host, 2015). The show uses the listener as a point of reference, *"they are a stakeholder"* (Interview co-host 2, 2015). The listeners can be seen as a stakeholder in the program and their feedback legitimates the direction of the program. The listener does examine the show with their response. They can make a statement whether the topics are on point and relate to them. *"It is the reality, listeners bring the reality to the show. They legitimize the show"* (Interview producer 2, 2015). Moreover, the show tries to relate to the listener with the picking the 'relevant' topics. Producer 2 explains this search for satisfaction of the listener very lively: *"radio needs to relate to what you're doing, otherwise it's useless. We try to have our discussions that people can relate to it. [...] so you'll be driving or in the bus, listen to the panellists or co-host which are discussing. And suddenly you hear somebody saying what you wanted to say and think 'yes this is what I want to hear'. That is satisfaction, you reach to the listener so they can relate to the topic"* (Interview producer 2, 2015). The Citi Breakfast Show does speak on behalf of the people and the listeners (Interview producer 2, 2015) decide if this representation is accurate.

Interestingly the approach of the Citi Breakfast Show is more challenging for listeners than the listener as an agenda-setter. The Citi Breakfast team does decide on the topics but uses their listeners to give the topics credibility and legitimation. Listeners are a stakeholder in the program. The program dares the listener by asking for their opinion, feedback and experiences. Moreover, they challenge their listeners by not proposing any conclusion on the show but do encourage them to think for themselves. *"We give people the opportunity to have a broad understanding of ALL the different angles of the situation. They can conclude for themselves: this is right and this is wrong. [...] We don't decide for the listeners what the conclusion is"* (Interview producer 2, 2015). The Citi Breakfast Show tries to encourage its listeners to look into all the angles of a given topic and dares them to think for themselves.

The role of the listeners in the Citi Breakfast Show goes beyond the 'traditional' role of listeners within the talk radio genre. The listeners do not set the agenda for the show but are a stakeholder in the process of creating the program. The principle of reciprocity does apply to the show. The CBS introduces the topic and educates their listeners. In return, the listeners keep the show up to date with their comments and opinions. They make sure the program is on point and on track. They make sure they feel represented and express via different mediums their opinions, experiences and feelings. This circle makes sure the show is on point and relates the listeners. In this way, the listeners do legitimize the Citi Breakfast Show in acknowledging the credibility and protecting its relevance to the listeners themselves. The Citi Breakfast Show does challenge listeners to make their own conclusions and actively by involved in current issues in the country.

Discussion

The previous chapters revealed the core of the 3 months fieldwork conducted in Accra, Ghana. The field work was conducted at the headquarters of Citi FM at the Citi Breakfast Show, a morning program that airs Monday to Friday from 06:20 till 10:00. The show is produced by the Citi Breakfast team which consists of one main host, four co-hosts, two producers and one social media editor. The show also works closely with the newsroom of Citi FM which provides the latest news updates. The Citi Breakfast show serves as a case study in this research to provide a deeper understanding of producing a talk radio program. The findings of the research are placed in the media landscape of Ghana and even broader; the current discussion on talk radio in Africa.

The research explains the position of the talk radio program 'Citi Breakfast Show' in the media landscape of Ghana. The first chapter provided insight in the development of the media landscape of Ghana. Ghana has come a long way from a tight government-controlled media sphere to a liberate and vibrant media landscape. The high press freedom is a characterising and unique feature of Ghana. This deliberate environment was the perfect condition in which talk radio programs could develop. The second chapter showed the practical side of producing a talk radio program. The Citi Breakfast Show consists of different segments which contribute to a variety and dynamic environment of the show. The most important moment in determining the content of the show is the team meeting at 06:50. During this meeting the members discuss and exchange information before making a decision on the topics of that particular morning. How the topics are covered depends on the nature of the topic. The third chapter looked deeper into the way the topics were addressed in the show and looked at the characterizing aspects of the show. Analysing the coverage of the *dumsor* issue provided insight in the actual frame used by the CBS. The CBS constructed an activist and critical frame to aim towards a better Ghana. They try to reach this goal by focusing on the education of their listeners, sharing experiences to point out the importance of issues, mocking about the current issues and using the follow-up feature to push certain developments higher up to the agenda of the decision makers. This frame is legitimized by the identity the CBS created for itself: the program can be perceived as a watchdog. The CBS maintains this identity in a two-fold way: by informing the general public and to keep decision-makers on their toes. Their ascribed identity is legitimized by their focus on relevance and the credibility they ensure by the diversity, objectivity and the autonomy that is embedded in the program. The role of listeners is examined in the last chapter. Listeners can be seen as a stakeholder in the program, they make sure the team of the CBS is on point and address the topics they do care about. They bring a sense of reality to the show and in this way, collaborate with the program to strive together towards a better Ghana.

Overall, the Citi Breakfast Show strives towards a better Ghana and identifies with their position as a watchdog. The CBS ascribes itself a watchdog identity by using a two-way approach: ask critical questions towards decision makers and educate Ghanaians on issues concerning them. This position of the CBS can be explained in a two-fold way. On the one hand, the CBS sees itself as the 4th arm of government and sees it as their duty to check the government or provide information where decision-makers lack this. Simultaneously, the main goal of the CBS is to keep listeners informed and educated what keeps the listeners on their toes as well. The popularity of radio facilitates their watchdog position by ensuring their reach and connection to listeners. The show does validate their position in the media landscape by several strategies: presenting topics as 'relevant' and gaining credibility by ensuring diversity, objectivity and autonomy. All the features contribute to the identity the CBS creates for itself within the media landscape of Ghana, an expert identity on the development of Ghana and a watchdog to ensure the move towards a 'better' Ghana.

The Citi Breakfast Show evidently moves beyond the function of talk radio in 'general'. The function of talk radio is often presented as a platform where listeners can express their discontent towards decision makers as well as a place where discussion can take occur. Nevertheless, within the academic debate the effect of this function is still disputed. Some state that talk radio serves to break with the culture of silence (Odhiambo, 2011), it can be seen as an institutionalized arena of public interaction (Bosch, Talk radio, democracy and citizenship in (South) Africa, 2011), they create a feeling of access to mass media (O'Sullivan by Tettey, 2011) or they create an unique communication spaces (Grätz, Radio Call-In Shows on Intimate Issues in Benin: "Crossroads of Sentiments", 2014). The academic debate until now did not look into the actual purpose of the radio shows. The programs were mostly presented as a *tool* for democratic developments on the African continent and "... the discussions do not necessarily articulate any response" (Bosch, Talk radio, democracy and citizenship in (South) Africa, 2011, p. 201). However, this research argues that the Citi Breakfast Show goes a step further. The Citi Breakfast Show as a talk radio show strives towards a better Ghana. They create a watchdog identity for themselves and use their program to push certain topics on the agenda. The watchdog identity does not only focus on the decision makers but they also make listeners aware and educate them on their different topics. This doesn't make the CBS a watchdog in the traditional sense but in a broader sense. They influence decision-makers *as well* as educating their listeners: they keep their listeners on their toes as well as the decision-makers in the country. This makes the Citi Breakfast Show unique in their genre and an interesting case study within the academic debate. This research actively questions the current literature of talk radio on the African continent and the assumptions about the function of talk radio.

The core of the research was to *understand* the dynamics of producing a talk radio show. The motivation for the research was curiosity of a critical student within the field of African Studies. This is reflected in the research by the approach the research took: the research has become more descriptive than explanatory. This approach was chosen on the basis of the researchers' personal conviction. One cannot explain something before *understanding* a situation fully. This research tried to grasp the characteristics of producing a talk radio program before trying to explain the phenomenon as such. The research provides insight in the production of a talk radio show by a practical description and analysing the frame that is used by the show. These descriptions are used to capture the explanations of *why* the CBS identifies with the position it gained. The research made a first attempt to explain the position of the talk radio program in Ghana but does not declare this as an end-point. On the contrary, this research hopefully inspires others to look critically into the field of radio making on the continent of Africa and look further than the laid foundations. The field work at Citi FM made clear that radio making is a rapidly developing business in Ghana which is constantly changing due to technological innovations and changes in society. This makes talk radio an ever-evolving phenomenon, a subject which we need to keep an eye on in the coming years.

This research is not a conclusion, it's a start. This research provides answers but moreover, it gives food for thought and raises even more questions. One of the most remarkable things about the field work at Citi FM was the passion which could be felt at the radio station. The whole crew works together towards a common goal, Citi FM want to contribute to a better society. The passion and eagerness characterises working for the radio station and also formed the foundation for this research. The eagerness to strive towards a better Ghana was perceived as one of the most remarkable things that one stumbled upon in the research and in the end, was a starting point to ask (critical) questions about this approach. This led to the examination of the actual frame which the Citi Breakfast team is using for their program and what their position in

the media landscape of Ghana actually is. This research is a first attempt to grasp the eagerness and motivation which is felt within the Accra-based radio station. Nevertheless, there are many more questions to be answered. For instance, this vision created of 'a better Ghana'. So the Citi Breakfast Show strives towards a better Ghana but how do they envision this 'better Ghana'? Although many clues can be found in this research, the answer cannot be deeply analysed on the basis of the current field work. This analysis might be an interesting suggestion for future research to see how the talk radio program actually wants to achieve their goal. One of the listeners also made this clear, *"Why can't we do it? It's a topic we can revisit and see the way forward. There is no formative action behind it."* (Interview listener E, 2015). This comment underlines the limits of their influence. Should the show also motivate people to actually *do* something or is it the task to 'just' make people aware? What is the formative action of the media in Ghana? Where is the limit and how will this evolve in the coming years? All these relevant questions are connected to the activist nature of the talk radio show and its position in the media landscape of Ghana.

What is also likely to evolve in the coming years is social media and its connection to talk radio. The literature used for this research was the most recent but was already a bit behind compared to the developments on the ground. The Citi Breakfast Show is a case study which illustrates how talk radio programs are deeply influenced by social media. The show is not only deeply influenced, they also use the social media to their advantage. The use of social media concerning the show was new and constantly under development as the technological possibilities do follow one another in a rapid tempo. The team of the CBS can be seen as pioneer in the field of radio making and their incorporation of social media in the program. This connects to a quote by Nyamnjoh (2005) who claims it is more interesting to focus on what Africans do *with* ICT's instead of what ICT's do *to* Africans (Nyamnjoh by Atton & Mabweazara, 2011). The use of social media by the CBS enables it's interactivity, which is gravely important for their listeners. It points out how renewing and innovative the talk radio show is. Moreover, it also made clear how aware the CBS team was of the potential of social media in the media landscape of Ghana by using the social media to strengthen their show. Although this angle stays on the background in this research, the observations during the fieldwork do show a progressive way of working with the upcoming social media features in Ghana.

Connected to the upcoming status of social media is the rise of citizen journalists. Although the research did not focus on the role of citizen journalists, their (upcoming) role cannot be ignored. *"A lot of our listeners see themselves as citizen journalists. They see things and tell us, they send us life stories, they take pictures, they make videos and send it to us and they make the show."* (Interview co-host 4, 2015). The last chapter provided insight into the interaction of the listeners and the program, yet the actual role of citizen journalism is still underestimated in this research. The development of citizen journalist might be an interesting subject for future research especially with continuous evolving of social media in mind. By using a mobile phone listeners can actually present themselves as journalists, anyone with a mobile phone can capture news and developments in the world around them. This research assumes that this is a development which will only increase in the following years intertwined with the interconnectedness on the continent of Africa. *"Africa's cultural values of sociality, interconnectedness, interdependence and conviviality make it possible for others to access ICTs and the opportunities they bring without necessarily being connected or owning the technologies themselves"* (Nyamnjoh by Atton & Mabweazara, 2011: p. 669). The development of ICTs and the appearance of citizen journalists on the continent ensure interesting research subjects for the future.

Another interesting topic for further research is the role of the presenters of talk radio shows. This research pointed out the role of the main host and defined his role in the decision making of the show. He explains this influence on the basis of his connection to the listeners. If he cannot be passionate about the topics, he cannot fulfil the show. *“Because the listeners are used to my voice, I need to be excited where I am talking about to really connect.”* (Interview main host, 2015). Interestingly enough, this is also confirmed by the interviewed listeners. For instance listener M. explains that his voice alone makes you already want you to listen to him (Interview listener M, 2015). *“To hear his voice alone, it gives me some kind of excitement. For instance, on Sunday evening I was home and listening to Citi. They had a program with [name person] which was a replay from Friday. I heard [name main host]. I was lying down, the moment I heard [name main host] I just wanted to listen to what he had to say.”* (Interview listener M, 2015). This indicates the personal relation between the main host and the listeners. *“The notion of public understanding takes on a more personalized connotation than in the traditional journalistic sense in that it goes beyond merely providing information”* (Botes & Langdon, 2006, p. 276). The way the interviewed listeners talk about the main host refers to the intimate relation of the listeners and the host: *“in which talk show hosts become trusted members of a listening household”* (Botes & Langdon, 2006, p. 276). Although the research did not focus on the role of the main host, there is a specific role for him in the program. The main host can be seen as the main voice of the program as well as the different skills attached to his role: listening, controlling, clarifying positions and fostering public understanding (Botes & Langdon, 2006). Furthermore, his influence in the team is much bigger than anyone else (Interview main host, 2015) what makes it interesting to look deeper into his role. The description of his role as defined in this research could function as an interesting starting point for future research. A deeper understanding can explain why his influence is as big as it currently is, future research might find out why the main host has such a role. Referring to the CBS, it might be connected to the flowing decision-making: the show might need a strong front man to filter the incoming stream of information, news and opinions. A research focusing on the main host, his influence on the program, the skills he uses and his connection with the listeners might provide insight for talk radio and the connection with its hosts in general.

Lastly, the research attempted to grasp the decision making of the program as well as the framing used in the program. One of the most difficult tasks of the research was not to analyse the things that were said but actually analyse the things that were *not* said. The research tried to analyse this as an aspect of the frame because the things which are not discussed also have influence. However, these aspects of the show are hard to grasp. A suggestion for future research would be to focus on the selection process of the program and connect this with the concept of ‘cultural hegemony’. A cultural hegemony does actively support a dominant view encompassing a philosophical and moral outlook primarily in the civil realm (Mumby by Engstrom, 2008). The cultural hegemony does relate to a collective basis for society’s major purveyors of hegemonic ideals, attitudes and concepts (Engstrom, 2008). The concept of cultural hegemony can also be linked to the mass media, referring to the common sense which is spread by the mass media. It can even be connected to talk radio, as referred to Bosch (2011): *“[...] and talk radio becomes the vehicle for the transmission of the discourse that produces social hegemony”* (Bosch, Talk radio, democracy and citizenship in (South) Africa, 2011, p. 85). How does talk radio represent the cultural hegemony of, for example, Ghanaian society in their program? A research which combines what *not* has been said with the concept of cultural hegemony might provide even more insight into the current connection between talk radio and a specific society.

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The references in this research to interviews with the staff of the CBS, interviews with the listeners of the CBS and observations were all conducted during the time of the fieldwork from January 2015 till April 2015. All interviews were recorded. Interviews are confidential and were transcribed anonymous. The interviews, observations, recordings and the interview guide can be requested by the author of this research. The author would like to thank the interviewees again for their time, effort and openness.