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**CITIZEN VOICE AND BUREAUCRATIC
RESPONSIVENESS**

FM RADIO PHONE-INS AND THE DELIVERY OF MUNICIPAL
AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICES IN ACCRA, GHANA

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

July 2013

Statement of Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another university for the award of any other degree

Signature: _____

University of Sussex**ERNESTINA EDEM SELORMEY****PhD DEVELOPMENT STUDIES****Citizen Voice and Bureaucratic Responsiveness:****FM radio phone-ins and the delivery of municipal and local government services in Accra, Ghana.****Summary**

There is a large body of work in actual practice, and in academia on citizen voice and voice mechanisms. Since the introduction of the concept, and its application to various sectors, contexts and countries, there have been several arguments in support of its effectiveness as a mechanism for holding governments and public officials to account; or ensuring that the voices of the poor and marginalised are heard. Some have also argued that voice is a good measure of inclusiveness, and for improvements in service delivery at the local level. However, there have also been arguments that, in as much as voice as a mechanism is good, it has limitations. The limitations arise from the fact that voice alone, cannot produce the desired effect---response or improvements in service delivery. Thus, for voice to be effective, it must be 'heard.'

This thesis is about the extent to which public voice expressed through radio phone-in programmes can influence the responsiveness of public service delivery organisations at the local level. The study is an empirical enquiry into a new form of voice mechanism, which occurs on radio in Accra, Ghana. The study specifically looks at two unique radio phone-in programmes on two popular Accra-based private commercial FM radio stations. The two programmes provide a weekly on-air platform for residents of Accra and those within transmission range to call in live and lodge complaints about public and/or private services for follow-up and redress.

The main argument of this thesis is that voice mediated through specific radio programmes, not only has the potential to go far; it also has potential to be 'heard' due to follow-up, creative programming and some key characteristics of the programmes.

The thesis utilizes the new concept of 'mediated voice' to understand how radio complaints about waste management (a service provided by the Accra Metropolitan Authority, the local government for Accra) can elicit responses from the service providers.

The main findings in this study are that radio phone-in programmes have the ability to receive individual voice and represent them as though it were a collective problem. This ability ensures that voice is heard. Second, that because of the publicness of the 'voice' on radio, and subsequent follow-up on complaints by the radio programmes, public officials are forced to respond for fear of both administrative and electoral sanctions.

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Dedication

I dedicate this contribution to knowledge to the memory of my parents: Beatrice and Emmanuel Clement Selormey, whom I lost tragically in 2009, less than a year into my PhD studies.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AMA	-	Accra Metropolitan Assembly
APPP	-	Africa Power and Politics Programme
CCC	-	Central Container Collection
CGHR	-	Centre for Governance and Human Rights
CIMG	-	Chartered Institute of Marketing Ghana
CSU	-	Client Service Unit
DCO	-	District Cleansing Officer
DEHO	-	District Environmental Health Officer
DRI	-	Développement Réhabilitation, Intégration, Sécurité
EHO	-	Environmental Officer
FM	-	Frequency Modulation
GBC	-	Ghana Broadcasting Cooperation
GCBS	-	Gold Coast Broadcasting Service
GCWL	-	Ghana Water Company Limited
GhC	-	Ghana Cedi
GJA	-	Ghana Journalist Association
GLSS	-	Ghana Standards Living Survey
GoPW	-	Generation of Private Workers
HtH	-	House to House
HoD	-	Head of Department
KNUST	-	Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology
KVIP	-	Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pit
LAG	-	Liberal Airwaves Generation
MDA	-	Ministry, Agencies and Departments
MFWA	-	Media Foundation for West Africa
MLGRD	-	Ministry of Local Government and Development
MMDA	-	Municipal, Metropolitan and District Administration

MPSR	-	Ministry of Public Sector Reform
MTN	-	MTN Group Telecommunications
MTTU	-	Motor Traffic and Transport Unit
NCA	-	National Communications Authority
NDC	-	National Democratic Congress
NPP	-	New Patriotic Party
PAYD	-	Pay-as-you-Dump
PHC	-	Population and Housing Census
PSU	-	Primary Sampling Unit
RCD	-	Radio Convergence and Development
SMD	-	Sub Metropolitan District
SC	-	Serial Caller
SNNIT	-	Social Security and National Insurance Trust
UoMV	-	Users of Mediated Voice
V & A	-	Voice and Accountability
WMD	-	Waste Management Department

Local Language Glossary

<i>Akasanoma</i>	Talking bird
<i>Asetena mo nsem</i>	Issues about your living
<i>Ka na wo</i>	Say it and die! / say it and be damned!
<i>Kokoroko</i>	Cock Crow
<i>Kaya-bola</i>	Unauthorised refuse porters, who collect refuse for a fee from individuals
<i>Ko me pre ko</i>	Kill me at once!
<i>Me nko me tiri mu prow</i>	If you have a problem, it is better to share it, or it will get rotten in your head
<i>Trotro</i>	Local slang for privately owned mini buses used for public transportation
<i>Wo haw ne sen</i>	What is your problem?
<i>Eyebia wo haw ye safoa ebue obi asem</i>	For all you know, your problems might be a key that opens the solution to somebody else's problem!

Chapter 1

1. Introduction

This study is an empirical enquiry into a unique form of public voice on two radio phone-in programmes: Peace FM's '*Wo haw ne sen*' (broadcast in Akan¹) and Joy FM's '*Feedback*' (broadcast in English), hosted by two of Accra's leading private FM stations. The *raison d'être* of these programmes is to provide a dedicated air time for listeners to call-in about problems they encounter with services in Accra (private or public). The interesting dynamic to the programmes is that the complaints do not end with the phone calls or an edition of the programme; the radio station follows up on the complaints and ensures that the institutions involved respond or resolve the problems where necessary. The programme team then announces back to the caller on subsequent editions of the programme whether the problem was resolved or not. Simply put, this study is about the extent to which citizen voice expressed through a radio programme can or cannot influence the responsiveness of a public service delivery organisation. More specifically, the study seeks to understand how the use of and anonymity of 'voice,' mediated through radio, can unearth underrated resources for collective problem solving mechanisms that are present in African societies in ways that will be attractive to emerging constituencies for change in how public service delivery organisations respond to citizen complaints.

There are arguments that increased public voice facilitates demands for accountability and influences public sector responsiveness (Crook and Manor 1998; Paul 1996, 1994). Voice is also necessary for ensuring improved performance from governments (Gopakumar 1997: 282 cited in Andrews & Shah 2002:3). The public sector in many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa has experienced a decline in how well they are able to meet service delivery requirements and expectation. As such, the general thinking is that, if services are decentralised, quality, accountability and responsiveness to users will be improved (World Bank 2004b).

¹ *Wo haw ne sen* is an Akan phrase, which means 'what is your problem? Akan (consisting of Twi and Fante dialects) is one of the six official spoken and written languages in Ghana; it is part of the Kwa group of languages and is spoken by over forty-five per cent of Ghanaians.

Managerial reforms have also advocated decentralised management systems, with the hope that such devolution of responsibility to lower jurisdictions will improve the accountability and responsiveness of providers of public services such as, water and sanitation, health, and education at the local level (Azfar et al. 2004: 21-4). The assumption is that such processes will ensure that services meet the needs of the population (Birner and Braun 2009; World Bank 2008; World Bank 2004b). The arguments are that when services are decentralised, they will: (a) bring government closer to the people through a bottom-up approach that is likely to address local needs and concerns (Cabrero 2007: 166; Fung 2004; Devas 2003). (b) Allow better participation and monitoring of service provision by those they are intended for, which should eventually lead to improved services by promoting responsiveness and accountability of office holders to local need and people (Grindle 2007: 68; Conyers 2007; Crook and Manor 1998).

However, there are still gaps in the ways citizens can influence how services are delivered to them (Bardhan et al. 2006; Bardhan 2002). For instance, in many developing countries where basic public services are still largely the monopoly of the state, it is difficult for consumers of those services to 'vote with their feet' or 'exit,' (Paul, 1996), so as to force improvement in services, or at least make public service providers more responsive to them (Olowu and Wunsch 2004).

A lot of work has been done both in practice and in academia on mechanisms which can ensure, or enhance how citizens can influence improvement of public service delivery; or, how citizen action, in particular the use of voice and voice mechanisms for accountability, which directly engage citizen and the state can impact positively on responsiveness of public service delivery. For example, budget monitoring, citizen's report cards, direct participation of citizens in decision making at the local level, protests and other forms of participation using informal or formal voice mechanisms such as, the tactical use of the media, have been suggested and sometimes shown positive results (Gaventa & McGee 2010; ODI 2007; Paul 2002; Goetz and Gaventa 2001).

The mass media, it is argued, especially radio can offer a unique form of citizen participation, and engender forms of social accountability; enhance good

governance² as well as collective problem solving mechanisms (Paul 2002; Goetz & Gaventa 2001). Yet, most empirical studies on vertical accountability and collective problem-solving mechanisms tend to privilege electoral forms such as voting, or associational forms such as membership in voluntary associations and involvement in other communal activity, for example contacting public officials or, participation in protests or demonstrations (Schlozman et al. 1999; Crook and Manor 1998; O'Donnell 1998; Rosenston & Hansen 1993; Schedler, 1999). Expressive or mediated forms of participation, such as writing about public issues in letters to newspapers or calling in to radio and television talk shows to talk about public issues, are rarely studied. Often, they are examined only to the extent that they may encourage, or hinder, involvement in the more traditional modes of political participation (Pinkleton & Austin 1998).

In Ghana, the opening up of political space, after the ban on private radio ownership was lifted in 1992 (after a 12-year military regime), created a sprawling and vibrant industry in the electronic media, especially private commercial FM radio. Available data show that there are 166 commercial privately owned radio stations operating in Ghana; of this number, 28³ operate in Accra---the second highest in any region in Ghana (National Communications Authority 2011). The proliferation of private media since the ban on private broadcasting was lifted has significantly changed the media environment in Ghana (Gadzekpo 2008; Blankson 2000; Tandoh 1995). During the periods of military rule in Ghana, raising voice or expression of voice in any form was dangerous and people lived in what was then referred to as the 'culture of silence' (Haynes 1991, 2003: 63; Ansu-Kyeremeh 1999: 59; Gyimah-Boadi 1990; Adu Boahen 1988; Ankomah 1987:17-19). Therefore, no public demands for public accountability existed. Today, Ghana has one of the freest media environments in Sub Saharan Africa (Freedom House 2012), and is ranked 41st out of 179 countries in press freedom (Reporters without Borders 2012).

Twenty years after Ghana embraced democratic governance, many new avenues for citizens' demands for accountability and improved service delivery as well as avenues for public officials to respond to those demands, have been created. The

² See Gunner et al. (2011); Bengali (2005); Hyden et al. (2002); Tettey (2002) for studies on media in Africa which discuss positively the dividends of the media, particularly private media for deepening democracy and good governance.

³ This figure was as at the time of writing this thesis. The number could have increased over time.

District Assembly system, for instance, makes room for citizen participation at the local level, at least in theory (Awortwi 2010; Ofei-Aboage 2008; Agyeman-Duah 2008; Crook and Manor 1998). Similarly, avenues for those demands have also been created on interactive radio (Blankson 2002). Thus, radio programmes as well as good journalism are now potential platforms for the demand by citizens for local government services or public goods. According to the Afrobarometer Ghana Survey Rounds 1-4 (1999-2009)⁴, radio is the most relied on of the mass media in Ghana. The majority of Ghanaians, seven in ten (70%), depend on radio for most of their political, social, economic and other information (Afrobarometer 2008, 2005).

Not surprisingly, many local FM radio stations in Ghana have become trendsetters in programmes that have large citizen participation using landlines and mobile phones. A new type of programming referred to as radio call-ins or talk radio⁵ has also emerged (Tettey 2011; Yankah 2004; Boateng 2004:16; Rubin and Step 2000). These programmes are purposely designed to have listener participation by taking advantage of technological advancements in telecommunications, in order to engage citizen and state in creative ways via voice calls, and more recently, text messaging. In some cases, the programmes direct citizen anger at the ruling party and government, political opposition or at each other. Nonetheless, and perhaps more importantly, the public has an opportunity to call into radio stations to express their concerns and views; challenge official positions; let off steam; listen and learn about political developments and the opinions of other citizens, personal problems; or simply create amusement for themselves (Mwesige 2009; O'Sullivan 2005). The call-in phenomenon had never been witnessed in Ghana prior to this. The radio stations invite government officials into their studios or on phone to discuss topical issues and to explain government decision and policies to the public live on air (OSIWA 2007). During the talk shows, the public is invited to call in to contribute or pose questions to guests.

Some critical discussions via call-in or text messaging lead one to observe the growth of civic input into discussions of national interest, especially those that

⁴ For more on these surveys, see: www.afrobarometer.org.

⁵ Rubin and Step (2000) define talk radio as a radio format characterised by conversation initiated by programme hosts and usually involves listeners who phone in to participate in discussions about topics on politics, sports, current affairs and many other radio worthy topics.

relate to issues of service delivery and response from public office holders. Joy FM's 'Feedback,' 'Ghana Speaks,' and 'Total Recall,' Radio Gold's 'Ka na wu' (Lit. *say it and die! /say it and be damned!*) and Peace FM's 'Wo haw ne sen' (Lit. *what is your problem?*) programmes are some of the examples of radio programmes⁶ in Ghana that directly engage citizens and government on politics, policy, democratic development, service delivery and government accountability issues by inviting government officials into their studio or on phone to discuss topical issues and explain government decision.

There have been many instances where callers to prime-time programmes on radio stations, have drawn attention to issues that have elicited some response from government. For example in September 2010 a simple text message sent to the *Morning Show* on Joy FM⁷ raised the issue of an infestation by the black fly⁸ at the source of drinking water in Asuboi,⁹ after the Assemblyman of that area tried without success on several occasions to draw the attention of health authorities to the problem. Public discussions and follow-up by Joy FM eventually led to redress of the problem (screening and medication to the affected, and provision of potable water).

There are indeed many examples of such incidents¹⁰. For example, on the subject of Ghana's year 2000 general elections, and how FM radio stations combined radio programming and mobile phones in heated elections, Zuckerman (2007) writes:

Voters prevented from voting used mobile phones to report their experience to call-in shows on local radio stations. The stations then broadcast the reports, prompting police to respond to the accusations of

⁶ Such programming is present in other African countries. TRAC FM for example in Uganda (See, <http://www.texttochange.org/news/trac-fm-new-and-unique-approach-use-sms>)

⁷ For detailed evidence on this incident see online:

<http://edition.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201012/57189.php>

<http://blogs.myjoyonline.com/sms/2010/09/23/asuboi-children-hit-hardest-by-blackfly-infestation/>

<http://blogs.myjoyonline.com/sms/index.php?s=Asuboi+residents+>

<http://lifestyle.myjoyonline.com/pages/health/201009/52532.php>

⁸ The Black fly is the river blindness disease-carrying vector.

⁹ *Asuboi* is a small village in the *Offinso* District located in the north-western part of the Ashanti Region.

¹⁰ A review by the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (2007, p. 41) provides an example of how in 2003, the government, claiming it was a listening government had to rescind the decision to sell the Ghana Commercial Bank (GCB) after a lot of pressure was put on it on the airwaves via radio phone-ins.

voter intimidation. Had voters called the police directly, it is possible that authorities will not have responded. Thus by making reports public through radio voters eliminated the possibility of police announcing that there had been no reports of voter intimidation [Online]. Available from: <http://www.ethanzuckerman.com/blog/2007/04/09/draft-paper-on-mobile-phones-and-activism/#comments> (Accessed: 05/06/2010).

On the other hand, whilst the discussion above shows positive outcomes of participatory radio (that is, the interplay of traditional broadcasting and the use of new communication media); some critics of this phenomenon argue that this genre of radio broadcasting may not be all that positive. Gerstl-Pepin (2007, 2002), for instance, argues that discussions that are likely to have real impact on governance issues cannot occur in spaces such as those created by radio-phone-ins and other similar media forms. Rather, instead of being a place for debates and analysis of issues, they are just an arena for opposing viewpoints, and therefore play a limited role in participatory democracy.

Second, that the kinds of deliberative space that radio phone-in programmes offer only highlights and deepen negative political discourse (Yanovitzky and Cappella 2001). They further argue that the negative tone of such discussion is inimical to civil, deliberative democracy¹¹. This negative tone that characterizes some radio talk programmes can be uncivil, racist, homophobic and conflict prone (Ruud 1997, cited in Yanovitzky and Cappella 2001: 379). In addition, Lee (2002: 4) also argues that most of the discussions held in that kind of deliberative public space are ephemeral and do not go far, most of what is said does not complete the cycle of proper communicative deliberation that can lead to real results.

These arguments may hold true in certain instances, for example on radio programmes where discussions turn to pitch opposing parties against each other to debate issues. Likewise, with programmes during which, callers are allowed to contribute to discussion where most of the issues raised end with an edition of the programme. The distinction between such programmes and those similar to what this study is interested in, is that the spaces created for citizen input allow for, and ensure that those about whom (e.g. public officials, policy makers and government officials) issues are raised, are also involved in the discussions,

¹¹ See: Fung and Wright (2003: 5-17), Guttman and Thompson (2004:1-12) for the meaning and key characteristics of deliberative democracy.

either on phone lines or physically present in studio at the radio stations whilst the programmes air. That way, they can answer directly to concerns of citizens. In addition and most importantly, although this study is about radio phone-ins in Ghana, it is not an example of an arena created on radio where genuine dialogue on governance does not take place; rather, it is a space for clients of public services to air their dissatisfaction about services and to seek redress through follow-up by the radio programmes. This study is therefore mainly interested in positive outcomes of how radio phone-in programmes interact with government in specific ways in order to produce specific results---results, which will indeed show that deliberations on some radio phone-in programmes are not entirely ephemeral.

1.2 Motivation and aims of the study

1.2.1 Personal motivation

I grew up listening to radio on shortwave transmission in Ghana. This was at the time when Ghana had a single national broadcaster---the Ghana Broadcasting Cooperation (GBC). My earliest recollection of the impact of radio transmissions was as a child, hearing the booming voice of Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings (former president of Ghana), on June 4, 1979, announcing¹² that he and his comrades had overthrown the previous military regime, the Supreme Military Council (SMC) of the late Gen. I.K. Acheampong in a military coup d'état.

Although only a child at that time, memories of the fear that overcame my family at No. 18 *Okodee* Road, (our street) at the University of Science and Technology campus in Kumasi where we lived are still vivid. I remember how we all sat around our small *Akasanoma* (Lit. *talking bird*) radio almost the whole day, with ears glued to it; awaiting further announcements about happenings of the time---whether a curfew had been imposed, or whether it was safe to go out.

¹² In the past during military coup d'états, in order to inform the nation of change in government, the first national facility secured by the military, besides the military barracks was the national broadcaster (the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, GBC). Ghana had three military coup d'états prior to the one led by Rawlings in 1979. For more on military experiments with governance in Ghana, see: Hutchful (1979) who provides essential background to military interventions in Ghana prior to the one led by Jerry Rawlings in 1979.

Many years have passed since those very fearful times. I have made the transition from listening to shortwave radio and one-sided, government-directed information to an ardent listener of current and pluralistic urban FM radio in Accra. It is exciting to see the rapid growth in the number of radio stations within a short space of time after the ban on private broadcasting was lifted. More importantly, I am intrigued by how radio has transformed over the years. My interest in radio has also been pricked by the extent to which all manner of people---ordinary listeners (like me) and those in high positions (including former president Jerry John Rawlings, whose era produced the infamous 'culture of silence') ---have found space for free expression. Currently, the free air-waves the country enjoys creates space for all manner of views: pent-up feelings, justice-seeking, accountability, on-the-spot reporting of incidents of public concern; assisting in ensuring free and fair elections, to many other social and entertainment issues.

To me radio is no longer just an item for listening to news, or announcements. It has become a communicative space, where people who had never had the chance to express themselves or their voice in that manner can now do so. Having such freedom can indeed have both positive and negative consequences, but the interest in radio is with finding and exploring some of its positive outcomes. So when I received a studentship award for doctoral studies from the Africa Power and Politics Programme, whose objectives include, but are not limited to discovering underrated governance resources that actually work well in African societies, I could not think of any other subject matter than that surrounding the very object (radio) which has had so many influences on me for many years.

1.2.2 Academic motivation

There is enough evidence at least on the ground that older and traditional electronic mass media (radio) is the 'new internet'¹³ in some developing democracies in Africa. At least in Ghana, radio is still the most popular, accessible and low cost tool for information dissemination because of its capacity

¹³ Ilboudo (2000: 42-71) draws attention to the importance of radio. He refers to radio as the 'internet of Africa,' because radio provides voice to voiceless citizens (including those in rural areas) as it allows greater access to information and helps the development of democratic societies by providing a forum for citizens to question and for those in power to respond to them.

to adapt to a wide range of situations and audiences. More so, the hybridization¹⁴ of both old and new media (due to the interactive nature radio and mobile phone technology/ radio and internet) makes any academic enquiry about radio as a communicative space for citizens to interact with those in authority very interesting.

However, a look at current literature on radio in Africa, in particular, Ghana (a country with an unprecedented proliferation of both state and privately owned radio) shows no systematic empirical work, at least, on how the new space created for citizen discourses can be analysed to help our understanding of the new phenomenon. I find the current literature (e.g. Tettey 2011; Bosch 2011; Odhiambo 2011; Avle 2009; and Mwesige 2009) on citizen interactive radio quite unsatisfactory in terms of how analysis and discussions are limited to the *usual* 'media effects' rather than to systematic empirical tests of the influence, or impact of radio activity/citizen activities on duty-bearers in a democracy. In addition, most of the older literature on liberal media is not necessarily specific to the African context or developing democracies, rather they are a generalised transfer of analyses and insights from more developed democracies.

To be sure, both old and new media have the ability to create spaces for civic input and/or voice from citizens about all manner of issues that affect them. For example, new media, such as the internet (through citizen journalism, social networking sites and other virtual platforms) are new and interesting spaces where citizens who have access can influence and sometimes bring about change. Rightly, so, current discourses on the effects of new media have been the focus of academic interest. 'Virtual collective action' on the internet and other intriguing events occurring through the use of *Twitter*, *Facebook* and other social networking sites, such as the history-changing events of the so-called 'Arab Springs' and recently on riots that occurred in the United Kingdom in July 2011 tend to be the predominant focus of academic work on media effects.

This overwhelming interest in the new forms of media has over-shadowed much needed interest in other forms of media, specifically, radio, which by far is the most accessed form of media for a large number of people who do not have access to the internet and other forms of new media (Gilberds & Myers 2012).

¹⁴ Avle (2009) refers to the convergence of 'traditional media' such as radio and/or television with mobile telephone and/or internet technologies as hybridization of the media.

Or, on the other hand, lack the necessary literacy skills (both technical and language) to be able access and use new media platforms.

Radio has traditionally been considered an old form of media mainly for broadcasting news, announcements and for general entertainment. Many of the studies on media have overlooked how radio has risen like a phoenix as many countries in the developing world embraced democracy and its accompanying freedoms. Thus rather than being a mere tool for news and entertainment, radio has become a fertile hybrid media due to the effective combination of radio programming and telephony, specifically, mobile phone technology.

The interest and motivation here is simple, to refocus on radio even though it is considered 'old media' (although current in Africa) in order to generate debate about it in the African context. Second, test the causal relationship between citizen participation through interactive radio about public service delivery accountability and responsiveness. The idea is to systematically study empirical data on the possible results that voice on radio produces; and by doing so, provide a critique of the other media interests and produce a timely piece of work that will push the boundaries, so it can be used as a template for future studies about the phenomenon.

1.2.3 Research questions

In order to do this, this study specifically seeks answers to the substantive question: *To what extent and by what mechanisms do citizens' demands for better municipal service delivery through the medium of radio phone-ins influence the responsiveness of a public service provider (Waste Management Department, WMD of the Accra Metropolitan Authority, AMA)?*

The study involves three sets of actors¹⁵ whose relationship in producing the kind of voice and outcome this research is interested in raises three related sub

¹⁵ By actors, I mean persons, activities or institutions whose interaction produces the outcomes under scrutiny. To this end, the three actors are:

(1) The radio stations and their phone-in programmes ('Feedback' and 'Wo haw ne sen') and programme teams. (2) Citizens, that is, residents of Accra who call to lodge complaints (express voice) through the radio programmes. (3) The selected public service delivery organisations and their officials who respond to the radio complaints. Additional discussion and explanation of the use of the term 'actors' to draw out how they relate in order to produce the outcome this study is about is in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

questions. These should help our understanding of citizen demand for responsiveness, and public official supply of responsiveness. The first sub question relates to those this study has identified as ‘actor one,’ that is, the radio programmes: ‘*Feedback*’ and ‘*Wo haw ne sen*’ broadcast on two Accra-based private radio stations, Joy FM and Peace FM.

Sub question 1

What kind of voice?

- (a) *What kind of ‘voice’ mechanism are radio programmes such as ‘Feedback’ and ‘Wo haw ne sen’ developing? Is it a form of collective voice or a form of collective action like those produced by civil society groups such as community based organisations (CBOs), or partisan groups?*

The second sub question relates to those identified in this study as ‘actor 2.’ That is, the constituency of individuals who call the radio programmes and/ or use the platform created by ‘*Feedback*’ and ‘*Wo haw ne sen*’ to express voice about poor public service delivery in Accra.

Sub question 2

Who, and why do they call?

- (a) *Who are those using this mechanism, what are the characteristics of the complainants (e.g. social, gender, class)? And is there any distinctive pattern to the demographic characteristics of the callers, which set them apart from those who do not call?*
- (b) *Why are citizens using ‘voice’ on radio or the platforms provided by radio programmes instead of other formal channels available for making complaints about local government services? Are they for instance acting as individuals, or for any pre-organised partisan, social, or community interests?*

The third and final sub question relates to ‘actor 3,’ that is, the service provider at the local level. In this case, the Waste Management Departments (WMDs) of five

selected Sub-Metropolitan District Councils (Sub-Metros)¹⁶ of the Accra Metropolitan Authority (AMA). This actor completes the cycle for the supply of responsiveness (see Figure 2), and raises the final sub question.

(a) Public services in Ghana are not very responsive to citizen demands and are often accountable to governments and politicians rather than to citizens. What therefore accounts for, or explains the response to the kind of public voice expressed on radio and carried forward by the radio programmes? For instance, are they responding because the radio programmes are making them more client-oriented, or are they responding because of other pressures such as politics, or fear of sanctions from within the organisation?

1.3 The main arguments of this thesis

The main arguments of this thesis are threefold.

The first is that there is a distinction between on the one hand, general phone-in programmes, where citizens call-in, or send text messages to contribute to discussions or make general comments about public issues; and on the other hand, radio programmes that are specifically designed to encourage citizens to express voice, for a specific response. It is argued that these kinds of programmes produce a new form of voice mechanism through which the radio programmes represent individual voices as though they were a collective problem to produce collective outcomes.

Second, that the radio phone-in programmes attract and build a democratic and active citizenry---a condition, which is good for sustaining democratic values in a fledgling democracy. In addition, that radio phone-in programmes increase citizens ability to exercise political influence through new informal channels (radio) and through serial callers.

Third, that public officials and local government authorities (public sector) providing specific services are more likely to respond to 'mediated voice' (voice expressed through programmes like 'Feedback' and 'Wo haw ne sen') than to other forms of voice e.g. direct contact with public service providers or other

¹⁶ The concept of Sub-Metros in the decentralised local government structure in Ghana is discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.2 of the thesis.

formal channels provided at the local level through which citizens can raise voice for three related reasons:

- Voice expressed on radio embodies demands for social accountability. This avenue for expressing voice allows ordinary citizens to demand accountability and responsiveness from public officials using the medium of radio aided by astute programme presenters, rather than the conventional mechanisms provided through horizontal and vertical forms of accountability.
- The nature of the programmes - that is, the deliberate manner in which citizen complaints are received - ensures that complaints or discussion around issues that affect citizens are not ephemeral (demands for answerability). In addition, the concerns of citizens are represented by the radio programmes and followed up on by the radio presenters, which ensures answerability (supply of responsiveness).
- Voice expressed on these programmes is 'heard' for fear of sanctions---electoral punishment. The fear of electoral punishment does not only arise as a result of the fact that radio stations have the capacity to create discussion around issues, but also that political opponents of ruling governments also take advantage of, and use negative publicity about their opponents on radio as major campaign issues, which then forces governments/public officials to respond to complaints raised on radio programmes promptly.

The next section shows how this thesis is organised.

1.4 Organisation of the thesis

This thesis has eight chapters, and they are organised as follows:

Chapter Two is on concepts in the literature and the theoretical thinking around which the analysis is based. This chapter specifically introduces the concept of 'mediated voice,' as a new theory (proposed by the author) for understanding specific radio phone-in programmes. It also provides the definition of mediated

voice, and provides explanations for its occurrence. Finally, the chapter sets the grounds on which mediated voice as a theory can be applied.

Chapter Three provides the background to the study and introduces the Accra context. It also presents background information on public service provision, specifically, waste management at the local level in five selected Sub-Metros of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly. The Sub-Metros are *Ablekuma North*, *Ablekuma Central*, *Ashiedu Keteke*, *Ayawaso West* and *Osu-Klottey*. This chapter also contains the background information and context of the two radio stations: Joy FM and Peace FM and their two phone-programmes: '*Feedback*' and '*Wo haw ne sen*'.

Chapter Four introduces the aims of the research. This chapter also details the research processes used in the study. Here, the research design and research approaches used in collecting data in order to answer the research questions are described in detail. The chapter concludes with the difficulties and limitations of the study.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 are the empirical chapters of this thesis. Discussions address the sub questions asked about the three actors in the study. Analyses in these chapters are based mainly on empirical data (quantitative and qualitative) collected from Accra, Ghana between May and December 2010. The chapters are as follows:

Chapter Five has two sections. The first section focuses on the complaint mechanisms available to, and used by residents of the city of Accra, the capital city of Ghana. The interest here is to get a broad view of voice mechanisms available and those used for lodging complaints about problems regarding services from public service delivery providers at the local level. The second section discusses the two radio campaigns---actor one: '*Feedback*' and '*Wo haw ne sen*', which present a new and interesting form of voice mechanism. In this section, I examine the characteristics of the radio programmes, and how they create mediated voice. The final part of section 2 examines how successful the radio programmes are at producing mediated voice.

Chapter six focuses on the second actor in this study. That is, the constituency of citizens who use radio platforms (mediated voice) to solve community problems. It is divided into two sections: Section (1) discusses the general findings about who the callers are and why they call. Section (2) presents

findings¹⁷ about a set of callers referred to in Ghana as ‘*serial callers*,’ who also call into the programmes. Mention of the serial callers in this study is necessary because they present a new form of political mobilization operating (although the study is not about political mobilization) in Ghana, with very interesting implications for the relationship between individual and collective action.

Chapter Seven introduces the third actor in this study (that is, those responding to voice on radio): The Waste Management Departments (WMDs) of the five selected Sub Metros (*Ablekuma North, Ablekuma Central, Ayawaso West, Osu Klotey*, and *Ashiedu Keteke*) under the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA). These Sub-Metros and their WMDs represent the varied residential neighbourhoods present in Accra. Although five Sub-Metros were studied, in the analysis they are treated as one unit of analysis. The aim is to understand their (the WMD’s) responsiveness to Actor 2 (the radio programmes or mediated voice in this study).

Chapter Eight provides conclusion to the findings and discussions on the theoretical contribution of the concept of mediated voice. It also provides an overview of the significance of the study.

¹⁷ To be sure, the subject of ‘serial callers’ is unique to Ghana, although there may be similar incidences of such individuals in other countries; they are not referred to as serial callers. The term ‘serial caller’ is a title used only in Ghana.

Chapter 2

Relations to existing concepts and theoretical framework

2. Introduction

The phenomenon under investigation, radio phone-in programmes, and how they influence responsiveness of public service delivery at the local level, straddles several concepts, subjects, or even disciplines. This chapter therefore provides the foundation and theoretical underpinnings on which this thesis is built. The first section of this chapter explores how this study is linked to work on voice and accountability, responsiveness, and to a limited extent, public sector performance in developing countries. The second section introduces the theoretical framework for the study. The framework is based on the new concept of 'mediated voice' as proposed by the author. The proposed framework complements and builds on the voice, accountability and responsiveness framework.

2.1 The media literature

Because this study draws on empirical data from mass media, in particular, radio, the general expectation would be to have a conceptual framework drawn from media studies. Indeed, there is a large body of work on mass media effects, and currently on electronic mass media in the developing world, particularly, Africa. Nonetheless, I found the current body of work on mass media, specifically, those on new and traditional media (i.e. radio and telephony/ mobile phone) quite unhelpful to this study. I have found no systematic study or framework, which can help in understanding what happens when citizen voice is mediated through a radio programme. In addition, although there are several mentions of the effectiveness of the media in holding governments, public officials and public service delivery providers to account, there is hardly any empirical work which deals with how voice expressed on radio can contribute to government or public official responsiveness.

Most of the literature on electronic mass media and citizen involvement in Africa in particular, dwells on the extent to which the mass media aids in governance and democratic consolidation (Norris and Zinnbauer 2002; Tettey 2002; Madamombe 2005). Media studies are mainly concerned with the impact of

media on citizen choices during elections or with election transparency (Okoth et al. 2009; Banducci & Karp 2003). Current scholarly work on the media is also mainly concerned with their impact on democratic participative discourses such as civic engagement (Frère 2011; Tettey 2002/2006; Wahl-Jorgensen 2001; and Ross 2004). Media literature has also focused on media accountability in Africa (Tettey 2006); and media and human rights in Africa (Englund 2011; and Frère 2007). To be sure, media studies have virtually never been concerned with the idea of how the media interacts with government in very specific ways.

One exception is Bonner's (2009) examination of the role of the media as a mechanism of social accountability, a follow-up to what was done by Peruzzotti and Smulovitz (2002). This work touches on 'preventive accountability.' That is, the extent to which the media can act as a mechanism for social accountability by providing a forum for debate. It also rightly establishes the media as a forum where actors can establish who to hold accountable, what they should be held accountable for, and how they should be held accountable (Bonner 2009:296). This creates spaces ('invited participation') for popular engagement in development processes and reinforces participation as a right within the context of good governance (Cornwall 2000:13).

Some current literature, which deals specifically with radio in Africa, looks at some of the influences of new media on civic involvement. However, the literature is biased towards the political aspects of citizen participation in governance and politics via radio phone-ins (Frère 2011; Mwesige 2009, Tettey 2011). Nonetheless, Tettey's and Mwesige's work is quite instructive. Mwesige for instance, touches on political talk radio in Uganda, and the fertile use of the novelty of radio phone-ins in radio programming in Africa. However, arguments and findings are again limited to the new kind of 'spatial' political participation that occurs in Africa because of political talk shows, and its effects on how politicians behave in the public sphere.

Similarly, although current work by Tettey (2011) is focused specifically on radio phone-ins in Ghana, it is also limited to how the interaction of new information technology has created a political participative space for ordinary people. In addition, current work by Gagliardone et al. (2011) on Kenya and Uganda is also limited to how radio and mobile technology aid in popular participation.

The literature that, I find relevant to understanding the phenomenon under enquiry falls in three main categories:

- (1) Voice and political accountability
- (2) Voice mechanisms
- (3) Responsiveness of government, and to a very limited extent, organisational performance in the public sector

I discuss them in the following sections.

2.2 Democratic accountability

In a broad sense, democratic accountability refers to the ability of citizens to hold governments and public officials and those in authority to account; and for those in authority to take responsibility for their actions (Holland et al. 2009; Fox 2007; Ackerman 2005). In democracies, accountability is founded on the assumption that there is a contractual relationship between two rational actors, one being the agent and the other the principal (Goetz and Jenkins 2002: 5). Accountability has been defined severally, depending on which perspective one looks at it. In democracies, and with regard to service delivery, accountability is defined as a process where A is accountable to B, where A is obliged to justify or explain their actions to B. Failure of A to provide satisfactory explanation for their actions will result in sanctions for their conduct (Schedler 1999: 14-17). This requires that service providers are answerable to citizens for their actions and behaviour. Public officials and service providers are therefore deemed accountable to citizens when they conduct their work in a responsive manner (Rasheed & Olowu 1994).

The definition provided above is only one of the ways to conceptualise accountability relationships between two actors: (a) principals, who demand answers, and (b) agents who are obliged to answer and face sanctions in case of underperformance or mistakes (Goetz and Jenkins 2002). The definition also implies some allocation of power to B (the principals). That is, the power to make demands on A (the agent). It also shows that principals have an implicit power to punish the agent for non-responsiveness or poor performance.

Ackerman (2005) also defines government accountability as '*a proactive process in which public officials inform citizens about their programmes, and justify their*

plans of action. Following which, their behaviour can be sanctioned or incentivised accordingly (Ackerman 2005: 6). What is obvious about this definition is that there is acknowledgment of accountability as a process and/or practice where those in authority are proactive about citizen's demands by creating opportunities where they can account to citizens voluntarily. In addition, it emphasises the fact that accountability is not episodic events, but a continuous process between those who make demands for it and those who respond to the demands.

In the two definitions provided, although one makes accountability voluntary, it still implies that at any point in the principal-agent relationship, there is a certain level of power that principals possess, and that that power imposes an obligation on the agent to be answerable to the principal. The definitions also show that accountability requires that citizens possess the ability/capacity to '*scrutinise public institutions and governments in order to hold them to account*' through processes that engender transparency, such as free media, the rule of law and elections (DfID 2006: 20; Holland et al. 2009: 4).

Schedler (1999) points out that accountability, is in fact a two-tiered concept, which consists of two ingredients: answerability and enforceability; concepts which must necessarily go hand in hand. The first is 'answerability'. This is the agent's ability to explain or report on their actions and decisions. Answerability also involves justifying and explaining the actions or decisions undertaken. To be sure, answerability is a key factor in service delivery where the service providers report or explain decisions to various principals, including clients. This attribute also implies that principals not only have the power but also the right to ask details of the agent's activities and demand explanations. However, this depends on the principal's ability to gather information, monitor performance and to sanction the provider through exit if available (i.e., presence of alternative service providers).

The second crucial part of effective accountability is enforcement. Enforceability refers to the ability of principals to impose sanction, if the agent underperforms or fails to justify their actions. It is only at this stage that the principals can use sanctions to punish failure or under performance by an agent. However, Schedler (1999) points out that these two core dimensions of accountability can be present in different relations and in varying degrees. Goetz and Jenkins (2005) therefore

argue that the two aspects of accountability, that is, answerability and enforcement can have strong or weak form. They further posit that, if agents are not subject to material consequences for underperformance or failure, the character of accountability is assumed weak. On the other hand, if principals are able to subject agents to sanctions for failure, accountability is then assumed strong (Goetz and Jenkins 2005). The underlying assumption here is that facing material consequences will be more onerous for agents than reporting on actions undertaken.

Accountability relationships can take either vertical or horizontal forms. O'Donnell (1999) further distinguishes between accountability systems. According to him, accountability systems can operate either along a vertical or along a horizontal axis. Both systems are established to ensure political accountability (Newell 2006).

- a. Horizontal accountability subjects various state institutions to supervision checks and balances or internal scrutiny in order to prevent abuse of office (Newell 2006; O'Donnell 1998, 1999). Horizontal accountability processes are oversight mechanisms where state actors are held accountable through formal systems. Here, the principal (a state agency) holds the agent (another state agency) to account on behalf of citizens. For example, the review the constitutionality of executive decisions through a judicial process (the institution), the public accounts committee of a parliament reviewing government spending, and the human rights commissions investigating complaints from citizens and other institutions on maladministration.
- b. On the other hand, vertical accountability is the direct engagement between citizens and governments and other public officials (O'Donnell 1999). For instance, the use of political voice and electoral decisions during voting in elections or, with service providers using consumer voice, [for example, protests, report cards and complaints or exit (Paul 2002)].

According to Malena, Forster and Singh (2004) other forms of vertical accountability arise when ordinary citizens and /or civil society organisations lead activities which directly bring pressure to bear on public officials and forces service providers to account for their performs and actions. Some have argued that horizontal and vertical forms of accountability have been conceptualised

mainly in terms of state-citizen relationships or state agencies holding other agencies to account on behalf of citizens. There is literature in which these two dichotomous strands of accountability (vertical and horizontal) are challenged. For instance, Peruzzotti et al. (2000, 2006) suggest that societal or social accountability is a form of non-electoral accountability, and employs both institutional and non-institutional tools in holding agents to account. Although social accountability employs vertical mechanisms to seek accountability, it does not rely on individual voters (electoral punishment), nor on the system of checks and balances (horizontal accountability) to achieve accountability. They argue further that this form of accountability mechanism is dependent on several actions of citizens (the media, citizens associations, and movements). In addition, the actions are aimed at exposing wrong-doing in government, highlighting and bringing new issues into the public domain to generate discussion. Finally, they argue that with social accountability, 'voice' is the mechanism for holding agents to account. Citizen-led exposés of government inaction either in democratic responsibility or with service delivery are good examples of social accountability. Goetz and Jenkins (2002) have also referred to hybrid forms of accountability or 'diagonal' accountability. This concept of diagonal accountability is related to innovative approaches and roles played by external actors or their parties in demanding accountability, for example, where civil society organisations (including the media), take up the role of watchdogs or vis-a-viz various state agencies. Newell (2006) added that social accountability falls under this category.

Some have also argued that the supply side of accountability on its own is not sufficient to create change, because in actual practice the governments are usually not voluntarily accountable to citizens. Therefore, in order to strengthen the demand side of accountability citizens must be involved in demanding accountability through forums that directly engage public officials (Odoi 2010:53). To this end, arguments have been advanced for the active involvement of citizens in the accountability relationship in order to complement the more traditional forms of accountability. Claasen & Alpin-Lardies (2010); Ackerman (2005); Goetz and Gaventa (2005) suggest that citizens awareness about service can raise standards of performance of public services by putting pressure on oversight institutions to act, through institutions such as the ombudsman, or media. Citizen actions can therefore trigger vertical and horizontal accountability mechanisms through these institutions (Ackerman (2005; World Bank, 2004b).

The World Development Report (World Bank 2004b) argued that public services need a situation in which consumers can monitor and put pressure (client power) on providers. It further contends that citizens can have a strong voice in policymaking and regulation through politicians and bureaucrats (the voice).

Whereas the long route to accountability is that citizens are empowered to punish leaders by not voting for them, and thereby forcing elected leaders to be more responsive to the needs of their communities. The World Bank framework emphasises what it refers to as 'client power' over service providers and how to hold them accountable over the quantity and quality of services---the so-called 'short route' to accountability (World Bank 2004b: 6). Strengthening citizen's voice enhances accountability of policy makers, motivating them to be responsive to the needs of communities and stimulates demand for better public services from service providers. Citizens can therefore exercise power as end users and purchasers of services when there is improved information about services offered as well as a choice of providers to select.

Whilst client power has engendered change in service delivery in some instances (Caseley 2003), there are those who argue that the key to understanding how the accountability mechanisms improve service delivery are the processes through which collective actors engage over time with the state in shaping policy. Because, *'when collective actors participate in service delivery reforms, they are more likely to engage in social accountability actions that monitor reform implementation as well as increase the uptake of reforms by people'* (Joshi, 2008: 10).

2.3 Responsiveness

Responsiveness is the extent to which those in authority hear the voices of those expressing their opinions and preferences. It also involves the extent to which those in authority having heard citizen voice respond to it (Gloppen et al. 2003; Moore and Teskey 2006 cited in O'Neil et al. 2007: 8). Responsiveness is therefore about how leaders, government and public organisations actually behave in responding to the needs and rights of citizens (Blair 2000; Goetz and Jenkins 2005). Responsiveness therefore is the supply side of accountability. Vertical responsiveness is how government and public officials respond to

citizens in their direct relationship with them. Manin et al. (1999: 9) suggest that in this relationship they (agents / officeholders) are said to be responsive ‘*if they adopt policies that are signalled as preferred by citizens.*’ The signals could include various forms of direct public action such as demonstrations, citizen-led campaigns, public opinion polls, and forums amongst many others (Manin et al. 1999).

Horizontal responsiveness is the responsiveness of those in authority to oversight, and the use of the incentives and sanctions by other parts of the state to ensure that public officials are responsive to citizens so that citizens realise their rights to resources and services. When those in authority intervene on behalf of citizens, the interventions then help create space for accountability relationships and strengthen performance amongst service providers (Holland et al. 2009:7).

2.3.1 Responsiveness and accountability

Some writers on accountability have pointed out that accountability and responsiveness are used interchangeably and are often fused (Newell and Bellour 2002). For instance, Dunn (1999) argued that accountability arrangements aim to maximise responsiveness of agents to the needs and interest of principals using sanctions and incentives. He further argued that the reason for imposing accountability mechanisms is to maximise responsiveness of the agent (elected or non-elected officials), and this is sustained through rewards and sanctions (being re-elected or not).

In service delivery, the World Development Report, WDR (2004) makes similar arguments about how accountability and responsiveness are linked. They suggest that frontline public service providers can be made directly accountable to their clients ‘when decisions and power are directly transferred to clients’ (WDR 2004: 48) In that same report, the WDR, 2004 argues that by making public delivery organisations directly answerable to clients, they will be more inclined to address their needs and interests.

However, accountability and responsiveness are not the same due to the very basic facts of answerability and enforcement. Responsiveness does not

necessarily imply the duty of agents to account for their actions to the principal. Neither does it mean agents' compulsory subjection to the principal's formal checks and subsequent sanctions as in the normal accountability relationship.

Responsiveness therefore, refers to the desired attitude of the agent (service provider), that is, the one who listens to complaints, problems of clients and impartially weighs claims and responds to them based on a set of rules (Goetz and Jenkins 2005). In terms of service provision, Goetz and Gaventa (2001) define responsiveness as the extent to which the service provider is receptive to complaints, views and suggestions made by clients or consumers of a service.

From this definition, it is clear that although responsiveness is an element of accountability, it is not accountability on its own. Responsiveness therefore requires an ability to make discretionary decisions (Koppell 2005), whereas accountability denotes duties and obligations (Goetz and Jenkins 2005). Koppell (2005) argues that because the inclusion of client focus allows the organisation to respond to client demands, the direction of accountability in this context is 'outward' (or downward) to the client. Goetz and Jenkins (2005), also make an important distinction that responsiveness contradicts the rules of accountability--- governments may be too responsive to the particular interests for example, business lobbies, organised pressure groups, lead to 'bias and capture' to the detriment of the poor (Goetz and Jenkins 2005: 46-47). As such, complaint procedures can serve as mechanisms to ensure widespread responsiveness. Koppell (2005) also adds that in this situation accountability is a function of client satisfaction. What then distinguishes accountability from responsiveness is the enforceability aspect of accountability. It is what separates it from being just a discretionary response and shifts it to the realm of claims and rights.

This distinction between accountability and responsiveness has always created a dilemma in terms of framing service provider's behaviour towards consumers. Thus, for service delivery to be effective, providers have to be responsive to the demands of consumers. Their responsiveness also largely depends on their discretion. However, one can argue that accountability relations ensure that arbitrariness by the providers is reduced, as it puts limits on how much discretion can be used.

Paul (1994) also suggests that service providers' responsiveness to the public can be rated in terms of the response to the user complaints. He adds, changes to volume of complaints, time taken to deal with complaints, as well as public satisfaction with their resolution, are good proxies for measuring responsiveness.

The accountability framework discussed so far suggests that citizen voice and client power can serve as elements for improving service delivery. Citizen voice is needed to draw attention to service delivery problems. It is also needed in order to ensure agency accountability and responsiveness.

2.4 Voice and Accountability (V&A) in democracies

Voice and Accountability are two distinct concepts, but are diametrically linked and not mutually exclusive. Voice for instance, represents the demand side of the supply of accountability. Without the demand for accountability, there is the tendency for little or no compulsion for the supply of accountability---it is voice, which carries the 'demand.'

2.4.1 Voice

Voice refers to the capacity of people to express their views, and how they do so through a variety of formal and informal channels or mechanisms. Voice can be expressed individually or as a collective (Goetz and Jenkins 2002, 2004, 2005). Voice may include complaint, organised protest, lobbying and participation in decision-making, service delivery or policy implementation (Goetz and Gaventa 2001; Goetz and Jenkins; 2001). Paul (1991, 1992), in applying the concept of 'voice' to public sector organisations, argued that public 'voice' was a necessary requirement in influencing accountability, responsiveness and efficiency in service delivery in public sector organisations. He classically defined voice as, *'the degree to which the public can influence the final outcome of a service through some form of participation, articulation or protest and or feedback'* (Paul 1992: 1048). He further argued that that form of voice (increased public influence) in governance is citizen-led demand for accountability, because it creates awareness for citizens, which ultimately results in demands for improved public sector responsiveness to their demands (Paul, 1996). Stiglitz (2001: 221-

3) also emphasises that it is a requirement for citizens to have a voice in decisions that affect them. The World Bank framework (2004b) also emphasises how strengthening citizens' voice enhances accountability of policy makers by motivating them to be responsive to the needs of communities, by stimulating demands for better public services from service providers. Client power, it argues, can hold governments accountable for the quality and quantity of services provided.

Goetz and Jenkins (2002, 2005) also argue that voice is important for holding governments and public officials to account for three interrelated reasons. First, because voice has an inherent value, it is useful when citizens are free to express their views, rights, beliefs and preferences. Second, voice is essential to the building blocks of accountability; thus, it is only when citizens speaking up directly or through specific informal or formal channels/mechanisms that the marginalised in society have the chance to have their views reflected in government priorities and policies and then to ensure that they are implemented. Finally, the use of voice, and the discussions it generates, plays an important role in enabling the achievement of collective standards and norms against which the actions of those in authority can be judged.

Voice is best expressed through specific channels or mechanisms. These channels, although they do not have any specific form may be formal or informal as far as they are good conduits for expressing voice. Goetz and Gaventa (2001) suggest several useful mechanisms through which voice can be amplified: (a) Citizen initiatives for consultation, presence and influence. (b) Joint civil society and public sector initiatives that engage directly with state agents. These are through civil society organisations such as the media, non-governmental organisations, trade unions and other civic associations, citizen watchdog organisations, political parties, citizen's report cards, and parliaments (Goetz and Gaventa 2001).

However, some have argued that voice is not very effective in developing countries, even at the local level (through local government reforms), where the logical expectation is that close proximity of officials and citizens would produce some level of effectiveness and responsiveness. Rather, public officials are not entirely transparent, do not allow participation and are unresponsive to 'voice' (Blair 1999; Brinkerhoff 2000). Others also argue that voice alone is not enough,

as it could become one-directional (Rocha and Sharma 2008). Therefore, for voice to have the necessary impact and developmental outcomes, it needs to have a targeted approach. Gaventa and McGee (2010: 2) also argue that for real change to happen, citizen participation must ‘go beyond articulating voice to exerting real influence.’ Given the right conditions and regulations, the media in particular, according to them, is a positive mechanism for citizen voice and accountability engagements (Gaventa and McGee 2010). Radio can be described as voice, depending on how it is used. A combination of radio and phone-ins can be described as a citizen-initiated ‘voice mechanism’ through which they can hold governments, and public service providers to account. Goetz and Gaventa (2001) rightly point out that voice must be ‘heard’ by government or service providers in order for it to be effective. That is, when individuals utilise the radio platform to raise community problems live on air, it is not only ‘heard’, but puts some kind of pressure on public officials to resolve public problems.

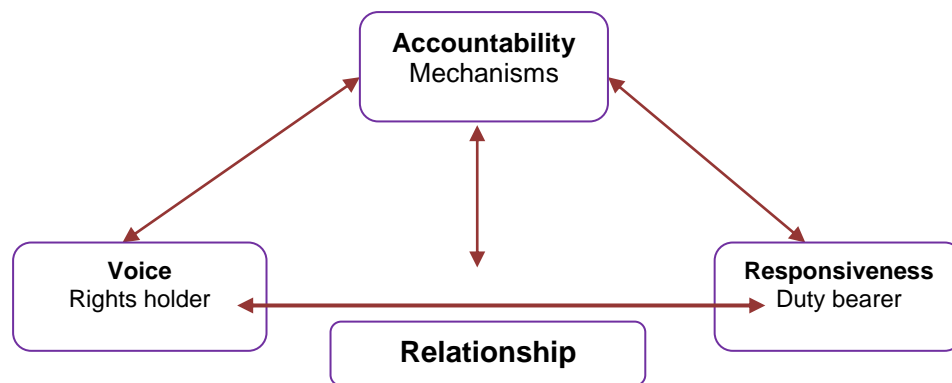
2.4.2 Voice and voice mechanisms

Voice and voice mechanisms are two interrelated concepts. Voice is best expressed through a channel (Goetz and Gaventa 2001; O’Neil et al. 2007). That is, voice requires a mechanism through which it is conveyed. Voice mechanisms, it has been argued, are alternatives to solving some of the problems of conventional forms of accountability—such as, time lag between elections, and lack of adequate channels for citizens to directly hold state agents accountable (Goetz and Jenkins 2001).

Menocal and Sharma (2008) concluded in their evaluation of donor-led V&A interventions that, whilst donors have relatively been successful in amplifying voice, it is increasingly difficult to ensure effective use of voice in accountability relations. As such, Holland et al 2009: 6) have suggested that interventions that seek to ‘*strengthen vertical accountability should consider the importance of the transition from voice to accountability,*’ and that the transition ‘*is best done through building awareness of rights and choice amongst citizens, and by supporting citizens to engage and use voice, either through political cycles or through advocacy and oversight channels and mechanisms,*’ e.g. parent-teacher bodies, patient/hospital committees, which provide an interface to monitor rights or adherence as well as quality of service.

From the discussions above the following conclusions can be drawn: (a) voice matters in ensuring accountability. (b) Voice needs a mechanism through which it must be conveyed if it is to be effective. (c) Voice is necessary for accountability to take place. In addition, for the agents to maximise their responsiveness to the demands of the principals, there must be incentives and sanctions to motivate them. Moreover, the rewards or sanctions must be able to influence the agent to do better or be more responsive. The links between the accountability of the agent and the availability of rewards and sanctions indicates influence of the principal. The diagram below shows how the concepts of voice, accountability and responsiveness are linked and not exclusive of one another.

Figure 1: Relationship amongst the concepts



Source: UNDP, 2006: 6

2.5 Other links

This thesis focuses on the causal relationship between citizens' radio phone-ins (complaints directed at a particular public sector service delivery institution) in Accra and how calls to radio programmes influence organisational responsiveness. Radio being an external influence is an example of an external trigger, which can influence organisational performance and can be used to explain degrees of responsiveness of a public service delivery organisation. It is hypothesized that both radio and citizen actions are external influences likely to induce responsiveness by public officials; but radio works by mimicking the force of collective action (mediated voice, see section 2.8).

2.6 Organisational performance in the public sector

Theories that explain performance in public sector organisations are useful in understanding and explaining the way in which public sector organisations at the local level respond to public opinion on radio. The interest here is not to look at performance as change in output, but rather how well public sector organisations respond to public opinion or complaints. A look at some of the concepts in organisational performance should help explain what might make a public sector organisation more responsive. The literature identifies internal and external factors, which influence performance in public organisations; I discuss below a number of the factors particularly relevant to this study.

2.6.1 Internal factors

Public Sector Motivation

Public sector motivation is an aspect of organisational culture, which may be associated with good performance in the public sector. The belief is that individuals who find themselves in the public service have strong desires for performing public service tasks. This 'public service ethic' is said to be attractive to certain individuals whose behaviour are consistent with the public interest (Brewer and Selden 2000; Tendler 1997). This is important as it disputes the assumption (theory 'X', or rational economic choice approach¹⁸) that public servants are self-interested, lazy, and venal, and corrupt (Golembiewski 1996). This approach provides insights on essential issues vital to understanding public sector performance. These issues include individual work motivation and productivity in the public sector (Crewson 1995; Rainey 1982; Tendler 1997); improved management practice in public organisations (Dilulio 1994; Rainey 1999; Tendler 1997); improved political accountability of the bureaucracy, and greater citizen trust in government (Tendler 1997); and improved organisational culture (Caseley 2006; Crook and Ayee 2006). How does public sector motivation (PSM) improve performance? Three useful bases of PSM are identified in the literature.

¹⁸ For more on theory 'X' see McGregor, 1960.

First, norm-based motives, that is, the desire to serve the public interest, no matter how that interest is defined (see Tandler 1997). These motives include patriotism, duty, and loyalty to the government or its policies.

Second, affective motives, these are motives arising from human emotion. These are mainly characterized by altruistic desires. For example, the willingness to help others voluntarily, empathy with others, and other social desires borne out of moral conviction (Dilulio 1994). Affective motives provide a useful framework for understanding PSM. For instance, an individual may have rational, norm-based interest, and at the same time have affective motives, which can contribute to that individuals overall behaviour.

Third, 'job satisfaction', is an important element in PSM. Tandler (1997)¹⁹ shows how the level of commitment of health workers (even though they had to perform other duties) in Ceará resulted from their enjoyment of their work; similarly findings about street-level public health workers in Accra and Kumasi, in spite of their rather deplorable work conditions (Crook and Ayee 2006) are illustrative of this. What then accounts for this? Both Crook et al. and Tandler cite motivation and commitment to work and sense of belonging to a team as the keys to good performance amongst street-level health workers. This raises legitimate questions of whether the tasks frontline workers perform or the task the organisation performs have a strong correlation with how motivated the individual is, or how well they perform.²⁰ Both studies found that in spite of conditions under which they work, these street-level bureaucrats had relative satisfaction and pride doing their work because of their interactions with citizens and with their work mates. The human relations approach to work is useful as the feeling of importance and belonging to a group of fellow workers who share a commitment serves to motivate frontline workers (Crook and Ayee 2006).

Management style

Management style is intrinsic to internal factors that can influence change in public sector organisations. A committed leadership style plays a major role in

¹⁹ See Tandler, 1997: 37-38 for discussions on public sector motivation in Ceará.

²⁰ Arturo (1989: 52-7) suggested that the type of task undertaken by employees of an organisation determines its overall performance. He further argued that those doing technical, measurable, and specific tasks would perform well, while those with less technical and specific assignments will perform less well.

influencing change in an organisation. According to (Ogbona and Harris 2000:776), *'participative leadership, that is, leadership that encourages ideas/suggestions from subordinate staff; supportive leadership, that is, the degree to which a leader is supportive of subordinate staff, and directive leadership, the extent to which a leader clarifies expectations and assigns responsibilities'* are the basis of a committed leadership. The extent to which leadership is able to utilise the three dimensions of leadership, participative, supportive and directive is a strong catalyst for improving an organisation's culture (Caseley 2006; Grindle 1997; Dilulio 1994). As Leonard (2008) posits, the key determinants of an organisation's productivity are managerial attributes and leadership capacity, rather than function or political context. For instance how and why are 'pockets of productivity' able to emerge in states where governance is generally weak (Leonard 2008; Paul 2002). Dedication to job or the work environment of public servants forces politicians and leaders to go with the grain of rewards rather than against it. Findings in the Hyderabad case show that public opinion also played an important role in improvements in public sector performance; particularly, when those leaders took public opinion seriously (Caseley 2003).

2.6.2 External factors

Other paradigms of public sector organisational performance take account of factors that are external to the organisation. A considerable body of literature suggests that organisational performance and the provision of public service in developing countries improves when client demand and public oversight is present (Robinson 2007: 7; Caseley 2006; Brinkerhoff et al. 2007; Paul 2002, 1996, 1992; Awoi 2001). This approach is particularly recommended as a way of discouraging rent-seeking and improving transparency in government operations. Client demand is also suggested as a way of dealing with extensive principal-agent problems in order to make organisations, and government more generally, accountable to poor and powerless citizens (Grindle 1997: 486)

Citizen demand, public oversight and media publicity

This is the ability of civil society to effectively demand high performance from public organisations. Public oversight is also the extent to which citizens see themselves as customers of public organisations in a way that can influence the

delivery of public services by holding public agencies accountable. It is also the extent to which public agencies see citizens as customers of their services and therefore accountable to them (Deininger & Mpuga 2004; Grindle 1997). The media for instance, as part of civil society is a powerful tool for exercising influence over attitudes and opinions (Vigoda 2002; Gyimah-Boadi 2004; Gyimah-Boadi et al. 2000). *'This power can be used to encourage citizen involvement in a variety of ways, but also to extend administrative willingness to consult citizens on relevant policy decisions'* (Vigoda 2002: 537). Once citizens become aware of their power, they are able to demand greater responsiveness from the public sector, and thereby force some improvement in public service delivery once those concerns have been made public (Vigoda 2000/2002). Caseley (2006) also notes that contrary to what some suggest that consistent media demands makes organisations resistant to media engagements, rather, media scrutiny produces openness in organisations. This is because public sector organisations find the media a channel through which they can communicate information directly to citizens (especially regarding service disruptions). In addition, it provides timely information to the service provider in order to take action and improve services (Caseley 2006).

Public oversight also serves as a means of evaluating performance expectation. Performance expectations are sign post to which employees can measure their performance and quality of work expected from them (Grindle 1997). Tandler's work in Ceará on how the media was used to encourage and sanction the local health workers and a medium for community based monitoring is instructive (Tandler 1997). Unfortunately, the role of the media in public sector performance and reforms are not covered in the literature. A few studies in other disciplines have however, highlighted the role the media plays in scrutinising and promoting governmental accountability and transparency (Aucion and Heintzman 2000).

2.7 Application of concepts to research questions

The literature discussed above provides a good basis for conceptualising the effects (no matter in which direction) of public opinion on radio within the organisational performance framework. It also helps in explaining the mechanisms for responsiveness. What is transmitting that pressure from radio into the public organisation for them to become more responsive? For example:

1. Are public officials listening and making changes in public sector performance because of pressure brought to bear on them by the radio phone-ins? Politicians play a major role in policy direction of public sector organisations. In Ghana, for example where there is a blurred line between politics and civil service, it should be interesting to learn how public opinion on radio is shaping the way politicians are behaving (even if for parochial reasons), in terms of the kinds of changes they are pushing in public sector organisation.
2. Are politicians afraid of electoral punishment by citizens if they do not respond to their persistent phone-ins and complaints about poor services? Vertical accountability mechanisms identify elections, protests, complaints either through associational forms or through the media as ways in which accountability is exercised. Voice can also trigger some forms of horizontal accountability in democracies.
3. Are managers listening because they are sensitive to public opinion? On the other hand, are managers responding to pressures from politicians and then transmitting that pressure to frontline workers or those who have to deal with complaints? Finally, do managers have to change the incentive structure to reward officials who show they are responsive to public pressure and complaints (Caseley 2006)?
4. Is there something about public opinion that is having an effect on public sector motivation? Grindle (1997); Tandler (1996) and Crook and Ayee (2006) identify improved organisational culture in the public sector as well as public sector motivation as some of the most important aspects of public sector performance in some developing countries where one expects public servants to be least motivated because of the conditions under which they work. The 'Human Relations' approach to PSM is key--- the idea of self-fulfilment through work or job satisfaction from doing a job which one finds interesting or worthwhile or because one is valued by the public.

The literature discussed in this section without a doubt reinforces the fact that in the principal agent relationship, the main requirement is the ability of the principal to force answerability and responsiveness from the agent. Indeed, in

democracies and in particular the developing world, voice mechanisms are important in ensuring responsiveness from public officials. The question remains as to how voice can move from mere expression to being 'heard'? Although the literature discussed is helpful and provides a good starting point, using tried concepts would not produce new and interesting results. It would only perpetuate old arguments and deepen questions of how and under what circumstance can voice be 'heard'. Hence, I propose to use the new concept of **mediated voice**. This is because mediated voice, being a process that leads to an outcome is more easily detectable.

In the next section, I introduce the theoretical framework for analysing findings in this study. It draws and builds on many of the concepts discussed in the literature, specifically on voice, accountability and responsiveness.

2.8 Introducing and understanding the concept of mediated voice: a theoretical framework

In this section, I contextualise what the radio programmes are doing and how they work. To do this, I first define and examine what I argue is 'mediated voice'--a new concept of voice mechanism---and discuss its attributes. As already hinted at the beginning of this thesis, this form of voice mechanism is a creation of radio stations; a large component of which is a direct result of ingenious radio programming and good journalism. Presenters or programme teams make a deliberate effort to intercede (on behalf of individuals who call in to the programmes) between citizen and state at the local level other than merely transmitting voices.

2.8.1 Defining the concept of mediated voice

For the purposes of this study and for future attempts at understanding what occurs when radio phone-in programmes help translate citizen voice into public goods, I define mediated voice as: '***the outcome of the activity (the voice) carried out by radio call-in programmes during which they receive individual complaints and represent them as collective problems.***' The activity involves eliciting responses and solutions to problems through the

performance and/ or representation of intermediary roles that are usually carried out by other formal/informal institutions such as the ombudsman, the client service departments of service delivery organisations or local elected officials (assemblymen/women). Or, else through collective efforts such as political or social associations. A key feature of mediated voice is that for it to occur the mediator (in this case, the programme team) must have the ability to make the representation; and the requestor (in this case, the caller) must believe that the mediator can provide 'Mediated Voice.' I illustrate this with an example from the 'Feedback' programme.

Emmanuel, you called from Korle Bu – You have a refuse dump at Odorkor, which is supposed to be collected by Zoomlion, but a man W.O. Osei who is paid money to collect the refuse doesn't do it. There is also a refuse dump at Sempe, which is an eye sore.

Response: *We have spoken to the Accra Zonal Supervisor of Zoomlion, Mr. Robert Coleman and he explained that the designated collection point at Odorkor is at the Market, therefore if someone is engaged in taking money from people and promising to collect their refuse, it is fraud. Zoomlion has recognisable containers at their collection sites. He also mentioned that it is illegal for anyone to take money from anyone who dumps rubbish at the designated points ('Feedback' transcript: 07-02-08).*

Typically, this complaint by Emmanuel should have been directed to the Sub Metro office responsible for waste management in his area or to Zoomlion, the company responsible for collecting his refuse, or even the police. However, by presenting his problem through a radio programme, any activity carried out by the programme team in order to get him the response or solution to the problem then becomes 'mediated voice' because of the representation of Emmanuel's single call into a collective problem, in which the radio presenter acts as a representative of the public interest. By converting that single call into a general problem, which affects the whole community, the response provided also goes a long way to benefit those in Emmanuel's community.

2.8.2 What is mediated voice, and when does it occur?

Mediated voice can only occur in certain contexts, and appears predominantly within certain kinds of democratic context. First, mediated voice requires free liberal airwaves in free democratic societies where citizens can exercise their right to free speech. It also requires a good understanding of democratic

citizenship.²¹ The minimum condition of democratic citizenship is that people have access to information that shapes their lives, without which they may not be able to make informed democratic choices (Tettey 2011; Norris 2009; Menocal & Sharma 2008; ODI 2007; Stiglitz 2001: 221-3). Being a democratic citizen also requires that people are able to communicate their views and opinions in public debate and have spaces (Cornwall 2000: 13) for public discussion on issues that most affect them; without this, democratic discourse cannot take place (Gaventa and Jenkins 2005; Hyden and Okigbo 2002). It is also, what is generally required of good democratic culture (Bastian and Luckham 2003).

Second, mediated voice is facilitated best in societies where there is access to both old and new Information Communication Technology (ICT). In this case, land-line and mobile telephony and, to a small extent, the Internet are tools for enhancing an individual's access to free speech.²² In addition, mediated voice thrives when citizens (both facilitators of the radio programmes and callers to the programmes) not only recognise their rights as citizens (Gaventa and Jones 2002), but also are able to access information and express themselves on issues that matter to them. It is only when rights are recognised that the use of ICT to demand those rights can occur. On the other hand, without access to and use of information, it is not possible to claim those rights and responsibilities (Isin 2008; Isin and Wood 1999).

Third, mediated voice, although it can occur on public state-owned radio²³ or television, is much more effective on non-state managed independent private radio. This is because private radio has the ability to find resources to support the

²¹ Democratic citizenship includes but is not limited to participation, access and equity, and is not reducible to procedural features such as voting. It is also about the ability to shape the practices and understanding of citizenship. Democratic citizenship also requires that people are equipped to participate actively in democratic life by assuming and exercising their rights and responsibilities in society in order to be effective in influencing democracy, either locally or nationally (Bastian & Luckham 2003).

²² Internet penetration and usage in Sub Sahara Africa is low. For instance, the Afrobarometer 2005 survey reports less than 20% of internet usage in 20 countries surveyed 2005-2008. See [www. Afobarometer.org](http://www.Afobarometer.org)

²³ Milligan and Mytton (2009) discuss many reasons why state-owned/run public broadcasting organisations in Africa are usually ill-prepared for public service role in new democracies. Among them is the fact that they are often poorly funded compared to their new, rival commercial radio station. Secondly, they are often still bound to the same 'old rules of the game' (government-centric). Third, public broadcasters typically remain accountable to government rather than their listeners, and usually promote the interests and agendas of the political elite.

kind of service that mediated voice requires in order to operate effectively²⁴. Both 'Feedback' and 'Wo haw ne sen' have had substantial sponsorship outside of state funding. In addition, private media, unlike state-owned media, have a better ability to engage the state in a more neutral capacity (Azfar et al. 2004). In addition, mediated voice requires a fair amount of independence and political neutrality by the radio station offering it (Norris 2004). This feature is also directly linked to why mediated voice is better situated on independent radio.

Mediated voice, is, by definition aggregation and representation of the issues raised by individuals as if they were collective problems, which individuals would normally take up collectively. In effect, it mimics collective action and to a limited extent by-passes its associated problems; but it is not collective action in itself.

The literature on collective action and public choice suggests that people join groups and mobilise around collective interests for collective outcomes (Joshi 1999; Melucci 1996; Dunleavy 1991; Ostrom 1990; McLean 1987). The improvement of public services (with citizen input) is largely seen as a collective problem. But the problems of collective action such as mobilisation and the free-riding dilemma make it difficult to get collective outcomes through group action (Dawes et al. 1986; Heckathorn 1989; Marwell & Oliver 1993; Olson 1965). What is interesting about this study is that the voluntary actions taken by individuals---radio phone-ins---do not conform to what the literature on collective action says about collective outcomes. Radio phone-ins may be producing a product that is a public good but they by-pass the problems that collective action presents.

Nevertheless, the radio phone-ins are representing individual voices and amplifying them. Radio is a *solitary* voice, but when individuals speak on radio information is relayed on behalf of the community by the radio. The sense of 'community' is somewhat eroded through the provision of mediated voice. Mediated voice cuts out other activities that are carried out by individual members of a group were they to approach the problems through collective action. Radio removes all form of personal contact. Contact is done only by means of another medium---telephone (and the contact is between strangers who are not members

²⁴ As succinctly noted by Norris (2004: 115-51), media systems can strengthen good governance and promote positive development, especially if there is a free and independent press capable of performing a watchdog role, holding powerful to account and acting as a civic forum of debate between competing interests. Similarly, the 2008 UNESCO report on the framework for assessing media indicators also emphasises the close relationship that exists between the development of a country and the independence and quality of its media.

of the same community). When asked if they called the radio programmes on behalf of an association or an organisation, all those who had accessed mediated voice both on Peace FM and Joy FM said, they did so, on their own. A caller to 'Wo haw ne sen' said:

[...] I called 'Wo haw ne sen' because I saw the problem and I wanted to report it. I don't think there is the need to consult or ask people in my area to be with me before I make a call to a radio station. It is my phone and my air-time so it is my choice (Interview with: PFM-C1, 12/08/2010, Accra).

The *solitary* attribute of voice on radio, as well as the absence of physical contact when voice is mediated through a radio programme, is unique to radio and probably other forms of new media such as the internet. For instance, Lupia and Sin (2003: 317) suggest that *'the evolving nature of technology, in particular the internet and television [...] weaken and make size of group or number irrelevant in some collective action contexts.'*

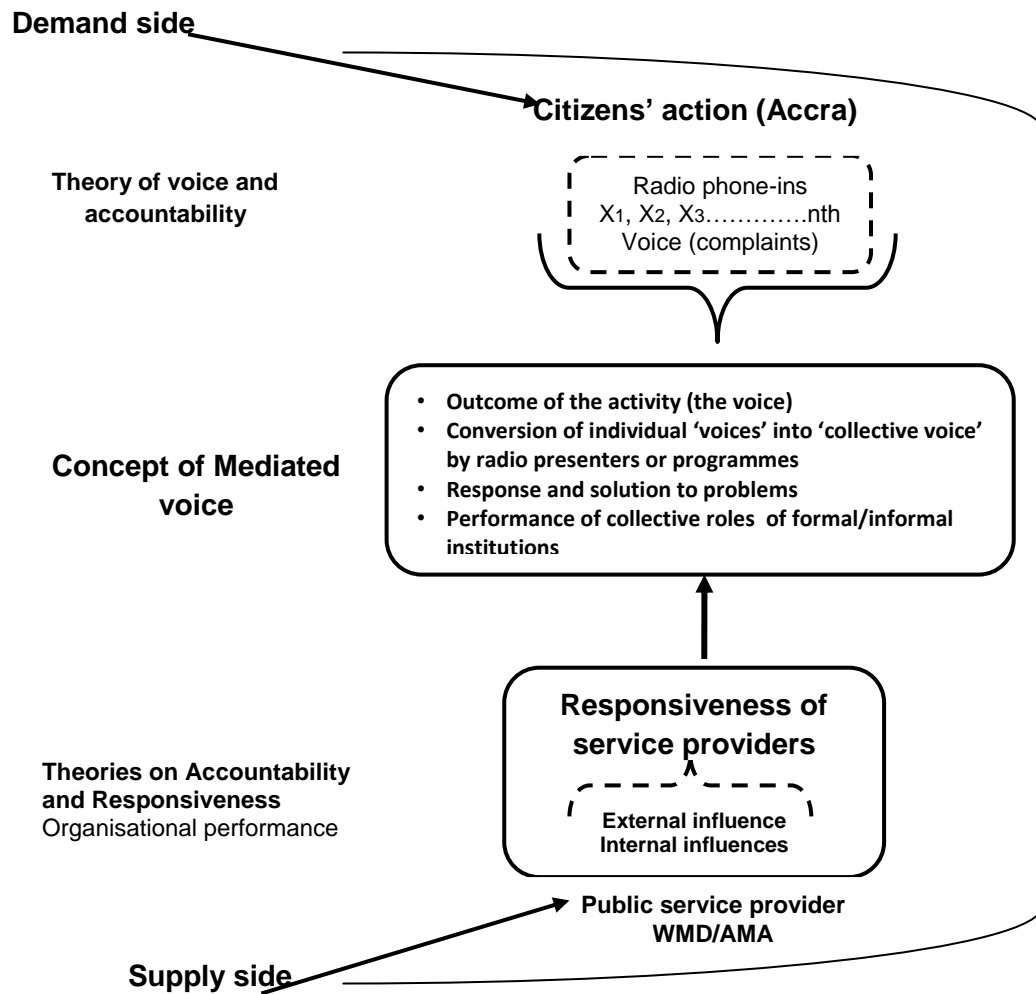
Mediated voice does not engender group/collective activity in resolving community problems, because mediated voice intercedes and performs the role of other actors. Collectiveness (of outcomes / public goods) is only achieved when problems are resolved. Whilst mediated voice may seem to be creating something new, which does not involve collective action, there are questions that can still be asked about whether it completely resolves the free-rider problems of collective action. For instance, whilst it may seem that mediated voice bypasses collective action, it does not completely take away one of the common problems of collective action---'free-riders.' This is because although it takes only an individual to make a call for a radio programme to take up the issue, there are those who will free ride on the benefits of that individual's call or intervention by the radio programme. Nonetheless, in this case the free-riding does not matter so much, as the lack of collective action (which can be weakened by free-riding) has little or no impact on the outcome.

Secondly, by providing mediated voice as a free service, except for the cost incurred from calling, the radio programmes take up the leg-work that individuals would have made. Finally, mediated voice also amplifies voice through a bottom-

up²⁵ media approach, which is about raising voices, but also about finding voice, preparing it, expressing it through diverse creative forms and creating the social and political conditions for making the expressions legitimate in order to elicit responsiveness (Pettit et al. 2009). This bottom-up approach also allows the radio programmes to collate issues from individuals and then send them upwards to the authorities on their behalf, which is similar to what one expects from grass-roots participatory activities. Figure 2 below shows the conceptual map of mediated voice. It shows how mediated voice is expected to interact between the demand for responsiveness and the supply of it. The caveat here is that the expected output is not necessarily change, but mediated voice-induced responsiveness, which is usually the desired outcome of voice being heard. The assumption here is that voice expressed and carried by mediated voice (the agent) is more likely to make the duty-bearer (the principal) more responsive--- thus building awareness and capacity to respond to citizens by removing barriers and improving direct access to decision makers.

²⁵ The expression of bottom-up media approach is borrowed from Chambers' (1983) discussions and pioneering work on bottom-up approaches, empowerment for the marginalised and local knowledge over bureaucratic expertise.

Figure 2: Conceptual framework: diagrammatic view



Source: Author

2.9 Conclusion

2.9.1 Justification for using something new: the concept of 'mediated voice'

The objective of this section was to look at concepts in existing literature, which can help theorise and understand the form of voice mechanism created when voice is expressed through specially designed radio phone-programmes, and how such programmes use individual calls to produce outcomes that have collective benefit. As noted in the conceptual framework, the nature of voice expressed on a radio programme that follows up on complaints is different from mere expression, which sometimes can be hollow. It is therefore important to understand how the avenues created by radio phone-ins can be conceptualised. Thus, what is it that makes them different from ordinary phone-in or discussion programmes?

Finally, although mediated voice as a concept is a hypothesis, which remains to be tested, it is plausibly the best way of understanding what happens when radio programmes ensure that voice is 'heard'. It has universal applicability to different countries and can be used as a framework in understanding the new experiences that radio, programming, and technology presents to African countries that have liberal airwaves. This concept resonates with Paul's view (1996), that influence of voice is higher when the focus is narrower. By presenting several individual problems as representative of issues by sending them directly, (that is, going to the offices either involved directly or phone) to those in authority, mediated voice therefore simultaneously amplifies voice and targets it more narrowly and so enhances the chances of getting a response. Chapter 7 of this thesis provides empirical evidence and discussion to support this assertion.

Chapter 3

Background context of the study

3. Introduction

This chapter provides the context and background of the study. As already noted in the introduction, this study is about finding out how voice expressed through two specific radio phone-in programmes in Accra can influence the responsiveness of public service delivery providers at the local level in Accra. The chosen service delivery organisation is the Waste Management Department (WMD) of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA). AMA is the decentralised local government authority of the city of Accra. The AMA is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7 of this thesis. The WMD is a decentralised public agency under the decentralised local system of Accra. In what follows, I begin with the general context of Accra in Ghana providing some of its major characteristics and problems in order to give context and understanding to why residents voice their problems on radio. This is followed by the context within which waste management is provided at the local level. Then, in the final section of this chapter, I provide the general outlook for private commercial FM radio in Ghana. This section concludes with a detailed look at the two radio stations (Joy FM and Peace FM) and their phone-programmes: '*Feedback*' and '*Wo haw ne sen.*'

3.1 The Accra context

Accra is the capital city of Ghana, a former British colony. Accra was founded as a fishing village by the Ga people in the 16th century, and was chosen by the British as the seat of their administration in the late 19th century. It has served both as Ghana's administrative and commercial capital city since 1877 (Owusu-Ansah 2005). The city of Accra is within the Greater Accra Region,²⁶ the smallest of the ten administrative regions in Ghana in terms of land area. The region occupies a total land surface area of 3,245 square kilometres that is, 1.4% of the total land area of Ghana (GSS, PHC 2005). It is the second most populated region of the country. According to current census results, the total population of

²⁶ There are ten administrative divisions in Ghana, referred to as Regions; the Greater Accra Region is one of them.

the Accra Metropolis is 1,848,614 and it has an annual growth rate of 4.3 % (GSS, PHC 2012).

The capital city is one of the two largest cities in Ghana and is the most urbanised and industrialised region of Ghana; it contributes over 10% to the country's Gross Domestic Product, GDP (Ghana Districts 2012). The capital has over the years served as both the political, financial, economic and commercial base of the country. As a result the city attracts large numbers of rural and urban migrants from other regions to the city with the expectation of securing jobs (UN-HABITAT 2009).

Accra is densely populated, according to current estimates it has a gross population density of 10.03 persons per hectare compared to 6.23 per hectare in 1970 (UN-HABITAT 2009). The city's population reflects national and global trends. It has one of the most youthful populations in the country, with more than half (56%) of the population under the age of 24 years (UN-HABITAT 2009). The gender distribution also reflects global trends; over half (51%) the population of Accra are women who are engaged in all manner of economic activities, mainly wholesale and retail trading (Ghana Statistical Service 2005). The city is highly cosmopolitan comprising diverse ethnic groups (from within and outside Ghana), religions and other influences. Although the indigenous language of Accra is Ga, due to the cosmopolitan nature of the city, Akan (Twi)²⁷ and English are more widely spoken. The AMA has the highest literacy rate of 85.1% in the country (Ghana Districts 2012).

By way of governance, Ghana is a democratic country (by virtue of five successful democratic elections including two peaceful power alternations in the years 2000 and 2008). As part of constitutional requirements, and for broad-based participation, the country adopted the decentralised system of governance in 1989.²⁸ To this end, although central government is headquartered in Accra,

²⁷ Ga and Akan are two of the six officially recognised spoken and written languages in Ghana.

²⁸ In political terms, decentralisation is the process of transferring power through laid down administrative structures from the central governance to sub-national governments. The purpose of administrative decentralisation is to redistribute authority, responsibility and financial resources for providing public services among different levels of government. The main aim is to transfer responsibility for the planning, financing and management of certain public functions from the central government and its agencies to field units of government agencies, subordinate units or levels of government, semi-autonomous public authorities or corporations, or area-wide, regional or functional authorities. In Ghana, the initiative for decentralisation was motivated by the Rawlings-led [P] NDC government's populist political philosophy, and its broader reform

the political administration of the region is done through the local government system. The region is divided into five districts under the local governance system namely:

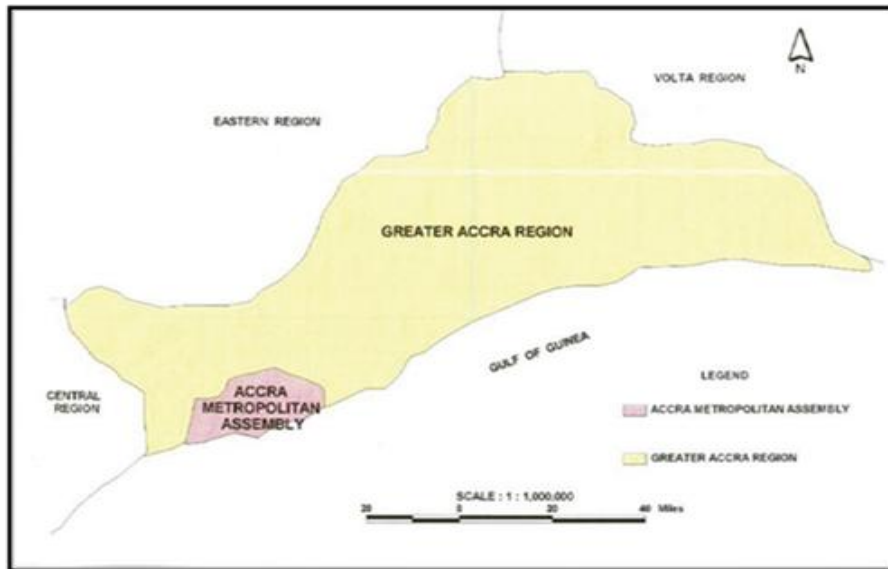
- Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA)
- Tema Municipal Assembly
- Ga District
- Dangbe West District
- Dangbe East District

Each district is administered by the Metropolitan or Municipal District Chief Executive (MCE/MDCE), who derives authority from an Assembly²⁹ headed by a Presiding Member elected from among the members, but is expected to represent central government at the local level. Because the city of Accra is a metropolis it is politically administered by the Accra Metropolitan Assembly or Authority (AMA). As such, the AMA is the governing body of the city of Accra, and headed by a Chief Executive (mayor), a government appointee. The nature of this position is discussed in the section on the structure of the AMA.

The area administered by the AMA has a land area of 200 square kilometres and is made up of six Sub Metros namely, *Okaikoi*, *Ashiedu Keteke*, *Ayawaso*, *Kpeshi La*, *Osu Klottey* and *Ablekuma* (Ghana Districts 2012). These areas constitute the Metropolis, consisting of a number of electoral areas made up of localities/settlements referred to as towns. A detailed description and discussion of local government and the AMA is in section 3.2 of this chapter. Figure 3 below shows the location of AMA within the Greater Accra Region. A detailed map of Accra is in Appendix 4.

agenda (Ayee & Crook 2003; Ayee 2003). After embarking on constitutional rule in 1992, the new Constitution consolidated and confirmed all the main provisions of the Rawlings reform (Crook & Manor 1998). The aim was to create new institutions, which would be more effective in linking state and society, through collaboration and coordination between decentralized institutions (World Bank 2004a; Oxhorn 2004; Republic of Ghana 1993). It was also aimed at ensuring that citizens whose lives are affected by policy decisions can participate in shaping the outcome of those policies (Olowu 2004) through a bottom-up approach rather than a top-down approach.

²⁹ An Assembly is part of the hierarchical structure of Ghana's decentralisation system. The full structure is shown in Figure 5.

Figure 3: Location of AMA in GA Region

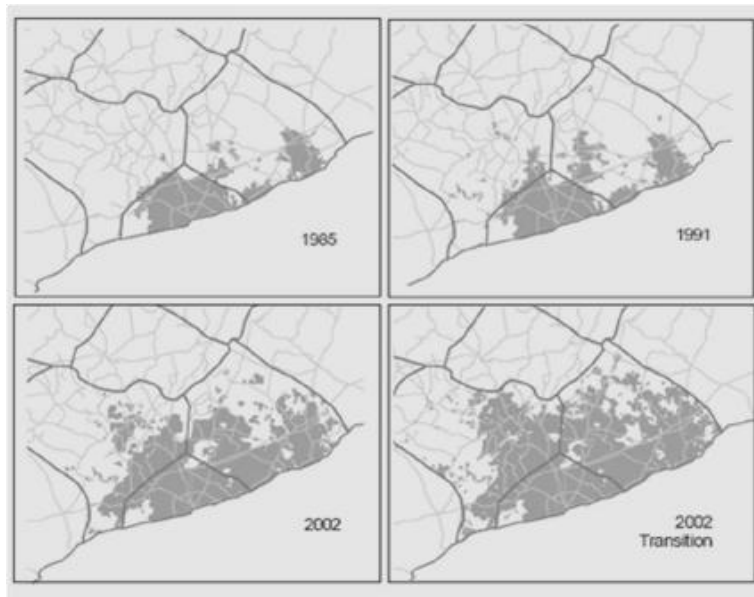
Source: UN-HABITAT, 2009

3.1.1 Main characteristics of the city of Accra

Rapid geographical expansion

In the 1870s, the land area of Accra was less than 10 km². The city was originally located within the boundaries of what are now referred to as the old established towns of Accra, consisting of the townships of *James Town*, *Christianborg* and *Ussher Town* (Grant & Yankson 2003). Many of the localities outside this area were not part of the city and so were considered rural areas. The city of Accra currently has a geographical size of 200 square kilometres and an annual expansion of 4.4%, with the city growing towards all its boundaries in the north, west and east. Accra has recently expanded westwards to embrace new suburbs such as *Awoshie*, *Kwashiman*, *LaPaz*, *Abeka*, and *North Odorkor* and towards eastern suburbs such as *Dome*, *Kwabanya*, *Taifa*, *Gbawe*, *New Achimota*, *Anyaa*, *Santa Maria*, *Amanfrom*, *Nii Boye Town*, *Mallam*, *Kissieman*, and *Agbogba*. All of these areas were classified as rural in the 1984 census, and are now classified as urban areas in the year 2000 census. Other areas in the eastern suburbs such as *Madina*, *Adenta Taifa*, *Ofankor* and *Pokuase*, which were classified as rural districts only a few years ago, have now become part of urban Accra (GSS, PHC 2005). The representation in Figure 4 below, although, not current illustrates the rapid growth of the city of Accra. The darker gray area shows the growth in the boundary.

Figure 4: Map of Accra showing rapid urbanisation



Source: Yankson, 2004

Mix of commercial and residential facilities

The city is an amalgamation of residential areas and mainly private commercial entities. According to current official government data, Accra has over 50,506 identified residential properties and about 4,054 commercial/Industrial/mixed properties. All of these structures exhibit both old and modern architecture. Accra is Ghana's major centre for manufacturing, finance and markets. It has over 350 major industrial establishments including banks, over 29 open-air markets, wholesale, retail and other self-employed businesses, including several facilities for the promotion of sports, recreation and many tourist centres, hotels, and real estate developers. The city also has over 1863 educational facilities for university, secondary, primary and pre-school training (Ghana Districts 2012).

Fragmented city – planned and unplanned areas

The city of Accra, as expected of any urban city is well planned in several areas, mainly in the old established towns. However, because of increases in population due the influx of migrants (both internal and external) there is a high demand for housing. As such, the city has a mix of modern buildings and squatter settlements. Although the physical development of the city is guided by a layout prepared by the Town and Country Planning Department of AMA, who have responsibility for the day-to-day management and administration of the city's layout, physical development of the housing facilities is occurring faster than the

rate of planning. This has resulted in several unplanned areas (residential, commercial and other facilities) springing up on a daily basis haphazardly, in sometimes unapproved locations such as waterways earmarked for storm waters, areas demarcated for greenery, roads, schools and hospitals or recreational facilities.

Sometimes, the city authorities demolish the unauthorised structures, however, on several occasions many of the structures in the unplanned areas are developed on the blind side of the law. Weak statutory land use policy and weak implementation of byelaws by the AMA have also opened avenues for the economically disadvantaged to take care of their housing needs. This has contributed to haphazard development and creation of slums in some areas of Accra. An example is the infamous *Sodom and Gomorrah*³⁰ slum, the largest informal settlement in Accra and sometimes referred to as the 'most polluted place on earth' (Obeng-Odoom 2011: 364). This slum has a population of 79,684³¹ (Slum Dwellers International [SDI], 2010). This slum has been gutted by fire on several occasions, yet has sprung back up as quickly as it was destroyed. The most recent fire outbreak reported in the media occurred on May 21, 2012 (see: <http://ghananewslink.com/?id=21695>).

Domination of the informal sector

Although the city of Accra has the highest number of government and public offices due to its location as the seat of central government, the city is dominated by a huge informal sector comprising artisans, private commercial drivers, and street hawkers. In addition, the streets and pavements along major roads are inundated with street hawkers selling all manner of wares from mobile phone top-up cards, mobile phones, cold water/drinks, fruits/food items, sanitary ware, newspapers, clothing, dog chains to other household items such as ironing boards, among several others. There is a joke in Accra that one does not need to go to a supermarket to shop these days, all the shopping can be done on the streets. In addition, many of the city's minor roads are dotted with several

³⁰ This area was originally known as Old *Fadama*. It was derogatively labelled *Sodom and Gomorrah*, because of the many social vices occurring in the area. *Migrants and internally displaced persons from northern Ghana established Old Fadama in 1979*. See (Obeng-Odoom 2011) for additional discussion on informal settlements in Accra.

³¹ According to Slum Dwellers International (2009), the residents of the slum include 11,485 woman, and 5,285 children. Others also argue that the total number of residents in the slum varies by day and night and by season due to the inflow and out flow of people (Grant 2009).

wooden kiosks and metal containers constructed into small shops or stalls to sell their wares. Many of the roads to the central business districts of Accra are lined with small shops and stalls of traders selling everything from raw to cooked food; tailoring and used clothing; metal gates, hardware, electrical and building materials, and many more.

Income and poverty distribution

The annual average income of Accra is GH¢544.00³² which is the highest in any region in Ghana (Ghana Standards Living Survey, GLSS 2008). Nonetheless, the city's urban profile presents huge disparities in income and poverty distribution. Because of the varying characteristics of income levels in the Metropolis, the AMA stratified Accra into four income zones to help determine poverty and income levels. The stratification is based on the housing characteristics and environmental conditions of the residential suburbs of the city. The stratification was adopted and gazetted in the Local Government Bulletin of the Assembly in January 2002 as follows:

- First zone locations have an average per capita income per annum of ¢12,462,499.65³³. The high-income areas provide housing for about 10% of the population.
- Second zone locations have an average per capita income per annum of ¢7,242,187.03. The second-class residential zones, which host the largest proportion of residents of Accra, have an uneven distribution of annual average income among households.
- Third and fourth zone locations have a total annual average income of ¢6,509,090. Altogether about 58% of Accra's population are located in these areas. In addition, many of the informal businesses are located in these low-income areas, and are usually the first place of abode for many new job-seeking migrants (Ghana Districts 2012).

³² The GLSS used an average exchange rate of GH¢0.92 (¢9,176.48) to the US dollar prevailing in June 2006.

³³ The figures quoted here are denominated in the old Cedis. The Cedi was redenominated in 2007. The new currency was renamed GH Cedis. The redenomination reduced 10,000 old Cedis to GH¢1.

Vibrant media

Accra has a noticeable media presence. These include print and electronic (radio and TV/private and public). The most telling sign of the presence of the media in Accra is the several display points of newspaper vendors, but more importantly the blurring sound of radio from all corners of the city. Mainly in public transportation, salons, market places, local canteens (known locally as chop bars), offices and homes.

3.1.2 Major problems of the city of Accra

Accra is a difficult city to govern and develop (UN-HABITAT 2009). This is a result of problems discussed earlier---such as fragmentation, poverty, poor planning and high population density (many being itinerant). Below are some of the most visible problems.

Flood prone

Because of the topography of Accra, the city is flood-prone. This has been compounded mainly by two factors: haphazard siting of buildings and unauthorised construction of buildings on waterways; and by persistent choking of storm drains due to illegal dumping of refuse into open drains³⁴ as well as with rubbish blown in by the wind (UN-HABITAT 2011). The city experiences several floods, which displace many residents and results in huge loss of property yearly during the major raining season. The most recent flood occurred in October 2011. The media (BBC Network Africa) reported nine people lost their lives, whilst several others were displaced and property amounting to several thousands of Ghana Cedis was lost.

Water and sanitation

Lack of potable pipe-borne water

The city has a daily estimated demand of 532,570 cubic metres of water. However, only 401,800 cubic metres is provided, constituting 75.45%, leaving a

³⁴ The city of Accra has open drains and gutters. As a result, some of the rubbish on the streets ends up in them or sometimes residents with no access and / or proper means of refuse disposal dump their rubbish in the open drains.

daily supply shortfall of 130,000 cubic metres of water (UN-HABITAT 2011). Pipe-borne water supply in many areas, particularly, the new developing areas are poor or non-existent. Many households in the new developing areas do not receive any supply of water even though there is connection to the primary national source of water supply, that is, Ghana Water Company Limited (GCWL). Only a few areas are lucky to have water rationing system in place---the taps are opened on specific days of the week, usually twice during weekdays. Other areas which do not have this arrangement, or do not have water supply, have to buy water from other secondary and tertiary private water vendors³⁵ to deliver water into reservoirs (popularly called *Polytank*³⁶ for domestic use (Nyarko et al. 2008). The cost of buying water from these sources varies from 20 - 60 Cedis (\$5.11-\$30.70)³⁷ depending on size of container (50-200 gallons) and distance due to long haulage (Nyarko et al. 2008).

Problems with waste disposal

According to (UN-HABITAT 2009: 7) '*the state of sanitation in Accra is very unsatisfactory*;' the sanitation image of Accra is characterised by waste in open drains, uncollected refuse, poor waste disposal (particularly plastic waste). Discussion on the waste management outlook of Accra is covered in Section 3.3.

Poor toilet facilities

According to available data from the GLSS (2008), only 33.2% of residents of Accra have water closet facilities in their home. Five per cent (5%) have pit latrine, 15.8% have the *Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pit* (KVIP), 3.2% have pan/bucket at home, 0.4% use toilet facilities in another house, whilst 1.1% 'free-range' in the bush, beach or the in the open field or use plastic bags which they dispose of onto public refuse containers. The GSLS data suggests that 41.3% of Accra residents use public toilets, which consist of the KVIP/bucket or flush. However, use of the KVIP is common in the AMA.

³⁵ These vendors consists of large commercial to small-scale water tankers who use improvised motorised power tillers with metal water tanks fitted on them; locally known as *tu-tu-tu* (*because of the sound the engine makes*), private boreholes and/or wells.

³⁶ The water reservoir is called *Polytank* because that is the name of the company which first produced that kind of water reservoir for domestic use in Accra.

³⁷ Exchange rate conversion: <http://www.xe.com> USD 1 = 1.95570 GH Cedis at the time of writing the thesis, this likely to change in future.

Problems with electricity supply

All communities in the city have access to electricity, however, the expansion of Accra in terms of population and economic activity as well as illegal tapping of electrical power and water to informal settlements, wooden kiosks and other illegal structures has adversely affected the supply of basic utility services such as water and electricity (UN-HABITAT 2011). The city is plagued by low supply of electricity and low electricity current in many of the new residential areas such as *Kwabenya*, *Anya* and *Gbawe*. Although all the new developing towns are connected to the national grid, the voltage is low and drops to levels similar to a flame from a candle in the evenings when most lights and electrical gadgets are switched on in residential facilities. Many times the electricity company devises power-shedding measures to mitigate the problem. However, most of the power-shedding measures are done unannounced resulting in rampant power cuts, which affect household domestic appliances.

Transportation, poor roads and vehicular traffic

The total road network in the Metropolis is about 1,800 km of which, 67% is paved and 33% unpaved. Individual residential and commercial activities have also encroached on several of the minor roads in the city, making most roads too narrow for double vehicular access for which they were designed (UN-HABITAT 2011). Road transport in the city is difficult due to heavy traffic, which causes overly long travel times. For instance, a journey which should typically take 15 minutes within the city when traffic is low could take over 2 hours due to heavy traffic; a situation detrimental to social and economic activity. Another contributory factor is that Accra seems to have too many vehicles on few roads. In addition, besides roads, the city provides no other means by which residents can commute. Thus, there is always vehicular congestion on the city's roads mainly by private vehicles and mini buses used for public transportation.

In addition there is a unidirectional flow of traffic³⁸ from the new developing parts of Accra into the city centre because most of the city's facilities (offices/private and public, markets, banks, schools etc.) are still mainly located in the central parts of Accra. This creates major problems, as many people commute in the

³⁸ Most of those roads were originally third class roads leading to the rural parts of the Greater Accra region, but now upgraded 2nd class roads to accommodate the new flow of traffic from the new developing areas into the city centre.

same direction in the morning to get to work or drop their children off to school and in the opposite direction to return home.³⁹ This is because as noted earlier many residential facilities are now in areas originally located in the outskirts of Accra, and have become part of the city due to rapid urbanisation and population growth. Finally, Accra has very few pedestrian areas, many roads and streets have no demarcated or developed walkways forcing pedestrians especially in the central business district to compete with vehicles (UN-HABITAT 2011).

The next section takes a narrower look at the service provision by the Accra Metropolitan Authority.

3.2 Local government and service delivery in Accra: the context

3.2.1 The AMA

Legislative Instrument (L.I. 1500) of 1993 established the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA). The Assembly⁴⁰ is the highest political and administrative arm of government at the local level for Accra. It is empowered by the Local Government Act 462 (*section 10 Sub Sections 1,2,3,4 and 5*). This provision gives authority to the Assembly to carry out the legislative, deliberative and executive functions on behalf of central government. In addition, the idea for this arrangement was to provide popular participation in local community affairs, accelerate development at the grassroots level and thereby bring government and decision making nearer to the people (Ahwoi 2010; Ayee & Crook 2003; Crook & Manor 1998).

In Ghana, democratic elections at the local level were introduced in 1988. Although it required that individuals stand for elections to the Assembly (of 90 people) on a nonpartisan basis, the communities they represent elect only 70% (two-thirds) of the assembly members; whilst the president and/or government of

³⁹ One needs to be up and on the road as early as 05:00 AM if one needs to get to the office in the central parts of Accra by 08:00-09:00 AM. The reverse is required at the close of business. One has to wait until 8:00 PM or later before venturing onto the roads in order to avoid heavy vehicular traffic.

⁴⁰ An Assembly is part of the hierarchical structure of Ghana's decentralisation system. The full structure is shown in Figure 5 this thesis.

the day⁴¹ appoint the remaining 30% (one-third), as well as the Distinct Chief Executive, DCE (the mayor), who is the leader of the Assembly.

This arrangement indirectly politicises the Assembly, and sometimes stifles continuity, since the term of office of the 30% appointed members, as well as that of the Chief Executive, are coterminous with the term of office of the government in power.⁴² This arrangement makes it counterproductive to policy formulation and implementation at the local level. Seven mayors have been appointed by different regimes to run the city of Accra (after 5 presidential elections) since the country embarked on decentralised local government. Some of the mayors usually assumed office with good policies but nonetheless had their plans terminated due to political expediency.⁴³

Under Ghana's decentralised local governance structure, a Metropolitan Assembly is established for districts with a population of 250,000 and over. This threshold is still based on the 1984 population figure of 12.3 million, and has since not been revised, although Ghana's population has increased since then. Currently, for ease of administration, the city is sub divided into eleven⁴⁴ (semi-autonomous) administrative entities referred to as Sub-Metropolitan District Councils (SMDCs or Sub-Metros). This was an increase from six originally to thirteen, but reduced to eleven in 2007, after the repeal of L.I. 1926, which had established them. Sub-Metros are immediately below the Metropolitan

⁴¹ By law, Political parties are not allowed to participate in District Assembly elections. Assembly Members are supposed to be elected on a non-partisan basis---one of the key elements in the Rawlings/PNDC concept of local government (Crowford, 2010; Crook & Manor, 1998).

⁴² By virtue of their appointment by the national president, the DCE is the most powerful person at the local level. Although they are considered civil servants, they are political appointees and therefore the local representative of the political party in power---sometime even more powerful than elected Members of Parliament. (For more on politics of local government and decentralisation in Ghana, see: Crawford, 2010; Ayee & Crook 2003; Ayee, 2003).

⁴³ I provide specific examples of how political expediency has interfered with the work of politically appointed mayors of Accra in Chapter 7.

⁴⁴ Each of the 11 Sub-Metropolitan District Councils consists of not less than 25 and not more than 30 members made up of all elected members of the Assembly in the Sub-Metropolitan District and any other persons resident in the Sub-Metropolitan District appointed by the Regional Minister acting on behalf of the sitting President. Each Sub-metro also has within it, Town Councils; and each Town Council consists of not less than 15 and not more than 25 members made up of not more than 5 persons elected from among the members of the Assembly and not more than 10 representatives from Unit Committees which are within the Town Councils. The Unit Committee also consists of not more than 15 persons made up of 10 elected persons ordinarily in the Unit and not more than 5 persons resident in the unit and nominated by the Metropolitan Chief Executive acting on behalf of the sitting President.

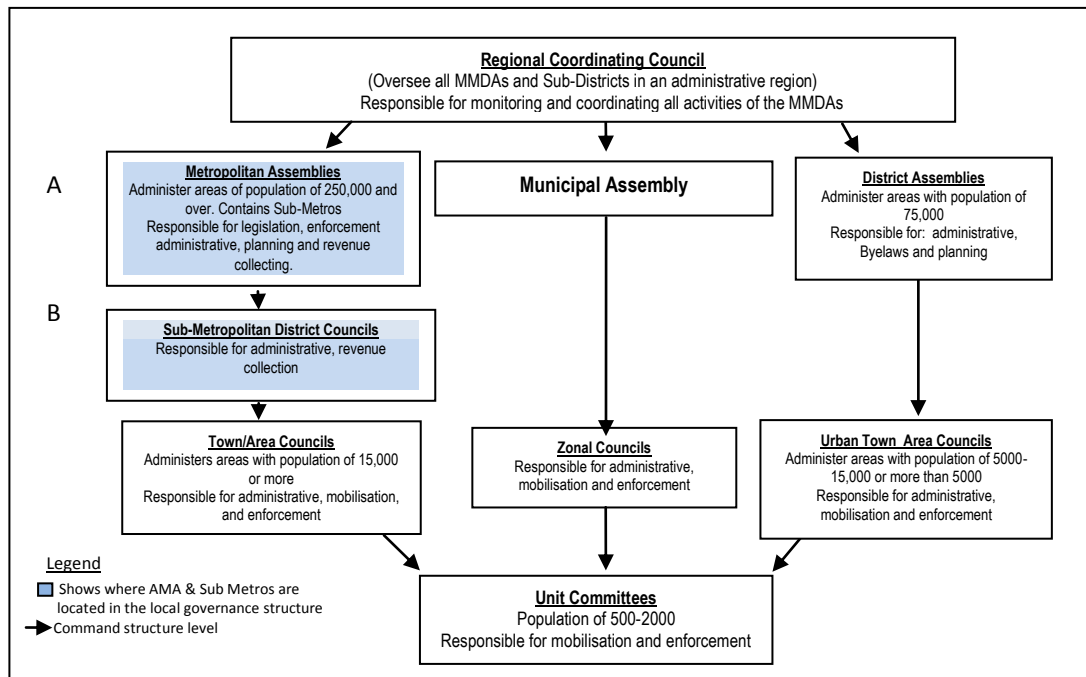
Assemblies; an arrangement dictated by the complex and peculiar socio-economic, urbanisation and management problems that confront the Metropolis (Ahwoi, 2010). Sub-Metros are therefore subordinate bodies of the Assembly performing functions assigned to them by the Instrument that sets up the Assembly or delegated to them by the Assembly in this case the AMA. A Chairman who is the political head and an Assistant Director who is the head of administration (the bureaucrat) head the Sub-Metros.

Sub-Metros also have localities or settlements/towns, over which they have jurisdiction. Because the Assembly is an electoral body for local governance, each Sub-Metro would normally consist of electoral areas (these are groupings of the towns and localities within each Sub-Metro). For instance, even though *Osu Klotey* Sub-Metro may have 20 or more localities or towns, according to the Sub-Metro electoral demarcation, *Osu Klotey Sub-Metro* has seven electoral areas.

Civil servants/public officers who administer the Assembly and Sub-Metros are employees of the various decentralised national Departments or Ministries. In the new Local Government Service Act, Assembly staff and decentralised departments are now supposed to be transferred to Local Government Service. They are the bureaucrats responsible for the decentralised day-to-day functions of the Assembly. These include the core functions of the Assembly, such as, waste management, and other Metropolitan functions, which usually depends on the specific requirements of a Sub-Metro. Figure 5 below shows the structure of local governance in Ghana. The highlighted portions of Figure 5 labelled A and B show the composition, structure and functions of the AMA/Sub-Metros. They also show how the AMA/Sub-Metros fit into the local governance structure.

3.2.2 Local Government structure of Ghana

Figure 5: Local Government structure in Ghana



3.2.3 The structure of the AMA

The head of AMA is office of the Metropolitan Chief Executive (MCE).⁴⁵ The following departments support the MCE's office:

- General Administration
- Treasury Department
- Metropolitan Education Unit
- Metropolitan Public Health Department
- Waste Management Department
- Department of Food and Agriculture
- Town and Country Planning Department
- Metropolitan Works Department
- Metropolitan Planning and Coordinating Unit
- Security Department
- External Audit Unit
- Metropolitan Road Department
- Budget and Rating Department
- Department of Rural Housing
- Public Relations Unit
- National Disaster Management Unit, and the National Mobilization Unit

⁴⁵ The Chief Executive of the AMA, in this case is what is referred to in other jurisdictions as the mayor. Unlike in many developed democracies where the mayor is elected, the case of Ghana is different. The mayor is politically appointed by the president and is, supported by the political party in power.

3.2.4 Duties/functions of the AMA

The AMA's duties as outlined in L.I. 1500 are the general development of the city of Accra. Other functions (services delivery) include, but are not limited to, the provision of:

- Sound sanitary and health environment
- Education infrastructure for first and second cycle schools
- Markets and lorry parks within the Metropolis
- Planning and development control of all infrastructure within Accra
- Activities pertaining to the maintenance of peace and security within the Metropolis
- Public safety and comfort

3.3 The Waste Management Department

As already noted, the Assembly (AMA) is responsible for the provision of a sanitary and healthy environment in the city of Accra (Ghana Districts 2012). Waste management is one of the public services, which have been decentralised in Accra, and solely provided and managed at the local level.

The Waste Management Departments (WMDs) of the AMA are the departments tasked with management of both solid and liquid waste at Metropolitan and Sub-Metro levels. The AMA/WMD defines waste management as the collection of solid and liquid waste, transportation, and disposal (WMD/AMA, 2010). The WMD is therefore responsible for keeping the Metropolis environmentally healthy and sound. The department was established in 1985 upon the recommendation of the German Aid and Development Agency, GTZ (Fobil et al. 2008).

Although the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD) is the sector agency mandated to oversee and coordinate environmental and related sanitation issues, the MLGRD plays a relatively minor role in direct delivery and management of environmental sanitation in Accra. Rather, the day-to-day management of solid waste at the local level in Accra is the responsibility of the local government authority---the WMD of AMA. Numerous other ministries and national agencies support activity on environmental sanitation.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ For instance, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is the national regulatory agency for the protection of the environment. It is involved in enforcement and the creation of a sound waste management policy. Other national agencies that support environmental sanitation include the Ministry of Health; Education; Environment, Science and Technology; Water

Duties of the WMD

The WMD is responsible for the disposal of solid and liquid waste, cleansing of streets and drains, public and open places and clearing of weed/grass on roadsides and public open places. The WMD was originally solely responsible for all these activities, however, currently with the introduction of private-public partnership collaboration (Ayee & Crook 2003), some of these functions in some Sub-metros have been sub-contracted to private contractors, with the WMD providing only supervision and monitoring of the activities of private contractors role. The WMD has been decentralised to the eleven (11) Sub-Metropolitan District Councils under the AMA.

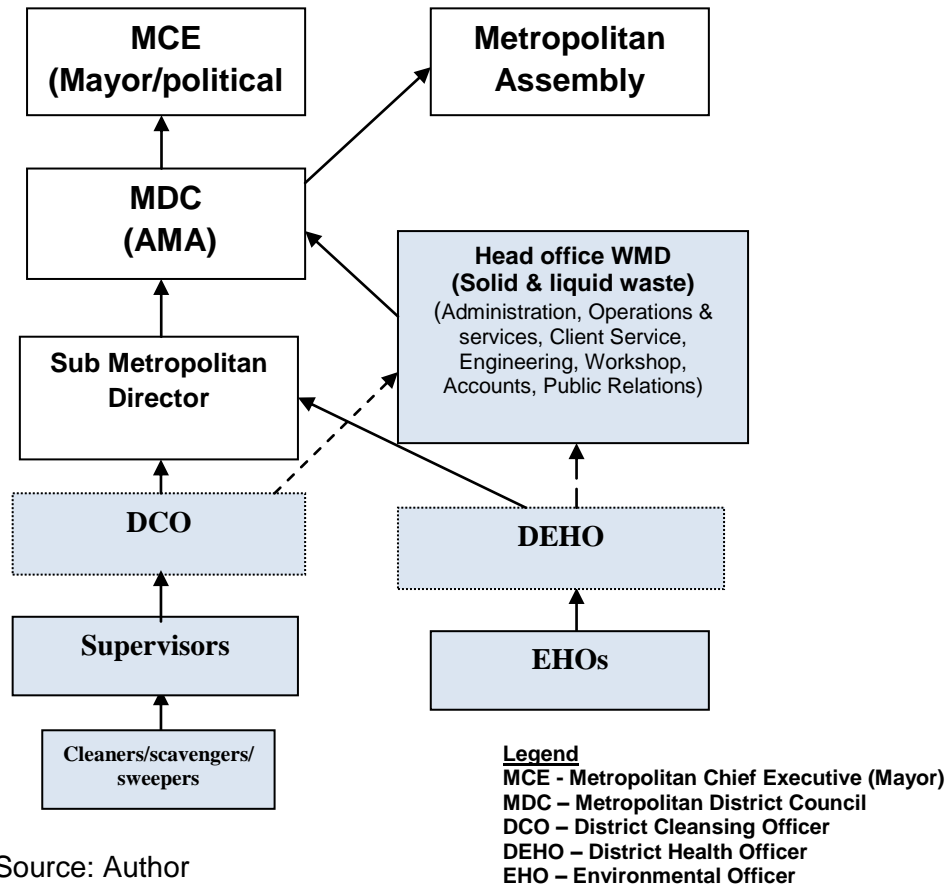
Structure of the WMD at the Sub-Metro Level

As noted already, the WMD has been decentralised in all eleven Sub-Metros. At the Sub-Metro level, the WMDs are responsible for supervising their own workers in waste management through individuals referred to as District Cleansing Officers (DCO). The DCOs head the WMDs at the Sub-Metro level and are responsible for the day-to-day solid waste management of the Sub-Metros they oversee. The DCOs monitor and evaluate both public and private service providers involved in solid waste collection in their area of jurisdiction. They are also answerable to both the directors of the Sub-Metros and their superiors at the WMD head office at the AMA.

One or more supervisors (Cleansing Guards) then support the District Cleansing Officers, depending on the size of the Sub-Metro. The supervisors manage the sweepers and scavengers. Each WMD also employs an Environmental Health Officer (EHO), whose role is also important to the WMD set-up. These categories of workers were originally part of the Ministry of Health until the 1990s, when Ghana's decentralisation policy relocated them to the MLGRD (Crook 2006). Their main job is monitoring the provision of services provided by the WMD and enforcing public health regulation. That is, the inspection of waste collection and disposal, cleansing of drains, and ensuring public food hygiene. It is only at the Head Office level (at AMA), where the WMD has the following branches/units: *Administration, Operations and Services, Engineering, Workshop, Accounts,*

Stores, Monitoring Unit, Public Relations and Client Service. Figure 6 below shows the structure of the WMD.

Figure 6: Structure and reporting lines of the WMD of AMA



Source: Author

The highlighted portion in Figure 6 above indicates the location of the WMD within the decentralised local governance structure of Accra. It also shows the reporting line (indicated by broken arrow) between the WMDs at the Sub-Metros level and the Head Office at the AMA.

Although the WMDs in the Sub-Metros have some limited autonomy regarding their duties and responsibilities, they receive general policy direction from the WMD (head office) at the AMA. The relationship between the WMD at the head office, and those at the Sub-Metros, is top-down for general policy decision and implementation (because they do not manage their own budget); and bottom-up for problem resolution. Complaints and problems concerning those Sub-Metros are sent directly to the AMA. Whilst the WMDs at the Sub-Metro have a free-hand to carry-out their day-to-day activities, they receive overall direction and budgetary allocation from the head office at AMA. The extent of direction is

mainly for resolution of some problems depending on their magnitude. Usually, they involve problems that hinge on major policy and budgetary interventions, such as removal of unauthorised structures, hawkers, change of private contractors, and removal of heaps of rubbish.

Overview of waste management in Accra

The city of Accra has a population of 1,848,614⁴⁷ and an estimated floating population of 1,000,000 (GSS, 2012); and according to the AMA, residents of Accra as well as those who commute daily generate between 1500–1800 tonnes of solid waste per day (Interview with: WMDHO 2010, Accra). Although what is observed on the ground, particularly in poorer communities does not look impressive, of the total refuse generated, the AMA/WMD insists it collects an average of 1200 tonnes of waste daily (AMA/WMD 2010; Ghana Districts 2012; World Bank 2010). The remaining 600 tons of uncollected waste is washed into drainage systems when it rains; or is blown onto other open spaces by the wind (UN-HABITAT 2009).

Although the WMD manages both solid and liquid waste, the focus here is on solid waste, that is, the aspect of waste management that is most visible. Overall, residents of the city of Accra find overall sanitation very unsatisfactory. More than half, (55%) think the city is dirty and a further 15% think the city is very dirty (World Bank 2010). The city is characterised by choked drains, indiscriminate waste disposal and uncollected refuse in central waste containers amongst many others (UN-HABITAT 2009).

Methods of refuse collection and disposal in Accra

There are two official methods of refuse collection and storage in Accra; these are House-to-House (HtH) collection and the Central Communal Container system (CCC). In the HtH a system, plastic bins (see Figure 7) are provided to households in more well-to-do, and some middle-income (usually 1st to 2nd class residential locations) areas for weekly collection at an AMA set and approved

⁴⁷ Accra is one of the two largest cities in Ghana. Official documented residential population figure is 1,848,614 million, however, it is commonly thought that, with migrant inflows from the north of Ghana and from neighbouring countries, the city's population may well more than that figure at certain times.

fee.⁴⁸ The collection service for each location is provided exclusively by one private contractor who is expected to collect and transport the waste to a designated dumping site at a fee usually paid directly to the AMA. In the HtH system, residents are obliged by the AMA bye-laws to register with the WMD or with an accredited contractor. Once registered, households are not allowed to opt out of the service as '*this could jeopardise the viability of the entire collection service*,' (Obirih-Opareh & Post 2002). Approximately, only 20% of the population of Accra receives weekly house-to-house collection (Habitat, 2009) this means that a huge chunk of the population use either a CCC or other unauthorised locations for disposing off their refuse.

Figure 7: HtH collection bins for 1st to 2nd class residential areas



Source: Author

The second system of collection is the Central Communal Container (CCC) system. In this system, an open receptacle (skip) is placed in a central location for communal refuse dumping (see Figure 8). In Accra, the CCC system is mainly designated for use in poorer communities. Or, the areas the AMA classifies as the 3rd to 4th class residential areas. These areas are usually characterised by high population densities, poor access roads (due to poor housing planning); and general lack of sanitation infrastructure such as sewerage, drains, bath and toilet facilities in the home (UN-HABITAT 2009). Trucks (mostly run by private refuse contractors) then collect the containers,

⁴⁸ Fees for HtH vary per size of the container and service provider. The fee is usually set by the AMA to take cognisance of location and classification of the area. For example, the service fee for those living in 1st class residential areas is higher than that of 2nd class residential locations. The average fee per month at the time of fieldwork in 2010 was 12GHc the equivalent of \$6.40 (conversion based on current exchange rate). The AMA with no prior consultation with users often revises these fees.

however, the firms find it less lucrative because the service varies from locality and are sometimes unreliable (Obirih-Opareh & Post 2002). Figure 8, below shows an example of a CCC system with heaped and uncollected rubbish.

Figure 8: CCC for 3rd to 4th Class residential areas and markets



Source: World Bank, 2010, depicts a typical CCC in low-income areas populated by those classified as living in third to fourth class residential areas.

The city of Accra is currently divided into 16 waste collection zones (AMA 2010). Each zone is contracted out to and managed by a different private waste management firm is responsible for collecting and disposing solid waste as part of arrangements under private-public partnerships. The AMA currently only supervises waste collection, monitoring of the public-private partnership, and management of final disposal sites.

In the CCC system, the AMA normally provides the containers and bears all the costs. Eighty percent (80%) of the population receives this service for free (UN-HABITAT 2009). However, in June 2010, the AMA started a new system known as the Performance-based solid waste collection through 'polluter-pays principle' (PPP) on a trial basis. The PPP is a system in which the waste generator pays for collection of waste, and for the waste, they have generated. However, a senior official at the WMD whom I interviewed was not wholly certain the system would help resolve some of the problems of solid waste management in Accra. He referred particularly to those problems encountered in the low-income areas mainly because of inconsistency and lack of the political will to carry through policies. Policies that help generate revenue for the WMD are usually financially

unsustainable for the poor (Oteng-Ababio 2010). A case in point is the Pay-as-You Dump policy (PAYD) introduced in 1993.

The PAYD policy was a system where residents in low-income areas could dump their refuse in central refuse containers for a nominal fee. However, the policy was reversed by the then Rawlings-led administration, because the policy proved counter-productive. Whilst the local authority earned some revenue, it was at the expense of severe environmental degradation and increased public health hazards, because of indiscriminate dumping by residents who tried to avoid payment (Post and Obirih-Opareh 2003: 50; Tagoe 1998: 11). This political decision to allow the financially disadvantaged to dump their refuse for free in 1996, created a situation where most people living in poorer neighbourhoods got used to dumping their refuse for free. Whilst this continued over the years, the AMA increasingly became more financially constrained, because it had to pay for, or subsidise the service on behalf of users. This led to long periods of overflowing CCCs as the AMA grappled with budgetary constraints (Post and Obirih-Opareh, 2002; AMA/WMD 2010).

Aside these two official systems of solid waste/refuse collection described earlier, 40% of households in Accra rely on unregulated individual, itinerant collectors to pick-up their refuse (UN-HABITAT 2009). These individuals known locally as '*kaya-bola*⁴⁹' (*unofficial refuse porters*), usually pick up garbage from individuals or households from poor neighbourhoods and markets and dump them indiscriminately at night at unauthorised places. On the other hand, as I observed during fieldwork, garbage is collected for a fee at designated privately managed collection points through the new 'polluter-pay' system,⁵⁰ under AMA's new *Fee and Performance Based Solid Waste Collection Service policy*.

The rise in *kaya-bola* activities is a direct result of unemployment opportunities for the youth in Accra. Second, it is also because of the general reduction in services

⁴⁹ Annual Reports for the year ending 2008, from *Ashiedu Keteke* and *Ablekuma Central Sub-Metros* cite activities of the *Kaya bola* as a major problem. However, the *Ashiedu Keteke* report indicated residents preferred the *Kaya bola* boys to the HtH, because the HtH would warrant a monthly fee.

⁵⁰ With the new 'polluter-pay' system, private refuse contractors have the mandate to receive refuse from people at a fee. The contractor in turn pays the AMA for dumping the refuse at a designated mass dumpsite.

provided by Zoomlion (a private waste service provider) affecting the number of 'Zoomlion motorized tricycles,'⁵¹ which were originally officially mandated to work as *kaya-bolas*. The reduction in Zoomlion's mandate is because of a so-called re-zoning⁵² of the city of Accra so that whereas Zoomlion's mandate previously covered about 80% of Accra, the city was re-zoned to allow other private contractors to carry out waste management in areas where they previously had coverage. Most of these private contractors, not well equipped as Zoomlion, do not have refuse tricycles.

3.3.1 Waste management in the Sub-Metros

The general overview of waste management in the city of Accra provided earlier in this chapter is reflected in the five selected Sub-Metros. The localities in the Sub-Metros also reflect the mix of residential classifications in Accra. That is, what the AMA classifies as 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th class residential areas. This means that the waste management arrangements described earlier (either CCC or HtH) through private or public-private partnership arrangements, indiscriminate free-ranging or unauthorised collection through individual waste collectors known as *Kaya-bola* are also present in these Sub-Metros.

In addition, findings from observing Sub-Metros during fieldwork are validated by findings reported in the World Bank, 2010 Citizen's Report Card, on residents' views about waste management in the Sub-Metros. Residents in the two Sub-Metros, *Ayawaso West* and *Osu Klottey*, classified as communities with 2nd and

⁵¹ Zoomlion Gh. Ltd. is a private waste management and beautification company established in Accra in 2006. In 2007, the company went into private-public contractual relations with MDAs of central government to provide sanitation and beautification services to the country. The city of Accra is documented to have seen remarkable improvement in cleanliness and sanitation as a result. The company introduced tricycle concept in public cleansing and pre-collection services of refuse (these services are motorized tricycles fitted with a sizeable box for collecting and holding refuse. The aim was to provide refuse collection services to neighbourhoods with narrow and poor access roads (hard-to-reach areas). Zoomlion also deployed a large number of sweepers and scavengers who worked daily to sweep and collect refuse that finds its way onto the streets.

⁵² Prior to the NDC winning political power in 2008, most of its pundits accused the then Kufuor-NPP administration of having patronage relations with Zoomlion; hence the company's seemingly monopoly over private waste management and beautification of the city of Accra. Other private companies in similar business as Zoomlion also consistently raised red flags about the so-called monopoly. In early 2009, a year after the NDC came into power, the AMA re-zoned Accra, reducing Zoomlion's coverage area drastically (Ayawaso East, West & Central Sub Metros only) in order to allow other private contractors—many of whom are believed to be affiliated of the current NDC administration.

1st class residential facilities, are much more likely to consider their neighbourhoods to be clean. The majority (78%) of residents in *Ayawaso West* and 70% in *Osu Klottey* report that their neighbourhoods are 'clean' or 'very clean'.

On the other end of the spectrum, in that same report, half (55%) of residents of *Ashiedu Keteke*, *Ablekuma Central* and *North* (3rd to 4th class areas) consider their neighbourhoods dirty due to overflowing refuse containers, refuse and human excrement in open gutters and drains. While this is a widespread problem in some residential areas in *Ablekuma*, it seemed to be particularly prevalent in *Ashiedu Keteke*, which has a more complex mix of residential facilities and commercial entities such as open-air markets. Over all residents across these Sub-Metros think that refuse and litter in the streets contributes to neighbourhood filth, particularly when the wind blows or when it rains (UN-HABITAT 2009).

Refuse collection services/arrangements available in the five selected Sub-Metros also vary considerably from private companies, private-public partnerships, to individual itinerant refuse collectors (*Kaya bola*), who constitute close to 40% of refuse collectors for the City at large (World Bank 2010). The *Kaya bola* work predominantly in areas with high population density and low to average income households, such as, *Ashiedu Keteke*. Zoomlion, a private company, which collects refuse from not less than 35% of all AMA households, tends to service areas with low population density, such as *Ayawaso West* and *Osu Klottey* (World Bank 2010; AMA 2010). Table 1 below summarises the waste management situation of the selected Sub-Metros.

Table 1: Summary of waste management situation of the Sub-Metros

Sub-Metro	Area Classification	Waste generated/month	Waste collected	Type of service
Ablekuma Central	Mix of 3rd and 4th class	200	120-150	CCC
Ablekuma North	Mix of 2nd and 3rd class	200 tons	-	HtH and CCC
Ashiedu Keteke	4th class	800 tons	-	HtH and CCC
Ayawaso West	1st to 2nd class	-	-	HtH
Osu Klottey	1st to 2nd class	-	-	HtH

Source: Author - Information on waste management in the Sub-metros was extracted from the following: Annual reports (2008/9), from the AMA's website and from the World Bank Citizen's report card, 2010.

3.4 The Ablekuma Central, Ablekuma North, Ashiedu Keteke, Ayawaso West, and Osu Klottey Sub-Metros

As hinted in the preliminary parts of this thesis, five WMDs in five different Sub-Metros under the AMA were selected for this study in order to address the question to what extent and by what mechanism do radio phone-ins influence their responsiveness and if they do respond, why they do so. The rationale for the selection and other intricate details about the selected five are discussed in the methodology and research design section of this thesis. However, the aim here is to provide some brief background information on them. The background information also contains how waste is managed in the five selected Sub-Metros. The map in Figure 9 below shows their location.

Figure 9: Location map of the Sub-Metros



Source: Author

Key:  Selected Sub-Metros

The selected Sub-Metros, shown in the map above represent the diverse, multilingual and cosmopolitan character of the city of Accra. In addition, they represent a cross-section of the varying population mix of the city, its residential classification (shown in Table 1); and a mix of the commercial and residential facilities found in Accra. These Sub-Metros also have towns within them, different systems of waste collection and practices (described earlier), and related waste management problems as experienced in the city. The summary of the socio-demographic characteristics of the Sub-Metros is shown in Table 2 below.

3.4.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of the five Sub-Metros

Table 2 below provides the socio-demographic characteristics of the selected Sub-Metros whilst the previous table (Table 1) above details the solid waste management system of the selected Sub-Metros. As noted already, the localities in these Sub-Metros represent a mix of (a) the AMA classification of residential areas described earlier as either first, second, third or fourth class, and (b) electoral demarcations. Also included in the table is each Sub-Metro's voting and political party preference at the national level (not local because local level elections are non-partisan under Ghana's decentralisation policy) for the period 2004-2008, covering the study period for this thesis. The political colour or voting pattern is shown here to help throw light on some of the findings on how national politics influences decisions of the WMDs at the Sub-Metro levels.

Table 2: Summary of characteristics of the selected Sub-Metros

Sub-Metro	Geographical location/Description	Demographic characteristics	Political Colour (two election periods) 2004/2008
Ablekuma Central	Bounded by <i>Ablekuma North</i> , <i>Ablekuma South</i> <i>Okaikoi South</i> and <i>Ashiedu Keteke</i> Sub-Metros. Its total land area is 11.5 square km. It consists of five (5) electoral areas <i>Abossey Okai</i> , <i>Mataheko</i> , <i>Gbortsui</i> , <i>Latebiokoshie</i> and <i>Nnenmeete</i>	Population estimated at 594,012 (2009 est.) of which 50,000 make up the floating pop. Per day of the population of Accra. High level of internal migrants. Provides 33% jobs in the public and private sectors of employment. 62 % of the people in the Ablekuma Central Sub-Metropolitan District Area work in the informal sector of employment. The remaining 3 percent are with non-governmental organisations and international organisations.	NDC (2008)/NPP (2004) Power Alternation
Ablekuma North	Has a unique strategic location in the AMA. It is the entry point from the Central and Eastern regions of Ghana. It shares bounded by <i>Ga West</i> District and <i>Okaikoi North</i> and <i>South</i> ; and <i>Ablekuma Central</i> and <i>South</i> Sub-Metros. It has five (5) electoral areas: <i>West Darkuman</i> , <i>East Darkuman</i> , <i>Kwashiman</i> , <i>Odorkor</i> and <i>Otaten</i> .	Mixed settlement of indigenes and internal migrants (mainly from Eastern, and Ashanti region) Mixed classification of 2 nd , 3 rd and 4 th class residential areas. Mix of low income and middle income. The Sub-Metro has a population of 250,000.	NPP Since 2004, 2008
Ashiedu Keteke	It shares boundaries with <i>Osu Klottey</i> , <i>Ablekuma South</i> , <i>Ablekuma North</i> , <i>Okaikoi South</i> Sub-Metros and the Gulf of Guinea. Its total land area is 11.5 square kilometres. It consists of three (3) electoral areas - <i>Kinka</i> , <i>Ngleshie</i> and <i>Korle Wokon</i>	Trading forms the occupational activity of the area 2/3 of the whole area. Attracts a mix of commercial migrants (from all over Ghana) into the area on a daily basis. Mixed residential areas include some of the old established indigenous towns of Accra. Classified as 4 th class residential area and low income. Est. Pop 119,478 and a daily floating pop of 200,000.	NDC 2008. NPP 2004 Power Alternation
Ayawaso West	It shares boundaries with <i>Okaikoi North</i> , <i>Ayawaso Central</i> , <i>Ayawaso East</i> and <i>La</i> Sub Metros. The Sub metro consists of five (5) electoral areas: <i>Abelemkpe</i> , <i>Dzorwulu</i> , <i>Roman Ridge/Airport Residential Area</i> , <i>Okponglo</i> and <i>Legon</i> .	Classified as a 1st class residential area, however has pockets of squatter dwellings. It has an estimated population of 134,916.	NPP since 2004, 2008
Osu Klottey	Bounded by <i>Ga</i> District, <i>Okaikoi South</i> , <i>La</i> and <i>Central Ayawaso</i> Sub-Metros and the Gulf of Guinea. It consists of seven (7) electoral areas <i>Kinkawe</i> , <i>Osu Doku</i> , <i>Ringway Estate</i> , <i>Alata</i> , <i>Official Town/Odorna</i> , <i>Adabraka/Tudu</i> and <i>Asylum Down</i> .	Middle income area; 2 nd class residential area. Mixed commercial high street area. Mostly indigenous and pockets of migrants.	NDC since 2004, 2008

Source: Information on Sub-Metros was extracted from the AMA Official Web Site, Annual reports and reports from the Sub-Metros. Information on political colour of Sub-Metros was extracted from parliamentary results of the Ghana Electoral Commission (EC) Gazette of the 2004 and 2008 General Elections.

I now turn to the other major component of this study (radio broadcasting), which is central to the key question this thesis is seeking to answer. The next section provides the general context and outlook of private commercial radio in Ghana, focusing on Joy FM and Peace FM. It then concludes with a general look at their two programmes: *'Feedback'* and *'Wo haw ne sen'* respectively. The idea here is

to provide context to subsequent discussions in the empirical chapters of the thesis.

3.5 The development of electronic broadcasting in Ghana

Electronic media in Ghana started as far back as 1935, during the colonial era.⁵³ Broadcasting was mainly the responsibility of the Ministry of Information. The main responsibility of the Ministry at the time was to develop national communication policies that would ensure effective use of the media for economic and social development of the country. In the early days, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) developed the broadcasting content, which was then broadcast in Ghana on radio ZOY, an Accra-based station established by the colonial administration (Ansah 1985, cited in Yankah 2004: 7). Radio ZOY's initial broadcasting serviced approximately 300 subscribers in Accra. This service later expanded to include other areas including Cape Coast. Between 1940 and 1943, more radio stations opened all over the country. In that same year, local language broadcasting was introduced in four Ghanaian languages---*Akan*, *Ga* and *Ewe* and *Hausa* (Ansah 1985).

The trend in state ownership of electronic broadcasting via radio continued after the establishment of the statutory Gold Coast Broadcasting Service (GCBS) in 1954. The GCBS was then renamed the Ghana Broadcasting Cooperation (GBC) after Ghana attained independence in 1957. GBC became the country's single broadcaster (expanding to many other regions⁵⁴). The single state broadcaster dominated Ghana's media airwaves until 1995, after the country embarked on constitutional rule in 1992. The 1992 Constitution,⁵⁵ explicitly took

⁵³ The then Governor (Sir Arnold Hodson) of Gold Coast established the first and only radio distribution system in Accra. For more on the historical development in Ghana, see Ansu-Kyeremeh and Karikari (1998).

⁵⁴ The GBC continued to grow and expand with 51-wire re-diffusion. In 1986 with a donation from West Germany of a 500-watt transmitter, GBC launched its first regional FM station, Greater Accra Radio (Heath 2001).

⁵⁵ See Chapter 12 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana for detailed elaboration of the freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution. Article 162 of the Chapter for instance, guarantees the following: (a) Freedom and independence of the media are hereby guaranteed. (b) There shall be no media censorship in Ghana. (c) There shall be no impediments to the establishment of private press or media. Article (5) also states, all agencies of the mass media shall, at all times, be free to uphold

into account the liberalisation of the airwaves---to ensure participation of commercial and community radio stations. The Constitution also made room for the establishment of a media regulatory body. Consequently, the National Media Commission (NMC) was established in 1993. Its duties include, but are not limited to, the 'promotion and safeguarding the freedom,' and 'independence of the media.' As a follow-up on the Constitutional requirement to provide access to plural media, the National Communications Authority (NCA) was established in 1996 to grant licenses for the operation of radio, television, telephone and other telecommunications services in Ghana (MFWA 2003: 17). In Ghana, private media houses require a license in order to operate.

Today, out of the 270 FM radio stations granted licenses by the NCA, 217 are operational across the country. Out of this number, 34 are public, 37 are community; 166 are private-commercial, and 13 are campus-based radio stations (NCA 2011).

3.6 The development of private electronic media in Ghana

Although Ghana became a democratic country with an operational constitution in 1992, it was not until 1995 that private commercial broadcasting was allowed. In 1981, the military regime of Flt Lt. Jerry John Rawlings banned private press and broadcasting. The ban was lifted in the early 1991 with the promulgation of the newspaper licensing law, allowing for the re-emergence of the private press (Gadzekpo 2008: 199). Although the new Constitution of 1992 had specific clauses liberalizing the airwaves, private radio stations were not granted licenses to operate until the mid-nineties. This maintained the state-owned (GBC) monopoly on radio in the country. The status quo only challenged in 1994, when an opposition politician, Charles Wereko-Brobby, protested the policy with a series of unauthorised broadcasts on a non-registered radio station called *Radio Eye*. Although the government pressed for criminal prosecution of Wereko-Brobby and confiscated his equipment, he was never formally charged. Rather, his action pressured the government to allow private FM stations in Ghana. This paved the way in 1995 for the allocation of licenses and frequencies through the Frequency Registration and Control Board. The first FM license was granted to

the principles, provisions and objectives of this Constitution, and shall uphold the responsibility and accountability of the Government to the people of Ghana.

Radio Universe, a small college station located at the University of Ghana, run by students (Yankah 2006).

3.7 Joy FM (99.7 MHz)⁵⁶

Joy FM is Accra's premier commercial⁵⁷ private Frequency Modulation (FM) radio station. The station is located at Adabraka,⁵⁸ a Suburb of Accra. The station transmits from a 5-kilowatt transmitter, which can be received within a radius of 180 kilometres. The station also has online resources for listening live via its website: www.myjoyonline.com. Joy FM began broadcasting in May 1995 when the airwaves were liberalised and the ban on private broadcasting was lifted. According to Gadzekpo (2005), by doing so, Joy FM successfully broke the monopoly of the single state broadcaster, the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC).

Joy FM began as an all-music and less talk station, with hourly news syndicated from the state broadcaster, GBC. The station later introduced its own comprehensive news programmes, sports and analysis, talk shows and listener-participatory programmes, including '*Feedback*.' The station is the trendsetter in listener-interactive radio programmes, including robust demands for answers from both public and private office holders regarding service delivery, accountability and public affairs in general. For instance, the station was the first to introduce live citizen participation programmes on private commercial radio in Ghana. '*Feedback*' was Joy FM's flagship consumer protection-tailored campaign platform. The station targets the middle class⁵⁹, educated and mobile adults

⁵⁶ Multimedia Group Limited, a Ghanaian media and entertainment company established in 1995, owns Joy FM. Multimedia currently owns and manages six of Ghana's leading radio stations including Joy FM, six on-line media sites, a multi-channel digital television service and a marketing and events management division.

⁵⁷ Private commercial radio stations are owned by private individuals or by commercial entities that operate for profit. Revenue is generated mainly through advertisement, events and other commercial promotions.

⁵⁸ *Adabraka* is an old established town in Accra. Joy FM has been located and transmitting from *Adabraka* since 1996, after moving from its initial base at *Adjankote* on the border between Accra and the Eastern Region of Ghana.

⁵⁹ The middle class in the Ghanaian context is diverse. Luckham et al. (2005: 3) for definitional purposes conceptualise the middle class in Ghana under four broad areas---the entrepreneurial

(Yankah 2004). Findings from the survey conducted during fieldwork in Accra in 2010 confirm this, and shows that not only does the station target the educated and middle class; this group of listeners also have a strong preference for the radio station. Table 3 below provides the social class of people who listen to Joy FM. Here, 'educational level' is used as a proxy to determine social class.

The statistical information (data) presented below, and in this section of Chapter 3, was derived from results of a representative survey conducted by in Accra from October and November 2010. The random survey sample consisted of 615 randomly selected respondents drawn from population universe (3,162,814), which is the total population of the relevant area of the AMA and areas estimated to be the conurbation of urban Accra. The sample size of 615 produces a margin of error of ± 4 and a confidence level of 95%. Details of the sample design and processes are described in Chapter Four. The demographics of the sample are attached in Appendix 2.

Table 3: Educational Level of listeners of Joy FM

Level of Education	Count	Percent
Secondary/high school completed	52	28.7%*
University completed	38	21.%*
Post-secondary qualifications, other than university e.g.	42	23.2%*
Some university	31	17.1%*
Some secondary/high school	8	4.4%
Post-graduate	6	3.3%
Primary school completed	2	1.1%
No formal schooling	1	0.6%
Informal schooling (including Koranic)	1	0.6%
Some primary schooling	-	-
Total	181	100%

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

The total number (181) represents those who listen to only Joy FM. This differs from those who listen to this station as well as those who will tune in occasionally to listen to specific programmes.

The medium of transmission is ninety per cent (90%) English, with a select number of Ghanaian language programmes (mainly religious and social issues); '*Asetena mu nsem*' (*issues about Life*) is one such programme, which is presented in a mix of Akan and English, designed to cater for and satisfy listeners who do not fall within the educated cohort.

In spite of the fact that the station is skewed in terms of broadcast language, the station is amongst the most listened to and trusted radio station in Accra. The station has gained listeners' approval since its inception in 1995; and has won

bourgeoisie, professionals and other independent educated groups, state elites, and middle class members of the Ghanaian Diaspora.

awards for most of its primetime programmes.⁶⁰ Nearly a third (29.4%) of the population of Accra listens to Joy FM. Table 4 below lists nineteen (19) radio stations listened to frequently by residents in the city of Accra.

Table 4: Most listened to radio stations in the Accra Metropolis

Radio Station	Frequency	Percent
Joy FM	181	29.4**
Peace FM	138	22.4**
Radio Gold	40	6.5
Adom FM	40	6.5
Obonu FM	40	6.5
Citi FM	26	4.2
Atlantis Radio	25	4.1
Hitz FM	21	3.4
Asempa FM	20	3.3
Y FM	31	5.0
Uniiq FM	17	2.8
Top Radio	11	1.8
Sunny FM	7	1.1
Choice FM	6	1.0
Happy FM	5	.8
X FM	3	.5
Vibe FM	2	.3
Spring FM	1	.2
Okay FM	1	.2
Total	615	100

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

There are 28 FM radio stations on air in the Accra-Tema Metropolis, however, the 19 listed in the table are ones mentioned by respondents as stations they listen to most frequently.

Of those who listen to Joy FM, the majority, 3 in 5 (61.9%) listen to the station 'often', whilst almost a third, (27.1%) listen to the station 'every time it broadcasts without switching to another radio station.

Table 5 below shows the break down in frequency in of listenership, that is, those who listen to only Joy FM and no other radio station.

⁶⁰ Joy FM has won several awards most recent ones are: 2010, Joy News – won News Reporting (Radio category) GJA Awards. 2009, CIMG Award for Media Organization of the Year 2008; CIMG Award for Best Morning Show of the Year 2008; and GJA Programme of the Year - Joy FM's Super Morning Show. In 2006, Joy FM won the National Association of Broadcasters' (NAB). International Broadcasting Excellence Award in recognition of the station's leadership role in community service among operators not only in the Ghanaian radio market, but internationally. It was also adjudged the Best Radio Station in West Africa and the second best station on the continent in the first BBC Africa Radio Awards held recently in Nairobi, Kenya. Joy FM won the best "Local On-air Campaign" award, a category designed to honour stations that have carried out or supported a social campaign or initiative that has had a positive effect on the lives of the listening community that the station serves. Information available from: <http://www.multimediaghana.com/awards.asp> (Accessed, 2011-09-04).

Table 5: Frequency of listenership (Joy FM)

How often do you listen to Joy	Count	percent
Often	112	61.8%
Every time it broadcasts	49	27.1%
Just sometimes	9	5%
Don't know	10	5.5%
Rarely	1	0.6%
Total	181	100%

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

The majority of those who listen to Joy FM also have a preference for the station because they have overall trust and faith in the package the stations provides. For instance, 28.7% prefer listening to Joy rather than other radio stations because of accuracy in reportage; 37% because of the quality of programming and 22.1% because of the professionalism and skill of presenters (see Table 6 below). Overall, the majority, (94.5%) of those who prefer Joy FM to other radio stations have a resounding trust in the station.

Table 6: Reasons for listening to Joy FM

Reason	Count	percent
Quality of programming	67	37%***
Accurate and reliable source of information, quality news, educative and ...	52	28.7%**
Their presenters	40	22.1%*
Popularity and reach	9	5%
Sports reporting & coverage	6	3.3%
Quality of music played	4	2.2%
Other reasons (respondent just likes the station, not loud, mature, entertaining, non political)	3	1.7%
Choice of Language (Local)	-	-
Total	181	100%

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

The question was open-ended; responses were post-coded into fewer categories post fieldwork.

3.7.1 The 'Feedback' programme⁶¹

The 'Feedback' programme was the first of its kind aired on a private FM station in Ghana (Former producer, 'Feedback' 2010). The creation of the on-air campaign aimed to address the following: (a) Issues about poor services (private or public) callers have personally experienced; (b) general public concern about problems they have seen. The aim was then to help address those problems on behalf of the caller by:

⁶¹ The programme 'Feedback' had been suspended at the time the author went to the field in 2010, due to differences in programme format and presentation style between then presenter of the programme and programme directors. As explained in the methodology section of the thesis, the absence of 'Feedback' on air did not affect or compromise the fieldwork, nor findings discussed in this thesis.

- (1) Following up with the institutions concerned and securing a resolution
- (2) Drawing attention to the issues or the problems, by publicising them through broadcast
- (3) Getting the authorities, or institutions the problems were directed at to answer directly to callers and users of their services by inviting them into the studio to answer questions and queries from both listeners and programme presenters
- (4) Report back to callers on the resolution or otherwise of their complaints

Whilst '*Feedback*' was running, the programme aired on Thursday afternoons between the hours of 2:00-3:00 PM and was sponsored by the same sponsor (MTN)⁶² for the ten years that it was on air. Callers to the programme were encouraged to phone in to lodge complaints, only on the day and time the programme aired live, and only when phone lines were activated.⁶³ The programme encouraged complaints that were made to the appropriate quarters and had received no response from the service providers in question.

The programme process

The '*Feedback*' programme began with the signature tune for the programme, then an introduction of the programme by the presenter: '*This is 'Feedback', your weekly consumer protection programme...*' Sometimes, the presenter played music of his/her choice (usually depending on the mood of the programme, or the topic for discussion). This method, according to a former presenter of the programme, was to make the programme lively, as it was an afternoon programme. Adverts of sponsors of the programme are then played for about four minutes. The presenter's choice of music was then played in-between the announcement of the day's topic and guest for the day to be called live on air or in-studio etc. (usually public officials of state agencies, or officials of service

⁶² MTN is a telecommunications company, which provides cellular and other related services in Ghana; it has had a number of name changes since its inception---from *Spacefon*, *Areeba* and currently MTN.

⁶³ The time for activating phone lines varies for each programme. For instance, phone lines are opened right at the beginning of the programme, or 20-30 minutes into the programme when there are studio interviews with officials.

providers, whose services had received complaints). Not all programmes had guest interviews. There were days when the whole programme was dedicated to phone-ins and responses to previous complaints, or to lambast officials who for fear of public, or the presenter's reprisals, did not show up for interviews or became unreachable when they were called on their phones. *'Feedback'* used only traditional forms of telephony. That is, only live phone calls to their studio landline numbers, announced at the beginning, and during the course of the programme. Although the radio station has dedicated text messaging, as well as website facilities to encourage larger participation via these other forms of media, *'Feedback' preferred to have 'real voices' to the issues raised---a very significant way of connecting to real people'* (Interview with: JFM-MP, 11/08/2010, Accra).⁶⁴

Once the phone lines were activated, calls received by the producers were transferred to the studio without any censoring through a delayed broadcast system⁶⁵. Although the programme tried to limit the time that callers could have on air, they were sometimes unable to cut some of the calls short depending on the nature of the complaint. All complaints received on air were written and typed out according to name, location and nature of complaint. The *'Feedback'* team then did a follow-up on the issue, including visits to the specific locations to ascertain the truthfulness or otherwise of the complaints. In cases where majority of the complaints deal with similar issues, resource persons (usually public officials) were invited from the affected institutions to answer to the complaints as well as, other issues that arose during the course of the programme. Again, the phone lines were opened for callers to air their complaints about those particular institutions.

The team then gave complainants a timeframe (usually a week) within which the complaints made would be addressed. Then on subsequent editions of the programme, announcements were made of the resolution of problems, sometimes followed by comments on the complaint; institution involved, or how

⁶⁴ I have anonymised the identity of the presenters and producers of the radio programmes throughout the thesis for confidentiality reasons. Their names and references to what they said in interviews are assigned codes: JFM-MP, PFM-NY etc.

⁶⁵ Radio stations in Ghana do not have a delayed broadcasting facility. There is no censorship of calls before put through live on air. Often, it is only when a call is put through that a presenter or producer of a programme can tell what the caller would say. It is also only then that, they can censor by cutting-off a call if the content of that call, or language used by the caller, is not broadcast-worthy.

the problem was resolved. This announcement was made with the hope that the person who made a particular complaint would tune in to hear that the issue had been resolved or was not be resolved. The programme presenter then called the complainant by name⁶⁶, for example:

Albert, you called last week about your rubbish not being collected for two weeks. We contacted the Sub Metro responsible for your area, and they assured us that the rubbish has been cleared. We have been there to check and, yes, the rubbish has been cleared ('Transcript: 'Feedback', Joy FM, 17th May, 2007).

The programme took pains to address each complaint systematically. Although not all problems were resolved, the programme team were honest enough to inform the callers that they were still working on their complaints. Some of the problems never really got a response. Callers also sometimes got back to the radio station during the programme, to confirm that their problem was solved, although the majority did not.

The nature of calls/complaints received on the programme varied. They ranged from personal problems that were more parochial and not communal-centred, to major collective problem calls, such as, bad roads, faulty traffic lights, indiscriminate power cuts, water related problems (potable and shortage), burst pipes, health care provision, uncollected refuse, choked drains and related environmental unsanitary conditions in their own, or in other neighbourhoods.

Table 7 below presents examples of the kind of calls received on 'Feedback'. 'Feedback' received 585 complaints during the period 2005-2008. Although the programme did not have a dedicated text messaging number, out of the 585 complaints received, ten of the complaints received were text messages from other dedicated text numbers for other programmes on Joy FM. In the table, the calls have been categorised according to type of call (i.e., personal, or whether their resolution produced a public good outcome) and type of complaint. The categorisation of calls is discussed in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

⁶⁶ The presenters said: '[...] regardless of whether the names they give are real or not, we call them by their names because we know on radio, our audience can't see us. They rely on our voices to put a face to the voice. As if to create a face-to-face scenario [...] this also helps to make them feel comfortable, and helps create an intimate relationship with us and. Also, there are certain callers who are regular callers so we identify with them. You see, what we do is like a business partnership, we are providing a service to our customers we want our customers to have faith in us and keep coming back.'

Table 7: Example of calls received on 'Feedback'

Caller's Name	Location	Classification of problem	Summary of complaint
Frank	Accra Central	public good	Unhappy about the rough-based nature of the speed bumps or level crossing at the railway crossings in Dzorwulu which subsequently cause a lot of traffic jams
Adams	Dansoman	Personal problem that has wider public appeal	Two complaints: (1) Trotro Drivers cause a lot of problems to the Bank customers besides the security risk posed to customers cars, (2) Difficulty parking at The Trust Bank, Trust Towers Branch
David	Dodowa	public good	Dodowa-Afienua road in bad state as they believe the contractor who did the initial works did a shoddy job
Anita	Adabraka	Personal	Confused about the filling of a 12.5 kg gas cylinder to the level of 13.5kg
Anonymous		public good	Complained about the health risks workers in the Trust Towers are exposed to, because of the smoking of two white expatriate workers who work for a company located in the building called Sea Express limited.
Eugene	Achimota	Personal	Wants to find out if the GCB/Ministry of Education mini Black Stars world cup raffle draw has been held!
Nii		Personal	Poor customer service at the Korle-Bu teaching Hospital in the hands of a Medical Doctor.
Reps of East Legon Residence Ass. ⁶⁷	East Legon	public good	Unhappy with the Lands Commission for selling out a piece of land, ostensibly located in East Legon, which falls within a buffer zone. Petitions and complaints were subsequently sent to the Commission by the residents association with no response yet.

Source: Author, data in this table was extracted from 'Feedback' transcripts: September 2005; March 2006; April 2007 and February 2008.

Of the calls received on the 'Feedback' programme (565) covering the period of study, more than half (53.5%) were calls whose resolutions provided public or collective good outcomes. The remaining (46.5%) were personal problem calls, whose resolution did not benefit the wider public.

The 'Feedback' programme had good listenership when it aired. Although the programme was not airing during fieldwork in 2010, there was an attempt to gauge its overall listenership. The majority (39.7%) of those interviewed who listen to radio and tuned in to listen to 'Feedback', listened 'often,' whilst, only 10.6% of those who had ever listened to 'Feedback' said they did so 'rarely'. See Table 8 below, which shows the detailed breakdown of the results.

⁶⁷ The examples of calls shown here were selected to give an idea of the type of calls received on 'Feedback.' Also of note is that of all the 565 complaints received on the programme during the study period, only one call was made for and on behalf of a group. More so, the complaint related to private land ownership.

Table 8: How often listen to 'Feedback' on Joy FM

	Count	Percent
Often	127	39.7%
Just sometimes	91	28.4%
Every time it broadcast	68	21.3%
Rarely	34	10.6%
Total	320	100%

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

The total here (320) includes those who listen to only Joy FM and those who have preference for other radio stations but had tuned in to listen to the programme in question.

The next part of this section looks at Peace FM, the second private commercial FM station this study has looked at.

3.8 Peace FM (104.3 MHz)

Peace FM is also located in the city of Accra; at *Mile 7 Junction* a suburb of Accra, bounded by *Achimota* and the *Nsawam Road*.⁶⁸ The station transmits on a 5-kilowatt transmitter, can be received within a radius of 150 kilometres. Peace FM also has online resources (albeit in English language) for live listener participation via its website: www.peacefmonline.com.

Just like Joy FM, Peace FM is the capital city's premier local language (vernacular) FM station. It started operating in May 1999 after several English language stations had been established. The station's main language of presentation is Akan⁶⁹ (although Akan is not the indigenous local language spoken in Accra there is a large group of people whose second language in Accra is Akan) with a little English depending on the presenter or programme. Peace FM took advantage of the large indigenous language vacuum created by the earlier stations, and targeted the semi literate and lower class audiences. According to Yankah (2004: 10), the 'voiceless' majority---mostly, mother tongue or second language speakers of Akan---were frustrated by the Anglo-centric, and sometimes anti-indigenous language policy of the other stations.

⁶⁸ Peace FM was at this location as at the time of fieldwork. They have moved to a multimedia complex located at *Abeka Junction* a mile away from their previous location.

⁶⁹ Akan is not the indigenous local language spoken in Accra. Nonetheless, the large cosmopolitan group of people living in Accra whose second language is Akan/Twi, conduct business and other daily interaction in it.

He states:

[...] to many, this was liberation---now, they could listen to local language programmes and participate in and contribute to debates on national issues.

The programme content for the station includes, but is not limited to news, music, current affairs, talk shows and listener participatory programmes including 'Wo haw ne sen,' sports, religious and phone-in programmes (all in Akan/Twi).

Peace FM is the second most listened to radio station in Accra. At least 22.4% of residents in the city of Accra prefer this station (see Table 4 on page 72). The radio station promotes an open door policy. It operates as though it were a charity organisation, providing welfare support to many. All manner of people walk into, or call the radio station on a daily basis with a range of personal problems including financial, spiritual needs, marital problems and other personal requests. Unlike Joy FM, the social class of the station's ardent listener is within the mid-low class level. In addition, using education as a proxy, majority (78.2%)⁷⁰ of the listenership base of the station do not possess qualification above secondary education.

Table 9: Educational level of listeners to Peace FM

Educational Level	Count	Percent
Secondary/high school completed	56	40.6%
Some Secondary/high school	22	15.9%
Post-secondary qualifications, other than university e.g.	21	15.2%
No formal education	18	13.1
Primary School completed	9	6.5%
Some University	5	3.6%
University completed	3	2.2%
Informal Schooling (Including Koranic)	3	2.2%
Post-graduate	1	0.7%
Total	138	100%

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

The total number (138) represents those who listen to only Peace FM. This total differs from those who listen to only this station and those who will tune in occasionally to listen to specific programmes.

⁷⁰ This percentage is an aggregate of the following: 'Secondary/high school completed' 'Some Secondary/high school', 'Some primary schooling', 'Primary school completed', 'No formal schooling', and 'Informal schooling (Including Koranic).'

Peace FM has popular support amongst its listeners: 2 in 10 (22.4%), of those interviewed (615) for the survey said they listen to that station. Of this percentage, more than half, (65.2%) listen 'often'; whilst, 21.7% listen religiously without changing their dial to any other radio station (see Table 10 below).

Table 10: Frequency of listenership (Peace FM)

	Count	Percent
Often	90	65.2%
Every time it broadcasts	30	21.7%
Just sometimes	12	8.7%
Rarely	3	2.2%
Don't know	3	2.2%
Total	138	100%

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

Similar to Joy FM, the majority, (90.6%) trust the information they get from Peace FM. This level of trust also derives from the faith they have in the radio station's quality in programming. For instance, of those who listen to Peace FM a third, (30.4%) do so because of the quality of programming. Other reasons why they listen are the accuracy and reliability of the news and information the radio station provides. The language in which the radio station broadcasts is also another reason why the radio station has high listenership (see Table 11 below).

Table 11: Reasons for listening to Peace FM

Reason	Count	Percent
Quality of programming	42	30.4%
Accurate and reliable source of information, quality news, educative and ...	42	30.4%
Choice of language (local)	21	15.2%
Their presenters	15	10.9%
Popularity and reach	12	8.8%
Quality of music played	5	3.6%
Other reasons (respondent just likes the station, not loud, mature, entertaining, non political)	1	0.7%
Sports reporting and coverage	-	-
Total	138	100

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

3.8.1 The 'Wo haw ne sen' programme

Peace FM was the first to introduce listener participation via phone-in in vernacular (Akan) in Accra. 'Wo haw ne sen' is aired on Wednesday afternoons between the 2:20 PM and 4:30 PM. It is an award-winning⁷¹ citizen's phone-in

⁷¹ Awarded Chartered Institute of Marketing, Ghana (CIMG) radio programme of the year, 2001; Radio and Television Awards (RTV) favourite radio talk programme, 2002; Ghana Journalist Association (GJA) Radio programme of the year, 2010.

programme similar to *'Feedback'*. Just as *'Feedback'*, *'Wo haw ne sen'* is Peace FM's main consumer protection programme. Some supporters and critics at Joy FM have said it was a direct replication of *'Feedback'*. The one-hour thirty-minute programme is interlaced with music (Christian only), advert breaks and Live-Presenter-Mentions (LPM). The programme format also includes receiving live phone calls from all manner of people, text messaging, interviews with public and private officials (invited into the studios or called live on telephone).

The programme also has three permanent panellists consisting of a legal practitioner, a medical practitioner to answer specific questions on health and legal matters and a programme gimmick, known as, *Computer-man*.⁷² This individual's role in the studio panel is to give dates without referring to a calendar or document. Besides these, everything else done on the programme is similar to *'Feedback'*; that is, they listen to complaints via landline phones live on air or cell phone text messaging, follow-up on issues and get back to listeners with responses about the outcome of their complaints on subsequent programmes. *'Wo haw ne sen'* also calls or invites officials live on either phone or in-studio to answer specific listener concerns. The only significant difference in process from *'Feedback'* is that *'Wo haw ne sen'* allows text messaging whereas *'Feedback'* prefers the more traditional 'voice call only' programme format.

Similar to the high ratings for its host radio station, *'Wo haw ne sen'* is well listened to. More than half, (59.2%) of respondents in the survey who listen to radio said they had tuned in to listen to the programme. Of this group, thirty per cent (30%) listen to the programme 'often' whilst only 16% tuned in 'rarely' to the programme (see Table 12 below). Whilst personal listenership is high, an appreciable number of those who listen to the programme, (67%) also know others who also listen to *'Wo haw ne sen'* programme.

⁷² This individual is called the *Computer Man* because he has the ability to tell and recollect dates and events on the Julian calendar referring to any document or equipment. Callers to the programme with specific request about dates call the programme asking for dates. For instance, a caller asks for the fifth Saturday in March 1912, or the day of the week of October 13, 1920; and this man is able to give the precise date in seconds (almost instantaneously) without referring to any document. He is on the panel to serve those who do not have any records of their birth or dates. He serves as an informal document depository of dates, a role that should be carried out by plays an informal role of the births registry or the national archives.

Table 12: Ever listened to 'Wo haw ne sen'?

Listens to Wo haw ne sen	Frequency	Percent
Yes	363	59.2%
No	256	41.8%
Total	613	100.0%

Missing data=2.

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

Table 13: How often listen to 'Wo haw ne sen'?

	Count	Percent
Often	109	30%
Just Sometimes	104	28.7
Rarely	58	16
Every Time It Broadcasts	83	22.8
Don't Know	9	2.5
Total	363	100%

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

The total here (363) includes those who listen to only Peace FM only and those who have preference for other radio stations but had tuned in to listen to the programme in question.

'Wo haw ne sen,' just as 'Feedback,' receives a lot of calls and text messages regarding all manner of complaints when it airs. From the period July to November 2010, during this author's observation of the programme, it received a total of 115 calls and text messages. The complaints received live on air covered all manner of service delivery problems experienced at the individual level or at the community/ public level. The majority of text messages received were mainly personal problems dealing with the individual's health, legal matters and other public service delivery issues experienced at the household level, for example, problems with electricity meter reading, cost of purchasing water etc.

Table 14 below show examples of some of the calls (category), received on the 'Wo haw ne sen' programme.

Table 14: Examples of calls and text messages received on 'Wo haw ne sen'

Caller's Name	Location	Classification of problem	Summary of complaint
Evans	Ashiaman	public good	Unhappy about the way some sort of sewerage water running freely in the Ashiaman market, whilst the market women sit around it to sell their wares ('Wo haw ne sen', September, 15, 2010).
Adams	St Johns	Public good	Unhappy about the level of dust those of them living along the main road have to endure due to the construction of the Accra-Kumasi road. Everything in their home is covered in red dust. She wants the authorities or the contractors responsible to wet the road from time to time to reduce the dust. ('Wo haw ne sen' August 11, 2010).
Text message from Becky	-	Personal	Would like to know from the studio doctor what the symptoms for HIV are ('Wo haw ne sen', September 1, 2010).
Text Message	Kwabanya	Personal (dealing with public service)	Unhappy about the high price of water from private water tanker operators. They also do not know the source of the water they sell to them. (Wo haw ne sen', September 15, 2010)

Source: Author

These examples were extracted from 'Wo haw ne sen' programme. Two examples (Evans and Adams) in this table were originally in Twi. The author did translation into English. The examples from text messages were written and received in English.

A detailed discussion of type of calls received on the two phone-in programmes, and how the programmes follow-up on them is discussed in Chapter 5.

3.9 Radio programme teams

The programme teams consist of at least four to five individuals (the presenter, a senior producer, assistant producers and a technician (who handles the console). The presenters are the 'voice' and 'imagined face' of the programme. They read the script and receive the complaints live on air; they then announce the responses back to the callers on air on subsequent edition of the programmes. They are also responsible for conducting both phone and in-studio interviews with invited public office holders/those in authority. In some cases, as with '*Feedback*,' the presenter works as producer as well. When the presenter doubles as producer, he/she decides the issues and topic to be addressed, makes some personal contacts with the officials in questions and writes the script for the programme, and is responsible for following-up on complaints received during the programme. According to a former '*Feedback*'s presenter,

[...] it is important to have a team who have the same vision as you, if you don't, they drag you back because they don't see things the way you see them. I kept telling my bosses that there is so much we can do on a programme like 'Feedback' and that I am not going to sit on air and read responses to people as though I am reading announcements like news reader; I would rather go out there and follow-up on the issues myself (Interview with: JFM-MP, 11/08/2010, Accra).

The producers are responsible for writing and/ or assisting with the script, receiving and screening the calls, taking down names, location of callers, and queuing-up calls before transferring them live into the studio. They are also responsible for making contact with the services, institutions or organisations callers complain about, following-up with the aim of getting resolutions to those problems as well as writing out the responses for those complaints (either resolved, unresolved or yet to be done) to be read on air.

3.9.1 Background of programme team members: education

The level of education of team members is important to the success of the radio campaigns. The presenters of both programmes are highly educated, have good

knowledge of a broad range of subjects and issues, and are fluent in both English language and Akan (in the case of '*Wo haw ne sen*'). The same applies to the producers of the programmes. The presenter of '*Feedback*' (this person was hosting the programme before it was suspended in 2008) had three years experience hosting the programme. He is very eloquent and fluent in English language. He holds a postgraduate degree in Clinical Psychology, and teaches that at the Ghana Medical School as well as part-time at the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD). The presenter of '*Wo haw ne sen*' has ten years experience hosting the programme and is a retired educationist, and professional counsellor with a postgraduate level education. She is fluent in English and exceptionally eloquent in the use of the Akan language.

The producers of the programmes have diplomas or degrees from the Ghana Institute of Journalism, or from other recognised tertiary institutions and are fluent in both broadcast languages (that is Akan and English). They have exceptional public relations skills. The senior producer of '*Wo haw ne sen*' has a diploma from the Ghana Institute of Journalism (the country's premier journalism school). This individual has attended several short courses in broadcast journalism; and has several years experience in broadcast journalism; has produced '*Wo haw ne sen*' for seven years. The senior producer sits-in to present the show when the regular presenter is away. The senior producer of '*Feedback*' has a degree in social science from the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST).

The next chapter (Four) sets out the objectives of the study. It also provides explanation of the research design and methods used in collecting data from the field.

Chapter 4

The research process: objectives, research design and research approach

4. Introduction

This chapter sets forth the objectives of the study. It describes and explains the research design and data collection methods used to answer the research questions posed by the study. It also provides justification for cases selected. The chapter concludes with the difficulties and limitations of the study.

4.1 Research objectives

This research is guided by the following objectives and questions. They are:

- a.) To generate empirically grounded theoretical insights into the relationship between a new form of public voice mediated through radio phone-in programmes and how public service delivery providers respond to it.
- b.) To complement work in the voice and accountability literature, where the idea of mediated voice (or voice expressed through radio programmes) as a voice mechanism is new and untested and offers a more nuanced understanding of the processes available.
- c.) To fill a gap, particularly in media studies, which is weak on empirical studies that look specifically at how voice expressed on radio can be used as a viable voice mechanism in developing democracies.

4.2 The research design

The main proposition put forward by this study is based on the 'mediated voice' concept. It is argued that radio phone-in programmes work well, not just, because they act as a conduit for individual complaints, but also because they are able to aggregate individual voices through a process of representation, which mimics collective action and short-circuits the need for collective action by citizens.

The thesis is an attempt to demonstrate the credibility of this idea by looking at how the conversion (by radio stations) is done, and the extent of its effectiveness in representing citizens and getting responses from public service providers. The research was designed to do an in-depth, process-based study of the phenomenon under investigation. In addition, because the study is about a phenomenon that has not been previously empirically tested, at least at time of this study it needed focus and concentration on a few cases, rather than a large number of comparative cases.

In what follows, I describe the research design, justification for the choice of cases and methods used in collecting data.

4.2.1 The single case study design (a relationship design)

Different forms of qualitative traditions exist; and the design of research within each has distinct features (Creswell 2007). The case study is a qualitative methodology during which the investigator conducts a holistic inquiry into a phenomenon within its natural setting. Case studies involve the development of detailed and intensive knowledge about a single 'case', or of a small number of related 'cases' (Thomas 2011; Gerring 2007). Case studies can be applied in order to accomplish various aims, such as providing description, explanation, exploratory, testing or generating a theory (Thomas 2011; Yin 1989; Gerring 2007). Case study designs may consist of either single or multiple cases. The use of single case studies is appropriate where, for example, the phenomenon provides a critical case for testing a well-formulated theory. In addition, single case are useful if the phenomenon under investigation is unique, deviates from the norm or is likely to reveal new aspects of aspects of phenomena which was not previously obvious to scientific investigation (Bryman 2008: 52-58; Clark & Creswell 2008: 86; Gerring 2007; Yin 1989:46).

This study adopts a single case study design to look at the cases. It investigates the multi-level relationships between two similar radio programmes in Accra: '*Wo haw ne sen*' and former '*Feedback*' programmes, those who call the programmes and a public service delivery provider (the AMA/WMD) in Accra that responds to their calls.

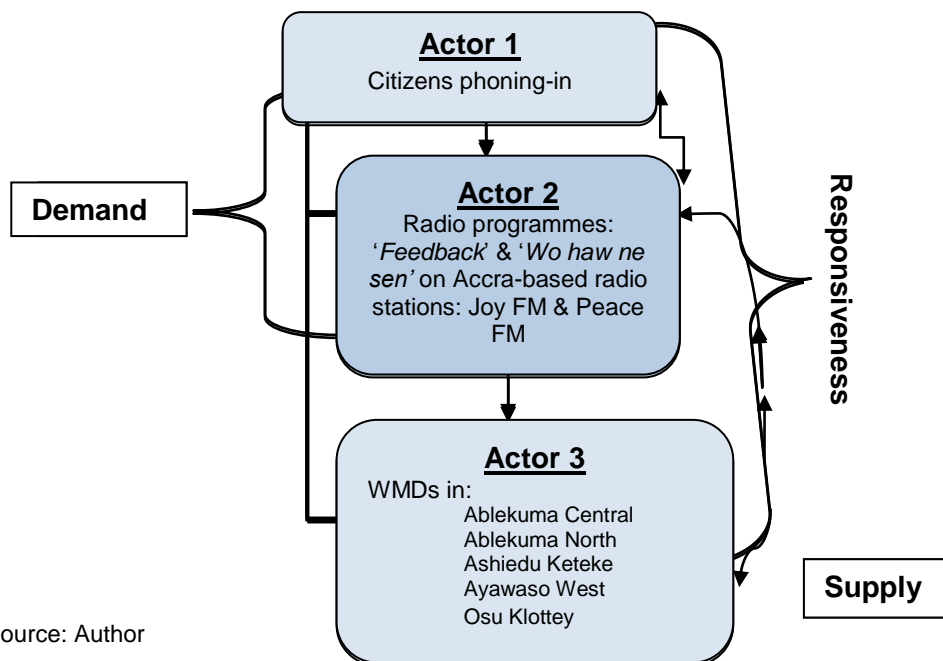
I chose the design that would help untangle and understand the relationship between the three distinct actors in the study, and how the actions of two might

affect the behaviour of the third. In addition, this approach was to help answer the main question: *To what extent and by what mechanisms do citizens' demands for better municipal service delivery through the medium of radio phone-ins influence the responsiveness of a public service provider (Waste Management Department, WMD of the Accra Metropolitan Authority, AMA)?*

In addition, the choice of design was mainly informed by the fact that the study was exploratory (Ragin 1994: 45). In the case of this study---the idea of 'mediated voice' in which radio phone-in programmes are able to represent individual voices as though they were a collective problem through a process of representation, which short-circuits the need for collective action on the part of citizens, is new and untested. Moreover, the intention was to generate empirically grounded theoretical insights into the relationship between a new kind of public voice (radio phone-ins) and the responsiveness of public sector service providers.

For clarity on the distinct actors in the study, Figure 10 below provides a pictorial representation of the relationship amongst the actors in the in the selected case.

Figure 10: Diagrammatic view of the relationship among the actors in the case study



Source: Author

4.3 Justification for the research design

The case study represents a phenomenon in urban Ghana---purposely-designed radio phone-in programmes for citizens to call in at an allotted time about issues that have public good attributes. This activity represents a complex phenomenon and requires detailed analysis. Thus, in this thesis the single case was preferred because the selected case provides an example for exploration into a new form of public opinion. The use of citizen's voice, technology (telephone) and radio, and its impact on the attitudes of public officials in the delivery of public services as well as how radio the programmes interact with governments in specific ways has not been previously studied systematically.⁷³ It was useful to choose a research design that ensures a thorough and holistic view of the case. The single-case therefore enables one to concentrate on studying and understanding the various aspects of the case. It also allows for careful process-tracing in order to reveal causality (Bryman 2008: 57; Gerring 2007: 118; Gerring 2001: 131).

It is important to mention here that I began this study in 2008. I acknowledge that since then a considerable amount of interest in the area of interactive radio in Africa has developed. I recognise that there are currently a few studies on this subject matter. However, they have a different focus. I note here, the Centre for Governance and Human Rights (CGHR) at the University of Cambridge who are currently undertaking studies in Kenya, Ghana, Uganda and Zambia.⁷⁴ CGHR's research examines how innovations in Information and Communication Technology, ICT (mainly text messaging) are enriching citizen-led governance in Africa among many issue. This study is specifically about how the ways and mechanism through which phone calls to specific radio programmes can elicit responsiveness from public officials in a developing democracy.

Carleton University's Centre for Media and Transitional Societies is also currently examining the impact of the convergence between radio and new communication

⁷³ It is important to mention here that there have been episodic examples of how radio and citizen voice engender responsiveness from those in authority. For example, a study by DRI (2008) in evaluating successes of Voice and Accountability in the Democratic Republic of Congo mentions how the proximity of radio to citizens has facilitated justice for the poor and encouraged the reduction in abusive practices by those in authority (DRI (2008, p. 41). See: http://diplomatie.belgium.be/en/binaries/evaluation_cva_drc_en_tcm312-64787.pdf for complete report and discussion of the DRC findings.

⁷⁴ For more on the CGHR study, see: http://www.polis.cam.ac.uk/cghr/research_sms.html.

technologies. The Radio Convergence and Development in Africa programme (RDCA) acknowledges that other forms of media continue to evolve, yet radio is still the dominant mass-medium in Africa. However, their interest is in the increase in mobile phone penetration in Africa and how that has ushered in a significant change in interpersonal communications and potentially changing the conventional broadcast medium of radio. Their interest is also in understanding the effect of radio content and radio interplay with audiences, as well as social, economic and political development in Africa.⁷⁵

4.3.1 Justification for selected cases

‘Feedback’ and ‘Wo haw ne sen’ programmes (from 2005-2010)

The selected cases are Joy FMs former ‘Feedback’ and Peace FMs ‘Wo haw ne sen’ programmes. These programmes were selected from amongst many other call-in programmes on FM radio stations in Accra (over 28), because, they are hosted by the two most listened to and trusted radio stations in Accra. At least 50% of the population of Accra listens to these two radio stations. The two programmes: ‘Feedback’ and ‘Wo haw ne sen’ were also selected because, they have run the longest (since 1993 and 1995 respectively). Second, the programmes are well structured, and professionally produced. In addition, they provide a specific link between the listening public and public institutions through the deliberate creation of avenues for citizens to question public service delivery, through live phone-ins. Third, the dedicated manner in which the programmes follow up on issues raised by callers was also a key reason for selection among many other phone-in programmes in Accra. Finally, these two programmes are the ones (in Ghana) which create the outcomes this thesis explores. The hope is that, by critically examining them, some answers to key questions this study seeks to address can be answered.

The Waste Management Department (WMDs) of five Sub-Metropolitan Districts Councils under the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA)

This department (public agency) was selected because of the nature of the *public goods* (sanitation management) in question. This was also determined by the

⁷⁵ See: http://web.idrc.ca/en/ev-139447-201-1-DO_TOPIC.html for full background information on the RDCA project.

frequency of complaints directed at them (how the determination was done, is explained in subsequent sections of this chapter). The WMD/AMA was also selected because sanitation relates to public health. Unsanitary conditions create very large negative externalities, the costs of which are borne by the whole community; a reduction in those costs (better health) is therefore a *public good*. Finally, the WMD/AMA represents a typical local government bureaucracy located within the local government structure in Ghana. It is characterised by some of the following: (i) questionable organisational culture; (ii) permeated by politics (Ayee & Crook, 2007); (iii) poorly paid and under-resourced staff (Ayee & Crook 2007; Killick 2005: 4).

Time frame

The period (2005-2010) was chosen because it represents the time when citizens' participation in radio as well as the role and intensity of the electronic media in public life is believed to have increased (Gadzekpo 2008; Prempeh 2008; Tettey 2006). The period also represents a time in the growth of mobile phone penetration in Ghana (NCA 2008). Ownership and usage of mobile telephony became affordable, thus increasing the number of people who not only had access, but also could access mobile phones from table top operators or from family and / or friends.⁷⁶ The selected start year of 2005 was a year after another successful election (2004, the 4th) in Ghana, which meant further tests of the freedoms associated with democratic governance. For instance, the Kufuor-led administration⁷⁷, which was in government at the time, was considered a more '*media friendly*' administration compared to its Rawlings-led predecessor. The period after 2008 was selected because it represents another alternation of power from one democratically elected government to another and again a good test for how well democratic governance shapes citizen behaviour. Finally, the electronic data available on '*Feedback*' programme at Joy FM covered this period.

⁷⁶ James (2011: 729-35) points out the 'culture of sharing' in many parts of the developing world. He notes that 'it has been recognised that a large amount of non-commercial sharing of mobile phones takes place amongst owners, family and friends in developing countries.'

⁷⁷ Former President J.A. Kufuor's party, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) wrestled power from the Rawlings-led NDC in 2000 after being in opposition for over 20 years. This led to power alternation from one democratically elected government to another, which had never occurred in the country's political history.

4.4 Methodology used in the study

Single case studies have limitations when it comes to making broad generalisation to other phenomena. There is the danger of establishing spurious causal relationships between variables (Johnson & Reynolds 2007: 50). With this in mind, multiple sources of evidence were used to help overcome potential problems regarding the validity and reliability of findings. The use of methodological triangulation was therefore required to test the consistency of the findings. This was also done in order to increase the chances of control, or at least, assess some of the threats of multiple causes influencing the results.

4.4.1 *The mixed method approach*

This study employed the mixed method case study approach (Bryman 2008, 2006 1998; Greene et al. 2008; Gerring 2007; George and Bennett 2005; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie 2004). Clark et al. (2008: 364) define mixed methods research design as '*a design for collecting, analysing, and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data in a study in order to understand a research problem.*' Some critics of mixed methods dispute its practicability because of incompatibility (Yin 2006; Howe 2004). However, mixed methods serve a complementary purpose when both qualitative and quantitative methods are used to research overlapping, yet distinct aspects of the phenomena under investigation. The intention is to enhance, illustrate and or validate results from one to the other (Bryman 2008, 1998; Greene 2008; Tashakkori & Teddle 2003, 1998, cited in Creswell 2011: 62). Similarly, in social science research, triangulation⁷⁸ is needed for breadth, richness, rigour, and validation as it combines different practices and perspectives (Bryman 2008, 2006; Clark et al. 2008; Denzin & Lincoln 2000).

Data presented in this study were collected using both qualitative and quantitative methods. These methods were applied to all the actors in the study and were applied to different levels of the data collection. Table 15 at the end of section 4.4.3, details the summary of methods, their chronology, sequencing, as well as the relationship amongst them. The aim was to use the most comprehensive methods to find answers to the research questions. The reason being that

⁷⁸ Denzin (1989) and Mathison (1988) provide classic discussions on why triangulation is important in social research.

triangulating data collected through, and from different sources ensures that data is reliable; it also increases the chances of making generalised inferences from the data (Yin 1984; Miles & Huberman 1994). The following describe how both approaches were used for data collection data.

4.4.2 Qualitative approaches used

Creswell (2007: 98) suggests that '*qualitative research is exploratory, and used to explore a topic when variables and theory base are unknown.*' The application of qualitative methods for data collection was as follows:

The radio programmes (at the radio stations)

Content evaluation

An initial analysis was done (prior to empirical work) by listening to recordings of and transcribing relevant aspects of the '*Feedback*' programme from 2005-2008 using selected elements, such as caller's name, location of call, and problem/complaint among several others. Recordings of '*Wo haw ne sen*' programme were also listened to, transcribed and analysed using selected elements. The content evaluation was done in order to select areas in the city of Accra for intensive study. Once this was done, a 'case map' was constructed to determine:

- Which areas had the most calls directed to Actor 3 (the Waste Management Departments, WMDs)
- Which areas the calls were from (Sub-Metros)
- Whether there was a pattern of repeat callers
- Whether some areas were getting responses and resolutions and others left out; if so, what types of neighbourhoods were they and, were there any political influences?
- Whether the complaints were being resolved
- Which areas of Accra to study, i.e. the Sub Metros (*points 1 and 2 above*) was then guided by the frequency of calls regarding waste management and sanitation received from locations in the Sub Metros.

Participant observation

According to Jorgensen (2000), participant observation originates in ethnography and is widely used in qualitative research. '*It is ethnographic work in which the researcher is a participant in the activity under study*' (Gerring 2007: 215). The strategy of participant observation is based on inductive reasoning, thus, instead of testing theories through causal generalisations, this method aims at empirical description in order to reveal patterns of social phenomena. Subjects are understood by studying and understanding their social setting (Emerson et al. 1995: 19-27). Conventional participant observation insists on the detachment and neutrality of the researcher from the study area and subjects. This according to Burawoy (1998) provides grounded theory as it excludes the researcher's bias, and strives to build de-contextualised generalisations.

At the radio stations, I gathered information by means of participant observation at Peace FM during the airing of the '*Wo haw ne sen*' programme for a period of 6 months. The exercise involved observing as well as taking part in some of the activities during the airing of the programmes. The observation enabled me experience at first hand the general workings of a radio station. It also enabled me to get a feel of and understand how the radio programmes were carried out; more importantly, participating during airing of the programme helped build trust between the programme team and me. In addition, it also allowed the team to act naturally/honestly and not put 'up a show' because someone was watching them. Finally, the process provided the opportunity to get a list of callers to the programme for interviews. Participant observation at Peace FM was complemented by in-depth interviews and several informal conversations with the programme teams of both '*Feedback*' and '*Wo haw ne sen*.'

As noted earlier, '*Feedback*' had been suspended by the time I was in the field so information was gathered by conducting a detailed analysis of the electronic recordings of past programmes. This was to get historical information on the programme as well as tease out some of the intricate details of trends in calls/volume, location and resolution and success rates of the complaints received.

In-depth semi-structured and unstructured interviews

In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with the former programme team (producers and presenters) of '*Feedback*' who worked on the programme

during the period 2005-2008. Similar interviews were also held with the '*Wo haw ne sen*' team at Peace FM. In total, six interviews were conducted at the radio stations.

Informal conversations

Several informal conversations were also held at different periods with other employees of the two radio stations in order to obtain background and other insights into the radio stations.

Callers to the 'Feedback' and 'Wo haw ne sen' programmes

In-depth semi-structured interviews

Those who call into the radio programmes constitute a vital link in the relationship case study. Therefore, locating them was necessary. The aim was to help answer other sub-questions in this study. Such as, whom the callers are what class, gender, associational or partisan interests they represent.

Locating the callers of '*Feedback*' was difficult for two reasons: (1) the radio programme/stations did not keep the phone numbers of callers to the programme, except in rare cases, when they programme team specifically requested for their numbers for follow-up on special cases. (2) '*Feedback*,' was not on air, so getting real-time callers was not possible. However, I managed to trace two of the callers who had called into '*Feedback*' regularly when it aired. In-depth interviews were held with them: one man and one woman.

Locating callers for an interview was much more feasible at Peace FM. The interviewees were selected from those who called during editions of the programme whilst observing '*Wo haw ne sen*' at Peace FM studios. In total, six callers were purposefully picked based on the following:

- Nature of complaint (public service/waste management related)
- Location caller mentioned and location of problem
- Gender of the caller

Among the 8 selected callers were 4 serial callers (the concept of serial caller is in the Ghanaian context is thoroughly discussed in Chapters 3 and 5 of this thesis).

Interviews with selected individuals who made a complaint directly to the Sub-Metro (not radio)

In order to be sure that discussions and conclusions made about findings from the radio programmes are valid a control measure was introduced into the design. To do this, the author studied another channel (formal) through which individuals can make complaints about the WMD services. Twenty-five structured telephone interviews were held with selected individuals who had made a complaint themselves directly at the WMD at their various Sub-Metros. The names of the respondents were selected from the complaints registers collected from the Sub-Metros. The interviews were also carried out in order to cross-check the information in the complaints registers, and also to establish if any of those persons had tried to use other means to raise voice. Five respondents were selected from *Ablekuma Central, North, Ashiedu Keteke, Ayawaso West, and Osu Klottey*.

Selected public service delivery organisation: the Waste Management Department (WMD) of five selected Sub Metros under the Accra Metropolitan Authority (AMA)

The third actor in this study is the Waste Management Department (WMD) of five (*Ablekuma North, Ablekuma Central, Ashiedu Keteke, Ayawaso West, and Osu Klottey*) selected Sub Metropolitan Districts Councils (Sub Metros) under the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA). Towns in these Sub-Metros reflect features that are collectively present in the city of Accra (described in Chapter 3), that is areas with high or low density population, indigenous old established towns, new developing areas; localities classified as 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th class residential areas, commercial areas, as areas that consist of divergent political preference. Several qualitative methods were employed to study the final link in the case study, the WMDs in 5 Sub-Metros (already explained in Chapter 3), in order to answer the key question related to this actor: *'to what extent and how radio phone-ins influence their responsiveness?'*

In-depth semi-structured interviews with officials of the AMA/WMD

In total, 19 in-depth semi-structured interviews were held with AMA officers: 1 head of department at the AMA Head Office; 2 Sub-Metro directors; 5 District Cleansing Officers (DCOs) and 1 District Health Officers (DEHO) and 1 Environmental Officer (EHO). At the frontline level 2 supervisors and 7 cleaners

and sweepers drawn from AMA/WMD Head Office and five Sub-Metros of the AMA: *Ablekuma North*, *Ablekuma Central*, *Ashiedu Keteke*, *Ayawaso West*, and *Osu Klottey* were interviewed.

Document analysis

The following documents were collected from the WMD head office and the five Sub-Metros for analysis and process tracing:

- Complaints registers
- Departmental Reports
- Policy Documents

Ethnographic observation at the Sub-Metropolitan Districts (SMD)

Minimal observation (4 days/Sub-Metro office, that is, 20 days in total) was carried out at the five selected Sub-Metro offices at *Ablekuma North*, *Ablekuma Central*, *Ashiedu Keteke*, *Ayawaso West*, and *Osu Klottey* in order to get a general sense of how things were done. Similar observation was done in selected towns in the Sub-Metros. A town each was selected from the SMD based on the AMA classification. That is 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th class residential areas. Based on this criterion, the following locations were selected and minimal observation of 4 days per town:

- *Tudu - Ashiedu Keteke* (4th class)
- *Dansoman - Ablekuma North* (3rd Class)
- *West Airport Residential Area - Ayawaso West* (1st class)
- *Osu – Osu Klottey* (2nd class)

The observation was done in order to gather background information to match what had been gathered from the content evaluation of the recordings of the radio programmes. Another factor which necessitated the observation in these towns was the need for a general sense of some of the issues raised in callers' complaints on the radio programmes.

4.4.3 Quantitative methods used

The major distinction between qualitative methods and quantitative methods is that whilst the latter deals with a small number of cases the former is more concerned with a larger number of cases and statistical representation of social

phenomena (Bryman 2008). In this study, quantitative methods were applied at two different stages.

Conversion of radio transcripts into statistical information

The individual calls from ‘*Feedback*’ (565) and from ‘*Wo haw ne sen*’⁷⁹ (95), were transcribed and treated as though they were open-ended responses. That is, numerical values were assigned to them in order to generate crucial statistical data; this was done post-fieldwork. The following ten categories were identified and subsequently coded as:

- Location/ town, which caller mentioned the call was from
- Sub-Metro/ District the location mentioned falls under
- Gender of caller
- Geographical region of call (whether in the Greater Accra region, or another region in Ghana)
- Sub-Metro location falls (whether under AMA jurisdiction or other authority). AMA has jurisdiction for only the city of Accra, therefore, it was important to filter the location of the calls
- Summary of complaint
- What the call was about. E.g., roads, waste management, water etc.
- Type of call e.g., personal, or public/collective good calls
- Summary of response
- Whether calls were successfully resolved or not (response from the institutions)

Mass survey

To complement information gathered from the radio stations and from callers, I conducted a small-scale random sample survey of 615 respondents selected from the population universe (3,162,814), which is the total population of the relevant area of the AMA and areas estimated to be the conurbation of urban Accra. The survey consisting of 33 contextual questions and 10 observation questions was conducted using face-to-face interview technique from October-

⁷⁹ For ‘*Wo haw ne sen*’, some aspects of the calls were translated from Akan (Twi) to English.

November 2010 (sample of the questionnaire is attached in Appendix 1). This survey enabled the collection of crucial data about popular views on the following:

- radio stations---mainly Joy FM and Peace FM
- ‘Feedback’ and ‘Wo haw ne sen’
- actions citizens take (e.g. collective action)
- popular perceptions of local government
- popular perceptions of local government performance at the Sub Metropolitan level

The large sample selected was a way of casting a wider net in order to capture individuals who had called either of the two radio programmes about a local government problem. Below is the summary of how the sample was drawn.

Sample universe for the survey

The sample universe of the survey included all citizens of voting age of 18 years on the day of the survey living in the 11 Sub Metros under the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA), drawn from the updated 2000 national population census. The sample also included 4 municipal districts in Accra (that is, areas estimated to be the conurbation of urban Accra). In order not to skew the survey responses the following were not interviewed: (a) those who worked for marketing research companies; (b) advertising agencies; (c) radio and TV stations and all media houses; (c) workers of the Sub Metros and their allied agencies.

The sampling design

The first stage was to stratify and select primary sampling units (PSU) in the selected localities/towns within the 11 Sub Metros under the AMA using the following characteristics: Indigenous or migrant, low income or high income, high population and low population density. This was done to enable me to tease out information that could be related to what had been discovered from the content analysis of the recorded radio programmes. Forty locations were then selected from within the AMA and conurbation of the Accra Metropolis. The sample was based on towns within the Sub Metros as the smallest unit of analysis, rather than by Enumeration Area (EA). A minimum of fifteen (15) interviews were done in each location depending on the population of the town. Locations with higher population obviously had a larger number of interviews. This was done to

introduce proportional representation into the sample, so that residents of the selected towns would all have equal chance of being interviewed.

Selecting households and respondents

For the purposes of this study, I adopted the Afrobarometer (AB)⁸⁰ definition of a household. The AB defines a household as ‘*a group of people who presently eat together from the same pot.*’ In multi-household dwelling structures, like blocks of flats, compounds with multiple structures, or backyard dwellings for renters, relatives, or household workers), each household was treated as a separate sampling unit.⁸¹

Household and respondent selection

To select households and individual respondents, I adopted the Afrobarometer systematic randomized selection procedure, using walk patterns⁸² to select households (AB R5 Survey Manual 2011: 32). The ballot card procedure was then used in selecting individual respondents in a household.

Margin of error and confidence level of the sample

The margin of error is expressed as a plus-or-minus figure. The margin of error shows the degree of certainty of survey results. The margin of error of the survey sample of 615 is ± 4 (plus 4 or minus 4). In statistical terms, a sample of 600-1000 produces the margin of error of ± 4 . This means that the degree of certainty of the responses is 4 percentage points above or below the true distribution of the same

⁸⁰ The Afrobarometer (AB) is an independent, nonpartisan research project that measures the social, political, and economic atmosphere in Africa. <http://www.afrobarometer.org/> (Accessed: September 20, 2010).

⁸¹ Treating a household as a separate sampling unit emphasises the randomness of the respondent selection procedure. This process does not mean a new sample is drawn, rather it means that the number of individuals in a household are viewed by the interviewer as having equal chance of being interviewed. Hence, the systematic randomised selection procedure, which involves the use of a deck of numbered cards from which individuals within a household are made to pick from in order to select the interviewee.

⁸² Afrobarometer uses the walk pattern where no provision for randomly selected enumeration list is available for selecting households. With this process, a designated start-point (SP) is determined. Each fieldworker uses a 5 / 10 interval pattern to determine which households to select. Walking away from the SP either towards the right or left, they will select the fifth household for their first interview, counting houses on both the right and the left (and starting with those on the Right if they are opposite each other). See: http://www.afrobarometer.org/files/documents/survey_manuals/survey_manual_r5_english.pdf (Accessed: 13/01/2012).

attribute in the larger population (Manheim 2008: 133). The closer the margin is to zero, the more one can be sure that if the entire population were asked the same question, they would give the same answers as the respondents in the sample.

The confidence level is usually expressed as a percentage. It shows the degree of accuracy to which a sample is representative of the overall population. With a sample of size of 615, the confidence level is .95 or 95%. This means that out of 100 samples of a given size that are drawn from the same population, 95 will meet the test of accuracy (Manheim 2008: 132).

Table 15: Summary of data collection methods

Sequence	Methodology	Rationale
Step 1	Content evaluation of 565 transcribed electronic recordings of 'Feedback' 2005-2008 and wo haw ne sen 2009 programmes	Determination of Case Map <ul style="list-style-type: none"> determination of calls directed to Actor 3 (the Waste Management Departments, WMDs) Which areas the calls were from (Sub-Metros) Whether there was a pattern of repeat callers Whether some areas were getting responses and resolutions and others left out; if so, what types of neighbourhoods? Whether the complaints were being resolved Determination of which areas of Accra to study, i.e. the Sub Metros (per points 1 and 2)

Actor 1 – the radio programmes

		Rationale	Relationship per identified actors in study	No of interviews
Step 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In-depth semi-structured and unstructured interviews Informal conversations (former programme team members of 'Feedback' from 2005-2008 and 'Wo haw ne sen', 2010). 	Process tracing	To understand how Actor 1 works on the two programmes --- past and ongoing, which is vital in understanding the expression of voice by Actor 2 on the new avenues created by Actor 1?	6
Step 3	Participant observation of 'Wo haw ne sen' programme at Peace FM - six months	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Triangulation Get firsthand knowledge of the general workings of a radio station and programmes. To acquire a list of callers to the programmes 	To understand how Actor 1 works, this is vital to understanding and making operational the concept of mediated voice.	N/A

Actor 2 – callers to the radio programmes

	Method	Rationale	Relationship per identified actors in study	No of interviews
Step 4	In-depth semi-structured interviews with callers to the 'Feedback' and 'Wo haw ne sen' programmes	Vital link in the relationship case study, aim was to help answer other sub-questions in this study. Such as, who the callers are what class, gender, associational or partisan interests they represent.	To understand reasons for choice of platform in relation to Actor 1, and reasons for choice of platform in relation to Actor 3.	8
	Method	Rationale	Relationship per identified actors in study	No of interviews
Step 5	Ethnographic Observation: Total of 20 days ethnographic observation at the 5 Sub-Metro offices: Ablekuma North, Ablekuma Central, Ashiedu Keteke, Ayawaso West, and Osu Klottey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To gather background information to match what had been gathered from the content evaluation of the recordings of the radio programmes The need for a general sense of some of the issues raised in callers' complaints on the radio programmes 	To Understand Actor 3 in relation to the choice of Actor 2 to use avenues created by Actor 1 instead of Actor 3	N/A

Control measure

	Method	Rationale	Relationship per identified actors in study	No of interviews
Step 6	Structured phone interviews with selected individuals who made a complaint directly to the Sub-Metro (not radio)	To ensure validity of findings and conclusions from data collected from the 3 Actors in steps 1, 4, 5, 7, 8 & 10	N/A	25

Actor 3 – WMDs of 5 Sub Metros of AMA

	Method	Rationale	Relationship per identified actors in study	No of interviews
Step 7	Semi structured interviews with Officials of the WMDs of Ablekuma North, Ablekuma Central, Ashiedu Keteke, Ayawaso West, and Osu Klottey selected Sub Metros under the AMA	-	Understand the impact of Actor 1's activities on the responsiveness and performance of Actor 3.	19
Step 8	Document Analysis <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complaints registers • Departmental Reports • Policy Documents 	This was done to verify information from the content evaluation and as well as cross check information gathered from interviews with WMDs and those listed in complaints register	N/A	N/A

Quantitative methods used to collect combined data on Actors 1, 2, & 3

	Method	Rationale	Relationship per identified actors in study	No of interviews
Step 9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mass survey (face to face interviews) consisting of 33 contextual questions and 10 observation questions about radio stations--- mainly Joy FM and Peace FM <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'Feedback' and 'Wo haw ne sen' ▪ actions that citizens take ▪ popular perceptions of local government ▪ performance at the Sub Metropolitan level 	<p>To establish crucial demographic characteristics of</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • radio listeners • popularity of radio stations/programmes, • nature of issues raised and why • collective action • perceptions of performance of local government and popular expectations. 	Complement information gathered from Actors 1, 2, & 3 listed in steps 2-8	615
Step 10	Conversion of radio transcripts into statistical information (post fieldwork) to generate crucial statistical data.	to generate crucial statistical data; to get the actual trends in calls and success rate of resolutions of problems		565 ('feedback') 95 (Wo haw ne sen')

4.5 Difficulties and limitations of the study

The radio programmes

I went to the field in May 2010, but as things do not always go according to plan during fieldwork, I had to make a few changes to my research design. Joy FM's radio programme: '*Feedback*,' which I had originally selected as my case study had been suspended indefinitely.⁸³ This made it impossible to carry out observation and process tracing of specific calls using real-time information to complement the electronic data gathered on the programme. I therefore had to find a substitute programme. However, I realized that the only programme which was similar to '*Feedback*', both in content and concept, was one broadcast on a rival radio station, Peace FM called '*Wo haw ne sen*.' This programme although similar to my original case is broadcast in a local language Akan/Twi. This posed some initial challenges, although I understand and speak Twi, it is not my mother tongue. Therefore, substituting it with '*Feedback*' meant I had to translate and then transcribe all the programme data before analysis. So, instead of substitution, I choose to add '*Wo haw ne sen*' to '*Feedback*.'

'*Feedback*' provided a uniquely rich data source in recordings of its programmes from 2005 to 2008. On its own '*Feedback*', data provided enough information and basis for the analysis and conclusions presented in this thesis. By adding the Peace FM programme, I was able to carry out in-depth interviews and observation of '*Wo haw ne sen*' programme for a period of six months which helped to fill in for similar information I would have gathered from '*Feedback*' had it been on air.

Difficulty locating callers

Another difficulty experienced during the study was locating the callers to the programmes using the data gathered from the radio programmes. This was because no official records of phone numbers are kept by the radio stations explained earlier. I therefore used the mass survey to get around this problem. With a large sample of 615, the aim was to cast a wide net to capture people who have called at least one or both of the radio programmes about a problem.

⁸³ Reasons why the '*Feedback*' programme was suspended have already been explained in the background section of this thesis.

Bureaucracy and unavailability of accurate documents

Dealing with bureaucrats in Ghana can be very challenging. Officials of the WMD/AMA were always on the move. Therefore, it took several attempts to secure interviews. On many occasions, interviews were short or rescheduled. Securing official documents such as annual reports was only possible in one or two of the Sub-Metros. It was also impossible to secure all current documents because they were unavailable or that officials were unwilling to make them available for public use.

Caveats

This study investigated a specific type of radio phone-in programme. Although it is acknowledged that there is the likelihood that results may vary slightly from other radio phone-in formats across the Africa or the developing world, this study has general relevance even to some programmes on TV in the developed world, (I make reference here to BBC TV series: '*Watch Dog*', currently presented by Anne Robinson, Matt Allwright and Chris Hollins; '*Rip-off Britain*', presented by Angela Rippon, Gloria Hunniford and Jennie Bond; and '*Crime Watch*', programmes designed for UK residents to get responses (a form of mediated voice) to all manner of citizen complaints about consumer problems and crime).

The next three chapters (5, 6, and 7) are the empirical sections of this thesis. Chapter five, which follows this section looks at the complaint mechanisms (voice expression) used in Accra, with detailed attention to the radio phone-in phenomena as a new form of voice mechanism.

Chapter 5

Mechanisms for lodging complaints in Accra: the radio call-in phenomenon, a new voice mechanism?

5. Introduction

This chapter is the first of three empirical chapters in which I answer the research questions outlined in Chapter one. This chapter answers the question, *what kind of 'voice' mechanism are radio programmes such 'Feedback' and 'Wo haw ne sen' developing? Is it a form of collective voice or voice resulting from collective action such as those produced by civil society groups, community based organisations (CBOs), or partisan groups?*

The chapter has two sections. The first part takes a general look at voice mechanisms available to residents in the city of Accra for expressing voice at the local level. Although there are several other channels for expressing voice, the mechanisms discussed in this section were selected based on findings from the survey conducted for this study and from interviews conducted with key informants. In this section, I discuss the mechanisms and use empirical evidence to establish the effectiveness of phone-ins, which I argue are new informal avenues for the expression of voice or a new *voice mechanism*.

The second section reintroduces the conceptual framework of 'mediated voice', proposed in Chapter 2 by looking critically at how the two phone-in programmes, 'Feedback' and 'Wo haw ne sen' go about producing that kind of voice. The aim here is to two-fold. First, to understand how the radio programmes create mediated voice in order to distinguish it from other call-in programmes and voice mechanisms. Secondly, to evaluate how successful mediated voice is as a voice mechanism.

5.1 Mechanisms for lodging complaints or expressing voice

Democracies provide several formal or informal channels through which citizens voices can be used to demand accountability and responsiveness from those in higher authority. Specifically in democracies with decentralized governance systems, the recognised formal channels for seeking redress to problems at the

local level are those that are established as part of the decentralised service delivery apparatus (Awortwi 2010, Ofei-Abogye 2008; Olowu 2001). The literature on voice mechanisms also suggests that voice is best expressed through specific channels that are more localised (Paul 2002; Awoi 2001; Mitlin 2000, cited in Andrews & Shah 2002: 4). In Ghana, residents of Accra have quite a plethora of mechanisms through which they can make complaints about public and private services. Some are formal whilst a majority are informal channels that have become part of the *way of doing things*. The following are the identified routes that can be used raise voice complaints about community problems.

5.1.1 Formal channels

By formal channels, I mean avenues that have been provided at either local or central level for addressing public service concerns as a direct means of fulfilling government responsibility to citizens as well as other avenues which are not necessarily provided by the state, but provide formal channels through which voice can be raised about poor services. These channels make it possible for citizens to hold those in authority to account for services and demand responsiveness from them. I take a broad view of accountability to include local government responsibilities such as providing services within their mandate; and responsiveness to include answers to the demands made by citizens regarding those services.

Local government: Complaints and Clients Service sections of public service providers at the local level

The decentralised local government structure in Ghana⁸⁴ provides avenues through which residents living in jurisdictions overseen by specific local councils can make complaints regarding all manner of services provided by the local authority. In Accra, the Accra Metropolitan Authority, AMA is responsible for providing local services system for the city. The structure has avenues through which residents of Accra can make specific complaints about services provided at the local level. For instance, complaints about waste management services and other environmental sanitation related issues can be made through the complaints section of the Waste Management Department (WMD); this applies to

⁸⁴ In Ghana, the broad framework for decentralisation is provided in Article 240 of Ghana's Constitution.

other services provided at the local level as well. Also, in 2005 as part of public sector reforms proposed by the then Ministry of Public Sector Reform (MPSR)⁸⁵ under the Kufuor-NPP government, Client Services Units (CSU) were established for certain Ministries, Agencies and Departments (MDAs) including the AMA.

The objective was to institute a uniform mechanism for monitoring and evaluating the service provided by them. The CSUs were also mandated to monitor service delivery and handle complaints from the public. In addition, the local Assembly structures including Unit Committees and elected representatives (assembly men/women) also provide avenues through which voice in particular can be raised. In fact, Ghana's decentralisation policy recognises the Assemblies and Unit Committees as the major link between ordinary citizen and local government or central government. Thus, the creation of these levels within the decentralised local governance structure was to give citizens the opportunity to participate in local governance as well as be able to raise voice when necessary.

The Ombudsman

There is a limited avenue for citizens to channel their complaints through the Ombudsman. In Ghana, the Ombudsman is constituted as part of the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ). The CHRAJ in Ghana has fused in one office the following different institutional mandates:

- i) A Human Rights Institution
- ii) The Ombudsman
- iii) An Anti-Corruption Agency

The mandate of CHRAJ as an ombudsman is to check and address incidents of maladministration such as failure to respond to correspondence or causing unreasonable delays in doing desired public acts in public institutions, including the Metropolitan and Municipal Authorities (AMA). However, CHRAJ's function as an ombudsman is limited to maladministration. Moreover, it is limited in terms of how ordinary citizens can use the channels provided to raise voice effectively.

⁸⁵ The MPSR was created by the Kufuor-NPP administration in 2000. Dr. Kwesi Nduom was the first minister of the ministry. He was obviously influenced by the New Public Management reforms, aimed at making public services more client-oriented. The objective of the Client Services Units (CSU) for the MDAs was to institute a mechanism for monitoring and evaluating the service provided by the MDAs. The CSUs duties included monitoring service delivery and handling of complaints from the public. After assuming power in 2008, the Mills-NDC government scrapped the ministry and its allied agencies. However, the CSUs, which were set up in certain key public agencies, remained, even though their services are not well known by the public and are not functioning properly.

Secondly, CHRAJ as an institution is saddled with capacity problems (Bossman, 2007).

Other formal channels

There are other formal channels available outside the local governance structure or the Ombudsman through which citizens can make complaints about community problems. The electronic mass media, specifically the print media, provide opportunities for people to express voice in print. This is usually done through columns referred to as '*Letters to the Editor*.' With these, the editor or publishers of the newspapers are not expected to follow-up on the complaint in order to get it resolved. This mechanism is only normally expected to provide the space for the expression of voice to a wider audience. It may also serve as an avenue for drawing attention to a problem or publicizing it for attention or response from authority. Currently other forms of mass media such as the internet and mobile phones and radio, or the combination of all three, have made it possible for voice to be expressed directly or indirectly. For instance, text messages or e-mails can be sent directly to those in authority in order to express voice. However, the feasibility, applicability as well as enforceability of such methods are yet to be tested. In a way radio programmes are currently, combining some of the new technologies mentioned earlier to create an avenue for the expression of voice.

5.1.2 Informal channels

Having looked at some of the formal mechanisms available to residents of Accra to express voice at the local level, I now turn to other **informal** voice mechanisms. Informal voice mechanisms are those mechanisms outside the official institutions. These include protests, radio programmes etc. In Ghana, there are many informal channels used to make complaints, which are largely a creation of Ghanaian society. These include personalised connections or channels for influence that may have been cultivated through friendships and other informal individual connections present in many African societies (Blundo et al. 2006). Some of them derive directly from perceptions that those who are seen in leadership positions should be able to provide or intercede on behalf of the ordinary person, these are:

Use of associations and informal networks

Several informal personal networks exist in Ghana. These networks are created through associational life built from school, e.g. old-school associations, church e.g. same church networks, keep-fit clubs, area or neighbourhood and ethnic linkages. Persons belonging to such networks express voice through their members who have connections with those in authority.

Appeals to traditional authority

The traditional system in Ghana does not have a direct role in local governance except at the Regional Coordinating Council⁸⁶ where at least two chiefs from the Regional House of Chiefs are part of the structure that forms the Regional Coordinating Council. Traditional authority is not responsible for providing public services to communities in urban Accra. However, because traditional authority is part of the country's cultural heritage---they have a major legally supported role in management and land allocation---many chiefs are also politically powerful and connected to political and business elites.⁸⁷ Thus, some still see the leadership value of traditional authority and continue to use channels available in the traditional institutions to seek solutions to community problems hence they are often approached by ordinary people regarding all manner of problems (both personal and public).

Appeals to religious leaders

Religion forms a major part of the way of life of many Ghanaians (Takyi et al. 2010; Afrobarometer 2009, 2005). In Ghana, religious leaders are regarded as influential and respected people in society. Those whose belief interest they represent consider them leaders. The charismatic church dominates present day Christendom in Ghana (Gifford 1994). These churches led by charismatic and

⁸⁶ The Regional Coordinating Council is part of the structure of local government in Ghana's Fourth Republic. It is part of a four-tier metropolitan and three-tier Municipal/District Assembly system. The Regional Coordinating Council has administrative and coordinating functions rather than a policy making function. It consists of the Regional Minister as Chairperson and his/her Deputy, the presiding member of each District Assembly and the District Chief Executive of each district region, two chiefs from the Regional House of Chiefs and the regional heads of the departments of the Regional Coordinating Council without voting rights. See Ahwoi (2010) for further description of Ghana's decentralisation system from its inception to present.

⁸⁷ See Addo-Fenning (2008: 32-56) for a brief account of the relevance of traditional authority in Ghanaian political and social-economic history.

sometimes social and politically influential people promise all manner of relief to their congregation. It is therefore normal for leaders of these churches to be seen as people to whom problems (including community and public issues) can be channelled. Evidence of this is shown in Table 17 where I discuss some of the actual channels used for expressing voice.

Public protests and demonstrations

Public protests or demonstrations are ways for citizens to make their voices heard about poor services, and government in general. However, this mechanism seems the least appealing to Ghanaians. Two cycles of the Afrobarometer surveys (1999-2008), have consistently reported low interest in expressing voice through public protest or demonstrations. The survey reports that between 70-80% of residents of urban areas including Accra who said they would never join a demonstration or protest to raise voice.⁸⁸ To be sure, this is not to say that public protests do not occur in Ghana. They do. However, they occur usually in connection with political opposition---an inheritance of the country's political history.⁸⁹ On the other hand, strikes are a more popular way of expressing voice in Ghana. Professional groups, such as those belonging to the Trade Unions Congress (TUC), teachers, nurses, doctor and other professional associations frequently express voice through strike actions.

Voice is expressed through other new channels. These avenues are mostly associated with the electronic mass media.⁹⁰ The following are the two new identified mechanisms.

⁸⁸ Low interest in using public protest in Ghana is however not special to Ghana. There are studies that have shown that participation in protests both in the developed and in some developing democracies is equally low. See for example: Huntington & Nelson (1976) and Goetz & Gaventa, (2001).

⁸⁹ Politically motivated demonstrations have been recorded in Accra from those that pre-date independence e.g. the *Positive Action*, describing a series of political protests and strikes in pre-independence Ghana (Apter 2008). Throughout the country's political development those opposed to government have used protests as a way of raising voice to shore political opposition. Recent examples are the *Ko me pre ko* (lit. kill me at once!) protest of 1995. See: Akoto Ampaw (1995: 21).

⁹⁰ I use electronic mass media here because TV programmes also offer phone-in and text-in opportunity to viewers of specific programmes.

Radio call-in programmes (mediated voice)

The liberalization of the airwaves in Ghana in 1992, after the ban on private broadcasting was lifted provided opportunity for the creation of private radio stations. These radio stations took advantage of technological advancements in telecommunications to engage citizens, and the state, in very creative ways. For instance, radio programmes have become a **new** channel through which residents within transmission range of radio stations can raise voice about all manner of problems faced in their communities. The programmes dedicate air-time, specifically to receiving calls from people, in order to have their problems resolved for them or simply to give them opportunity to express themselves freely, with the hope that by amplifying the issues, those in authority will feel the pressure and respond to them. The radio programmes are mainly funded through advertisement from various sponsoring private businesses and not through the public purse. Therefore, services provided by them are a free service to the caller; except for the cost incurred by the caller by calling from their phones.

Serial callers*

Avenues created through '*serial callers*' are associated with the advent of the liberalised airwaves and proliferation of call-in radio. *Serial callers* are self-styled radio opinion leaders or '*radiocrats*'⁹¹ who frequently call into prime-time radio programmes to speak, particularly on programmes that discuss political and social issues. There is a general perception in Ghana that '*serial callers*' are paid by political parties they support to do propaganda for them on radio. *Serial callers* known to some individuals who live in the same community as them and they are used sometimes as conduits to channel their complaints to the radio programmes. The *serial caller* phenomenon is discussed in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

The complaint channels discussed above are some of the identified mechanisms available to citizens in making their voices heard either directly or indirectly by those in authority. So which of these mechanisms does the ordinary person in Accra mostly use? In the next section, I look at the findings on the specific

⁹¹ The term '*radiocrat*' is a local slang, a combination of 'radio' and 'democrat', it is a noun extracted from its counterpart verb 'radiocracy' coined during the period when airways became free and radio stations began giving opportunity to people to participate live in discussions on governance and all manner of issues. The term is usually used to refer to people whose voices are always heard on radio as contributing to discussions and related matters not necessarily *serial callers*.

channels used by residents of Accra. The survey questions sought to gauge which of the channels were used most frequently to raise voice and to demand responsiveness from public service delivery organisations in Accra.

5.2 What mechanisms for lodging complaints or expressing voice are used in Accra?

The results of the survey on actual complaint mechanisms used by residents of Accra show that preferences vary from those described in the previous section. Respondents were first asked to identify and list in order of priority the most important channels for reporting problems (including public service delivery) in their community (see Table 16). The largest single group, thirty-four percent (34.1%) mentioned media (radio) over other avenues available to them at the local level as the first most important channel for making complaints. This was followed by avenues available within the local government structure (26.3%) and the police coming in third at 17.6%. The result, which puts the police in third place, is slightly surprising, although technically they ensure rule of law against public officials if they are in breach of the law, and provide security services, they are not a formal complaints channel for non-security related services. This finding can however be interpreted to mean that respondents will turn to the police as a last resort to deal with community problems that required enforceability or compliance relating to other citizens.

Table 16: Most important complaint mechanism (residents of Accra)

Channel	Count	Percentage %
Media (radio)	210	34.1%
Local Government (Accra Metropolitan Assembly, AMA)	162	26.3%
Police	108	17.6%
Religious leaders	78	12.7%
Traditional Authority	53	8.6%
Don't Know	4	0.7%
Total	615	100

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

Respondents were then asked if they had used any of the channels, they mentioned in the past 12 months and how often they used those channels. Of those who had actually made a complaint (60.2%), at least one respondent in three (33.2%) mentioned radio as the mechanism used to voice their complaints about community problems (see Table 17). Of these, 13.8% had called into 'Wo

haw ne sen’ and *‘Feedback’* about a community problem. These results again show that radio is a popular choice for residents of Accra to voice their complaints about community problems and problems that affect them. In addition, a good number used *‘Feedback’* and *‘Wo haw ne sen,’* radio programmes that are designed specifically not just for the expression of voice but also for ensuring that voice is carried forward in order to get results.

Table 17: Actual channels used for lodging complaints about community problems in past 12 months

Complaint route/mechanism	Count	Per cent (%)
Radio programmes (mediated voice)	123	33.2%
Traditional /religious leader	115	31.1%
Assembly man/woman	73	19.7%
Local Government (govt agency)	52	14.1%
Newspapers-letter to the editor	7	1.9%
Total	370	100%

Source: Author’s survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

Note: the results presented in this table are an aggregate of responses for those who said they had used the channel mentioned: *‘once’* and *‘several times.’*

To be sure, programmes such as *‘Feedback’* and *‘Wo haw ne sen,’* which are specifically dedicated to receiving and following up on complaints are not a regular feature of FM radio stations. At the time of the study, only two such programmes (including *‘Wo haw ne sen’*) were airing. However, the fact that citizens of Accra think it is a viable voice mechanism in holding public officials to account is indeed a reflection of the extent to which people see it as a mechanism within their reach and for an expression of voice, which is likely to go far.

The least-used complaint mechanism is the newspaper, accounting for a negligible proportion of responses. This finding is a reflection of the following changes in the Ghanaian society:

- Only a few Ghanaians write letters to newspapers (this finding is consistent with findings from the Afrobarometer Round 4 survey on Ghana, conducted in 2008). Even when they do, only a few of those letters are published.
- The advent of radio makes writing to newspapers redundant since the time it takes for a newspaper to go to print is much longer than it will take to make a call to a radio programme.

Whilst researching the various channels available for citizens to make complaints the following was noted. Whilst all four state-owned newspapers (both daily and weekly) had columns for publishing 'Letters to the Editor', only two (*The Chronicle* and the *Public Agenda*) out of 13 private (general) newspapers in circulation in Accra as at the time of fieldwork had columns dedicated to 'Letters to the Editor' where readers could express voice on issues affecting them. In addition, the provision of online resources by radio stations means that those who have access to the internet can comment or write their opinion and views on any matter without writing to the press. This avenue is, however, limited to those who are both literate and have access to computers and the Internet. The question remains as to whether this form of expression of voice will generate enough attention to produce results.

The results in Table 17 go a long way towards establishing the extent to which radio programmes that allow phone-ins have become entrenched in the lives of urban residents (*note here that although there seems to be a good degree of usage of assembly people, the service that the radio stations are providing are not publicly funded. Besides, Assemblypersons coming third as the most used channel is interesting because the aim of having representatives at the local level is to create accessibility to ordinary people*). The strong preference for radio also shows the important alternative avenue radio programmes create for ordinary people to make their voices heard as well as to engage with those in authority. This discussion is not by any means suggesting that radio programmes are necessarily the best channels for making complaints. However, the argument is that radio has the potential to be a significant voice mechanism. In particular, programmes that allow for people to phone-in about community problems and then for issues to be followed up on by the programme team are a new kind of voice mechanism.

5.3 The two radio call-in programmes in Accra: 'Wo haw ne sen' and 'Feedback' providing mediated voice

This section discusses the two specific radio programmes: 'Feedback' and 'Wo haw ne sen,' which present an interesting form of complaint mechanism constituting what is argued is an informal avenue for the expression of voice. The aim here is to understand, what makes these programmes unique. Second, to

understand how they create avenues for citizens to elicit accountability and responsiveness from local public service delivery agencies (mediated voice). Finally, this discussion is aimed at further illuminating the concept of mediated voice. (The findings presented in this section are from both quantitative and qualitative data).

I begin with brief a look at the characteristics (similarities and differences) of the two programmes. This should help put the programmes on the same plane, so they can be analysed as one unit. This chapter also looks at the processes involved in creating mediated voice on the programmes. It concludes with a measurement of how successful mediated voice is on the radio programmes.

5.3.1 Characteristics of the radio programmes

Although the two programmes studied were located in rival stations and broadcast in, different languages the findings show that there were more similarities between the two programmes and their teams than there were differences. Having two radio stations providing similar programmes helps in widening the space for all minority groups, who do not usually get the opportunity to participate in affairs that help shape their lives (Odhiambo 2011; Ngolobe 2010; Dahlgren 2009). Table 18 below summarises the similarities and differences between the two programmes.

Table 18: Characteristics of the two radio programmes

Characteristics	Wo haw ne sen	Feedback
Location	Accra	Accra
Broadcast Language	Akan	English
Target audience	Lower class	Middle class
Listener call-in issues (personal, public or collective)	Yes	Yes
Methods and Equipment	Same	Same
Callers' gender	Mainly Female	Balanced by gender
Text messaging	Yes	No
Volume of calls	High	High
Follow-up and response rate (complaints)	High	High
Public rating	High	High
Apolitical	Yes	Yes
Permanent studio panel	Yes	No
Moral appeal	Yes	Yes
Music	Yes	Yes
Dedication to duty	High	High
Success and popularity(radio station)	Yes	Yes
Public relations skills	Yes	Yes
Perceptiveness, knowledgeability (programme team)	High	High
Public Trust	High	High
Team composition		
Gender	All Female	All Male
Education	Higher education	Higher education
Number	3-5	3-4

Source: Author - Compiled from interviews and observation notes, May-December 2010, Accra

The minor differences observed between them, that is, listener target, broadcast language, gender, participation via text messaging and style of presentation offered a good chance of comparing and testing to see if any of these variables had any influence on outcomes.

The main difference between the two programmes is that the broadcast language tends to determine which class of people listen to which station more. People with higher education as well as those with mid level jobs tend to listen to 'Feedback.' The reverse is the case for 'Wo haw ne sen.' The results show that those in lower level jobs or those who have low levels of education have a preference for 'Wo haw ne sen.' Table 19 and Table 20 below show the differences in listenership.

Table 19: Educational level of listeners to the two programmes

Educational Level	Wo haw ne sen		Feedback	
No formal education	38	10.5%	-	-
Informal education (including Koranic)	17	4.7%	-	-
Some primary	40	11%	-	-
Primary completed	50	13.8%	-	-
Some Sec./High school	66	18.2%	37	11.6%
Secondary /High school completed	65	17.9%	73	22.9%
Post-secondary qualifications other than Univ.	59	16.3%	84	26.3%
Some University	15	4.1%	60	18.6%
University completed	12	3.3%	57	17.8%
Post graduate	1	0.2%	9	2.8%
Total	363	100%	320	100%

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

Note: Missing data= 2

Table 20: Occupational level of listeners of the two programmes

Occupational Level	Feedback	Wo haw ne sen
Upper level worker (e.g. Lawyers, doctors large business workers)	14.1%	4.4%
Midlevel workers (e.g. teachers, nurses, supervisors)	48.4%	30%
Lower level workers (e.g. traders, artisans, manual workers etc)	6%	47.1%
Does not work or never had a job	7.2%	7.2%
Student	24.3%	11.3%
Total	100%	100%

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

Differences between the gender of who listen to which programme, though minimal (shown in Table 21 below), reflects what a senior producer of said about those who call 'Wo haw ne sen.' According to her:

More women call 'Wo haw ne sen'...it seems men are able to keep quiet over some issues whilst women can't. Also, I think women call more because we broadcast in the local language, which makes them comfortable to express themselves (Interview with: PFM-NY, 02/09/2010, Accra).

Table 21: Listenership of 'Feedback' and 'Wo haw ne sen' by gender

Programme	% Total listenership in Accra	Male (% out of total listenership)	Female (% out of total listenership)
'Feedback'	52.2%	54.7%	45.3%
'Wo haw ne sen'	59.2%	42.8%	57.2%

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

In predominantly oral societies such as those in Ghana, the ability for radio to broadcast in a language that allows participation by those who are not literate in English language is important (Yankah 2006). Therefore, the medium in which a radio station broadcasts makes a lot of difference to preferences for that station.

I now discuss the one of the most important characteristics (listed in Table 18) of the radio campaigns.

Political neutrality

Many media establishments in Accra were established with the assistance of known politicians; similarly, some radio stations are believed to be sympathetic to either one of the two major political parties in Ghana. Some presenters and producers of programmes are also sympathetic to one political party or another. The same applies to those who call in to the programmes. However, *'Feedback'* and *'Wo haw ne sen'* adopt an apolitical stance. According to the producers of the two programmes, the apolitical attitude helps in cultivating a trusting and cooperative relationship with public officials and institutions. If they were to take a political posture, the purpose of the programmes would be defeated. They feel that they would not be able to hold politicians, governments and public officials accountable for their actions.

Although some callers, specifically, *serial callers* (this term was mentioned earlier in this section and is discussed in detail in Chapter 6), try to sneak in politics when they call into these programmes, the programme teams are quick to tell them off. An example from the *'Feedback'* programme demonstrates this:

Ayivor calling from Spintex: *'you want to know if NDC leaders will attend the late Chief Justice's funeral although they have accused the judiciary of being biased.'*

Response: *Ayivor, the NDC flag bearer, Prof. John Evans Atta Mills, Hon. Mahama Ayariga and Hon. Kofi Attor were at the funeral. Having answered your question, you will agree with me that this question is not for 'Feedback', which is a consumer protection programme and therefore we hope your subsequent enquiry will be relevant to the programme.*
(Transcript: 'Feedback', Joy FM, 19/04/2007)

At *'Wo haw ne sen'*, listeners are told upfront at the start of the programmes that the programme is not a political discussion programme, hence, those who call in to discuss politics are cut off and told to call in to programmes that discuss politics.

5.4 Analysis of calls received on the radio programmes producing public goods

A key feature of the radio campaigns is the volume and nature of calls they receive. To be sure, these radio programmes are almost like open-ended questions – anyone can call about any kind of problem (although the programmes make it clear what their *modus operandi* is). The nature of complaints received drives the programmes because without the calls and complaints the unique activity that the radio campaigns provide would not be complete. The more public-oriented the complaints are, the higher is the likelihood that the programmes will follow-up and make an issue out of them and hence get results.

The classic definition of public goods in economics is those goods that are non-rivalrous, (one person's consumption does not reduce the benefit of another's consumption) and non-excludable (when one person consumes, it is impossible to prevent another consuming too, such as clean air, TV reception etc. (Hudson & Jones 2005; Samuelson 1965). In the development context, Leonard, (2000:7-8 cited in Booth 2009:1) defines public goods more broadly to include those goods (including services) that tend to be under-supplied when their provision relies on the incentives available to private actors because their benefits 'spill over' to other members of the community. In this thesis, I adopt the approach of the Africa Power and Politics Programme (APPP). Public goods are thus the positive outcomes of a range of human activity, including concrete ones, such as the provision of sanitation and water services (services that are meant to be provided as state obligation) and more abstract ones such as ensuring that legislation surrounding the provision of services is upheld (Booth 2010). I take this definition a step further by including the positive outcomes of specific voice mechanisms, such as mediated voice. The box below shows how the calls made on the programmes were further classified (as either personal or public good calls).

Classification of the calls

Public good calls	These were calls, which had the potential to produce public goods, and in addition, whose resolution provided positive outcomes that were beneficial not just to consumers (complainant) but to the supplier of the service as well because they would also have fulfilled their part in providing a public good.
Personal calls	These are calls, which were mainly personal in nature, mostly beneficial to just the caller and probably a few others and have no immediate public good benefits.

Source: Author

The 'Feedback' data were analysed to show the proportion of complaints in each of the categories defined in the classification of calls above. For instance, more than half (over 50%) of the calls received from 2005 to 2007 were public good calls except in 2008 when personal calls were more (52.7%) than public good calls (42.3%), as shown in (Table 22) below.

Table 22: Percentage of complaints/calls by type on 'Feedback' (39 months)

Type of Compliant	Year				
	2005	2006	2007	2008	Total
Personal calls	43.5%	46.7%	45.7%	52.6%	47%
Public good calls	56.5%	53.3%	54.3%	47.4%	53%
Total number of calls	576				

Note: This table shows analysis of 'Feedback' transcripts 2005-2008. The individual calls were categorised according to type of complaint and assigned numerical values in order to compute data that shows variation and change over time.

Typically, complaints that produced public good outcomes (shown in Table 22 above) when resolved usually related directly to public services such as the provision of sanitation services, electricity and water supply, faulty traffic lights, bad roads, corruption and other malpractices at public institutions.

Below are some examples, which cut across different public concerns.

1. *Lamisi, Accra: You complained that a huge refuse dump is developing at the P&T Flats at Darkuman and if care is not taken, it will overrun the residents there. You also want to know if that is designated rubbish dump because other Sub-Metros bring their refuse there too* (Transcript: 'Feedback', Joy FM, 13/09/07).
2. *Anani, Osu: You want to know who is responsible for removing the heap of rubbish behind IKETECH at Osu. That heap of rubbish has become an eye-sore; and all those responsible for its removal should act quickly before an epidemic breaks out* (Transcript: 'Feedback', Joy FM, 10/01/08).
3. *Worlanyo from Dansoman: You complained that the lights go off at Dansoman everyday and you want the ECG to rectify the problem* (Transcript: 'Feedback', Joy FM, 06/09/07).
4. *Son-of-God, Dansoman: You complained about the traffic light at Flamingo and Mamprobi. You said that lights have been off for some time now* (Transcript: 'Feedback', Joy FM, 20/09/07).

5. Sam: *You complained that when you are driving from the Broadcasting House going up to Ako Adjei (Sankara) Overpass, there is a large Fan Yogo billboard advert on the left, which blocks the view of drivers. The only way to see traffic coming on your left properly is to position the car on the pedestrian crossing, which also hampers pedestrians, so why was the advert allowed to be placed in that location?* (Transcript: 'Feedback', Joy FM, 12/04/07).

6. Ebenezer, Sakumono: *Your concern is about the Nungua-Tema Beach Road. The Potholes on the road are getting terrible and frightening. It caused an accident not too long ago and you are urging the authorities to repair it before it causes more harm* (Transcript: 'Feedback', Joy FM, 7/06/07).

7. Frank, Lapaz: *You are complaining that the road from Ofankor Barrier to Taifa Junction is really bad, it's full of potholes. Also, there is a bridge being constructed on the road leading from Pokuase to Kwabenya. The contractor has left the job undone* (Transcript: 'Feedback', Joy FM, 7/06/07).

8. Oti, Abbosey Okai: *You complained that the Metro mass transport conductors do not give tickets to passengers, and that sometimes they pocket monies from bus fares paid to them* (Transcript: 'Feedback', Joy FM, 25/07/05).

Careful analysis of the responses to personal problems showed that a tenth, of the personal calls (5.1%) were somehow converted into public good issues by the presenter or the programme team. These calls tended to be about such matters as high readings from electric meters, information on how to get employment, or problems with an individual's employment, health and personal legal issues. One example is given below of a typical personal problem call received:

Complaint: John from Asesewa, you are a teacher under the National Youth Employment Programme (NYEP) and for five months your have not been paid (Transcript: 'Feedback', Joy FM, 01/11/07).

In other instances, the programmes creatively transformed many of the personal calls to wider public concern issues. They did so by creating discussion out of the issues in order to create a public appeal, and by inviting officials to the studios live to answer calls and questions from the public. For instance, the following extract from 'Feedback' shows an example of a personal call around which the programme managed to get wider public appeal and discussion by inviting the Motor Traffic and Transport Unit (MTTU) to explain and discuss

issues about the illegal parking of commercial vehicles in Accra on the following week's edition of the programme.

Adams	Dansoman	Personal problem that has wider public appeal	Two complaints: (1) <i>Trotro Drivers</i> ⁹² cause a lot of problems to the Bank customers besides the security risk posed to customers cars (2) Difficulty parking at The Trust Bank, Trust Towers Branch
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Source: Extract from 'Feedback' programme of 3rd May, 2007

It is very plausible that the programme team realised that although they could not prevent people from calling about personal problems, they could raise the profile of the programme by creatively turning personal calls into public issues for wider public listening benefit. This confirms what a presenter of 'Feedback' said about globalising personal problem calls.

Whether the complaints were parochial or public good, I always tried to lift things to the more global broader platforms. We get individual/personal specific issues but the design and model was to lift it up so that we create an educative platform. For instance, if you have an issue with Melcom⁹³, I want to look at it within customer service, although that specific case requires some kind of individual resolution I can follow it up but, I can carve something out of it (Interview with: JFM-MP, 11/08/2010, Accra).

On 'Wo haw ne sen' this kind of wider appeal for personal calls is achieved through the in-studio permanent panel consisting of a legal and medical practitioner, and the so-called 'computer man'⁹⁴, who provides answers and solutions to calls about health, legal matters and on dates. These calls are mainly personal in nature; but by speaking generally about them globalise the issue to a wider audience.

To be sure, the radio campaigns would not have a wider public appeal if they were dealing with only a niche market. According to a former presenter of

⁹² *Trotro* is the popular name for privately owned mini vans used for commercial public transport in Ghana.

⁹³ Melcom is a popular high street shop in Ghana.

⁹⁴ This individual is called the 'Computer Man' because he has the ability to tell and recollect dates and events on the Julian calendar without referring to any document or equipment. Callers to the programme with specific request about dates call the programme asking for dates. For instance, a caller asks for the fifth Saturday in March 1912, or the day of the week of October 13, 1920; and this man is able to give the precise date in seconds (almost instantaneously) without referring to any document. He is on the panel to serve those who do not have any records of their birth or dates. He serves as an informal document depository of dates, a role that is normally performed by the births registry or the national archives.

'*Feedback*', for them to have a continued market appeal they have to solve the problems in a way that appears to benefit everyone.

Finally, the data also shows the effects the programmes had on election time calls and response. For instance, although the '*Feedback*' programme aired for only a short time (3 months) in 2008 before it was suspended, a high number of calls were received on '*Feedback*' (see Table 22 on 120). The year 2008 was an election year in Ghana, the Kufuor-led NPP administration was ending its full eight-year term, and therefore the likelihood that citizens would be making more demands and making public all kinds of issues was high. Most of the public good calls received in 2008 were about infrastructure (road, water, sanitation etc.), which were clearly meant to emphasise issues that citizens wanted contesting parties to take seriously. On the other hand, personal calls were heavy on employment and other labour related issues. Again, these issues mirrored general views about unemployment in Ghana at the time.⁹⁵

The likelihood that the radio programme was using those issues to make big stories was also high. The distinctive features of election time calls are not restricted to '*Feedback*'; '*Wo haw ne sen*' also experienced high volumes of calls during election years. According to a senior producer of the programme, election period calls were as high as election period response by public officials to calls relating to public service delivery.

5.5 Creating mediated voice: the role of FM radio programmes⁹⁶

In the previous section, I described in detail the characteristics of the two radio campaigns that provide informal channels for the expression of voice or what I have conceptualised as **mediated voice**. In this section, I contextualise what the radio programmes are doing and how they work within the normative context of mediated voice. This form of voice mechanism is a creation of the radio stations, a large component of which is a direct result of ingenious radio programming and good journalism. Presenters or programme teams make a *deliberate* effort to

⁹⁵ The Ghana Afrobarometer findings of 2008 showed that 44.8 percent of Ghanaians thought the government had not handled job creation well.

⁹⁶ Findings and analysis in this section are based on qualitative data collected from the two radio stations.

intercede (*that is, on behalf of individuals who call into specific programmes*) between citizen and state at the local level.

‘Mediated voice’ is an abstract concept that expresses a concrete reality. There are specific factors that give it form; and allow it to work in the way that it does. These factors are largely a creation of the radio programmes. As already defined, mediated voice is ‘*an output of an activity (the voice) carried out by radio call-in programmes during which they receive and represent individual ‘voices’ as ‘collective problems.’ They do this by eliciting responses and solutions to problems through the performance of intermediary roles that are usually carried out by other formal/informal institutions---such as: the ombudsman, client service departments of service delivery organisations, local elected officials (assemblymen/women); and collective/group efforts such as political or social associations.*’ It has also been established that a key feature of mediated voice is that for mediated voice to **occur** the mediator (in this case, the programme team) must have the ability to make the **conversion**; and the requestor (in this case, the caller) must **believe** that the mediator can provide ‘mediated voice.’

How do the radio campaigns become a veritable form of *mediated voice*? How are they able to perform the very important role of giving legitimacy to what they do and succeed in making citizens trust and believe they will get resolutions to long existing community problems or even to their personal problems? Are these radio campaigns simply acting as a conduit for individual complaints or are they creating a collective voice by claiming to represent citizens in such a way that they are acting as a substitute for collective action? In what follows I discuss how the radio programmes make the conversion.

The radio station’s success related to popularity and longevity

Private radio, particularly FM, is highly competitive in Ghana, especially in the regional capital cities. Accra has twenty-eight FM stations currently on air⁹⁷. The most successful ones are those that have been in existence longest and which are recognised as trendsetters for other stations. Both Peace FM and Joy FM have been operating for over ten years. The teams of the radio campaigns depend on the popularity of the station in their dealings with public officials – they

⁹⁷ The Ghana National Communications Authority listed this as the number of authorised VHF-FM radio stations operating in Accra as at 2011; there is the likelihood that the number may have increased.

would usually say, *'My name is [...] calling from Joy FM or Peace FM. We would like to speak to you about [x issue] raised on 'Feedback' / 'Wo haw ne sen' rather than 'I am [...] of 'Feedback' or 'Wo haw ne sen'.* This is not to say that the programmes do not wield influence in themselves; however, the identification goes first to the radio station and then to the programme. The rating of the radio station as well as level of trust for their products is what consumers remember first; this is evident in the results from the mass survey presented in Table 4.

Although these programmes are part of the general programming of the radio station and ride on its successes, they have a life of their own, in which listeners and patrons of those programmes place a lot of faith. The life they assume is largely a creation of both presenters and producers and to some extent the callers – according to the former presenter of *'Feedback'* *'I wanted a programme that was dynamic, interesting, entertaining, versatile and yet result-oriented. I put everything into it [...] I am doing a programme, which I want to have a life of its own even if I am not there* (Interview with: JFM-MP, 11/08/2010, Accra).

Providing evidence and truth

The programmes put a lot of effort into ensuring that complaints are true and based on evidence. The radio presenters' responses are also carefully crafted based on thorough investigations and official responses from the most appropriate source. According to a senior producer of *'Wo ha ne sen'* they have to investigate some of the complaints thoroughly, particularly the ones that have to do with public services; because it is on the radio, listeners can take advantage and if they are not careful will be led on the wrong trail. She told a story of when they received a call from a street hawker who said she was calling from *Rawlings Park* (a commercial and extremely busy area of central Accra) about how employees of the city council were maltreating them and stealing their wares under the guise of keeping them off the pavements. According to her, it was illegal for the hawkers to be on the pavements but nonetheless, molesting them and stealing their wares was unacceptable. In order to follow-up on the complaint, she needed to investigate and arm herself with evidence so she disguised herself as a hawker and joined the other hawkers on the pavement. Although she did not experience what the hawker had complained about, she at least managed to get evidence on it and then carried the issue forward.

The former presenter of 'Feedback' was even more aggressive about how he ensured the validity of what callers complained about. He said:

We are a radio station, and we have the advantage of blowing issues out of proportion or even over-sensationalising issues [...] but we are not in the business of ruining peoples businesses or putting government officials on the firing line because somebody called and complained about them We are in the business of resolving real problems and hopefully help in making institutions more accountable[...] so I make sure I go to some of the places myself and usually, I find out the problem is truly there and I even find other problems (Interview with: JFM-MP, 11/08/2010, Accra).

Below are two examples from 'Feedback', which illustrate some of the evidence-based responses.

Table 23: Sample of evidence-based responses

Name	Complaint	Response
Maame Akua	Says that the traffic lights at Osu cemetery intersection are not working properly because when its 'red' all the traffic lights at all the junctions turn red , and when it's 'green' all of them turn green as well.	The 'Feedback' team has gone to the location to check, there seems to be a slight problem with one of the lights. We have spoken to Mr. Lazzie Ako-Adonyo and he says, not all the traffic lights are faulty but just only one, which is close to Intercontinental Bank. He says when the lights are on 'red' it will be working all right but when it is supposed to be on green the light goes off. He says there are plans to change all the traffic lights because they are old. ~ January 6, 2005.
Michael	Complained about a huge rubbish dump at the back of <i>Kaneshie</i> market close to the <i>Kaneshie</i> police station; and that the rubbish has taken over the road and wants the authorities to clear it.	Mr. Samuel Kpodo, in charge of solid waste in Accra says they are aware of the problem and even last week they went there to remove the rubbish heap from the road. He says they are supposed to send the refuse container back to the lorry station but they have to make a platform for the container, which is not ready yet. He says hopefully by next week they will complete the platform and the container will be send back to the lorry station. ~April, 13, 2008

Source: Author- Extracts from 'Feedback' programme transcript.

Public relations skills and contacts

Having good public relations skills is important in eliciting cooperation from public officials, especially those who are called to the studio, or those who are called on the phone to respond to citizen's complaints. At Peace FM, for instance, I observed how the producer would hold small talk with a public official in an attempt to get cooperation before they are finally put live on air. This is well cultivated over time to the extent where the producer becomes well known to the various institutions. An informal relationship is then built between them, so that they themselves provide unsolicited information or call the producer when there are issues they wish to inform the public about or for public relations purposes. According to the producer at Peace FM, having done it for so long gives her

confidence to approach any institution without fear, knowing that by using the right skills she can get through to the right person and hence get a problem resolved.

Branding: the use of appellations and local expressions

Idiomatic expressions and appellation are a part of Ghanaian oral culture. The use of such expressions is common in everyday communication, but how they are used, and the context in which they are used makes all the difference in adding value to spoken language. The presenters of the two programmes not surprisingly use many appellations in their presentation. To them, the use of local idioms and appellations added local authenticity to the outlook of the radio campaigns. For instance, the presenter of *'Feedback'* at the beginning of the programme used the following to describe himself: (1) *'I am your on-air assembly man'* (2) *'your radio vigilante'* (3) *'your consumer protector'* (4) *'your on-air radio ombudsman.'* The *'Feedback'* data analysed shows that, the use of those descriptions the presenter gave himself increased over time from only one, *'your consumer protector,'* to four harder-hitting ones such as, *'your on-air radio ombudsman,'* *online-assembly man,'* your *'consumer vigilante,'* and *'the man who puts the fuse in your light'* within a period of three years. According to the presenter, *'there must be some kind of retention, some form of identity...and that identity must connote certain things which the listener can have affinity with.'*

The duties of an Assembly Member as stipulated in the Local Government Act 1993 include but are not limited to maintaining contact with the electorate, representing the electorate, holding meetings with the electorate before assembly meetings in order to collect their views, opinions and proposals, and solving the problems of residents in the electoral area.⁹⁸ In Ghana an Assembly Member is perceived to be 'honourable' and is taken seriously at least at the community level – they are the most accessible members of the local government system. At the local and community levels, people rely on these local elites. They not only expect them to deliver development to their communities, but also look to them to meet other, more personal, needs of community members. Thus, if a radio programme first of all provides a platform and a short-cut to getting community problems resolved as well as having a presenter who calls himself *'an on-air assembly man'*, it is taken seriously and must live up to the accolade. The same

⁹⁸ Local Government Act, 1993, Act 462, section (1).

applies to the reference to being an ombudsman. According to a former presenter of *'Feedback'*: *'[...] if you know what an ombudsman does'⁹⁹ [...] it tells you we are there to fill the gap where there are failings in the system.'*

Such re-adaptation of this classical role of an ombudsman, as well as the appropriation of the Assembly Man title, by the former presenter of *'Feedback'* evokes powerful imagery in the minds of listeners. The same applies to the use of local idioms on *'Wo haw ne sen'* when the presenter cites well-known Akan idioms, is another example. Idioms such as, *'me nko me tiri mu prɔw,'* and *'eyebia wo haw ye safoa ebue obi asem'*—(Lit. *'If you have a problem that needs to be resolved; it is better to share. For all you know, your problems might be a key that opens the solution to somebody else's problem'*). The use of local idioms according to a producer of *'Wo haw ne sen'* is part of their local appeal:

[...] you see, we are a local radio station, we need to use expressions that people identify with locally, and so what better way to say it than use our own local idioms? (Interview with: PFMP-NY, 26/07/2010, Accra).

This unique method of branding creates some form of imagery in the minds of the listeners. It is aimed at making the listener believe that the radio campaigns do have a way of creating avenues for solving their problems. This self-defined position also ultimately forces the programme team to deliver on the brands they have created.

Dedication (presenters and producers) and service rendering approach

Both programmes have a team of very dedicated individuals. Either the presenter or the producer has a high problem-solving or result-oriented approach to work.

⁹⁹ Rosenthal (1964) classically described the role of the ombudsman in administration as 'a people's representative.' The ombudsman's is an impartial government officer whose job is to receive complaints from citizens against administrative decisions. Although that individual does not have the power of enforcement, the ombudsman has the power to critique and makes recommendations to other government offices. For supporters of this system, the ombudsman is a non political and easily accessible channel for citizens. Similarly, in mass media the media ombudsman is 'an advocate of the audience, and a link between the editorial board and the audience.' The media ombudsman aims at establishing a link between the public and the media houses, clarifies misunderstandings, and answers direct questions of the public, so providing credit for the media (Ziegenfuss & O'Rourke 2011; Pritchard (ed.) 2000. The ombudsman has the power to criticize the media house that employs him/her. The press ombudsman role appeared for the first time in 1967 among the editorial staff of Louisville Courier Journal in the USA. Another example of the media Ombudsman is Didier Epelbaum of the French Public television, Chanel France 2, (Duplat 2003).

This is not to say that the radio stations do not have other programmes where the teams show dedication to what they do. However, for a programme run on a private radio station without any financial input from the public or public purse (their funding is solely from advertisement sponsorship), it is remarkable that the job goes beyond presenting a programme for entertainment to rendering a required service.

For me it is serious business, once I sit behind the console, I know I am giving the platform to people out there who need problems resolved or think public officials are not within their reach. I also know that I am speaking and doing this on behalf of the many people who are faced with the daily challenges of dealing with poor public services; this I know because I experience some of them myself (Interview with: JFM-MP, 11/08/2010, Accra).

This feeling of providing a service that needs to be well packaged and done well was evident in Peace FM's 'Wo haw sen' team. Although the programme is constantly inundated with calls both during and after the programme, the approach to dealing with the complaints was echoed in the view of a producer at Peace FM:

[...] if you don't give them the feedback, they will bombard you with the same questions week after week preventing other people from getting through to put their concerns across. So you are forced to work for them (Interview with: PFMP-NY, 26/07/2010, Accra)

Although not all complaints are successfully resolved, putting one's self in the shoes of the caller, or the belief that they are rendering a service to the public is crucial, especially for a private FM radio, which does not depend on public funds to operate. For programmes like 'Feedback' and 'Wo haw sen' whose revenue is generated from sponsors' advertisement one would think that the first obligation would be to make the sponsors happy by dancing to the piper's tune. Interestingly 'Feedback' received over 30 calls, from 2005-2007 relating to its long-time sponsor all of which were treated the same way as other complaints about other service providers. Similarly, 'Wo haw sen' also treats its sponsors just as they would complaints from people about other service providers.

Gender of the team

Gender plays a minimal role in the success of the radio campaigns. The Joy FM team was male whereas the Peace FM team, as at the time of fieldwork was female. Gender from a purely observational point of view did not make any significant difference to the success of the programmes. Nonetheless, it had some significance in callers' attitudes to the programme. Ghanaian society is preferentially accommodating and usually non-aggressive towards women. The presenter of *'Wo haw ne sen'* has a *motherly* presenting style, and it was not a surprise to learn that callers used respectful language when they were put live on air. They would address her as *'Maa'* (an endearing local expression for mother) or *'ya ena'* (an Akan response to an elderly woman, when she greets, as a sign of respect. It also was noticed during observation that, callers usually got impatient with producers for being held on the line for long, or not getting through to the studio lines easily. However, the team of producers (all women) used a relatively non-suggestive or non-aggressive communications approach when dealing with callers or public officials. They were exceptionally respectful to whomever they spoke to on the phones and would apologise profusely to callers when they complained of being held on the lines for too long or were unable to get through when the lines closed.

Perceptiveness, knowledgeability

Listeners call about all manner of issues from the most seemingly frivolous personal problems that may not require a programme team to follow-up on, such as search for jobs, to more serious public concern issues. So for instance when a call is received about hawkers being prevented from selling on the pavements by the city authorities (this example was cited earlier in this chapter), it is the presenter's duty to tell the caller how his/or her complaint does not constitute a complaint that can be taken up and followed-up on. Likewise, if the presenter does not know the workings of the Accra Metropolitan Authority (AMA) or the Sub Metro from which a complaint comes they will face difficulties in either locating the areas, or verifying the complaints (will not be able to tell fact from fiction).

5.6 Measuring the success rates of mediated voice

How well is mediated voice doing? Can claims about its usefulness or otherwise help us rethink the expression of voice in general and in Africa in particular? Is

mediated voice measurable? As indicated earlier in the definition of mediated voice, an attempt to measure how well mediated voice can represent ‘*individual voice*’ to produce ‘*public goods*’ is a daunting task. It requires painstaking examination of how well the radio programmes succeed in making the representation. I attempt a response to the question of the viability of mediated voice by looking at some of its outcomes.

The programmes have their own way of measuring how successful they think they are. They measure success in terms of the volume of calls they receive and traffic on the phone lines, continued sponsorship, popularity of the programmes and the level of success they achieve with resolving the complaints. Both programmes have huge sponsorship success; ‘*Feedback*’ had the same sponsor (a major private telecommunications provider) for its ten-year duration. ‘*Wo haw ne sen*’ at least tries to limit its sponsors to three at a time although it could have more sponsors knocking on its doors.

Primarily, success is measured by the popularity of the programmes and responses received from both the callers, and those to whom the complaints are directed.

[...] the programme is designed to be interactive, so listeners have a role to play; we have a role to play. The intention is to make sure all parties keep their end of the bargain, so listeners of course have to give us specific details. They have to call in and so on... yes! And they demonstrated that with just the volume of calls and the range and breadth of the cases or issue. [...] they suddenly felt that we could go into anything, ask about anything and it constituted Feedback. They were times that people would threaten service providers by telling them: ‘we would take you to ‘Feedback!’ It constituted a consumer platform and that felt for me an awesome measure (Interview with JFM-MP, 11/08/2010, Accra).

Another measure is the volume of calls that come through and the traffic on the phone lines. According to a former presenter of ‘*Feedback*’:

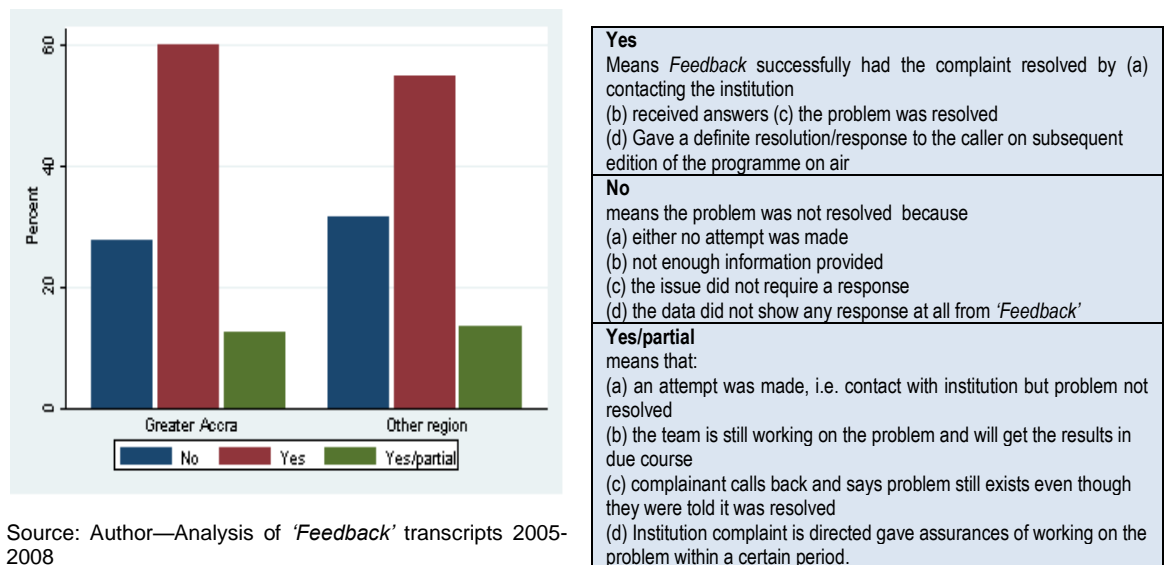
[...] with just the volume of calls and the range and breadth of the cases or issues [...] they suddenly felt that we could go into anything, ask about anything and it constituted feedback. It constituted a consumer platform and that for me an awesome measure. (Interview with JFM-MP, 11/08/2010, Accra).

And according to a producer of 'Wo haw ne sen,'

[...] we are only able to take few calls because of time constraints. We have over 20 to 30 calls coming through when we open the phone lines, [...] the lines get jammed within minutes of announcing the phone numbers. We had to introduce text messaging because of this problem. Even that is not enough; some of the callers find our private numbers and call us demanding to be put on air to speak about their problems (Interview with: PFMP-NY, 26/07/2010, Accra).

Whilst these are enough to show how successful mediated voice is within the radio programmes' own terms, it is not enough to make claims about why this variant of voice could do better than (or complement) other voice mechanisms in engendering accountability and responsiveness from those in authority. In order to establish this, I present and discuss results of data derived from analysing the raw data (transcripts of calls, responses and resolutions from 'Feedback'.) A careful study of 'Feedback' shows very interesting findings on the level of success that the programme achieved over the period of 3 years. Figure 11 below shows the success rate of complaints/problems for 'Feedback' for the data analyzed for the period 2005-2008.

Figure 11: Success rates of all complaints (for Accra and other regions)



As already explained in Chapter 4, the transcripts of the complaints received on 'Feedback' were analysed and reduced to fewer categories, coded and analysed. The data presented above represents all complaints (about public and personal problems) received on 'Feedback.' The resolutions to the complaints were then coded as 'yes resolved'; 'partially resolved', or 'not resolved.' Listeners' problems

or complaints were categorised as **resolved** when the programme data showed the following:

- The problem was duly investigated by the team
- Contact was made with key officials in institutions complaint is about
- The programme received positive response from the institution that the problem was resolved
- A definite resolution/response of the problem was announced to the caller on subsequent edition of the programme that the problem had definitely been resolved
- The complainant called the programme on a subsequent edition of the programme to confirm that the problem had been truly resolved

The complaint was coded as **partially resolved** if the following were present:

- An attempt was made by the programme team i.e., the team verified that the problem exists and contacted the institution the problem was directed at. But problem remained unresolved and the records/data did not show that resolution was made at a later date
- The team announced on subsequent editions of the programme that it was still working on the problem and will get the results in due course
- The complainant called back and said problem still existed even though they were told it had been resolved
- The institution complaint was directed at gave assurances of working on the problem within a certain period

The complaint was coded as **not resolved** if the following occurred:

- The '*Feedback*' data showed that no attempt was made to follow-up or to verify the complaint
- The caller did not provide enough information to the programme team when they called and so follow-up by the team was impossible
- The issue/complaint did not require a response
- The data did not show any response at all from '*Feedback*' programme

The *legend* attached to Figure 11 summarises how success was determined. The results in Figure 11 present the overall outlook of how mediated voice performed in the resolution of all voice complaints in the period under study (2005-2008). I take a closer look at how mediated voice performed regarding complaints specifically directed at the WMD in Chapter 7.

5.7 Brief conclusions

The objective of this chapter was to examine the question, what kind of voice. That is, what *kind of 'voice' mechanism is radio programmes such as 'Feedback' and 'Wo haw ne sen' developing? Is it a form of collective voice or a form of collective action such as those produced by civil society groups?* To do this, this chapter has done two things. First, it examined the mechanisms for expressing voice in general. With the use of empirical evidence, it is established that the majority (43.1%) of residents of Accra would raise voice on a radio phone-in programme rather than through available formal channels. This finding is indeed telling because from a random sample of 615 respondents in Accra, close to 20% had at least called into a radio programme to express voice about public services or issues of national concern.

The second part of the chapter sought to situate radio phone-in programmes within the larger context of voice mechanisms in order to examine and understand characteristics and/or how radio programmes such as *'Feedback'* and *'Wo haw ne sen'* constitute what this chapter has argued is a new voice mechanism. The final part of this chapter examined the processes involved in creating mediated voice, that is, the process during which the radio programmes represent voice and amplify it through skilful programme innovation and information technology in order to produce a collective outcome. From discussions in this chapter about how voice expressed on the radio programmes produces collective outcomes, it may be concluded that the when radio programmes create mediated voice they:

1. Provide an informal channel for citizens to solve collective problems (a new indirect voice mechanism).
2. Amplify voice through the process of representation and in a way mimic collective action through a process, which unconsciously by-passes the need for collective action on the part of citizens.

3. Successfully initiate public discourse about problems in communities and present themselves as intercessors for the resolution of those problems.
4. Initiate and sustain discussion around the issues in order to force response from public institutions.
5. Moderate the public sphere by bringing in public officials to answer directly or resolve problems promptly.
6. Create triggers for the exercise of both horizontal and vertical accountability when they demand the supply of accountability and responsiveness from public officials.
7. Create and sustain citizen trust by successfully resolving problems by acting as an informal watchdog institution that citizen's trust. Succinctly captured by one of JFM-MP's accolades, '*I am your on-air ombudsman*'--- a representation of an institution where aggrieved consumers can have their problems resolved.

The points summarised above show the positive outcomes of mediated voice on '*Feedback*' and '*Wo haw ne sen*' and its use by two different categories of citizens---middle class and literate (English) on '*Feedback*' or lower class and less literate (Akan) on '*Wo haw ne sen*.' These positives notwithstanding, mediated voice has limitations in terms of accessibility. For instance, the time available for such programmes is inadequate (an hour to one hour forty-five minutes, once a week). In addition, the fact that phone lines get jammed easily because so many people try to get through at the same time; or because 'serial callers', who have mastered the technique of getting through easily to studio phone lines, monopolise access (as in the case of '*Wo haw ne sen*') creates a natural limitation to the number of people who are able to use mediated voice.

However, if a single call from an individual about a problem in the neighbourhood is resolved, the benefits go to the caller's entire neighbourhood and not only that individual. This easily discounts concerns about the limitations to the broad benefits of mediated voice. Nonetheless, the fact that the security of tenure of radio programmes (mainly on private FM radio) that provide mediated voice is sometimes not guaranteed---as in the case of '*Feedback*,' which was suspended indefinitely---raises concerns about sustainability of this avenue for expressing voice, although the majority have confidence in it (shown in Chapter 5). To be sure, these radio campaigns are created for commercial and entertainment reasons, yet both programmes insist that what they do is purely to fulfil social

responsibility requirements. Whether by design or by chance they have succeeded in filling a gap that was created as a result of Ghana's political history, where there was a culture of silence mainly due to fear and lack of avenues to vent out.

The next chapter examines the second set of actors in this study: Callers to the radio campaigns. Who are the callers? Why do they call? Do they fit into any pre existing norms about citizen behaviour?

When a million or more hear the same subject matter, the same arguments and appeals, [...], when their attention is held in the same way and at the same time to the same stimuli, it is psychologically inevitable that they should acquire some degree of common interests, common tastes and common attitudes. In short, it seems to be the nature of radio to encourage people to think and feel alike (Cantril and Allport 1935: 20).

Chapter 6

Who uses mediated voice and why do they do so: by-passing collective action on radio?

6. Introduction

In this chapter, I look at the second actor in this study. That is, the constituency of people who use radio platforms ('mediated voice') to solve or draw attention to community problems, particularly public service delivery problems,¹⁰⁰ and why they do so. To do this I examine the following questions:

- (a) Why are citizens using 'voice' on radio or the platforms provided by radio programmes instead of other formal channels available for making complaints about local government services? Are they for instance acting as individuals, or for any pre-organised partisan, social, or community interests?*
- (b) Who are those using this mechanism, what are the characteristics of the complainants (e.g. social, gender, class)? And is there any distinctive pattern to the demographic characteristics of the callers, which set them apart from those who do not call?*

The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part discusses the general findings about users of mediated voice, who they are, and their socio-demographic characteristics. For instance, are there any patterns to those people who use mediated voice, which make them characteristically unique? Are there any hints to whether their actions on radio may lead to a *by-pass* of collective action?

The second part of this chapter presents findings about a set of individuals who call radio programmes referred to in Ghana as 'serial callers'. The individuals who also use mediated voice present a new form of political mobilization operating in Ghana, with very interesting implications for the relationship between individual and collective action. I use 'mediated voice' and radio programmes interchangeably in this chapter.

¹⁰⁰ In this study community problems are linked with services

6.1 Who are the users of mediated voice?

Ordinary people complaining about abuses of power, or participating in service delivery in order to monitor providers, are hardly new occurrences. Budget monitoring, parent-teachers' associations and other forms of citizen monitoring activities around the world have long enabled clients of public schooling to contribute to performance improvements (Paul 2002; Awio 2001; Goetz and Gaventa 2001). Other forms of accountability mechanisms, such as social accountability (Bonner 2009; Joshi 2008; Peruzzotti & Smulovitz 2002) and deliberative democracy also give an opportunity to citizens to question and demand vertical accountability from the state (Guttmann & Thompson 2004; Fung & Wright 2003).

However, what is new in this study is that the initiative of holding public service providers accountable by demanding responsiveness is individual-led---through the medium of a phone and private radio (radio platforms) or 'mediated voice'---and not what people usually do collectively as groups. Citizen actions are usually manifested in two major ways: (a) personal initiatives and (b) organised action (Vigoda 2009). Individual behaviour here refers to the very basic construct of personal actions taken by individual citizens. These individual actions are usually spontaneous undertaken by unorganised persons who engage in altruistic / voluntary behaviour aimed at enhancing their environments, without seeking compensation for their actions (Conover et al. 1993; Monroe 1994, cited in Vigoda 2009: 75).

So who are using the new form of voice represented in the radio phone-ins? Are they working on behalf of pre-organised groups or even partisan interests? Do they know the effects their complaints on radio have on public organisations? Are they acting alone or are there underlying reasons why a group of people choose to solve community problems through radio? Finally, why have they opted to use mediated voice as opposed to any other form of citizen's action?

The analysis presented in this section is mostly based on quantitative data from the survey conducted in Accra from October to November 2010 (see Chapter 3). The unit of analysis is individuals who had either called or sent a text to '*Feedback*' or '*Wo haw ne sen*' about a problem in their neighbourhood, community or within their household. The analysis is therefore based on 14%

(85) of the total sample of 615 respondents. Overall, the survey results show that at least 20% (198), of the sampled population had either sent a text message, or called a radio programme for various reasons including, joining discussion programmes, or just making a comment about an issue. These categories of radio users have been excluded from the **study group sample** and are used only as part of a **control group**. The analysis in this section therefore is based only on those who had called '*Feedback*' or '*Wo haw ne sen*' about a problem. It also includes information from in-depth interviews with individuals who had called into '*Wo haw ne sen*' during the period of fieldwork (2010) and a selected few from the '*Feedback*' database.

6.2. Users of mediated voice: a sociological outlook

In Chapter 5, I discussed the similarities and differences between Joy FM and Peace FM, two private radio stations providing mediated voice. As observed, the main differences between those who listen to the radio stations and programmes were to be found in their social class, and to a limited extent, gender, and the broadcast language of the radio station. What then does the survey data say about users of mediated voice (UoMV)? What is the gender of those who call radio programmes to seek redress to public problems? Are they likely to be more from one particular gender than another? Does education or the lack of it make any difference to their preference for the radio stations they call? Where do they live, and does it matter where they live? Findings from the survey regarding these questions confirm earlier findings from the qualitative study already discussed in Chapter 5 of this thesis. In what follows I discuss whether any of these social attributes shape the choice of / or reasons for using mediated voice.

Location

Consistent with findings from analysis of the radio transcripts of '*Feedback*' and '*Wo haw sen*', the survey data show that location was not a significant factor in predicting who calls. Their locations were widely spread over the city of Accra, and the entire Greater Accra region. The '*Feedback*' data for instance, showed some differences between where a call was made from, and the location the caller's complaint was located. There were a few such differences in '*Wo haw ne sen*' as well. Below are two examples from '*Feedback*' and '*Wo haw ne sen*'.

Example 1

Caller's name	Location caller mentioned	Complaint
Kobby	<u>Abossey Okai</u>	You complained about mosquito invasion in some parts of Accra. You specifically mentioned the Kpeshie Lagoon on the <u>Labadi-Nungua</u> Road where one is attacked by mosquitoes. What are the authorities concerned doing to minimize this problem?

Source: Author. Extract from 'Feedback' programme transcript, 3rd January 2008.

Example 2

Caller's name	Location caller mentioned	Complaint
Afi	<u>Abeka</u>	Residents struggling from dust from the road construction at the <u>Achimota-Nsawam road</u> . Wants authorities to do something about it (translated from Akan by author)

Source: Author. Extract from 'Wo haw ne sen' programme transcript, 18th August 2010

As shown in the two examples above, the location mentioned by some of the callers (callers are asked by the presenters to mention where they are calling from) is different from where the problem they are reporting is located. In the first example from 'Feedback,' *Abbossey Okai*, the area the complainant called from is about 11.1 kilometres¹⁰¹ by vehicle from *Labadi-Nungua road*, where the caller's problem was located. Similarly, in the example from 'Wo haw ne sen,' *Abeka* is also some distance from the location of the problem---*Achimota-Nsawam road*.¹⁰² The processes and procedures involved in how calls are received and processed before the callers are put live on air cause the discrepancy. Evidence from observation at Peace FM, and similarly from content analysis of 'Feedback' data shows that callers are first asked where they are calling from.

The first inclination for the caller is to mention their present location. That is, where they were physically located when they made that call and not necessarily, where the specific problem they are reporting is located. The normal sequence is in this order: location of caller, followed by problem (which must correspond with location of the problem). This must be the sequence if the caller is physically located where the problem is. However, it is likely that most callers call from multiple locations, probably from their cell phones or from other call points, rather than from home from a landline. Secondly, many of the callers when asked where they were calling from would say, 'Accra' rather than a specific location

¹⁰¹ The distance noted here is an estimate from Google maps. See: http://maps.google.co.uk/maps?hl=en&gl=uk&q=Labadi+to+Abbossey+Okai+in+Accra&um=1&ie=UTF-8&sa=X&ei=MpgzUJOtHcmv0QXj7oCgBg&ved=0CAsQ_AUoAg.

¹⁰² *Abbossey Okai*, *Labadi*, *Nungua*, *Abeka*, and *Achimota* are all suburbs of Accra.

within Accra. The actual location of the problem only becomes clear after the caller has stated what the problem is and where it is located.

Gender

Does gender make any difference as to who is more likely to use mediated voice? The findings did not show significant differences, however, there is a strong reaffirmation of the significance of gender for preferences for one or other of the two radio programmes even amongst those who have actually called into the programmes. Results from the survey show that the majority (60%) of those who called or sent a text message to *'Wo haw ne sen'* about a problem are female, whilst the gender of callers to *'Feedback'* was a split (50%) between both genders equally (see Table 24)¹⁰³. This finding reflects the English language literacy levels of women in Ghana in general. Language literacy is shown by ability to read, write and speak in English, the official language of Ghana. More women call *'Wo haw ne sen'* because it broadcasts in a language in which they can express themselves well. Table 24 shows results for gender of those who had actually called or sent a text about a complaint to *'Feedback'* and *'Wo haw ne sen.'*

Table 24: Gender of users of mediated voice: Survey results

Gender	Wo haw ne sen		Feedback	
	Count	%	Count	%
Male	18	40%	20	50%
Female	27	60%	20	50%
Total	45	100%	40	100%

'Feedback' N= 40,

'Wo haw ne sen' N=45.

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

Educational qualifications

An overwhelming majority of users of mediated voice at Joy FM were within the 'fairly well educated bracket',¹⁰⁴ whilst the profile of those who called at Peace FM was more broad-based including callers from a wider educational

¹⁰³ These results are reporting gender of users of mediated voice, which is quite different from the gender breakdown reported in Table 21 in Chapter 3. The gender representation in that table shows the gender of all those who listen to *'Wo haw ne sen'* and *'Feedback'*. These individuals may listen to the programme and not necessarily call into it.

¹⁰⁴ 'Fairly well educated' refers to persons who have 'some university', post secondary qualifications, through to university completed and post-graduate.

background, particularly those who fell within the not-so well educated bracket.¹⁰⁵ Table 25 below shows the differences (in educational level) between users of mediated voice for both radio programmes.

Table 25: Educational level of users of mediated voice: Survey results

Educational level	Wo haw ne sen		Feedback	
No formal education	4	8.9%	-	-
Informal education (including Koranic)	3	6.7%	-	-
Some Primary	2	4.4%	-	-
Primary completed	3	6.7%	-	-
Some Sec. / high school	8	17.8%	-	-
Some university	2	4.4%	12	30%
University completed	3	6.7%	10	25%
Sec./High school completed	11	24.4%	9	22.5%
Post-secondary qualifications, other than University	9	20%	8	20%
Post –graduate	-	-	1	2.5%
Total	45	100%	40	100%

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

In spite of these differences,¹⁰⁶ careful study of all ('*Feedback*' and '*Wo haw ne sen*') mediated voice users in this study shows interesting patterns about who they are. In what follows I discuss some of the characteristics by taking a holistic view of all those who use mediated voice. In related sub-sections of this chapter, I compare aspects of the **Study Group**, that is, only those who had called either '*Feedback*' at Joy FM, called, or sent a text message to '*Wo haw ne sen*' at Peace FM about a problem.¹⁰⁷ To a **Control Group** that is, those who listened but had never called or sent a text message to either programme.

¹⁰⁵ This refers to those who fall within the category: 'Some secondary/high school completed to Post-Secondary, other than university; e.g. teacher training, vocational' etc.

¹⁰⁶ These differences about the callers reflect the listenership target of the two radio stations discussed in Chapter 3, where I provide background information on the two radio stations and programmes.

¹⁰⁷ Problems include those that address larger areas such as an entire Sub-Metro and whole communities, to smaller areas: neighbourhoods and households.

6.3 Users of mediated voice: commonalities?

I now turn to discussions on the commonalities between users of mediated voice (UoMV) of Joy FM and Peace FM. The findings, which are mainly drawn from survey data, show that although mediated voice is offered on two separate radio stations, those who call share many similar traits. The results from the survey show several interesting convergences in the character of the callers or sometimes ‘*texters*’ to the two radio programmes. Results presented in this section are based on; the combination of those who have used mediated voice provided by Joy FM or Peace FM, that is, 83, individuals out of the total sample of 615 respondents. The significant commonalities are:

The Liberal Airwave Generation (LAG)

Very indicative of the era of FM radio, the growth of mobile phone technology and participatory radio in Ghana, the majority (68.7%) of those who use mediated voice to solve community problems belong to the age group I describe as the **Liberal Airwave Generation (LAG)**. Ghana’s airwaves were liberalised in 1994, over eighteen years ago. Interactive and listener participation became fashionable in the mid 1990s when radio stations such as Joy FM, the first private commercial FM radio in Accra, and Radio Universe, a university based FM radio station, introduced listener-interactive programmes. These programmes largely provided listeners with the opportunity to participate and add their voice to many discourses of national interest. The LAG consists of the age group of people who grew up listening to the new generation of FM stations and innovative participatory radio in Ghana, particularly in Accra. Table 26 below shows the age cohort of callers to ‘*Feedback*’ and ‘*Wo haw ne sen*,’ as highlighted in the table, the LAG fall mainly in the age cohort 25-44 years.

Table 26: Age group of users of mediated voice

18-24 yrs	25-34 yrs*	35-44 yrs*	45-54yrs	55-64yrs	Total
13	32	25	7	6	83
15.7%	38.6%	30.1%	8.4%	7.2%	100%

Source: Author’s survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

Second, the LAG fall within the age-group of people who have witnessed and recognise how private radio is credited for contributing to events that led to the peaceful alternation of governments (through elections) in the past decade and a

half. For example, the private media in Ghana are documented to have played very useful roles in Ghana's elections, by highlighting and making public issues of electoral malpractice, potential violence, and up-to-the-minute observation of vote-counting. All of these activities have helped ensure transparency of the ballot in the country's general elections; most significantly in the critical year 2000¹⁰⁸ elections, and subsequently in 2004/8 (Gadzekpo 2008: 199-201; Prempeh 2008: 103; Temin & Smith 2005). Hence, the belief in the 'power of the media' is strongest amongst the LAG.

Third, LAG falls within the age group of people who witnessed or have seen how FM radio in Ghana is capable of holding the state to account---a form of social accountability mechanism. The electronic mass media in particular have been in the forefront of exposing some of the high-profile corruption cases in the recent past in Ghana (Tettey 2002). Younger journalists and radio presenters usually championed these crusades. Joy FM, in particular, has been in the forefront of many such exposés. On October 10, 2000, for example, a popular morning show presenter (and winner of best Journalist award, 2003) at Joy FM, Komla Dumor, filed a complaint with Ghana's Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) against the Social Security and National Insurance Trust (SSNIT). He cited alleged instances of mismanagement of funds, corruption and conflict of interest, among many other malpractices by some directors and board members of SSNIT, who were closely linked to the political party then in power. Although Komla Dumor eventually lost the case, it drew attention to all manner of official corruption. It also shored up the reputation of Joy FM and its presenters as individuals who could take on corrupt officials even if they were in government.

Finally, the LAG falls within the 'youthful working age' category, defined as those between ages 25 to 45 years.¹⁰⁹ This group, who probably find themselves tied to their busy work schedule or other economic activities, may not have time to go through the bureaucratic processes of getting public service-rated community

¹⁰⁸ The year 2000 was when former president Rawlings, who was ending his two terms in office as a democratic leader. The elections were historically going to mark a significant end to the so-called Rawlings era. Constitutionally although his party could compete in the elections, he could not run as a candidate. It was, therefore the first ever alternation of power in the country's history, be it to the then government's party or to the opposition. The elections were also critical in the country's nascent democracy and there were questions as to whether Rawlings would hand over power peacefully.

¹⁰⁹ The Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS) of 2008 report puts the working age in Ghana between Ages 15 to 65 years, and 75.3% fall within ages 25-45 in Accra.

problem resolved. This assertion conforms to evidence from in-depth interviews during the qualitative study with key informants (who had accessed mediated voice) whose ages also fell within the LAG. This is discussed in subsequent sections on the evidence of why people use mediated voice.

Callers are usually in an ‘economically disadvantaged’ position

Those who call into the radio programmes are generally not ‘high earners’; they are people who usually find themselves disadvantaged with regard to service provision. The majority come from those in the retail (informal sector) or mid level formal sector,¹¹⁰ albeit, in small numbers (see Table 27 below).

Table 27: occupation of users of mediated voice

Occupational level	Frequency	Total %
Mid Level	41	49.5%
Lower Level	28	33.7%
Upper level	6	7.2%
Does not work/never had a job	4	4.8%
Student	4	4.8%
Total	83	100%

Note: N= 83 instead of 85 because 2 of the respondents had called both stations about problems
Source: Author’s survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

The data in Table 27 above are instructive and show that the concentration of callers and texters is around those categorised as mid-range income earners. It is common in urban areas, particularly in Accra at present times, to hear the distinction being made between people who have the means to ‘solve public problems through private means’ locally or from abroad (Booth 2010:1) and those who cannot. For instance, if roads leading to one’s house are bad, for those who have the means, the choice is rather to own a vehicle which can traverse bad or pot-hole ridden roads. The propensity for the well-to-do to solve public problems through private means cuts across most sectors of public service delivery, whether it is water, electricity or even crime prevention. For electricity, they get either high-powered generators or solar panels. With water, they develop huge water reservoirs or private boreholes; and for security, private security and a number of exotic-breed guard dogs. Thus, the disadvantage is higher for those without the means when dealing with public services than for those who have the means.

¹¹⁰ Middle level formal sector workers are nurses, teachers, accountants and other professional workers in NGOs and other private organisations.

Public versus private sector workers: the generation of privatization

If the majority of users of mediated voice are within the lower and mid-level worker range, are they in the public sector (public sector workers usually are the least well paid)? If this assumption holds true, are public sector workers more likely to be users of mediated voice? The majority seven in ten (73%), of users of mediated voice at Peace FM work in the private sector or belong to the ‘*generation of privatization*’ Overall, (at both Joy FM and Peace FM), six in ten (60%) work in the private sector (Table 28 below show the results). This result reflects current statistics of the working population of Ghana. According to the Ghana Living Standards Survey (2008: 36-37) the private sector is the largest employer, accounting for two-thirds (66.7%) of employed adults, whilst public service accounts for 28.5%. There are very few public sector jobs these days (there has been a decline in public sector employment since the 1980s when public sector reforms were introduced). Currently many Ghanaians of working age find themselves in private employment.

Table 28: Work for private or government agency?

Type of employment	Count	%
Private	50	60.3%**
Public	25	30.1%
Student—Not working	4	4.8%
Does not work/Never had a job	3	3.6%
Don't Know	1	1.2%
Total	83	100%

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

High listenership to radio

A significant proportion of those who use radio platforms as a voice mechanism listen to radio daily and listen to programmes with call-in segments probably with the hope that the opportunity will arise for them to call in or hear about issues that are of interest to them most. Radio has a lived influence on people. High listenership of radio (Table 29) and equally high interest in talk show radio programmes give a strong indication of why they choose to use mediated voice. There is generally high interest in radio in Ghana, particularly in the regional capital cities and larger towns where several FM radio stations are located. However, this interest is also highest amongst those who listen to, and participate in mediated voice. The likelihood that they will tune in, if an opportunity is created, is therefore high. They are those whose source of news and information

is mainly from radio. A good majority, (92.8%) get their news and information from radio daily, 60% from TV daily; and 28% from newspapers daily. They are the kind of people who listen to all programmes on radio from morning until evening or listen mostly to talk shows and programmes with call-in segments.

Table 29: Source of news and information

	Never	Less than once a month	A few times a month	A few times a week	Every day	Don't know
Radio	-	-	2 (2.4%)	4 (4.8%)	77 (92.8%)	-
TV	-	1 (1.2%)	7 (8.4%)	25 (30.1%)	52 (60.3%)	-
newspapers	13 (15.7%)	6 (7.2%)	16 (19.3%)	23 (27.7%)	24 (28.9%)	1 (1.2%)

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

The UoMV listen to all programmes on radio from morning until evening or listen mostly to talk shows and programmes with call-in segments.

Table 30: Programme preference

All programmes from morning to evening	49	59.1%
Listen to talk only shows with call-in segments	34	40.9%
Only news	-	
Only Music	-	
Other selected programmes (sports and religious)	-	
Never	-	
Total	83	100%

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

They are also individuals who are well plugged into communication technology. Almost all of them (91.6%) own a cell phone, which has an in-built radio.

Table 31: ICT and how they are plugged-in

	Yes	No
Own Mobile phone	71 (85.5%)	12 (14.5%)
Own mobile phone with radio	66 (79.5%)	17 (20.5%)
Own radio	76 (91.6%)	7 (8.4%)
Own Landline	21 (25.3)	62 (74.7%)

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

High Interest in public affairs

Those who called mediated voice have a high interest in public affairs. Almost all of them (90.4%) said they were interested in public affairs, whilst only a marginal 9.6% of them said they had no interest. Interest in public affairs by mediated voice user's contrasts strongly with those who had never called a radio station. Of

those who had never called a radio station, 50.2% said they were 'interested' and 49.8% said they were 'not interested' in public affairs.¹¹¹ (See Table 32 below for actual break down of the results).

Table 32: Interest in public affairs

	Callers		Non callers	
Very Interested	43	51.8%***	93	17.5%
Somewhat interested	32	38.6%**	174	32.7%
Not very interested	7	8.4%	158	29.7%
Not at all interested	1	1.2%	107	20.1%
Total	83	100%	532	100%

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

To ensure that these results are true to the group of people being studied, independent t-tests¹¹² were conducted. The results shows a significant level of high interest in community affairs compared to those who have never called a radio programme to make a complaint about a problem in the community (see Appendix 3 for T-test results).

Active citizens: interest in community affairs

McKevit (1998: 42) suggests that 'being an active citizen' is usually portrayed as an individual quality, but at the same time, has a significant association with collective responsibility. The survey shows that the majority of those who use mediated voice are those I describe as active citizens---defined as those who take interest in issues affecting their communities. These people are what Isin (2008: 38) calls either "activist citizens", engaged in writing scripts and creating the scene, or just "active citizens", who follow the script and participate in scenes that are already created. They are people who feel they have an innate duty to take up or find solutions to problems, which affect their communities. To show this, I look at the variables¹¹³ that best measure this understanding of active citizenry.

¹¹¹ The results reported in-text are an aggregate of those who said 'very interested' + 'somewhat interested' = 'interested' and 'not very interested' + 'not at all interested' = 'not interested'.

¹¹² An independent t-test is carried out during statistical analysis to compare groups in a survey that are independent from one another. In this study, for example, the two groups identified were the UoMV and non-UoMV. The test is carried out to ascertain if the groups are different from one another or relatively the same.

¹¹³ In order to capture this concept, and measure the variable, respondents were asked: 'If you yourself have seen problems in how local government is run in the past year, how often, if at all, you did any of the following? (i) discussed about local government with community members; (ii)

Whilst making a clear distinction between duties of religious and traditional leadership, a clear majority (73.2%) of those who use mediated voice had raised concerns about how local government is run, or discussed problems affecting their community with other community members. More than half (61.7%) had also joined others to try to resolve community problems. This group of people again show a strong preference for the speed and voice that radio provides---the majority (73%) of them have never written to a newspaper column or to a public official about problems in their communities, but have called radio shows about a problem. See Table 33 below.

Table 33: Actions taken by users of mediated voice

Active Citizenship (actions)--How often?	Never		Once or twice		Several times	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Made a complaint to municipal assembly (either in person or by writing a letter)	57	73.1%	15	19.2%	6	7.7%
Discussed community problems with religious comm. or traditional leaders	45	54.9%	25	29.3%	13	15.7%
Joined community members to address a problem	31	38.3%	17	21%	33	40.7%
Discussed about local government with community members	22	26.8%	19	23.2%	41	50%
Written to a news paper	-	-	-	-	-	-

N=83 Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra.

Strong belief in citizen voice and power

Users of mediated voice have a strong belief in citizen's power. Although it is not exactly, clear how, and by what means (perhaps radio). When asked, '*When there are problems with how local government is run in your community, how much can an ordinary person like you do to improve the situation?*' A resounding majority (75.9%), the combined total of those who said '*some amount*' and those who said a '*great deal*', said that ordinary people like them can contribute to improving how local government is run. Table 34 below shows the actual breakdown of the results.

Joined other community members to address problems; (iii) discussed community problems with religious leaders; (iv) made a complaint to the municipal assembly (either in person or by writing a letter); (v) Wrote a letter to a newspaper column if they had seen problems in how local government is run in the past year.

Table 34: Active citizenry: Citizen's involvement in changing Local Government performance

How much can an ordinary person do to improve problems with how local government is run		
	Count	Per cent
A great deal	16	19.3%
Some	47	56.6%
A small amount	18	21.7%
Nothing	2	2.4%
Total	83	100%

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

N=83. Question asked, 'When there are problems with how local government is run in your community, how much can ordinary people like you do to improve the situation?'

Finally, a small point to make about those who use mediated voice is that this group of people is not likely to use multiple means to seek solutions to community problems. For instance, when asked if they had tried to use other means of raising voice about community problems, the majority, (78.3%); that is, the cumulative total, indicated they had 'never' contacted a government agency or the local representatives to seek redress to problems. Only 15.1% (cumulative total) had at least, contacted a government official about a problem. Table 35 below shows the breakdown of the results.

Table 35: Active citizenry: Contacting

	Never	Only once	A few times	often
Contacted an official of a government agency	84.3% (70)	-	15.7 (13)	-
Contacted a member of Parliament	-	-	-	-
Contacted Assembly man/woman	72.3% (60)	9.6% (8)	14.5% (12)	3.6% (3)

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

N=83. Question asked was, 'During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about important problems in your community or to give them your views.'

6.4 Why are individuals using mediated voice?

In this section, I discuss the plausible reasons why people use mediated voice¹¹⁴. There are four main explanatory factors why people turn to use mediated voice. These reasons may have been influenced by some of the sociological factors such as being a **LAG member**, occupation, and to a small extent being in the private sector already discussed in the previous section. Some of the analysis presented in this section is a comparison between the sub group (the study group) and the control group. I begin with the variables that best explain why

¹¹⁴ This is to reiterate that discussions here refer to how the 'study group' (UoMV) compares to the 'control group' (non-UoMV) mentioned at the beginning of Part 1 of this chapter.

UoMV use mediated voice to solve community problems. These findings are based on statistical comparison between UoMV and non-UoMV.

Belief in radio as a mechanism for raising voice

UoMV are people who believe strongly in radio as a voice mechanism. This category of listeners choose radio over local government as the most effective way of raising voice in order to deal with community problems. When asked to indicate the three most important channels for raising voice about community problems, the majority, (67.5%) in their first response ranked the media (radio) over the channels available through local government. Local government ranked only second, whilst a fair majority ranked the police as their third choice. Highlighted in Table 36 below are the preferred channels for raising voice in Accra.

So what are the explanations for this? These results show the depth of belief and high value that those who call in to radio programmes place on it. That value is a direct result of advantages that mediated voice provides in making sure that voice is 'heard' over other voice mechanisms.

Table 36: Most important channel through which complaints can be lodged

Channel	Rank		
	1 st response	2 nd response	3 rd response
Media (radio)	67.5% ***	18.1%	16.9%
Local Government (AMA/Assembly)	8.4%	33.7% **	13.3%
Police	21.7%	10.8%	24.1% *
Traditional Authority	1.2%	10.8%	8.4%
Media (TV)	-	8.4%	-
MP	1.2%	1.2%	3.6%
Serial Caller	-	3.6%	1.2%
Don't Know	-	14.5%	32.5%

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

N=83. This was an open-ended question, which asked respondents to: '*mention three channels through which they can lodge complaints about problems in your community in order of priority.*' Responses were then coded into fewer categories and subsequently analysed.

Local Government ranked second because UoMVs probably do not have confidence in the available channels for them through local government. The police is ranked third as a last resort probably for solving problems (within their mandate) if both radio and local government fail.

The desire to raise voice about poor perceptions of the performance of local government

As noted in the background section about the local government services AMA is mandated to provide, local government functions can be many and various. The functions of the *local governance* structure range from performing services such as collecting refuse, maintaining roads, ensuring health and safety standards and collecting revenue; to other areas considered 'best practice' (World Bank, 2009), such as publicising local government work, involving/consulting citizens in decision-making, or making the budget of the local government public amongst many others.

In order to understand why some individuals use mediated voice to express voice about local community problems, I looked at the perception that those who use mediated voice have about local government in general. I also tried to see if there were any differences in perception between the two groups (study and control). The results in Table 37 below show that whilst non users of mediated voice give 50% or less in poor performance ratings for four functions performed by local government, users of mediated voice give poor performance ratings of above 60% in five specific functions of local government:

- Maintaining local roads
- Maintaining local market places
- Keeping the community clean (e.g. refuse removal)
- Maintaining health standards in public restaurants and food stalls
- Guaranteeing that local revenues are used for public services and not for private gains

Other areas show less difference, they are: collecting revenue on privately owned houses, providing effective ways to handle complaints about Assembly Men/women, making their programme/ work known to ordinary people, consulting others (including traditional, civic and community leaders) before making decisions, allowing citizens to participate in decision-making, and providing citizens with information about their budget (i.e. revenues and expenditures).

Table 37: Popular perceptions of Local Government performance in Accra

	Callers	Non-Callers	Callers	Non-Callers	Callers	Non-callers
Performance on Function (how well is local Gov...)	Badly	Badly	Well	Well	Don't know, have not heard enough	Don't know, have not heard enough
Maintaining local roads	61%*	45.9%	37.8%	50.2%	1.2%	3.9%
Maintaining local market places	76.8%**	47.2%	22%	47.7%	1.2%	5.1%
Keeping the community clean (e.g. refuse removed)	78.8%	62.4%	20%	34.2%	1.2%	3.4%
Maintaining health standards in public restaurants and food stalls	70.7%**	50%	26.9%	45.1%	2.4%	4.9%
Collecting revenue	46.3%	43.6%	47.6%	50.1%	6.1%	6.3%
Collecting revenue on privately owned houses	43.9%	50.4%	47.6%	40.4%	8.5%	9.2%
Guaranteeing that local revenues are used for public services and not for public gains?	80.5%*	67.5%	12.2%	19%	7.3%	13.5%
Providing effective ways to handle complaints about Assembly Men/women?	79.3%	69.4%	17.1%	17.1%	3.6%	13.5%
Making their programme/ work known to ordinary people?	79.3%	74.2%	17.1%	16.4%	3.6%	9.4%
Consulting others (including traditional, civic and community leaders) before making decisions?	80.5%	69.5%	14.6%	17.3%	4.9%	13.2%
Allowing citizens to participate in decision-making?	83%	74.4%	11%	14.7%	6%	10.9%
Providing citizens with information about their budget (i.e. revenues and expenditures)?	85.4%	72%	8.5%	17.7%	6.1%	10.3%

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

N=615. The question asked, 'How well or badly would you say your local government/district is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to have an opinion?' The original responses were, 'fairly well', 'very well', 'fairly badly' 'very badly' and 'don't know haven't heard enough'. The response categories in this table have been aggregated as follows: Well=fairly well' + 'very well.' 'Badly'=fairly badly' + 'Very Badly'

These findings are interesting and instructive for the following reasons. First, the service functions rated poorly by UoMV listed in Table 37 above interestingly fall within the category of complaints received by radio programmes (see examples of public good calls in Chapter 5)

Second, it is significant that the UoMV rate local government in five specific service functions. This is very significant and shows a clear difference between the two groups. It also shows that those who call radio programmes are the most dissatisfied with the AMA services and are therefore more motivated to call a radio programme to complain. This view underscores my earlier arguments that

those who raise voice on radio programmes are active citizens (discussed earlier in this chapter) and show that the preference for mediated voice is aimed at drawing attention to perceived poor performance of local government through the media, in order to amplify voice about the poor ratings.

Third, it also provides good indication about why mediated voice is the likely choice for expressing voice about local government services. The decision to call in to represent the views of many about poor performance of local government shows that the UoMV realise that accountability must necessarily go with responding to their needs. Going by earlier findings, it therefore holds true that mediated voice users belonging to the liberal age group believe in radio being an instrument for demanding accountability and responsiveness from government at the local and national level.

Getting voice to the 'ears of those in authority for speedy resolution

Another reason why certain individuals use mediated voice is derived from a strong belief in the ability of radio, and a weaker belief in using avenues provided by local government for expressing voice. This belief is what has aggregated into the hope they have for getting quick results from radio. To them, calling-in to radio programmes is like directly speaking to those in authority. This action plays out a popular Akan proverb in Ghana, which says, (Lit.) *'If you want to speak to God, tell it to the wind'* (Mbiti 1991: 208-212). The majority (63.9%) of those who used mediated voice said they did so to draw attention to community problems. Another 24% said they did so for speedy resolution to community and/or personal problems shown in Table 38 below.

Table 38: Reasons for calling radio programmes: Direct responses

Reasons for calling radio programmes	Count / (%)	%
Draw attention to the problem	53	63.9%**
Speedy resolution, problem solvers and ease of reach	24	28.9%*
Refused to disclose	4	4.8%
Can't remember	1	1.2%
No specific reason	1	1.2%
Total	83	100

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

The reasons given provide strong indication that by calling into radio programmes, this group of radio listeners feel they would receive expedited resolution of their complaints. To them, calling into radio programmes is a sure way of getting the ear of the authorities. This finding underscores one of the key

characteristics of mediated voice, which is that for mediated voice to work well, the requestor, (*in this case the caller or listener*) has to believe that mediated voice can deliver or can solve the problem.

Convenience and reach of radio

In addition to evidence from the survey, in-depth interviews¹¹⁵ with some users of mediated voice revealed that the convenience and reach that radio provides is also one of the reasons they use mediated voice. This finding is closely tied to the findings about the UoMV belonging to those categorised as individuals who belong to the LAG. Most users of mediated voice, as explained earlier, fall into the youthful working age group who work in the private sector with probably strict regulations on their leisure time. These individuals may not have the time to run around chasing up on community problems that affect them as well as members of their community. The findings from the qualitative part of this study provide an additional support for this assumption. This was evident from in-depth interviews with key informants (different individuals) who had called the two programmes a few times. To them, radio call-in programmes that provide the kind of service that both *'Feedback'* and *'Wo haw ne sen,'* do present a universal convenience to their consumers that other methods cannot. For instance, if one had to go directly to the office involved, it would require some level of physical involvement; going to the offices to complain creates the possibility of delays, payments and other inconveniences.

[...] it was fast for me [...] radio is far-reaching and one is almost certain that somebody somewhere will hear and act on it if the radio station itself does not.' Joy FM is good with following up on issues, even if you don't hear about the results immediately, you will sometimes hear the issue you raised in their news bulletins (Interview with: FB-C2,¹¹⁶ 24/09/ 2010, Accra).

¹¹⁵ These interviews were not part of the survey sample. They are those who were selected for in-depth interviews from callers to *'Wo haw ne sen'* during observation, and from the *'Feedback'* database of callers.

¹¹⁶ This individual (female) called into *'Feedback'* a number of times.

Another said:

It is time consuming for me to go up and down to make a complaint. These days everyone is so busy. I go to work and so I do not have time for running around to follow-up on issues that the politicians and public servants are paid to do. For me it is only on weekends that I will have time, and as you know these offices do not work on weekends...so why not use a radio programme if they will do it on your behalf...and you know, you can make that call from anywhere. (Interview with: FB-C1, 30/07/2010, Accra).¹¹⁷

They rather choose to call a radio programme, instead of using the more formal direct channels. To them, the costs involved in calling a radio programme are much lower than those incurred from going directly to local government are. This finding supports the evidence of the quantitative survey. The main questions raised in this chapter were (1) who uses mediated voice; what are their characteristics and why do they use mediated voice. (2) Are those who use mediated voice doing so as individuals or by a pre-arranged association or political grouping? I now turn to the other group of people who also use mediated voice.

6.5 The curious case of the ‘serial caller’ (SC)

The ‘serial caller’ phenomenon was mentioned briefly in Chapter 5. In this section, I discuss them in detail, as unique individuals who also use radio platforms or mediated voice. Discussion of this group of users of mediated voice cannot be done without first explaining and understanding who they are. Serial callers are a phenomenon that developed with the growth of free and interactive radio in Ghana. Therefore, their status in Ghanaian media development is unique to the Ghanaian context. The need to address the serial caller phenomenon in this thesis is crucial and necessitated first by the fact that as many as 3 in 10 (35.6%) of respondents interviewed indicated their willingness to ask a serial caller to call radio programmes on their behalf. Second, the fact that they are individuals whose participation in radio programmes such as those this study is about is not only interesting, but raises further questions and has implications for our understanding of why public officials respond to mediated voice. A discussion of this group of mediated voice users is also required for understanding and drawing conclusions about what ‘kind of voice’ is mediated through radio programmes. Finally, this subject matter of serial callers is an unexplored area,

¹¹⁷ This individual is a 35-year-old man who works in a privately owned company in Accra.

and means that data and discussions around them and radio phone-ins in particular will provide crucial and timely material for future exploration of the phenomenon.

I was aware of serial callers as ubiquitous patrons of talk-radio/call-in programmes prior to commencing fieldwork. However, I only discovered their role in my study during interviews with a senior producer of '*Wo haw ne sen*,' told me; serial caller[s] also called the '*Wo haw ne sen*' programme. They do so because people who knew some of the serial callers living in their communities approached them with their problems for them to call the radio stations on their behalf. This desire to ask a serial caller to express voice on another person's behalf is confirmed by the rather high number of respondents in the survey, three in ten (35.6%) who indicated they would approach a '*Serial caller*' to channel their complaints on radio if they knew that person.

This part of the chapter has three sections. In the first section, I define and describe the serial caller in detail within the Ghanaian context. The second section presents popular views about serial callers. The final section presents the views of ordinary users of mediated voice (UoMV) about serial callers.

6.5.1 Who is a serial caller'?

As the term suggests, a serial caller could easily be anyone who calls repeatedly into a radio programme. There is no formal definition in the Ghanaian political and media development literature as at the time of this study, for 'serial caller' --- it is a local term. However, a few current studies in Kenya and Uganda suggest that there may be some frequent callers to some radio programmes in those countries (Gagliardone et al. 2011). Nonetheless, it is still not clear whether they are serial callers as defined in the Ghanaian context. With no definition of this category of callers, I begin by describing them and then attempt a definition to help contextualise some of the findings discussed in this section.

Although there are individuals in Ghana, in this case Accra, who are frequent callers to specific radio stations and programmes, these frequent callers are not considered serial callers. Frequent callers are individuals who usually call-in to light-hearted programmes such as 'drive time' shows or 'lunch time' music programmes, which have call-in segments. Radio stations and presenters of such

programmes consider these types of callers 'friends of the stations', and very little attention is also given to this category of callers. In this study however, I make the distinction between these frequent callers and 'serial callers.' Serial callers are the exact opposite; they are usually only known by their assumed radio name, or sometimes phone number by programme hosts, and other political pundits or brokers. Their forte is political programmes or primetime radio programmes.

The main objective of a serial caller is to spread the views and propaganda of the political party they sympathise with or support. These individuals call into several radio stations (local or English language) to do propaganda for their political paymasters or political parties, whilst spreading negative propaganda about their political opponents. They have the penchant for clogging studio phone lines, denying access to new or alternate voices, which sometimes attracts various forms of censorship by radio presenters (Yankah 2004).

My loose definition then of a 'Serial Caller' is: ***'an individual, who is a frequent and persistent caller to radio programmes, particularly primetime programmes and political talk shows, with the intention of swaying public opinion about all manner of issues, including politics. This individual may, be a foot soldier of a political party or an individual who receives rewards in cash or in kind from a political party, or influential persons in society.'***

In Ghana, the serial caller phenomenon started with the rise of interactive radio in the early 1990s (Yankah 2004). The phenomenon is more of an activity on urban FM rather than a rural community radio. According to Yankah (2004: 18) *'the encouragement of greater participation by the FM radio stations led to the emergence of this coterie of ubiquitous patrons, popularly called serial callers who frequently called into radio stations to voice their opinion on political issues'*.

While some of serial callers have confined their participation to specific radio stations, others are more ubiquitous and move from radio station to station to call into any programme that is discussing a topical issue (Yankah 2004: 18). Serial callers are mostly men with only a few women. Although there are no statistics as to how many there are, their numbers are growing as the number of radio stations and talk radio/call-in programmes (participatory radio) in Ghana continues to grow and the country's democratic culture continues to deepen (Tettey 2011). The aim of these individuals is to shape opinion by constantly engaging in public discourse. The 'serial caller' term has somehow become

acceptable in Ghanaian media/political development nomenclature. A former government official hinted in a radio interview in 2010 that they know that serial callers existed, but they are not considered part of any formal structure in government or in the political parties.

In the early days of the phenomenon, serial callers operated as 'secretive individuals' who identified themselves by pseudonyms, initials or first names (*Judas, Castro, Prophet Tu Gya, K.K, Y2K, Yahaya, Doctor Asem Foforo, KB, Dzidzor, Uncle Ato, Ben, Asankide, and Evans*). They used these established identities on radio and their identities were only known by a few close friends and by some politicians. Whether serial callers use their real names or not they have become household names in Ghana (Yankah 2004: 19).

Recently some of the well known 'serial callers' such as *KB, Doctor Asem Foforo*, and *Y2K* have unmasked themselves and appeared on TV as well as in live, in-studio radio discussions. Others such as *Dzidzor* and *Ben* have moved from being 'serial callers' and secured positions in mainstream politics with the current ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC).

Which serial callers have been using 'mediated voice' and why do they do so? Are they any different from the political serial callers as perceived by Ghanaians? What makes the serial caller a unique individual? To answer these questions, I now turn to the characteristics that make this group of individuals special.

6.5.2 Salient characteristics of the serial caller

Serial callers hail from different regions of Ghana. I discovered during my interviews with them¹¹⁸ that they all had different ethnic backgrounds or were not indigenes of Accra, where they are based and usually made calls. They all had similar characteristics, and operated in similar fashion. I explore some of these characteristics.

¹¹⁸ Four serial callers were interviewed during fieldwork. They were those who were willing to grant interviews. Three were done face-to-face and one was interviewed on phone (because, he did not want to disclose his physical identity to me). All interviewees in this category were male. Two Female serial callers had agreed to grant me an interview. However, they never honoured their schedule with me on the agreed date of interview. Hard as I tried, I could not get the chance to interview them, not even on phone. The societal norms that are imposed on gender comes through strongly here, 'a woman is supposed to be seen and not be heard!'

Inalienable right to freedom of speech and confidence to speak

All the serial callers I interviewed called themselves ‘radio communicators’ and not serial callers, as if to remove the negative connotation associated with the ‘serial caller’ title and vocation which society has either rightly or wrongly assigned them. The serial callers on the other hand do not see themselves as such. Rather, to them, what they do on radio amounts to communication of views in a free society; an inalienable right that a free democratic society grants them. According to SC-1¹¹⁹, a ‘first generation’¹²⁰ serial caller:

Democracy and radio gives me the freedom to express my views about things that go wrong in the society, it doesn't matter how many times I phone in to speak. It is my duty. If by doing so people will call me, a 'serial caller' I do not mind [...] I am fine with being called a serial caller, as far as they don't call me a serial killer. (Interview with: SC-1, 1/09/2010, Accra).

Another (a new age serial caller¹²¹) said:

I am just looking for the good of the country [...] I am a citizen too, so I think we are all expected to speak. Isn't that why the radio stations have sessions when you can call-in to speak your mind? Not everyone has the confidence to speak their minds, so some of us have to do it on their behalf (Interview with: SC-2, 7/09/2010, Accra).

Fluency in local languages

As mentioned earlier, although most of the serial callers who are usually heard on radio in Accra are not from that region, they are fluent in the other local languages. SC-2 for instance is *Mosi*. He hails from the Northern region of Ghana, grew up in the *Brong Ahafo* region and is fluent in *Ga*, *Asante Twi*, and his mother tongue. All the others interviewed also share similar language skills. The ability to express one's self, combined with good oratory skills is what exemplifies them as communicators of either good or ill-intended propaganda. Like any good communicator, serial callers are able to use their skills as good

¹¹⁹ The identity of serial callers is anonymised in this thesis. I refer to them as well as reference to what they said in interview by the code names, SC-1; SC-2; SC-3 and SC-4.

¹²⁰ By ‘first generation’ serial caller I mean those who were first recognised as regular/persistent callers to prime-time radio in Ghana from the late 1990s, and are now known and recognised as serial callers.

¹²¹ New age refers to the coterie of serial callers who are new to the activity or only became ubiquitous after 2000. SC-2, for instance, only started calling radio stations regularly in 2008 and joined the serial caller league in that year.

orators to express themselves on radio. Civility in language according to them is crucial in maintaining their status as radio communicators. According to SC-4, a first generation serial caller, *'the radio stations will cut you off if you constantly use intemperate language, and you will lose your chance to contribute to future discussions'* (Interview with: SC-4, 4/11/10 Accra).

Education and work

This characteristic is probably the most interesting feature of the serial caller. Serial callers are not highly educated. They usually have some secondary level qualifications but are literate on most subject matters. They are people who could not continue with higher education for various reasons. They work mainly as artisans---carpenters, hairdressers, construction workers, masons, auto electricians, drivers, tailor etc. SC-2 for instance is an auto electrician who specialises in fitting audio systems in vehicles (particularly private commercial vehicles). SC-1 is a construction worker, SC-3, is a driver at the Bank of Ghana; a female serial caller, (whom I never got to interview formally) is a hairdresser.

These characteristics put the serial caller in the same social category as the majority of people living in Accra---usually considered as low-income earners or economically disadvantaged. The majority are therefore likely to identify with them because they see them as their likely 'spokes-persons'. All serial callers interviewed said that, although they were unable to further their education, they update their knowledge on all topics relating to the development of the country, by listening to discussions on radio and parliamentary debates. Although they did not admit it, there is a widespread perception that serial callers are sometimes schooled and given speaking points by some members of political parties on whose behalf they speak.

Ability to manipulate technology to their advantage

It is very difficult to get through to radio call-in programmes; however, serial callers have mastered the techniques of how to get through to radio programmes easily. They are always the first to get through to programmes. This leads many to think that radio stations have special numbers on which serial callers call. This view may seem likely when ordinary people are unable to get through to studio lines easily. The volume of calls into radio phone-in programmes, particularly those that provide mediated voice was extensively discussed in Chapters 3 and 4

of the thesis. So how are serial callers successful in getting through to radio programmes, to the annoyance of both those who wish to get through and sometimes the radio programme hosts and producers?

The answer lies in the extent to which serial callers are able to manipulate technology to their advantage. According to SC-1, prior to the advent of mobile phone technology, one needed to understand the telecommunications interchange in order to succeed as a serial caller. To him, one had to study the telecommunication exchange speed of the location one was calling from, in relation to the telephone numbers, and location of the radio station one intended to call. According to him, if one was calling from *La* to Joy FM which is located at *Kokomlemle* and has telephone numbers beginning with '7' or '2', it would take roughly 30 to 45 seconds for a call from *La* to go through right after a call from *Adabraka*, which is closer to *Kokomlemle*¹²². As to whether this is scientifically and technically verifiable or not, the serial caller has the advantage of understanding and using technology in a way that ordinary callers do not understand or use.

With the advent of cell phones, it is even easier for them to use technology to their advantage says SC-2, who has five mobile phones; all of them with in-built radio. Serial callers usually own not less than five cell phones (all loaded with airtime¹²³). All four serial callers interviewed described the same methods of how they succeed in getting through to the radio programmes easily.

I know all the programme numbers including some of the studio lines. I have about five mobile phones. I know when the programme starts; so as soon as they announce that the phone lines have been opened, I re-dial the radio station's numbers that I have already entered in my other four phones whilst I listen to the programme on the radio with a fifth phone (Interview with: SC-1, 1/09/2010, Accra).

Addiction and passion for the electronic mass media

Serial callers claim they have an addiction to listening to, and calling into radio programmes. All the serial callers interviewed for this study said this without

¹²² *La*, *Adabraka* and *Kokomlemle* are all Suburbs of Accra, capital city of Ghana.

¹²³ The majority of mobile phone users in Ghana depend on the Pay-as-you-go (PAYG) service, as this is more affordable and manageable.

prompting. On the average, a serial caller makes about 50 calls in a week. They spend over 100.00 Ghana Cedis the equivalent¹²⁴ of ninety dollars (\$50) on making those calls, weekly. This seems a colossal amount of money to spend making calls given the economic group they belong. However, none of the serial callers interviewed admitted to, or gave concrete indication that they were being sponsored to make those calls. Rather, they all insisted that generous people (both ordinary and politicians sometimes gave them tokens in the form of airtime top-ups, or money to buy airtime when they spoke well on radio.

According to them, they are personally compelled to spend so much from their own pockets, because they love doing what they do. In addition, because they feel they are contributing their quota to building a better country. However, recent events about funding of serial callers by some political elite cast some doubts about their claims.¹²⁵ These 'radiocrats' usually stay up till late, until all talk programmes on the various radio stations end.

I have spoken on Adom FM, Hot FM, Happy FM, and Asempa FM, and that's just this morning, I will be making a lot more calls later in the day and evening. I make sure I make at least fifteen to twenty calls a day (Interview with: SC-3, 29/09/2010, Accra).

Another added:

'It's like a hobby and a vocation at the same time. I do not see myself quitting. I will keep doing it as long as I am alive (Interview with: SC-1, 1/09/2010, Accra).

¹²⁴ The exchange rate quoted here is the rate as at February 6, 2012 at www.xe.com. This rate may be subject to changes in future on the exchange market.

¹²⁵ On August 14, 2011, a private newspaper, the *Herald*, published an article asserting that politicians were paying people to twist facts and paint a perfect picture in the minds of the citizenry about events in the country. The newspaper claimed that serial callers were on the payroll of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) since 2001, when the party came into power. The intention was to arm serial callers with calling time so they could call into newspaper review programmes of radio stations in the morning, to shape public opinion on issues by painting pleasant pictures about their party and its presidential candidate. The newspaper substantiated the allegation by publishing a long list of serial callers who were on the payroll of government. In addition to the list, the paper published extracts from a government audit report as well as some memos. The documents named Nana Akomea, then Minister of Information as spending not less than Four billion, two hundred and fifty-nine million, three hundred and eight thousand Cedis (¢ 4, 259, 380,000) USD equivalent of 2,184,297,382.47 USD on serial callers.. For more on this story, see: <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=216301>. The exchange rate conversion quoted above was done at www.xe.com on July 13, 2012. This rate may be subject to changes on the exchange market.

Political dimensions to the serial caller phenomenon

Linkages with political parties

Radio presenters and producers interviewed perceive the known serial callers who operate in Accra to be strong sympathisers (foot soldiers) of major political parties due to their pronouncements on radio (Interviews with: PFMP-NY, 26/07/2010, Accra; JFM-MP, 11/08/2010, Accra and RMP-JFM, 27/5/2010, Accra). Interviews with all four serial callers revealed that majority of those who operate in Accra are affiliated to the two major political parties in Ghana, [the opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP) or the ruling national Democratic Congress, NDC (Interviews with: SC-1, 1/09/2010, Accra; SC-2, 7/09/2010, Accra; SC-3, 29/09/2010, Accra; SC-4, 04/11/2010, Accra). Although they hide their real identities by using pseudonyms, they are open with which political party they support, or for whom they do propaganda. Because serial callers usurp radio phone-in programmes, taking up vital airtime to talk about highly controversial, and sometimes-unsubstantiated political matters, hosts and producers of non-political phone-in programmes are quite intolerant of them and quickly cut them off-air as soon as they wade into politics.

The 4 serial callers interviewed for the study all disclosed which political party they support. They admitted being sympathisers of one of the major political parties in Ghana. That is, the New Patriotic Party (NPP). According to them, although they sympathised with their party of choice, they did not start as party spokes persons nor were recruited by their party to speak for them. Rather, they began as ordinary people who wanted to voice out their opinion. By so doing become known by the public, as well as, radio stations. Politicians then see them as influential voices on radio and then notice them. The politicians court them and reward them in various ways. Evidence of this is manifest in how much money they spend making calls daily to radio stations. The serial callers deny being formally hired and paid to defend or do propaganda for parties they support but admit that they receive gifts from many people including some party members who thought they were doing *a good job*. According to SC-1 and SC-3, the political parties do give them informal support sometimes, like talking points and party information.

[...] I have been given money to buy air-time for to make calls, and to buy a phone. I also managed through the support of my party to secure some building contracts when they were in government (Interview with: SC-1, 1/09/2010, Accra).

Material gains are also manifested by property some of them claimed to own, children in private boarding school, and wearing of expensive gold jewellery. Although many Ghanaians wear pieces of ornamental jewellery or items made from gold, the sheer size of the gold ring on the finger of SC-2 was striking. As noted earlier, recent revelations in the media about official sponsorship of serial callers by the state is therefore a possibility.

6.6 The serial caller and mediated voice

Why are *serial callers using mediated voice*? As mentioned earlier in the introduction to this section, serial callers became part of this study because they use mediated voice, although to them, using mediated voice is simply part of making their voice heard. When serial callers use mediated voice, they do so occasionally on behalf of ordinary people in their communities who have requested them to call on their behalf. Secondly, serial callers also use mediated voice the same way ordinary people do. That is, they see a problem in their community, and try to get resolution to it by calling into a radio programmes, which offer to follow-up and have the problem resolved. Although this aim is genuine, serial callers often, take advantage of the airtime granted them to discuss politics. Most radio phone-in programmes have little control over the activities of serial callers. However, mediated voice programmes, which are apolitical (specifically designed to receive non-political complaints) are very intolerant to serial callers who try to sneak politics into the programmes. They are promptly cut off by producers whilst presenters tell them up front: *'this is not a political programme, if you wish to speak about politics; you can call on Kokoroko¹²⁶ in the morning or on other programmes if you want to discuss politics'* or told to find other political programmes to call into. This is usually done because serial callers seek to monopolize airtime in order to change political opinion through radio. One of the serial callers interviewed complained bitterly about how he gets cut off when he veers to talk about politics, and how sometimes he has to use a different name in order to get through. He does not like doing that because he prefers his known name to be associated with his views on radio. Nonetheless, he knows listeners know his voice and can

¹²⁶ *Kokoroko* is the flagship newspaper review programme aired in the morning on Peace FM (it allows phone-in and texting). It usually has journalist and political party representation on the panel to discuss issues raised in the newspapers about politics and governance.

immediately tell he is the one speaking, because sometimes people ask if he was the one.

Serial callers are better tolerated on other programmes, which are more open and political. In what follows, I look at the general perception of serial callers by residents of Accra, neighbourhoods in which they live and finally by ordinary people (identified in this study as the study group) who also use mediated voice.

6.7 Popular opinion about serial callers: results from the survey

Having described a serial caller, and discussed the characteristics that make them unique, what are the popular perceptions about them? Are the perceptions about them *being 'political agents'* widespread, or do people think of them differently?

Who are serial callers? Popular views

All the serial callers I interviewed were certain they had carved a niche for themselves on radio and were sure those in high office listen to them. One of them told me how a well-known politician approached him after he made a comment on radio about his party and offered him money to cover his phone expenses. Although there is a general perception that 'serial callers' are political party agents who seem to have the '*airwaves power*', when asked to describe themselves and what they do, they were quick to say that they were '*just ordinary*' people who had empowered themselves to be able to speak on radio; not political activists.

This view is surprisingly consistent with what the majority of residents in Accra say. When asked who they think a 'serial caller' is¹²⁷, six in ten (63.7%) said they were just ubiquitous frequent callers who called into radio stations about all issues. Surprisingly enough, very few (2.6%) people associated them with politics. See Table 39 below. Also, the fact that 20.5% (Table 39) of respondents said they '*can't determine*' who a serial caller is shows that the phenomenon is still a gray area, and people are still unsure who they are and how to classify

¹²⁷ This question was an open-ended question, the aim was to get responses from interviewers about whom they think a serial caller is without any prompting.

them---serial callers seem to double as ordinary people who act as unofficial spokes-persons for political parties they support.

Table 39: Who is a serial caller?

	(Count)	Percentage
Frequent caller (speaks about all issues)	392	63.7%
Don't know / Can't determine	126	20.5%
Frequent caller (speaks about only community problems)	54	8.8%
Addicted to calling/Nuisance	23	3.7%
Frequent caller (speaks on only politics)	16	2.6%
Other	4	0.7%
Total	615	100%

N=615. Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

Role of the serial caller

Respondents were also asked what the role of a serial caller in their community is.¹²⁸ The results in Table 40 below shows that the majority, more than half (61.5%), say they are 'ordinary people' just like themselves.¹²⁹

Table 40: Role of a serial caller in community

	Count	Percentage
Ordinary people like you	378	61.5%*
Local opinion leaders	68	11.1%
Unofficial Assembly Men/women	63	10.2%
People who wield a certain level of political power	51	8.3%
Don't Know	55	8.9%
Total	615	100%

N=615

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

Note: This question was an open-end question.

These results raise interesting questions and assumptions about why citizens would want to use serial callers if they perceive them as just ordinary people; and could be a reflection of the two things.

First, although some serial callers may be political party activists, respondents' views are their true reflections about them because they do not have personal

¹²⁸ In order to be sure respondents could make the distinction between serial callers who called only to discuss politics, and serial callers who combined calling-in about politics as well as talking about public community problems, respondents were asked to indicate (without prompting) the role of a serial caller in their communities.

¹²⁹ It is likely that the findings about serial callers not being political agents can change over time due to media reports (some of which has been cited in this section already) about the former NPP government funding some serial callers.

knowledge/experience or evidence to prove that serial callers are paid by political parties to speak on their behalf. As noted earlier, serial callers operate as secretive individuals. It is very difficult to tell how the serial caller machinery operates if one is not part of that clique. As noted already, none of the serial callers interviewed for this study admitted to being recruited by a political party to perform a specific role.

Second, although serial callers could indeed be political party foot soldiers, respondents see them as ordinary people (just as themselves) showing their support for the political party they sympathise with. They also probably see them as people whose continuous appearances on radio have cumulative effects on public opinion.

Doing 'whom you know' with serial callers?

Serial callers as noted in earlier discussions became part of this study because they are also UoMV, in this case proxy UoMV (occasionally) because others ask them to call on their behalf. The survey also sought to find out whether there was a desire by the public to use serial callers on call-in radio platforms. In response to the question '*would they approach a serial caller of a radio station to call on their behalf if they knew that person?*' a third (35.6%) said they would. Again, these findings make it difficult to understand why this is so, when the majority view serial callers as '*ordinary people just like themselves.*' Explanations might include the following:

Firstly, time, ease of call or resource issues could be some of the reasons. Without the foreknowledge that the reason why SCs succeed in getting through to radio programmes easily is because of their technical skills (already discussed in the section on characteristics of SCs), people may think that serial callers have special access (known only to SCs) to studio phone lines because they get through so frequently. If that is the case, why not use somebody who has access. These came through from responses of those who said they would approach a serial caller (see Table 41 below).

Table 41: Reasons for approaching a serial caller¹³⁰

	Count	%
If it solves problems or has impact on social or community problems	147	67.1
If they have access	36	16.4
If they have resources	26	11.9
No Reason	10	4.6
I can call my self	-	-
Do not have time to approach/listen to radio	-	-
They can't solves problems	-	-
They are not trust worthy/selfish interests (including political interest)	-	-
They are not the right channel	-	-
Because of politics /political agents	-	-
Total	219	100

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

Second, using a SC who calls frequently is another way to amplify voice. If one person can talk about the same issue on different radio stations and in different languages to different sets of listeners it makes good logic to want to go through that person in order to have ones' problem heard.

Location and tolerance of serial callers

Serial callers are part of the communities in which they live; although they are secretive individuals they are known to friends, family and sometimes neighbourhoods where they live. How then do the communities in which they live perceive them? Do they find their activities parochial (serving only their personal interest)? Or do they think they are individuals helping put community problems in the spot light? Or are communities indifferent to their existence amongst them?

During in-depth interviews with SC-1, he admitted having to move out of his home in a particular neighbourhood because his property owner found out he was a serial caller and was told by the property owner he did not want him living in his house. SC-1 thinks he was forced out of that neighbourhood because he belongs to an opposing political party. SC-2 also expressed the same sentiments about how communities sometimes are intolerant of them because of politics, however, with him, he ensures that he speaks about issues which are helpful to people rather than just the party he supports. What then are the popular views about this group of people and where they live?

The survey results show very interesting findings about how communities view the serial callers who live amongst them. As noted earlier, only a few close associates know and can identify these serial callers. If a serial caller is known or

¹³⁰ This question was open-ended.

active in a particular community, that community is more likely to want to use them to amplify their voice. Although in small majorities, a close look at survey data shows that areas where at least one serial caller lived were more tolerant and more willing to approach them to call on their behalf (see Table 42). Findings from the survey allow one to make the assumption that by frequently calling in to radio programmes (because callers are made to mention where they are calling from) listeners who live in the same community as serial callers (wherever they mention as their location) can identify them with those communities. Popular serial callers SC-2 and SC-3, both of whom were interviewed for this study, live in the *Ablekuma North* and *Ga East* districts respectively.

Table 42: Location and willingness to approach a serial caller

District	Yes		No		Total sample
	Count	%	Count	%	Count
Ablekuma Central	6	40%	9	60%	15
Ablekuma North	39	65 %**	21	35 %	60
Ablekuma South	18	30%	42	70%	60
East Ayawaso	11	36.7%	19	63.3%	30
West Ayawaso	18	30%	42	70%	60
Ayawaso Central	2	13.3%	13	86.7%	15
Ashiedu Keteke	12	40%	18	60%	30
Okaikoi North	23	38.3%	37	61.7%	60
Okaikoi South	4	26.7%	11	73.3%	15
Osu Klotey	12	40%	18	60%	30
Ledzokuku	9	30%	21	70.0%	30
La	6	20%	24	80%	30
Ga South ¹³¹	25	54.3%	21	45.7%	46
Ga West	4	28.6%	10	71.4%	14
Ga East	54	60 %**	36	40%	90
Adenta	12	40%	18	60%	30
Total					615

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

Communities and perceptions of the role of serial callers

The intention here was to find out how the various communities¹³² felt about serial callers and to find out the role the various communities have assigned serial callers. Here too opinion varies among the communities. Although most of the communities reflect the view that serial callers are people exercising free speech and call radio stations to create awareness about all issues, it is only in *Ashiedu Keteke* that at least 20% of the respondents say serial callers call into radio stations to speak on politics only. A good majority (21%) in *Ga West* also think that serial callers are a nuisance and addicted to calling radio stations

¹³¹ The data in Table 43 shows that a fair majority of respondents, (54.3%) in Ga South also express willingness to approach a serial caller. It is not immediately clear why, however, there is the possibility that serial caller[s] lives in that locality.

¹³² The communities are analysed per District/Sub Metro.

(see Table 43). It is striking again that the majority of respondents cannot explain or do not know what serial callers' role on a radio station is (see Table 43). This again reiterates the point I made earlier about the serial caller issue being little understood and evolving phenomenon in Ghana.

Table 43: Location and views on SCs role on radio stations

District	Frequent caller (General issues)	Frequent caller (Problems only)	Frequent caller (Politics only)	Nuisance/ Addiction	Don't know/Can't explain	Other	Total sampled
Ablekuma Central	8 (53.3%)	4 (26.7%)	2 (13.3%)	1 (6.7%)	-	-	15
Ablekuma North	39 (65%)	6 (10%)	-	2 (3.3%)	12 (20%)	1 (1.7%)	60
Ablekuma South	32 (53.3%)	11 (18.3%)	1 (1.7%)	1 (1.7%)	13 (21.7%)	2 (3.3)	60
East Ayawaso	24 (80%)	3 (10%)	1 (3.3%)	-	2 (6.7%)	-	30
West Ayawaso	40 (66.6%)	9 (15%)	1 (1.7%)	5 (8.3%)	4 (6.7%)	1 (1.7%)	60
Ayawaso Central	7 (46.7%)	2 (13.3%)	1 (6.7%)	-	5 (33.3%)	-	15
Ashiedu Keteke	22 (73.3%)	1 (3.3%)	6 (20.1%)	1 (3.3%)	-	-	30
Okaikoi North	41 (68.3%)	1 (1.7%)	1 (1.7%)	2 (3.3%)	15 (25%)	-	60
Okaikoi South	12 (79.9%)	1 (6.7%)	-	1 (6.7%)	1 (6.7%)	-	15
Osu Klottey	20 (66.7%)	4 (13.3%)	-	-	6 (20%)	-	30
Ledzokuku	12 (40%)	-	-	2 (6.7%)	16 (53.3%)	-	30
La	20 (66.7%)	1 (3.3%)	1 (3.3%)	1 (3.3%)	7 (23.4%)	-	30
Ga South	33(71.7%)	3 (6.5%)	-	1 (2.2%)	9 (19.6%)	-	46
Ga West	7(50%)	2(14.3%)	2(14.3%)	3(21.4%)	-	-	14
Ga East	62(68.9%)	5(5.6%)	-	3(3.3%)	20(22.2%)	-	90
Adenta	13(43.3%)	1(3.3%)	-	-	16(53.4%)	-	30
Total							615

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

On the role of serial callers in a community, the single largest group (10 out of the 16 communities) said the role of the SC was ordinary just like themselves (highlighted by** in Table 44). Three (3) communities out of the remaining 5 had completely different views: In *Ablekuma Central* and *Ga West* for instance, views were split between those who said SCs were '*local opinion leaders*' and those who said they were '*people who wield a certain political power.*' In *Ashiedu Keteke*, too respondents' views were split between the SC '*as ordinary as themselves*' and '*local opinion leaders*' (Table 44) shows the detailed results.

Table 44: Role of serial caller in the community

District	Local opinion leaders	Unofficial Assembly men/women	Ordinary people like you	People who wield a certain political power	Don't know/Can't explain	Total sampled
Ablekuma Central	4 (26.7%)	3 (20%)	3 (20%)	(33.3%)	-	15
Ablekuma North	7 (11.7%)	3 (5%)	39(65%)**	3 (5%)	8 (13.3%)	60
Ablekuma South	7 (11.7%)	2 (3.3%)	39 (65%) **	5 (8.5%)	7(11.7%)	60
East Ayawaso	-	5 (16.7%)	24 (80%) **	1(3.3%)	-	30
West Ayawaso	3 (5%)	6 (10%)	43 (71.7%) **	4(6.7%)	4 (6.7%)	60
Ayawaso Central	1 (6.7%)	-	8 (53.3%) **	3(20%)	3 (20%)	15
Ashiedu Keteke	8 (26.7%)	3 (10%)	13 (43.3%)	6(20%)	-	30
Okaikoi North	3 (5%)	7 (11.7%)	44 (73.3%) **	6(10%)	-	60
Okaikoi South	3 (20%)	2 (13.3%)	5 (33.3%)	4 (26.7%)	1 (6.7%)	15
Osu Klottey	2 (6.7%)	6 (20%)	14 (46.6%)	2(6.7 %)	6 (20%)	30
Ledzokuku	-	7 (23.3%)	18 (60%) **	2 (6.7%)	3 (10%)	30
La	1 (3.3%)	5 (16.7%)	19 (63.3%) **	-	5 (16.7%)	30
Ga South	1 (2.2%)	2 (4.3%)	37 (80.4%) **	-	6 (13%)	46
Ga West	4 (28.6%)	1 (7.1%)	2 (14.3%)	7 (50%)	-	14
Ga East	16 (17.8%)	11 (%)	55 (61.1%) **	3 (3.3%)	5 (5.6%)	90
Adenta	8 (26.7%)	-	13 (43.3%)	-	9(30%)	30
Total						615

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

6.8 Users of mediated voice (UoMV) and how they view serial callers

We have looked at the general views of respondents about serial callers, what about the users of mediated voice? As people they compete with to get through to radio call-in programmes, do they have similar or varying views about serial callers? Analysis in this section was done by doing a cross analysis of the survey data of the '*study group*,' (83 respondents). I interrogate the views of UoMV using the same variables: (a) *who is a serial caller?* (b) *Role of a serial caller in your community.* (c) *Would you approach a serial caller to make a call on your behalf if you know that person?*

On *who a serial caller is*, the majority (65.9%) of UoMV did not assign any special title to the serial caller. To the UoMV, the serial caller is a '*frequent caller who calls radio stations about all issues*' (See Table 45 below).

Table 45: Who is a serial caller? Views of users of mediated voice

	Count	Per cent
Frequent caller (all issues)	54	65.8 %
Frequent caller (problems only)	8	9.8%
Frequent caller (politics)	2	2.4%
Nuisance/Addiction	4	4.9%
Don't Know/ can't explain	14	17.1%
Total	82	100%

N=82 / Missing data (1)

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

On the role of the SC in their communities, 5 in 10 (55.4%) of UoMV see serial callers as ordinary people like themselves. However, a significant minority (16.9%) of UoMV consider serial callers '*local opinion leaders*' (see Table 46 below).

Table 46: Role of a serial caller in your community? Views of users of mediated voice

	Count	Per cent
Ordinary People like you	46	55.4%**
Local Opinion Leaders	14	16.9%*
Unofficial Assembly Men/women	10	12.1%
People who wield a certain level of political power	8	9.6%
Don't Know	5	6%
Total	83	100%

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

On whether a UoMV would approach a serial caller to call on their behalf if they knew that person, opinion was split. Only a slim majority (56.6%) of UoMV said they would use a SC to call on their behalf, whilst (43.4%) said they would not, even if they knew that person (Table 47 below shows the results). The most cited reason, as to why the some UoMV would not use a SC (extracted from the open-ended responses from the survey) is: '*me too I can call myself.*' This shows the extent to which the UoMV are people who have a strong sense that their voice counts or matters, because they have a strong commitment to complaining about public services.

Table 47: Approach a serial caller to make a call on your behalf if you know that person? Views of mediated voice users

Approach a serial caller?	Count	Per cent
Yes	47	56.6
No	36	43.4
Total	83	100%

Source: Author's survey results, October-November, 2010, Accra

6.9 Brief conclusions

I began this chapter with a set of questions. Key among them are: *'who are the users of mediated voice, what are their characteristics'* and *'does mediated voice create a situation that mimics collective action?'* As we have learned, those who use mediated voice do not do so with the intention of engaging in collective action. Rather, those who use mediated voice are individuals who have a low opinion of local government services and are generally not well off, or from middling levels of society. They are also people who have a high interest in public affairs and a strong sense of community responsibility. It is also clear from the findings that those who call in to radio programmes do so in order to take advantage of the services offered by those programmes. They also do so because they believe radio is a viable voice mechanism because it amplifies voice. Mediated voice has the qualities of a bottom-up approach to solving problems (it collects individual voices and channels them up). This is evident in the findings about those who said they call because they want their complaints to get to the authorities quickly.

Although mediated voice produces public goods by mimicking collective action, it does not completely solve the problems of collective action, such as free-riding. Nevertheless, the amplification element within mediated voice gives it some advantages over other forms of voice mechanism, including collective action itself.

Finally, mediated voice also brings to the fore the significant findings about serial callers, whose inclusion in the study is necessitated by the need to establish whether voice expressed through mediated voice is driven by any organised partisan or community group interests. The evidence from this study shows that 'most of the callers' (UoMV) are ordinary people and serial callers, who are approached by a few concerned citizens in various neighbourhoods to call into radio programmes on their behalf. The use of serial callers does not undermine the authenticity of the idea of call-ins to the radio as a genuine expression of 'citizen voice. To be sure, although there is extensive data and discussion on the serial caller in this chapter this study concludes that the reasons why some of the findings appear to be inconclusive shows that the phenomenon is little understood and still evolving in Ghana. And reinforces the argument I made earlier that this initial exposé on the phenomenon should form the basis for further interrogation.'

To be sure, the radio programmes are almost like open-ended surveys and anyone can call in about any kind of problem (although the programmes make it clear what their *modus operandi* is). The programmes on the other hand have to succeed at what they claim they can/will do. They feel duty-bound to their listeners and to those who feel obligated without compulsion to respond to them. In addition, being commercial entities they also have to maintain committed sponsorship for the programmes.

In the next chapter, I discuss these advantages by looking at the third actor in my study and evaluate how mediated voice influences their responsiveness.

Chapter 7

Government responses to mediated voice: influencing agency responsiveness?

7. Introduction

The two preceding chapters discussed how radio phone-ins create spaces for ordinary citizens to raise voice about public services in Accra. Those chapters also discussed how radio programmes represent that voice in order for it to be 'heard' by those in authority. Chapter 6, in particular, provided evidence of how opportunities created by the radio phone-in programmes are building a small, but vibrant group of democratic and active citizens. This chapter introduces the third actor in this study---the **agency**, consisting of the Waste Management Department (WMD) of five (5) selected Sub-Metropolitan Districts: (*Ablekuma North, Ablekuma Central, Ayawaso West, Osu Klottey, and Ashiedu Keteke*) under the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA). As noted in Chapter 3 of this thesis, the WMDs are a public service providing agency, whose mandate is derived from the decentralised local government structure in Accra.

The main objective of this chapter is to look at the supply side of mediated voice from a narrower perspective by interrogating one of the key sub questions in this thesis. *What accounts for, or explains the response created by the kind of public voice expressed on radio and carried by the radio programmes?* I do this by looking at how the public agency around which the central question of this thesis is formulated responds to mediated voice. The aim is to interrogate and answer the questions, *'does mediated voice have a reciprocal effect on a public bureaucracy/institution? Does mediated voice, engender responsiveness and thereby influence the performance or otherwise of a public institution? If so, why, and if not, why not? Finally, how is mediated voice 'influence' achieved?*

This chapter has two sections. The first section builds on the background information and context provided in Chapter 3. In this section, I provide further details about the WMD (a bureaucracy, which finds itself working within a complex mix of decentralisation, local and national politics). This section also looks at the mechanisms available through the WMDs/AMA to raise voice. This initial outlook helps provide context to the main thrust of this chapter---analysis of agency responsiveness to mediated voice at the local level. In the second

section, an interrogation of the agency's responsiveness to the radio campaigns is provided.

7.1 Official mechanisms for reporting sanitation-related problems in the Sub-Metros

There is an avenue for the public and beneficiaries of services provided by the WMDs to make complaints to them regarding any of the services they manage or provide. The WMD at either the head office or at the Sub-Metro level has a mechanism for receiving complaints from residents of Accra. Complaints can either be made by phone calls to the WMD office,¹³³ or by writing a letter to the Head of Department (depending on the issue). However, most complaints are received through personal appearances by the complainants, or sent directly to the head office and then passed down to the Sub-Metros for action (Interview with: WMDHO¹³⁴, 14/07/2010, Accra). In addition, complaints are also received through the Assemblyman//woman, or the Unit Committees of the Sub-Metros, who then pass them on to the WMD, however this is rare¹³⁵. With the advent of cell phones, those who know the private numbers of the DCOs also call them directly on their cell phones. Currently most complaints are heard/received through the electronic mass media, specifically, through radio phone-in programmes (Interview with: WMDHO, 14/07/2010, Accra). This was confirmed by interviews at the WMDs and also evident from findings regarding channels used for lodging complaints discussed earlier in chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis where a significant proportion, 34.1% of those interviewed, said they would use radio. Also evident from the number (85) of individuals (a significant finding from the random survey conducted in Accra) who had called in to a programme radio to make a complaint about local government services.

¹³³ As at the time of fieldwork, the Sub-metros had acquired 'hot-lines' (special numbers on which calls can be received).

¹³⁴ The identities of all officials and frontline workers interviewed at the AMA/WMD have been anonymised throughout the thesis for confidentiality reasons. Their names and references to what they said in interviews have been assigned codes: WMDHO, DCO-1, EHO-1 etc.

¹³⁵ Careful study of complaints registers at the WMD head office and 5 Sub-Metros, covering the period 2005-2010 shows a record of over 1500 complaints, however only 26 (mostly in 2006 - 2010) of those complaints were made directly through an Assembly person.

As noted in Chapter 5 there is a Client Service Unit (CSU) located at the WMD head office, part of the administration of the AMA reporting directly to the MCE. Residents, regardless of which Sub-Metro they live in or are reporting a problem about, are free to make complaints about services provided by AMA, including waste management and sanitation-related problems. However, because this facility is only available at the AMA head office level, it is known to very few people. When asked about knowledge of the Client Service Unit, most people interviewed¹³⁶ said they were not aware of it. The majority (75%) of those the author interviewed, (selected from the various WMD complaints registers discussed in section 4.6.2) that is, individuals who lodged complaints about poor sanitation themselves directly to the WMDs at their respective Sub-Metros or through somebody else---a known official of the WMD---did not know about the Client Service Unit (CSU). Those who knew they could lodge their complaints at the CSU only found out because they had been informed after visiting the AMA office, or through some other means (Interview with: Key informants, 2010, Accra).

During interviews with workers of the WMDs it was confirmed that they also sometimes receive complaints directly from the Metropolitan Chief Executive, MCE (because some people who know his number call him directly with their problems). However, a careful study of the complaints registers at five Sub-Metros and the WMD Head office (from 2005 to early 2010) did not show any written records or recorded details of complaints made through, or by the MCE. A similar analysis was made of complaints from the mass media (TV, radio, and print). A careful study of the complaints registers at the WMD at the AMA level for the period 2005-2010 showed that whilst there were recorded complaints from four private FM radio stations (including Joy FM, Peace FM, Radio Gold and Space FM), and one private TV station (TV3), most of the records related to 2004 (an election year), 2005 and 2006. Current registers (2010) do not show written records of complaints from media houses. However, this does not mean that the media made no complaints after 2006.

¹³⁶ Noted in the methodology section, to introduce robustness into the findings 25 interviews were conducted by phone with individuals living in the selected 5 Sub-Metros. These persons were selected on the basis that they had made complaints in person at the WMD offices in their respective Sub-Metros.

Whereas the period showing documented complaints from the media confirms findings about election year complaints discussed in Chapter 5 of this thesis, the explanation for the lack of documented records of calls from media houses in subsequent years seems to be that the media usually called the Public Relations office at the AMA head office rather than the WMD directly. When the PR offices in turn passed the information to the WMD the complaints were recorded as coming from Head Office (AMA). In fact the complaints from the media are treated with urgency; because calls from radio stations are not like those from individual homes (what the WMD refers to as 'private problems'). Calls from radio stations and the mass media in general, (being mostly public problems) are seen as needing to be acted on immediately. In addition, they know that radio stations operate differently from the print media, and are not likely to pass on outdated information. Secondly, media houses being news carriers were more likely to make news stories out of the issues.¹³⁷ The feeling that the media sometimes blow-up issues about waste management out of proportion was highlighted in interviews with some officers at the WMDs as a major problem particularly with the print media:

[...] stories and issues about our performance on waste collection would only appear 'after the fact, with the mayor's picture accompanying the story, which usually upsets us (Interview with: WMDHO,¹³⁸ 26/08/2010 and 14/07/2010, Accra).

In addition, as a result of the generally vibrant media landscape in Accra, and particularly because radio programmes such as '*Wo haw ne sen*' or '*Feedback*' and other listener participatory discussion programmes receive complaints in real-time, complaints directed at them were always taken up immediately.

[...] as I speak to you now, I have just had a call from head office that Radio Gold called about a problem at Great Lamptey Mills school [...] that refuse had been dumped at night on the school compound...if it wasn't my interview with you, I would have been on the case by now (Interview with: WMDHO, 14/07/2010, Accra).

¹³⁷ Although this was the explanation provided. From a purely observational point of view, it is likely that the ramifications (sanctions) of recording calls from radio stations may be a contributory reason why those calls were not being documented.

¹³⁸ Two separate interviews were conducted with this informant.

7.1.1 How the WMDs receive and respond to complaints

Already explained in the previous section, the WMDs have a mechanism for receiving complaints regarding services they provide. When complaints are made, they are manually recorded in a Complaints Register.¹³⁹ Not all the Sub-Metros have kept up-to-date complaint registers. Up-to-date registers were only observed at the WMD head office at AMA. Out of the eleven Sub-Metros under the AMA only six¹⁴⁰ could produce or were willing to show copies of their registers. However, none of them could produce registers from previous years' (that is before 2010).¹⁴¹ When complaints are received, the records are entered according to date, details of complainant (name, telephone number, address); location of nuisance; nature of the complaint; action taken; and, date action was taken (resolution of the problem). All complaints received are recorded in a similar manner. Once complaints are received, an officer, usually a DHO, is assigned to the case and makes a trip to the location to verify the authenticity and seriousness of the problem. After which action is supposed to be taken to remove the nuisance¹⁴². For cases which the WMD refers to as 'private cases,' that is, problems occurring in homes or between neighbours; e.g., smoke nuisance, waste drain nuisance, sewerage and fecal matter nuisances, the necessary action is taken to resolve it through:

- (a) Verbal warning
- (b) Summons to the sanitation court, or
- (c) Other notices

For public cases, (those occurring in public places, such as heaps of refuse, over-flowing CCCs, choked drains, fecal matter in public places amongst others), the following procedure is followed:

- (a) Visit to the site
- (b) Nuisance is assessed
- (c) Provision made for the nuisance to be removed immediately

¹³⁹ The complaints register is a simple ruled manila note-book. None of the WMDs had a computerized system of recording complaints, not even at the WMD head office at the AMA.

¹⁴⁰ There are 11 Sub Metros under the AMA, the author visited all WMDs offices to collect complaints registers. It is out of this number that only six had and could show their complaint registers. The six included the five WMDs selected for the study.

¹⁴¹ It was quite difficult to get access to some of the complaint registers. Many of the officers in charge blatantly refused to show them or have copies of the registers made. Some documents were difficult to locate at the *Ashiedu Keteke* Sub-Metro as it was undergoing renovations.

¹⁴² The WMDs refer to the following sanitation problems as nuisances: uncollected refuse, blocked /choked drains, overflowing skips, overgrown/weedy sides of ceremonial roads, noise pollution, smoke pollution and environmental pollution amongst many others.

If the area is managed by a private contractor, the contractor is contacted and asked to clear the nuisance immediately. Overall, the registers show a balance of complaints of both private and public problems (Interview with: WMDHO, 26/08/2010, Accra).

Complaints carried by radio stations or heard on radio (which the WMDs referred to as informal channels) are treated in similar manner except that; they are usually not recorded because they are acted on immediately. Complaints that are done through mediated voice and those that are just random calls to radio programmes from individuals that get to the notice of the WMD, according to an officer, although they may not have seen the problem or the person who reported the problem get addressed in similar expedited manner:

When it comes to radio, we go to the area because we can't locate the people who call the radio stations to complain so we look for the opinion leaders of the area to find out what the problem is and then we address them.' But sometimes the radio presenters will give the details or offer to take us. (Interview with: DCO-ABLN-1, 27/09/2010, Accra).

When complaints are received from individuals, they are recorded, piled up and looked into systematically, however, depending on the level of grievance of a complaint, some complaints cannot be acted on at the Sub-Metro or departmental level and are passed on to superiors at the Head Office. The WMD is unable to follow-up and resolve all complaints due to logistical set-backs. This was a common view expressed in all the Sub-Metros and aptly presented by an Environmental Health Officer:

[...] first there will be a complaint from an individual, you record it, you pay a casual visit there and now this is where the most of our problems come from [...] when the logistics for that monitoring is not there, it becomes a one-way traffic, because even if somebody should tell you that there is a problem around this area, you cannot even go there because, you do not even have your own private funds to get there [...] as I am speaking to you now [...] there is a complaint at SSNT Flats [...] I can't walk there from Mamprobi to SSNT Flats, I need means of transportation so without that it becomes difficult (Interview with: EHO-ABLN-1, 29/11/10, Accra).

The Sub-Metros receive on the average between 5 and 20 complaints a week depending on the Sub-Metro. For instance *Ashiedu Keteke*, which its WMD refers

to as a problem area, receives close to 15 calls per day, whilst *Osu Klottey*¹⁴³, receives about 3 complaints per day. On the whole, the WMDs claim they make an effort to resolve all the complaints received.

Follow-up interviews with some individuals who had made complaints at the WMDs show that whilst the WMDs made an effort to visit the sites, subsequent follow-up and resolution of complaints did not match what was recorded in the complaints registers. Checks with some of the complainants regarding public cases showed that sometimes it took a bit of time before the nuisance was cleared. Some of the individual complainants also mentioned that they were made to pay a so-called, 'complaints fee' or something to cover the transportation of officers. This amount varied from 10 to 15 Ghana Cedis (Ghc). However, during interviews with officials of the WMDs, they insisted that there was no such fee for making complaints, and that all visits to sites were to be done at no cost to the complainant. However, because the WMDs are ill-resourced¹⁴⁴ (particularly without vehicles, staff and equipment), they sometimes required the complainants to foot the transportation cost to the sites (Crook and Ayee 2006). In addition, some complainants willingly provided *small gifts*¹⁴⁵ to cover their return transport back to their offices or for their troubles (Interview with: EHO-ABLN-1, 26/08/2010 Accra).

Having provided a general view of the WMD complaints systems I now turn to how mediated voice fits into their work and how and why they respond to it.

143 Characteristics of *Ashiedu Keteke* and *Osu Klottey* Sub-Metros have been provided in Table 2 in the background section in Chapter 3.

¹⁴⁴ Crook (2010: 480) describes African public services as 'not overstaffed or lavishly over-resourced but, on the contrary, lack the staff and resources to do a good job, particularly at front-line or local and even regional levels.'

¹⁴⁵ In Ghana, the idea of giving a so-called gift after a service (public) is provided is accepted as the norm. Whilst gift-giving is not necessarily seen as corruption, it certainly leads to an expectation of reciprocation. For more on the proverbial gift-giving culture in Ghana and Africa in general, see: (Olivier de Sardan 1999; Brownsberger 1983; Le Vine 1975; and Werlin 1972).

7.2 Agency responsiveness to the radio campaigns and how mediated voice fits into local government

The previous section looked at the general setting of the WMD within a complex structure of public service and the so-called 'non-partisan' local governance structure; and how the WMDs carry out their mandate within that structure (Agyeman-Duah 2005).¹⁴⁶ In this section, I take a broader look at mediated voice and its influence and role in an agency that is part bureaucratic, and part political. How does a public service delivering agency that finds itself within that kind of structure deal with public input from radio programmes? Although the whole idea of decentralization is to have citizen voice and participation at the local level, the private electronic media, particularly radio bring in a new dynamic to citizens' voice in general and offer channels for making their voices heard at the local level. What does it mean when radio programmes become a channel through which citizen voice is presented as a collective in order to elicit better services from local government?

One of the main benefits of decentralization is that governance and services are supposed to be brought closer to those they are intended for, and recipients of those services encouraged to keep an eye on how those services are managed. The aim is to create new institutions which would be more effective in linking state and society, through collaboration and coordination between decentralized institutions and communities (World Bank 2004a; Oxhorn 2004; Republic of Ghana 1993). In addition, it is supposed to give an opportunity for citizens whose life is affected by policy decision, to participate in shaping the outcome of those policies (Olowu 2006).

With regards to the WMDs who operate at the local government level, it is also a way for residents to take greater responsibility as regards waste management in their communities, because although it is a public service its effective management lies with how both provider and creators of the refuse collaborate.

¹⁴⁶ Agyeman-Duah (2005: 5) writes: 'For several years under the NPP and NDC rule, Ghanaians have behaved like ostriches, pretending not to see that the political parties do sponsor the seventy per cent elected members of the Assembly and that the DCE, MCE and the other thirty percent presidential appointees to the assembly are political partisans. The reality is that parties do sponsor candidates, directly or indirectly and the appointees keep allegiance to the one who sponsored or appointed them. As can be expected, these presidential appointees expand the president's political patronage all the way to the districts.'

At the level of AMA/WMDs, the official or formal entry point for citizens is through the assemblymen/women who are the elected representatives of the communities in the Metropolitan Assembly. The expectation is that these representatives will monitor, evaluate and supervise waste management in their localities with the Unit Committees complementing the functions of the assembly members. So how and where do radio complaints/announcements, particularly those from private radio programmes, fit in?

Evidence from the complaints registered studied shows that radio complaints on private radio directed at WMDs date as far back as the mid 1990s---a few years after the country adopted the current decentralised local governance system. This was when listener participatory radio, and in particular Joy FM and programmes such as '*Feedback*' had started airing. The first call recorded in the complaints register within the period this study covers (i.e. 2005-2010), at least from the '*Feedback*' data was directed at the WMD on February 17, 2005 (see extract from '*Feedback*' data in Table 48 below).

Table 48: Record of first call to '*Feedback*' recorded in WMD Complaints Register

Caller's Name	Location	Sub Metro	Complaint Summary	Response/Result
Oti	Abbosey Okai	Ablekuma Central	Complained about the refuse, which, has not been collected for 3 weeks now; and the whole area smells.	Mr. Samuel Kpodo, AMA head office was contacted. He has assured us that the contractor for the area will be made to clear up the refuse immediately. We will also go and check the area within this week to see if the job has been done. But kindly get back to us, If after today the refuse is still uncollected.

Source: Author—'*Feedback*' transcript, February, 17, 2005

Raising voice through radio programmes such as '*Feedback*' and '*Wo haw ne sen*' was probably not an anticipated part of the participatory equation at the local level. So given that radio phone-in complaints are not part of the formal complaint mechanisms known to the WMDs, how do the WMDs themselves see mediated voice, how does it fit into their operations? I discuss this in the next section by briefly looking at how two levels of workers (senior and lower level frontline workers) at the WMDs perceive mediated voice.

7.2.1 Mediated voice and the WMDs: management perspectives

The whole idea of people suddenly calling into radio programmes to complain about WMD services, with the expectation of a public response was new to the WMDs and different from what pertained in the past when communication from

the WMD was one-sided. Only officials of the head office of the WMD or the MCE's PR were those mandated to communicate official information to the public. Communication consisted of either general public announcement about clean-up exercises, education on sanitation, and recorded interviews with GBC (the state broadcaster) or other state print media about policy changes.

Currently, the preponderance of media outlets has changed the way the WMDs communicate with the public. They are not only expected to listen, they must be prepared at all times to be called by a radio station or journalist to answer directly to problems raised by citizens. They are also expected to be held accountable for what they say or do. In an unexpected and yet significant indication of how important radio and radio programmes have become instant means of communication, all those interviewed expressed a knowledge of and said they listened to most of the radio programmes including 'Wo haw ne sen' and 'Feedback' when they get the chance.

The whole idea of being called live at an unexpected time to speak on radio or to answer a complaint from a 'face-less' person was very new and still is challenging according to a senior level worker at WMD:

We have a PR department, which is the public face of the AMA, they are trained to speak in the media publicly,' says DCO-AK-1. [...] It is a good way for us to educate the public. However, when specific programmes started receiving persistent calls it changed the dynamic from just being an avenue for doing public relations to one in which you are put on your toes because one cannot tell when the next call was coming from and its implications on your work (Interview with: DCO-AK-1, 08/07/ 2010, Accra).

The unexpectedness of calls became more precarious, when radio presenters, producers and other representatives of the FM radio stations started coming to them directly, putting more pressure on them to solve problems and most times through the head office or their PR department. The vibrant nature of radio in Accra, and the sheer pressure that officials experienced at one point become so intense that even the AMA had to make adjustments in its communication policy in preparation for radio calls.

At a time, the AMA had a special programme at the head office where specific officers were designated to go to the radio stations to respond to complaints. And that they are available on the phone to respond to questions, although there is no compulsion, it was the fluent and articulate ones who are made to do the radio appearance (Interview with: DCO-OK-1, 04/11/2010 Accra).

For some officials of the WMDs, the activities of private radio stations indirectly influenced the already heavily politicised AMA. Because there is some degree of unwillingness to recognise the interesting dynamic that radio phone-ins bring to participation of ordinary citizens in local government service delivery. Views of higher-level workers at the WMDs about mediated voice are mixed. In one instance, a senior officer at the WMD head office highlighted the positive aspects of radio phone-in programmes, which receive complaints on behalf of residents, *'[...] because for them, the WMD cannot be everywhere as the problems of the waste management are extensive, this is because there are other actors (private companies) also providing the service, whilst they only monitor them'* (Interview with: WMDHO, 14/07/2010, Accra). It is therefore difficult to tell which provider is not performing well since they do not have the capacity to monitor them. On the other hand, they are quick to express their displeasure about the way the mass media, particularly the print media report on problems regarding waste management in the Sub-Metros only after the problem has been solved. This can be attributed to the time it takes to go to print.

[...] those programmes are very good [...] they help keep us on our toes [...] but we wish citizens would use direct channels, because the radio programmes are an indirect channel. Although calling a radio programme will help remedy problems, calling a radio programme puts unnecessary pressure on us. The programmes should rather direct callers to avenues provided within the Sub-Metros to seek redress rather than allow people to complain, because sometimes the public build mountains out of mole-holes. What they (WMDs) might term a small heap of refuse, the public will tell you it is a huge heap of refuse and it brings panic (Interview with: DCO-OK-1, 04/11/2010, Accra).

Another said:

They are wonderful programmes and an avenue for people to take their grievances. The programmes have both positive and negative sides. The positive aspect of the programmes is that when people complain, and you go in and see a problem it helps you solve a problem you didn't know existed. The negative sides being that sometimes the complaints are not based on facts, some callers only call to malign the Assembly. We also think people sometimes exaggerate things because; they have had the opportunity to say it on radio. Meanwhile because all their complains get immediate response, sometimes you go to the location of the problem, only to realise that it was not as it has been said on the radio (Interview with: DCO-AC-1, 25/11/2010, Accra).

7.2.2 Mediated voice: frontline workers' perspectives

Lipsky (1980) refers to frontline workers as 'street level bureaucrats' 'Street level bureaucrats' are people who have regular first-hand contact with the public, for example, teachers, nurses and hospital workers, over-the-counter workers in municipal utility service provision, bus conductors, and recreation staff in local parks (Wade 1992; Lipsky 1980). In many decentralised systems where public services are well-decentralised, frontline workers are usually the key personnel who have direct contact with those they serve (for instance, they would be the ones being contacted by the radio programmes at least at the supervisor level). They would have the means and ability to take concerns from the public to higher authority. Thus if a change in performance were to be noticed, the change would be at the front-line worker level (Wade 1992). However, the reverse is the case for some of the lower level frontline workers of the WMDs.¹⁴⁷

The lower level frontline workers in the WMD consist of supervisors, sweepers and scavengers who work on the streets but do not have any formal contact with the public. Although they may interact, that interaction is limited to informal conversations, only because their jobs are based in public places such as streets and market places, they are usually seen doing their work silently as solitary individuals or in groups of not less than three. These categories of employees are at the lowest rank of the WMD hierarchy. Because of where they are placed within the structure of the WMD, frontline workers do not have any direct role or contact with mediated voice or the media. Although they listen to, and hear complaints about waste and general sanitation, just as other residents of Accra on radio, frontline workers do not have the authority to act on their own (although they can pass the information on) when complaints are directed at the Sub-Metros in which they work. Frontline workers are aware of mediated voice, however its effect in terms of responsiveness is usually top-down, that is, they only act when they are authorised to do so. There have been occasions when their superiors have explicitly told them that a radio station had called them about a problem. For example, they could be called in to go and work on a particular location urgently and do their work well because a radio station has reported a problem '*on air*.' Whilst they listen to all manner of radio call-in programmes, they do not make it a point to listen, or look out for calls regarding waste management.

¹⁴⁷ The 'street level bureaucrats' defined by Lipsky (1980) and Wade (1992) in the AMA case are the Environmental Health Officers (EHO) who have a major role in monitoring waste and sanitation (Crook and Ayee, 2006).

In what follows I discuss the factors, which contribute to successful responsiveness to mediated voice. As already stated elsewhere in this thesis, mediated voice has the ability (no matter how minimal) to create reciprocal relationship between demand for, and supply of public goods---response and resolution to problems that have universal benefits when resolved. How does mediated voice enhance the existing norms or factors, which influence public sector performance? How can one effectively use responses to mediated voice as a good measure of improved service delivery? In what ways is responsiveness by the WMDs to mediated voice explained? To do this I return to the factors that measure performance in the public sector in developing countries.

7.3 Why they respond: influencing performance?

In developing countries, improved service delivery performance may be measured by several factors (Therkildsen 2008; Therkildsen & Tidemand 2007; Crook & Manor 1998; Putnam 1993) such as:

- Output and outcomes
- Quality of service
- Changes in productivity
- Time taken to respond to complaints and problems
- New Public Management---style performance indicators & targets

Thus, evidence of clear of improved delivery performance is determined by changes in outputs and performance of a particular agency. This study admittedly is limited, in that performance is measured mainly by looking at how well the WMDs responded to citizen voice on radio and subsequent follow-up by the radio programmes. Nonetheless, successful resolution of problems and influence of mediated voice can be assessed by the factors, which ultimately influence response and action by the WMDs. In what follows I discuss the influencing factors which motivated the WMDs to respond to mediated voice via the radio campaigns and hence the seeming successful resolution of those complaints. These findings are based on interviews with senior management and supervisors¹⁴⁸ at the WMDs.

¹⁴⁸ These include 5 senior managers and 5 District Cleansing Officers (DCOs) of the Sub metros.

The factors responsible for the seemingly positive response to mediated voice by public officials at the WMDs are either external or internal factors that influence public sector organisational performance discussed in section 2.6 of this thesis. In what follows, I discuss findings on why public officials at the WMD respond favourably to mediated voice within the context of the key factors (internal or external) which influence performance in the public sector. The ranking is done according to how frequently informants cite the factors. I begin with the external factors induced by mediated voice.

7.3.1 Mediated voice influence on responsiveness: external factors

Political expediency and political pressure from the ‘top’

The decentralised local governance structure in Ghana is supposed to be non-partisan, at least on paper. The fact that the chief executive who heads the decentralised authority at AMA, and a third of the assembly are politically appointed by the president of the day erodes the so-called non-partisan aspect of local government. As noted earlier, political expediency per the government in power, as well as the time of year, particularly in election years or the years leading to elections, determine largely how the local authorities react to policy decisions. The AMA has constantly been manipulated by governments of the day mainly because the MCEs are political representatives; they usually do not have a choice, but have to go by the political dictates of the governments that appointed them.

For example, a national daily, the *Daily Graphic* of December 22, 2009, reported that the then president, J.E.A. Mills¹⁴⁹ had ordered the current MCE of Accra, Alfred Vanderpuije to halt a legitimate decongestion exercise (an exercise designed to enforce AMA bye-laws), which aimed to rid the city of unauthorised structures and street-hawkers.

President Mills has ordered the Chief Executive of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA), Mr Alfred Vanderpuije, to suspend the decongesting exercise in the city. Although, the government was not in favour of the indiscriminate siting of unauthorized structures, it believed that the exercise had to be carried out in line with the total urban renewal project promised in the National Democratic Congress (NDC) manifesto.

¹⁴⁹ President J.E.A Mills was president of Ghana at time of fieldwork and during the writing up of this research. He died in office on 24th July 2012.

The order from the late President came after a protest by slum dwellers from a slum called 'Sodom and Gomorrah' against the government, and the AMA for making moves to evict them without compensation. The slum, which is classified as a den of criminals by the AMA, is home to 79,684 inhabitants and has been split along a complex mixture of political, ethnic and chieftaincy lines (Ordoi-Larbi 2009). The slum is also notorious for violence and crime. A recent clash between supporters of the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the main opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP) left four people dead. The news about the president's interference caused uproar from the public through phone-in segments of the several radio stations in Accra (Ordoi-Larbi, 2009). According to the President, the decongestion exercise had to be done in a harmonious manner although the AMA had been planning the exercise for three months.

Similar interference in local government for the sake of political expediency occurred in 2007 (the year preceding the country's 2008 general elections). The then Mayor of Accra, Stanley Adjiri Blankson appointed by the Kufuor-NPP administration, was compelled to halt proceedings on the second phase of the 'decongestion exercise' because the president reacted to a 'no-vote threat,' by the street hawkers. The government also feared that the opposition political parties were using the exercise as a campaign against the sitting government and to canvass for votes. The Mayor was highly embarrassed when he was asked to stay his directive, and allow the hawkers to continue their activities until an appropriate location was found for them. Again, an otherwise good policy was sacrificed in the name of political expediency.

It is normal practice in democratic governance to have a mixture of both political appointees and civil service bureaucrats. However, many of the bureaucrats interviewed at the AMA and Sub-Metros insisted that it interferes with the normal bureaucratic flow of their administrative duties. Some frontline supervisors interviewed also reiterated this view. This situation, according to them, makes it precarious because their work is highly human-centred, dealing with public services; they are likely to be discussed on radio programmes. In addition, because the government of the day realises that issues that are picked on by radio stations are very likely to become campaign issues for the opposition parties, there is always a lot of pressure to respond quickly to calls on radio programmes. According to a senior official at the WMD head office:

Although there is no compulsion directly from the political parties, the pressure is usually felt from the Chief Executive/mayor [...] he gets very upset when he hears that a particular Sub-Metro or the PR department has been contacted about a problem in the Sub-Metro. And to avoid any questions, as soon as the calls come in, usually through the main office PR department they have to act quickly in order to prevent it from getting to the ears of the mayor (Interview with: WMDHO, 14/07/2010, Accra).

This, according to this informant, has been the practice for many years under different mayors, because sanitation is an important issue to human well-being and is always used during electioneering campaigning. (*Interview with WMDHO, September 5, 2010, Accra*). This indeed provides additional evidence that public opinion and democratic accountability is working---but the bureaucrats are afraid of it.

Listening to public opinion and fear of political punishment

Radio complaints that come during major election periods or when a new mayor has been appointed are treated with political urgency---national and to some extent; local politics has a huge influence on the work at the Sub-Metros. All the WMD officials interviewed, spoke about not taking management of waste in the city of Accra for granted, due to the fact that waste management is always part of any mayor's (including the current) prerogative because it is always a campaign issue or high on the agenda of the government of the day. As a result, performance in that area frequently features as part of a government's manifesto.

This finding is also linked to the democratic character of the AMA. Since multiparty elections became more competitive in Ghana political parties have always included basic public service provisions in their manifestos as part of their campaign issues. For example, the NPP year 2000, 2004 and 2008 manifestos include sections on their plans for improving sanitation in the country (NPP Manifesto, 2008, section 4.3.1). Similarly, the NDC's past and current manifesto also explicitly outlines the party's agenda for improving the quality of sanitation in the country in the first 100 days in office (NDC Manifesto 2008; 2010: 7). There have also been several instances where speakers (usually presidential candidates), during campaign rallies and presidential debates have promised to 'clear the city of Accra of filth in 100 days.'

The use of sanitation management as a campaign issue is usually what drives the fear of political sanction. Knowing that some radio programmes would hold

politicians accountable for campaign promises eventually forces a quick response when voice is raised about sanitation. In addition, the knowledge that opposition might also take advantage of incessant complaints about the issues that the ruling party promised to address during electioneering campaign is yet another compelling reason for prompt response to mediated voice.

7.3.2 Mediated voice influence on responsiveness: internal factors

Helping assess their performance

The WMDs do not have any scientific means of assessing their performance. When asked about performance measures, although they alluded to setting daily, weekly or monthly targets including revenue collection, none of them was able to provide an indication of how performance is measured. According to DCO-AK-1 and WMDHO (2010), two senior officials at the WMD/AMA, performance was measured on *'the basis of what was on the ground.'*¹⁵⁰ Radio phone-ins therefore provided a good means of assessing their performance. All the WMDs agreed rather interestingly, that radio phone-in programmes were a way of determining their performance or even improving on their performance. According to DCO-OK-1, the District Cleansing Officer of one of the selected Sub-Metros:

If you are not up to expectation, through the programmes you will be in a good position to handle yourself well. If you are not on your feet, you will be in a hot corner, the radio station will hammer and hammer you, and if the head of department hears [...] you will be sanctioned (Interview with: DCO-OK-1, 04/11/2010, Accra).

Fear of administrative sanctions

In public administration managerial sanctions are applied as a way of punishing poor performance and incentives used to reward good performance (Vigoda 2002: 259; Mulgan 2000: 563). The radio programme is in a way creating avenues for the application of sanctions to non-performing WMDs or WMDs, who constantly receive complaints on air. All the informants (at the management and

¹⁵⁰ Meaning the amount of waste cleared and what was left.

frontline level) spoke of the fear of being sanctioned¹⁵¹ as one of the key reasons why the radio programmes help them do better.

When the PR section hears, and the MCE gets to know [...] he asks what is happening [...] if you are unable to tell them exactly what is preventing you from doing your work, you will be sanctioned and that puts a lot of pressure on us (Interview with: DCO-AK-1, 08/07/ 2010, Accra).

One of the DCOs told the story of how a team from the head office were following up on a complaint about refuse in his Sub-Metro (with 1st to 2nd class residences); and how he quickly rushed to the site to assess, and abate the problem before the team got there. To his relief the problem was one of unauthorised dumping, which luckily was not huge mountain of refuse, and so he was able to solve immediately.

Many of the lower level employees (sweepers, scavengers and cleaners) interviewed also spoke of fear of sanctions¹⁵² at their level. According to them, because sanctions applied at their level affected their pay, it is a major problem when complaints from radio programmes get to the top and trickle down to them. One of them expressed this in a typical local expression about how the supervisor's or DCOs get angry and react when they are informed of radio complaints, or they hear it on radio themselves: '*Eish, that day diɛ, we all get into trouble oh!*' (Interview with: SW/C-AK-1, 22/10/10, Accra). Just as the effects of complaints trickle down to their level from their supervisors, the supervisors also face sanctions from the top.

Motivation through public praise

In as much as complaints induce fears of being sanctioned, most of the workers of the WMDs said they also felt motivated when the radio stations that usually condemn them for not doing their job praise them for acting when they follow-up on complaints. In the same way that the publicness of the complaints embarrass them, hearing that they have done their jobs well on radio motivates them to do

¹⁵¹ The frontline workers spoke of deduction in wages as the main sanction applied to them whilst at the senior level, written queries and suspension or threats of dismissal are the sanctions applied to them (although only in very serious cases). The two category of workers at the WMD all insisted sanctions applied far outweigh the reward system (which is nonexistent) in place for good work.

¹⁵² Sanctions at this level are applied as deductions from their wages.

better next time (Tendler 1997) This view was expressed by all 17 (senior and frontline level) employees of the WMDs interviewed. They are always '*motivated to do more when the public shows concern*' and also from hearing that they have resolved the problems that were previously complained about or announced on air said one official,' (Interview with: DCO-ABLC-1, 24/11/2010, Accra).

According to another:

Our job is a very difficult one [...] and it is easy to notice problems because, when the city is dirty, everyone can see; it is even worse when it is broadcast on the radio [...]. Similarly, if what we do is recognised by a radio station, even if it is only one, it is a motivating factor (Interview with: WMDHO, 26/08/2010, Accra).

According to SW/C-AK-1, a sweeper, they at the frontline level see the radio complaints as a public acknowledgement of their existence, as well as approval of their work; if they hear good things being said about them on radio and vice versa.

7.3.3 Other mediated voice factors influencing responsiveness

Complementing their work

The WMDs agree that the nature of their working conditions, constrained by the lack of the adequate logistics and tools for carrying effective monitoring, makes the radio campaigns a useful aid to their work. To them, the radio and in fact, phone-in programmes in particular, complement their work by providing alternative avenues for them to know where there are problems.

The programmes are very good in the sense that if you are not able to go out, and a good citizen sees such nuisance and puts it on radio, you can quickly go and if he's not having your number they can put it on air and you will hear it' (Interview with: DCO-AK-1, 08/07/2010, Accra).

Public embarrassment?

Officials of the WMDs mentioned an immense sense of personal embarrassment (which is distinct from work sanctions) when an announcement about their work is aired on public platforms, particularly on the electronic mass media.

I feel bad when I hear bad reports about our work on radio. This is the job we are mandated to do so if the people we serve feel dissatisfied yet we live amongst them, it is as if we have failed (Interview with: WMDHO, 14/07/2010; and DCO-AK-1, 08/07/2010, Accra).

According to them, being part of an interlinked society where, informal ties of family, ethnic neighbourhood, colleagues, and church are sometimes strong; such negative publicity embarrasses them because it shows a negative assessment of their performance. It also gives a strong indication of failure at the work they have been mandated to do.

Although these sentiments of feeling embarrassed for failing at their work when complaints were made on radio (about waste and related unsanitary) were shared by all seven senior workers interviewed, the degree of embarrassment¹⁵³ was higher amongst those who have worked with the WMDs for more than five years. The effects of this on how they would be assessed by those who know them is what eventually compels them to act quickly on complaints and other media reports, and may be the most obvious for a public servant. However, beneath all the embarrassment is what I argue may be well be a covert political embarrassment linked to the fact that the AMA is politically accountable through the MCE and AMA. Joshi and Houtzager (2012: 157) have also suggested that naming and shaming in the media by citizens about poor quality service is a good way of encouraging accountability in public service.

On the other hand, *'feeling bad'* was however expressed differently at the frontline level. Expressions of feeling bad were rather related to how people perceive their work ethics. To them, although the feeling of importance is mainly sustained when they know that there is recognition for their work, and that they are a key factor in keeping the city clean. It is therefore painful when they are made to feel as though they have not done their job well.

Our work is cleaning up waste that fellow human beings have created. Often, we are viewed as 'bola' (local word for rubbish) ourselves [...] but when we hear people talking about us on radio, we know that we are being recognised and that our work is important too (Interview with: SW/C-AK-1, 4/11/2010, Accra).

¹⁵³ According to Tsai (2007) 'Solidary' lineage groups embedded public officials within the society's social norms and moral codes, and thereby subjecting them to community sanctions and the incentives of reputation, which demonstrates the potential for social sources of accountability to influence the level and quality of public services. Braithwaite (1989) also suggests that when official lethargy is exposed in the media the impact is felt throughout the agency concerned as the senior civil servant along with the minister responsible for the sector suffer social consequences of the resulting public disapproval.

Ability to help propagate their message

The strength and reach of radio in any given locality is its ability to send messages far, and to a wider audience (Myers 2008; Ilboudo 2000). For Sub-Metros therefore, receiving calls and invitations from radio programmes to respond to problems and complaints from citizens has its benefits as well. The analysis of '*Feedback*' data, for instance, showed twenty-three live appearances in-studio and live phone calls to the officials of the AMA including the WMDs to respond to, or answer questions directly from callers from the period 2005-2007. This shows how important the programmes have been in creating a new form of public 'reporting' by officials of the AMA.

To them, although they would rather prefer not to receive summons or scathing complaints about their work, the programme creates opportunities for them to propagate their messages freely and to a wider audience. It also gives them the much-needed airtime to explain policies to their audience. Because they are aware that although the decentralised nature of their work requires that residents are involved in their work, and know what is going on, the majority of them do not have the right information, let alone know the working of the AMA or the WMD department. The large (74%) majority of respondents in the survey (including those who call into radio programmes) who said they do not receive enough information about the work of local government confirm this assertion by two senior officials¹⁵⁴ of the WMD.

7.4 Assessing if mediated voice influences responsiveness

Responsiveness is the desired attitude of any service provider, particularly for those who listen to complaints and the problems of clients impartially weigh their claims and respond to them based on set rules of service provision (Goetz and Jenkins, 2002). Responsiveness also involves the extent of receptivity of the service provider to client's complaints, views, and suggestions (More and Teskey 2006; Gloppen et al. 2003; Goetz & Gaventa 2001). That receptivity must also have the ability to change the service structure, culture and/or delivery strategy of the organisation.

¹⁵⁴ Identity of the officials not disclosed due to reasons of confidentiality.

The body of work on performance measures in the public sector in developing countries also identifies external factors, which largely influence performance. For example, external factors, which can have influence on how the public sector will perform include but are not limited to the actions of ordinary citizens and influence of the media. Oversight of the media therefore enhances accountability of performance (Caseley 2006; Tendler 1997). Similarly, external influences attributed to the media are that good journalism and good oversight of the media enhance accountability of performance. Joshi & Houtzager (2012: 157), Caseley (2006), and Braithwaite (1989) for instance, argue that naming and shaming in the media by citizens about poor quality service is a good way of encouraging accountability in public service. In addition, that the media is a good ally in enhancing the work and motivation of public sector workers (Tendler 1997). So the question is, is it possible for a new conceptualisation of citizen's action (voice) and the media---**mediated voice**---to influence responsiveness in the public sector? If so, what are the contributing factors?

To answer these questions, data on individual responses to complaints (from the radio programmes) by the WMD were analysed. Secondly, in order to do the analysis, the five WMDs selected from the selected Sub-Metros were constructed as a single unit. The intention here was to use successful response to, and resolution of complaints as a measure of good responsiveness.

Data on complaints received and responded to by the WMDs categorised according to the following.

Completely resolved:

- (a) The radio programme successfully contacted the WMD or its representative, and ensured that the particular problem was resolved.
- (b) Responses to the complainant showed that the problem no longer existed or that the WMD had heard about the problem and acted upon it.
- (c) The programme team gave a definite response, by announcing on subsequent edition of the programme live on air, that the nuisance the caller(s) complained about had been removed or solved.

Partially resolved:

- (a) If the complaint was made, but there was no indication from the records of the radio station that the WMD had successfully resolved the complaint.
- (b) An attempt was made, i.e. contact with WMD, but, problem was not resolved; or the WMD gave assurances of working on the problem within a certain period.
- (c) The team was still working on the problem and would get the results in due course.¹⁵⁵
- (d) Complainant calls back to confirm problem still exists even though they were told it was resolved.

Not resolved (not successful):

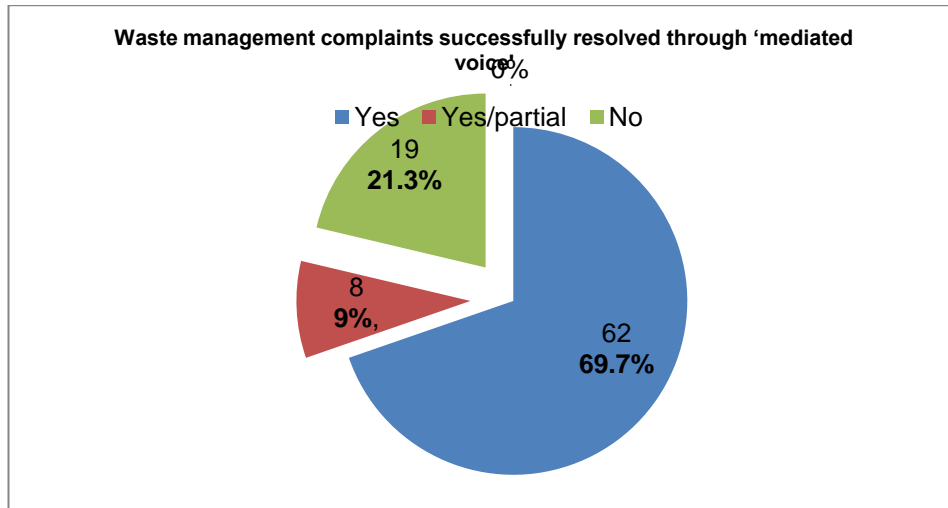
- (a) There is no indication from the records of the radio stations that there was a follow-up on the problem
- (b) That the problem was successfully resolved by the WMD
- (c) The caller or complainant called in again, to say that the problem had not been resolved

These categorisations were then analysed to see the extent to which the WMDs were responsive to complaints. Overall, analysis of data from both '*Feedback*' and '*Wo haw ne sen*,' data show that the majority of the complaints were responded to, and resolved. The analysis of responsiveness to complaints and subsequent resolution of those complaints received by the WMDs of the Sub-Metros from the '*Feedback*' and '*Wo haw ne sen*' show an appreciable level of response to complaints received via the phone-in programmes. For instance, almost 7 in 10 (69.7%) of every complaint about waste management directed at the WMD (combined complaints received on '*Feedback*' from the five selected Sub-Metros) were successfully resolved. Of the complaints received, 21.3% were partially resolved. Although the analysis excluded partially responded to complaints from successful resolutions, there is the likelihood that many of those complaints were eventually resolved, but were not properly recorded. Finally, the fact that only a mere, 9% of the complaints did not receive any response at all from the WMD, shows that mediated voice was an effective way of not only expressing voice, but a good way of ensuring that voice is 'heard.'

¹⁵⁵ There were many instances, from the radio programme data, where the programme team spent more than a week in resolving or getting back to the callers about resolution of some problems.

Figure 12 and Figure 13 below shows the breakdown of WMD complaints received and responded to on '*Feedback*' and '*Wo haw ne sen*'. They also show the percentage of calls that received positive outcomes because of mediated voice.

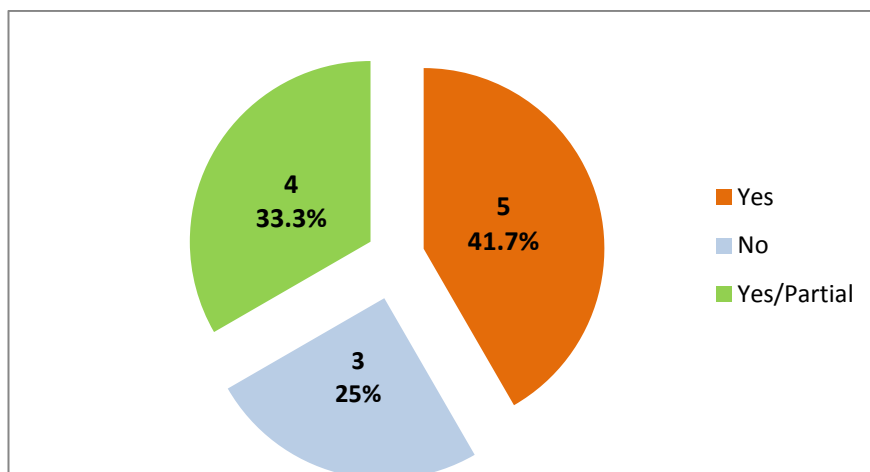
Figure 12: WMD complaints received and resolved through mediated voice on '*Feedback*', 2005-2008



Source: Author's analysis of '*Feedback*' transcripts

The results from the analysing responses of the WMD to complaints on '*Wo haw ne sen*,' are not different from those from '*Feedback*.' On '*Wo haw ne sen*,' at least (41.7%) of the complaints received and followed-up on by the team were resolved. Although the data captures only 2009-2010, it is very likely that the response and results could be significantly higher if data similar to '*Feedback*' was analysed for '*Wo haw ne sen*.'

Figure 13: WMD complaints successfully resolved through mediated voice on '*Wo haw ne sen*', 2009-2010



Source: Author's analysis of '*Wo haw ne sen*' transcripts, the figure shows the breakdown of waste management received on '*Wo haw ne sen*' and responded to by the WMD.

7.5 Brief conclusion

This chapter has looked at the ‘supply’ of responsiveness to voice demands as expressed via radio programmes, by taking an in depth look at how and why ‘actor 3’ in this study responded to mediated voice. That is, *what accounts for, or explains the response created by the kind of public voice expressed on radio and carried by the radio programmes?*

As shown in the discussion on the findings, mediated voice has had positive influences on the WMD’s responsiveness. Although the responsiveness is largely due to the intricate and subtle effects of both national and local politics in Ghana, the results show that mediated voice has the capability to improve performance if the pressure from the radio campaigns is sustained. Public sector employees at the WMD/AMA are not highly paid. The organisation is also highly permeated by politics of the day, which affects morale and the motivation to do routine work. As noted earlier, the work of the employees of the WMDs at both the managerial and particularly at the front-line levels is challenging. Workers lack the necessary equipment and protective wear, and have few incentives to carry out their daily duties.

The motivation to do better and improve performance comes from knowing that ‘somebody is watching’—callers and radio programmes, ‘and that ‘somebody is listening’—the mayor. The combination of these invisible factors keeps them on their toes; and by so-doing, it also motivates them to do better, so that complaints are not publicised about them on radio. Complaints embarrass people and motivate them to do better so as not to be reprimanded by superiors or attract political punishment.

Nonetheless, although mediated voice has the capacity to engender responsiveness, it does not necessarily improve or change the way public organisations perform. The negative side to the effects of mediated voice on the WMDs is that responses can become limited to ‘fire-fighting,’ particularly, when responsiveness is a result of political partisan expediency. This can sometimes reduce the process of voice being ‘heard,’ or improvements in public sector delivery to how *responsiveness to voice* can translate into political gains, rather than something, which genuinely makes citizen voices a part of the local government.

Because mediated voice has the potential to serve as both incentive and sanction, there is a need for continuous radio campaigns. These campaigns need tenacious and vigilante-type presenters (who can force responsiveness from those in authority). This must be combined with a public sector leadership that cares about public opinion, if external pressure to improve performance is to be sustained. Radio complaints that come during major election periods or when a new Mayor has been appointed are treated with political urgency because to some extent local politics has a huge influence on the work at the sub metros.

The next Chapter is the conclusion of the thesis. It presents a summary and additional discussion on some of the findings presented in the three empirical chapters.

Chapter 8

Conclusion: radio programmes as an underrated resource for collective problem solving in Ghana

8. Introduction

This chapter concludes the entire thesis, it summarises discussions and main arguments in the empirical sections. It also expands on some of the issues raised in those sections. This chapter also provides an overview of the theoretical contribution, which the concept of mediated voice makes to the body of work on media literature, and existing concepts on accountability and responsiveness, voice and responsiveness, collective action and to a limited extent public sector performance in Africa.

The chapter begins with an overview of the thesis findings as discussed in the empirical chapters. I do this by revisiting the conceptual framework discussed in Chapter 2 (see, Figure 2). The objective here is to show how mediated voice relates to the demand for, responsiveness and the supply of accountability. This is followed by a discussion of the originality, significance and theoretical contribution this study makes to existing knowledge on accountability, voice, collective action and public sector performance in developing countries.

8.1 Summary of findings

The main objective in this thesis has been threefold: First, to generate empirically grounded theoretical insights into the relationship between a new form of public voice mediated through radio phone-in programmes and how public service delivery providers respond to it. Second, to make an original contribution, which complements work on voice and accountability literature, where the idea of mediated voice (or voice expressed through radio programmes) as a voice mechanism is new and untested and offers a more nuanced understanding of the processes available. And, finally, to fill a gap, particularly in media studies, which is weak on empirical studies that look specifically at how voice expressed on radio can be used as a viable voice mechanism in developing democracies.

With these objectives in mind, I first sought to answer the main question in this study, which was: *'To what extent and by what mechanisms do citizens' demands for better municipal service delivery through the medium of radio phone-ins influence the responsiveness of a public service provider (Waste Management Department, WMD of the Accra Metropolitan Authority, AMA)?'* I also sought to understand the interplay of three interrelated actors (radio programmes, callers, and a public service delivery provider) whose relationship produced the kind of voice and outcome in which this research was interested. That is, the expression of voice on private radio platforms, and the supply of responsiveness to that kind of voice. This I did by looking at:

What kind of voice?

(a) *What kind of 'voice' mechanism is radio programmes such 'Feedback' and 'Wo haw ne sen' developing? Is it a form of collective voice or a form of collective action such as those produced by civil society groups, community based organisations (CBOs), or partisan groups?*

Who calls and why they call?

(a) *Why are citizens using 'voice' on radio or the platforms provided by radio programmes instead of other formal channels available for making complaints about local government services? Are they for instance acting as individuals, or for any pre-organised partisan, social, or community interests?*

(b) *Who are those using this mechanism, what are the characteristics of the complainants (e.g. social, gender, class)? And is there any distinctive pattern to the demographic characteristics of the callers that set them apart from those who do not call?*

To what extent does mediated voice produce/influence government responsiveness?

(a) *What therefore accounts for, or explains the response to the kind of public voice expressed on radio and carried forward by the radio programmes?*

(b) *Are they responding because the radio programmes are making them more client oriented, or are they responding because of other pressures such as politics, or fear of sanctions from within the organisation?*

8.1.1 What kind of voice?

a. *Not just an ordinary voice mechanism*

There has been increasing interest in both actual practice and in academia, about the electronic media in developing democracies with relatively liberal media environment. In particular, the interest has been about the emergence of radio (the oldest form of electronic mass media), as a positive mechanism for the expression of citizen's voice and an avenue for demanding accountability. But some have argued that voice alone (regardless of the mechanism used in expressing it) is not enough in producing the desired outcomes that are needed to get consistent and sustained response from duty bearers (Gaventa & McGee 2010; Rocha and Sharma 2008; Goetz and Gaventa 2001; Brinkerhoff 2000; Blair 1999).

Radio phone-ins in particular offer a good platform for the expression of voice. However, there are arguments that although citizen participation via radio produces positive outcomes, genuine dialogue about governance issues in such media cannot take place in spaces such as those created by radio-phone-ins. Rather, instead of being a place for debates and analysis of issues, they are just an arena for opposing viewpoints, and therefore play a limited role in participatory democracy Gerstl-Pepin (2002, 2007). In addition, that the kinds of deliberative space that radio phone-in programmes offer only highlight and deepen negative political discourse (Yanovitzky and Cappella 2001).

Nonetheless, this study counters such negative attribution to the effectiveness of radio phone-ins and argues that, although there are many radio phone-in programmes currently running on several FM stations in Ghana and Accra in particular, the process through which programmes such as '*Feedback*' and '*Wow ne sen*' go about translating individual voices into collective outcomes is what sets them apart from other phone-in discussion programmes. This difference and uniqueness is what I have theorised in Chapter 2 of this thesis as **mediated voice**, defined as: *the outcome of the activity (the voice) carried out by radio call-in programmes during which they receive individual complaints and represent them as if they were collective problems.' They do this by eliciting responses and solutions to problems through the representation of roles that are usually carried out by other formal/informal institutions---such as: the ombudsman, client service departments of service delivery organisations, local*

elected officials (assemblymen/women); and collective efforts such as political or social associations.'

This form of voice is dependent on radio and radio programming as a vehicle and is therefore different from other forms of voice such as those produced through collective action and /or other associational arrangements. However, voice on radio can only be well translated when it is complemented by an equally independent, knowledgeable and relevant mediating agency such as those provided by Joy FMs former '*Feedback*' and current Peace FMs '*Wo haw ne sen*' programmes. These characteristics make the application of voice mechanisms dependent on the knowledge and the extent and effectiveness of the information held by the radio presenters.

The success of mediated voice is also dependent on a population that is active and politically aware of their rights within a democracy, in order to successfully use voice to demand responsiveness and better public services (Bastian and Luckham 2003; Isin 2008). Mediated voice is indeed important for public services that have a monopoly, and from which exit is impossible (Olowu and Wunsch 2004). Given the limits of exit as a strategy, mediated voice has the most potential to enhance local accountability through the public's ability to force those who exercise power to listen to them, and change the power differentials typical of developing countries.

8.1.2 The demand side: whose voice?

The demand side refers to citizen's ability to access (radio) and use available channels in this case, mediated voice to seek accountability, answerability, and responsiveness from government about public service delivery at the WMD. In what follows, I highlight some the main findings relating to the question of who uses mediated voice.

Having understood and defined clearly what form of voice occurs through '*Feedback*' and '*Wo haw ne sen*' the next step was to get insights into who uses mediated voice and why it was a popular choice for at least a third of residents in Accra. What were the patterns and determining characteristics of the users of mediated voice? Were they working for specific interests for instance? It was found that users of mediated voice were ordinary people living in Accra, who

listen to radio, and were consciously participating in radio call-in programmes in order to express voice about poor public services or any service in general. Although there were serial callers (discussed in Chapter 6) who also used mediated voice, they also did so in the main as ordinary citizens expressing voice through the new informal mechanism. The essence of this is that ordinary Ghanaians recognised the avenue created on the radio programmes to express voice. In addition, they also realized that their voices could be 'heard' if they used mediated voice as the mechanism for expressing themselves.

a. Strong correlation between the belief in the use of mediated voice and age of users

There is a strong correlation between belief in mediated voice and one's generation, and the understanding of the difference radio makes in one's life. Some insightful findings in this study show the dividends of free-liberal airwaves, a direct result of Ghana's democratic process and subsequent legal repeal of the criminalisation of free speech. These had spawned individuals I have posited and referred to in this study, (Chapter 6) as the LAG. These individuals belong to the generation I have argued are the *liberal airwaves generation*. The age of this group of people and their adult life experiences correlate with the strong belief in radio as a voice mechanism. A generation that has also nurtured individuals within the media establishments who, unlike their counterparts in public media, can hold governments, government or public officials, as well as those in opposition to account.

b. Strong indication of usage by certain classes of people who rely on public service delivery

Users of mediated voice are those who for the most part are not economically empowered to find private means of solving public problems either locally or abroad (Booth 2010:1). The evidence from data presented in this thesis also shows that those who called into '*Feedback*' and or '*Wo haw ne sen*' were mainly from the mid-level working groups (or those who use public services frequently). They are usually those who do not have the means to find private solutions to public service delivery. Findings also indicate that a fair number (albeit only with Peace FM) of those who phone-in into the radio programmes, fall within the low literacy bracket. Suggesting that it is not only the well-educated or literate who express voice on radio. Many people including those without formal education, such as those who listen to and call in to Peace FM and '*Wo haw ne sen*' posses

sufficient cognitive understanding of issues and problems they encounter in their communities to be able to voice them. In Ghana, because radio stations broadcast in the local language, the listenership and participation bracket is sometimes wide enough to accommodate certain levels of local language literacy.

One might argue that the kind of platform that the radio programmes provide for the expression of voice might work better for those with better incomes because they have both the knowledge and means to overcome any legal, political or even administrative impediments that government officials use to blunt citizen's voice. Paul (1992: 1051) argues that socio-economic conditions and social class are factors that affect voice influence. He adds that other important influences such as one's income, level of education are instrumental in determining one's ability to express voice. In addition, Devas and Korbe (2000: 131) argue that, '*the ability of poor communities to improve their position and to secure improved services has much to do with the strength and nature of civil society in general.*'

However, the findings in this study about users of mediated voice go against the grain of the education and income argument for the following reasons. First, radio programmes have the intrinsic capacity to give reach all manner of groups of people, whether literate, non-literate, high income or low income as shown in the variation in users of mediated voice at '*Feedback*' and at '*Wo haw ne sen*'. Thus, even though mediated voice may limit actual participation to a few people (because not everyone calls or can get through to the programmes) a key part of the actions inherent in voice on radio is that the programme team relay the voices. Thus mediated voice give less articulate people an assurance that others are representing their concerns. This supports the argument that radio facilitates the inclusion of a large cross-section of voice rather than just the educated and economically well-to-do.

Second, in Africa, mobile phones are 'almost always the cheapest and quickest way to communicate' (Etzo & Collender 2010: 659; Ekine 2010). However, one can argue that there is a cost (financial) no matter how small, incurred by those who use mediated voice, because calls from any form of calling device, whether mobile or landline are not free or cheap, and for that matter would be costly for those this study shows are the users of mediated voice. On the other hand, text messaging, which '*Wo haw ne sen*' provides, is cheaper than voice calls and is a more cost-effective way of tapping into mediated voice.

Third, a more plausible and compelling argument is that although there are costs involved in using mediated voice (because of the nature of technology involved) the ‘opportunity cost’ to the caller when using mediated voice is lower than when they have to use other means of expressing voice. It is also much lower than engaging in collective action through either organising or joining an association such as a community group or political party. As one informant eloquently expressed it:

The one-time cost of calling a radio programme is a lot cheaper for me than what I will incur when I have to take up the legwork myself. Transport, time and even unofficial amounts I probably have to pay are a higher cost than spending airtime off my phone to call somebody, who will carry my complaint forward for me (Interview with: FB-C2, 24/09/2010, Accra).

c. Lack of faith in performance of local government

There is a general knowledge and belief decentralised local government provides opportunities for participatory democracy and opportunities to express voice (shown in Table 16 and 17). However, the lack of faith in the performance of local government at either the Metropolitan Assembly or the Sub Metropolitan authority (shown in Table 37) produces a situation where citizens seek alternative avenues for the expression of voice. What radio, or mediated voice does is to provide an alternative avenue through which voices that have otherwise been blunted (because local government does not really ‘hear’ citizen voices) can be heard.

d. Attraction of partisan interests?

Finally, one of the main concerns in this study was to determine whether those who used mediated voice were doing so on behalf of any pre-organised interests? Although the data shows that characteristics of the serial caller are, still a gray area, their existence and the fact that they also use mediated voice showed that mediated voice also attracts those who aim to shape public opinion in the direction of political parties with whom they sympathise.¹⁵⁶ In Ghana, it is easy to politicise issues (be it social entertainment, or even religion) because of the country’s political history and competitiveness of politics in general.

¹⁵⁶ This coterie of individuals whose perceived understated political linkages although not resonated in the views of those interviewed in this study (mass survey) have taken advantage of technology to use their influence on radio in order to score points for the political parties they support. See Chapter 6 for findings and discussion on these individuals in Ghana.

Nonetheless, the serial caller dimension to the study is interesting and open for further enquiry because the evidence from the data presented in Chapter 6 showed that serial callers do not always act as party foot soldiers and were not necessarily perceived as such by their neighbours in communities where they lived. In addition, the fact that they were asked to make phone calls about public issues by people with no party interests shows that they were performing a rather different and unique role when it came to mediated voice.

In recent times, because radio is cheaper and has a wider audience and reach it has become an easy avenue for politicians and their foot soldiers to propagate their ideas. Thus, not surprisingly serial callers who double as ordinary people¹⁵⁷ and party foot soldiers have also found the need to use mediated voice. For serial callers, the attraction and incentive to use mediated voice is three-fold:

1. To act on behalf of those who ask them to express voice on their behalf.
2. Get their names out there in order to shape public opinion---because they are already well-known voices on radio.
3. Indirectly promote themselves to the parties they support.

8.1.3 The supply side: why the WMDs respond

This question was conceptualised within the broader framework of supply of responsiveness. Supply of responsiveness is the recognition of the space that democracy creates for demands to be made and responses provided by those in authority. This side also encompasses the will to be accountable and responsive, and knowing that being responsive will lead to positive outcomes, which are likely to incentivise whilst the lack of responsiveness will lead to sanctions of public officials, and possibly the government in power. The points below summarise the key findings regarding the question why the WMDs are responsive to mediated voice.

¹⁵⁷ Findings presented in Chapter 6 show that most serial callers are ordinary low-level workers who have found space within the liberal airwaves to use their ability to access and frequently speak on radio as a subtle way of putting pressure on those in authority.

a. Motivation to perform --- MV influence on responsiveness

Public service motivation is a key influencing factor in the performance of the public sector (Grindle 1997). Public sector employees at the WMD/AMA are not highly paid. The organisation is highly permeated by politics of the day, which affects morale and the motivation to do routine work. As noted in Chapter 7, the work of the employees of the WMDs at both the managerial and particularly at the front-line levels is challenging---workers lack the necessary equipment and protective wear, and have few incentives to carry out their daily duties. Their work, according to a front-line worker: *'is dirty [...] people see us just like the rubbish we clean'*, so, they feel motivated when people recognise them for what they do, particularly on the radio. Thus, for them, when they hear that there is work to be done somewhere, that motivates them because then they know that people are aware of their existence.

On the other hand, at the managerial level, motivation to do better and improve performance comes from knowing that *'somebody is watching'*—callers and radio programmes, *'and that 'somebody is listening'*—the mayor. The combination of these invisible factors keep them on their toes; and by so-doing It also motivates them to do better, so that complaints are not publicised about them on radio. Complaints embarrass people and motivate them to do better so as not to be reprimanded by superiors or attract political punishment. These plausible externally driven factors can improve performance if used consistently and properly.

b. Politically induced responsiveness

Because of the political logic created by the fact that the head of the AMA is a representative of the government in power; citizens are forced to use the methods that will get the most attention from government officials. This in itself has both negative and positive effects.

First, on the positive side, it shows that for services provided by the WMD, where the consumer does not have the choice to exit or vote with their feet (even those who subscribe to the HtH system cannot exit to another provider if the service coverage for their area is poor), therefore, the best way is have pressure put on the WMD by recipients of their services. Voice, particularly mediated voice, is therefore the most viable means by which consumers of WMD services can get any improvement or direct response to their complaints. And in poorer localities,

where exit means using illegal refuse porters or free-range for their refuse, the rapid response that mediated voice provides means that the negative externalities associated with indiscriminate refuse dumping can be abated, even if marginally.

In addition, on the positive side, the sensitivity of AMA management to political factors can produce the desired result of greater responsiveness of service delivery. As shown in the analysis of '*Feedback*' data (Figure 11) and from interviews with the '*Wo how ne sen*' team, pre-election and election year complaints produce the most responses to complaints. This is good as it shows citizens' ability to increase their capacity to exercise political influence through an informal channel, and not only on Election Day. More importantly, competitive democratic politics in Ghana is leading to a situation where political parties are sensitive to the wide publicity of not only complaints about public services. But, about media reports on their agenda and performance, especially when pledges about improving infrastructure and public services (including sanitation) are part of their election manifestoes and campaign materials.

The only negative side to this is that responses can become limited to 'fire-fighting,' particularly, when responsiveness is a result of political expediency due to partisan tendencies (a third of members of the Assembly and MCE belong to the party of the ruling government of the day). This can sometimes reduce the process of voice being 'heard,' or improvements in public sector delivery to how *responsiveness to voice* can translate into political gains, rather than something, which genuinely makes citizen voices a part of the local government.

Because mediated voice has the potential to serve as both incentive and sanction, there is a need for continuous radio campaigns. The campaigns need tenacious and vigilante-type presenters (who can force responsiveness from those in authority) combined with a public sector leadership that cares about public opinion, if external pressure to improve performance is to be sustained. Radio complaints that come during major election periods or when a new Mayor has been appointed are treated with political urgency because to some extent local politics has a huge influence on the work at the sub metros.

Finally, this study has argued that mediated voice is a new form of voice mechanism, which occurs through radio phone-in programmes. This form of expression of voice is useful in any democratic environment. However, because it is voluntary and unorganised it may only be sufficient to get ad hoc or limited

responses from public officials and service providers (because of follow-up or constant discussion around demands). In order to bring about real and sustained changes in the responsiveness and plausible performance of public service delivery, there is the need for mediated voice-type of pressure as shown in the evidence illustrated in Figure 11, Figure 12 and Figure 13.

On the personal level, although the complaints motivate officials and street level workers of the WMD, they are not necessarily becoming more client- oriented on their own, rather they tend to resort to a 'fire-fighting' approach in dealing with radio complaints. The programmes keep them on their toes---responses are swifter and problems are resolved in a timely manner. However, on the institutional level, services are not necessarily improving overall because of the radio campaigns. Most of the Sub Metros are saddled with the same kinds of internal problems that go beyond responsiveness or performance---poor working environment, lack of incentives, low budgetary support, political interference and lack of personnel as well as equipment; however, they do become more responsive during political seasons.

8.2 Significance of the study: concluding thoughts

The electronic media, in particular radio it is argued can offer a unique form of citizen participation and enhance social accountability. Yet the body of work on accountability mechanisms tends to privilege electoral forms of accountability. As discussed in Chapter 2, the desired outcome of government is when it is actually responsive to the demands of citizens in a democracy, and where citizens on the other hand are able to punish them for lack of accountability or responsiveness. Voice, as we know, is necessary for all forms of demands for accountability. Yet, voice alone is sometimes not sufficient to elicit the desired outcomes---that is, voice must be 'heard.'

This study was an attempt to investigate how voice might be 'heard' in order to produce the desired outcomes. This was done by developing and testing the new concept of mediated voice. This study therefore not only complements concepts in existing literature on accountability, voice and responsiveness but also makes an original contribution to how any phenomena, particularly citizen-led voices, which evolve from new technology, might be studied and understood. The

following are highlights of how findings discussed in this thesis challenge, confirm and / or advance new debates in the existing literature.

1. Filling a gap in media literature

This study flagged some of the gaps in the media literature on Africa and the seemingly critiqued dominant current focus on newer forms of media (internet and mobile phone), rather than on radio and how radio programmes and listeners interact to produce new ways of understanding accountability relationships. It was argued that enthusiasm for the internet is exaggerated and misleading given how few ordinary people have access to it in Africa. Radio remains the dominant form of communication and channel for debate between government and citizen. Findings in this study, particularly in Chapter 5, where discussion focused on two specific radio programmes and on how programme presenters go about creating mediated voice, present new and interesting ways of understanding how platforms offered to citizens by radio stations can transform participative spaces into more concrete platforms for demanding and producing public goods.

The findings also provide and support some current literature on how the evolving nature of radio programming at least in Ghana (Tettey 2011; Avle 2009; Mwesige 2009) creates even broader forms of participative space than newer forms of media, and how that space fits with the principal-agent relationship of accountability. More significantly this thesis has shown how detailed process-tracing and content evaluation can be used to study the ways in which interactive radio programming works (Chapter 4) in order to validate the arguments that indeed some radio phone-in programmes are able to produce positive outcomes, which challenges arguments by critics of the phenomena that this genre of radio broadcasting may not be all that positive Gerstl-Pepin (2002, 2007). Findings also disprove arguments that most of the discussions held in that kind of deliberative public space are ephemeral and do not lead to real results (Lee 2002: 4). Or that genuine dialogue about governance issues cannot take place in spaces such as those created by radio-phone-ins because they are just an arena for opposing viewpoints, and therefore play a limited role in participatory democracy (Yanovitzky and Cappella 2001). But this study shows (Chapter 5 and 7) that voice on some radio phone-in programmes is 'heard.'

2. Voice: mechanisms and responsiveness

Findings on how successful mediated voice is in ensuring that voice is 'heard' (discussed in Chapters 5 & 7) show and reinforce previous evidence from other scholarly work on voice mechanisms which have suggested that the media is a good mechanism for expressing voice (Joshi and Houtzager 2012; Bonner 2009, Caseley 2006; Peruzzotti & Smulovitz, 2002; Goetz & Jenkins 2001). In addition empirical evidence provided on how mediated voice engenders responsiveness from public officials also further underscores suggestions made in previous studies on the external factors that influence public service delivery performance (Tendler 1997; Caseley 2006). More importantly, this study answers one of the questions that have been asked and debated in the voice literature about how to ensure that voice is 'heard' (Gaventa and McGee 2010; Goetz & Jenkins 2001, 2005). Results from critical analysis of '*Feedback*' data showed and confirmed that with mediated voice, the possibility of voice being 'heard' is relatively higher, and more specific, than in other forms of voice activity / mechanisms.

3. Citizen behaviour (democratic culture) and citizen action

Various scholars have written on citizen behaviour in a democratic environment. This study reinforces paradigms of democratic culture and of citizen behaviour in a democracy (Bastian and Luckham 2003) and citizen action (Isin 2008; Vigoda 2002/2000; Cornwall 2000; McKeivt 1998). Findings particularly in Chapter 6 for instance, show how the liberal airwaves in Ghana has spawned a cohort of citizens who are politically aware, active, believe in and actively use radio as a means of demanding their rights as consumers of public services and accountability from those in authority.

4. Collective Action

The literature on collective action suggests that the provision of public goods requires that people join groups and mobilise around collective interests for collective outcomes (Joshi 2008, 1999; Melucci 1996 Dunleavy 1991; McLean 1987; Ostrom 1990; Olson 1965). One major significant finding in this study is that mediated voice challenges the collective action orthodoxy. As I argued in Chapter 6, mediated voice rather mimics collective action. This is because the representation of voice by the radio can produce collective outcomes. This is because, while radio is a *solitary* voice mechanism, it can become a

representation of what many voices would do when information is relayed on behalf of the community (a larger group). More significantly, mediated voice reduces the need for activities that may have been carried out by individual members of a group were they to approach the problems through collective action. The difficulties of generating collective action are well known, particularly the costs to individuals participating, free-riding etc. Mediated voice represents a way of by-passing these costs and difficulties.

5. Influencing public sector performance

The literature on external factors responsible for improved performance in public sector organisations in developing countries mentions client demand as one of the factors that influence improved performance. Media oversight has also been mentioned as a good external agency in ensuring that public agencies are kept on their toes by performing a watchdog role (Caseley, 2006; Deininger & Mpuga 2004; Tandler, 1997). Although this study was not about measuring performance as such, but rather responsiveness to public opinion about a public agency, the fact that an external actor---the media---is the main driver for responsiveness by the public organisation studied is indeed significant to existing knowledge on external drivers of change. This study therefore reinforces the theories and discussions on consumers being central to how well public organisations respond to their needs (Brinkerhoff et al. 2007; Robinson 2007; Caseley 2006; Deininger & Mpuga 2004; WDR 2004: 48; Paul 2002; Vigoda 2002; Grindle 1997. The contribution of this study however, is the combination of **client demand reinforced by radio phone-in programmes (mediated voice)**.

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Appendix 1: Survey questionnaire

SURVEY ON RADIO LISTENERSHIP IN GREATER ACCRA

[Final version—October 6, 2010]

[Interviewer: write names for town /locality in boxes.]

District/Sub Metro	Town/Locality	Post code
Ablekuma Central		
Ablekuma North		
Ablekuma South		
Ashiedu Keteke		
Ayawaso Central		
Ayawaso East		
Ayawaso West		
La		
Okaikoi /North/South		
Osu		
Ledzokuku/Krowor Municipal		
Ga East Municipal		
Ga South Municipal		
Ga West Municipal		
Adenta Municipal		

Household Selection Procedure

Interviewer: It is your job to select a random (this means any) household. A household is a group of people who presently eat together from the same pot.

Start your walk pattern from the start point that has been randomly chosen for you. Team members must walk in opposite directions to each other. If A walks towards the sun, B must walk away from the sun, C and D must walk at right angles to A and B.

Use a 5 / 10 interval pattern to select a household. That is, walking in your designated direction away from the start point, select the 5th household for the first interview, counting houses on both the right and the left (and starting with those on the right if they are opposite each other). Once you leave your first interview, continue in the same direction, this time selecting the 10th household, again counting houses on both the right and the left. If the settlement comes to an end and there are no more houses, turn at right angles to the right and keep walking, continuing to count until finding the tenth dwelling.

If no one is at home (i.e., premises empty), substitute with the very next household. If the interview is refused, use an interval of 10 to select a substitute household, counting houses on both the right and the left. When you find a household with someone home, please introduce yourself using the following script. You must learn this introduction so that you can say it exactly as it is written below.

Good day. My name is _____ . I am assisting a PhD student studying at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) in the UK. I do not represent the government or any political party or organisation. We are studying the views of citizens in this neighbourhood about FM radio in Accra; their programs and call-in segments. We would like to discuss these issues with a member of your household. Every person in Accra has an equal chance of being included in this study. All information will be kept confidential. Your household has been chosen by chance. We would like to choose an adult from your household. Would you help us pick one?

Note: The person must give his or her informed consent by answering positively. If participation is refused, walk away from the household and record this in the above table on "Reasons for Unsuccessful Calls." Substitute the household using an interval of 10 households. If consent is secured, proceed to Respondent Selection.

Respondent Selection Procedure

Interviewer: Within the household, it is your job to select a random (this means any) individual. This individual becomes the interview Respondent. In addition, you are responsible for alternating interviews between men and women. Circle the correct code below.

Note that "First Interview" should ONLY be used for your very first interview on the first day of fieldwork, NOT your first interview every day.

	First Interview	Male	Female
PREVINT. Previous interview was with a:	0	1	2
THISINT. This interview must be with a:		1	2

Take out your deck of numbered cards. Present them face-down so that the numbers cannot be seen. Ask the person who is selecting respondents to pick any card, by saying:

Please choose a card. The person who corresponds to the number chosen will be the person interviewed.

*[Interviewer: **REMEMBER** to circle the code number of the person selected on the table above.]*

If the selected respondent is not the same person that you first met, repeat Introduction:

Good day. My name is _____ . I am assisting a PhD student studying at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) in the UK. I do not represent the government or any political party or organisation. We are studying the views of citizens in this neighbourhood about FM radio in Accra; their programs and call-in segments in. We would like to discuss these issues with a member of your household. Every person in Accra has an equal chance of being included in this study. All information will be kept confidential. Your household has been chosen by chance.

To ALL respondents:

Your answers will be confidential. They will be put together with [615] other people we are talking to, to get an overall picture. It will be impossible to pick you out from what you say, so please feel free to tell us what you think. This interview will take about 25 minutes. There is no penalty for refusing to participate. Do you wish to proceed? [Proceed with interview only if answer is positive].

Note: The person must give his or her informed consent by answering positively. If participation is refused, walk away from the household and record this in the above table on "Reasons for Unsuccessful Calls." Substitute the household using an interval of 10 households. If consent is secured, proceed with the interview after recording number of calls, and current date and time.

DATEINTER			
Date of Interview [Interviewer: Enter, day, month and year]			

Start time		
Time Interview started [Interviewer: Enter, hour, minute, use 24hr. clock]		

Interviewer: If a respondent firmly refuses to answer any question, write, "refused" in the answer space and continue to the next question.

BEGIN INTERVIEW

Let's begin by recording a few facts about yourself.

1. How old are you?

[Interviewer: Enter two digit numbers. Don't Know = 99]

[Interviewer: If respondent is aged less than 18, stop interview and use cards to randomly draw another respondent in the same household]

2. Which [Ghanaian] language is your home language? [Interviewer: Prompt if necessary]: That is, the language of your group of origin.]				
English	1			
Akan	2			
Ewe	3			
Ga/Dangbe	4			
Dagbani	5			
Hausa	6	Other [Specify] _____	Post code	

3. What languages do you speak well? <i>[Interviewer: List all languages mentioned.]</i>		
<i>[Interviewer: Enter total number of languages listed. Enter 99 for "don't know."]</i>		

4. What is the highest level of education you have completed? <i>[Code from answer. Do not read options]</i>	
No formal schooling	0
Informal schooling only (including Koranic schooling)	1
Some primary schooling	2
Primary school completed	3
Some secondary school / high school	4
Secondary school / high school completed	5
Post-secondary qualifications, other than university e.g. a diploma or degree from a technical/vocational or college	6
Some university	7
University completed	8
Post-graduate	10
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	99

5. What is your main occupation? (If unemployed, retired or disabled, what was your last main occupation?) <i>[Do not read options. Code from responses.]</i>		
Never Had A Job		0
Worker		
Fisherman		1
Trader / Hawker / Vendor		2
Miner		3
Domestic Worker / Maid / Char / House help		4
Armed Services/ Police / Security Personnel		5
Artisan / skilled manual worker in the formal sector		6
Artisan / skilled manual worker in the informal sector		7
Clerical Worker		8
Unskilled manual worker in the formal sector		9
Unskilled manual worker in the informal sector		10
Professional		
Businessperson (works in company for others)		11
Businessperson (owns small business of less than 10 employees)		12
Businessperson (owns large business of 10 or more employees)		13
Mid level professional worker (e.g., accountant, nurse, teacher, etc.)		14
Upper level professional worker (e.g. lawyer, doctor, engineer, university professor)		15
Manager / Foreman / Supervisor		16
Retail worker		17
Other		
Student		18
Housewife / Works in the household		19
Other <i>[Specify]:</i> _____	Post code	
Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>		99

6. Do / did you work for a private firm or a government agency / company?	
Private	1
Public	2
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	99

7. Are you the main earner of a cash income in this household?	
Yes	1
No	2
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	99

8. Which of these things do personally own?	No (Don't Own)	Yes (Do Own)	Don't Know [DNR]
A. Radio	0	1	99
B. Mobile Phone	0	1	99
C. Landline	0	1	99
D. Mobile phone with radio	0	1	99

9. Still on radio, please tell me whether you listen to ... [Read out options]	
A. All programs from morning until evening	1
B. Only political or social programmes with call-in and text segments	2
C. Only news	3
D. Only music	4
E. Other selected programmes [Sports and religious, Do not read]	5
F. Never [Do not read]	6
G. Don't know [Do not read]	99

10. Which three programmes do you listen to often on radio? [kindly list in order of preference]	Post Code
1.	
2.	
3.	

11. How often do you get news from the following sources? [Read out options]						
	Everyday	A few times a week	A few times a month	Less than once a month	Never	Don't know [DNR]
A. Radio	4	3	2	1	0	99
B. Television	4	3	2	1	0	99
C. Newspapers	4	3	2	1	0	99

12. How interested would you say you are in public affairs? [Interviewer: Prompt if necessary: You know, in your community and government in general?] [Read out options]	
Very interested	3
Somewhat interested	2
Not very interested	2
Not at all interested	0
Don't know [Do not read]	99

Radio listenership and trust
Now let's get you views on radio stations in Accra

13. Which radio station do you listen to most frequently? [Do not read out options]							
Joy FM	1	Peace FM	5	Obonu FM	9	Y FM	13
Uniiq FM	2	Adom FM	6	Happy FM	10	X FM	14
Radio Gold	3	Asempa FM	7	Top Radio	11	Other	
Atlantis Radio	4	Citti FM	8	Hitz FM	12		
Post code							

B. How often do you listen to _____? (interviewer fills in chosen radio station from above, do not read options)	
Every time it broadcasts	4
Often	3
Just sometimes	2
Rarely	1
Don't know [Do not read]	99

C. Why do you listen to that radio station? (interviewer write verbatim response)	Post code (office use)	

D. Do you trust the information the radio station you mentioned gives you?	No	0
	Yes	1

E. If YES, why?	Post code

F. If NO, why?	Post code

G. Do you listen to local language stations or English language stations?	Local language	English	A mix of the two
	1	2	3

RADIO TALK SHOWS

[Now let's talk about phone-in programmes on radio stations. Interviewer, please read the title, before proceeding]

15. Do you listen to talk shows with call-in segments (I mean the ones that allow you to complain about community problems or problems in general not politics)? If No, skip to Q17.	Yes	No
	1	0

16. How often do you listen to these programmes?	
Every time it Broadcasts	4
Often	3
Just sometimes	2
Rarely	1
Don't Know [Do not read]	99

17. Have you ever tuned in to listen to 'Wo haw ne Sen' on Peace FM? (if no, skip to Q.18)	Yes	1	No	0
---	-----	---	----	---

A. How often do you listen to Wo haw ne sen?	
Every Time it broadcasts	4
Often	3
Just sometimes	2
Rarely	1
Don't know [Do not read]	99

B. Do you know other people who listen to 'Wo haw ne sen' on Peace FM?	Yes	1	No	0
---	-----	---	----	---

C. [If yes] Can you please tell me how many? [interviewer record number] [skip to D if answer is NO]	
---	--

D. Have you called or sent a text message to the 'Wo haw ne sen' programme before? (if no, skip to Q.18))	Yes	1	No	0
--	-----	---	----	---

E. What was the problem about?	
---------------------------------------	--

F. Was the problem resolved?	Yes	1	No	0
-------------------------------------	-----	---	----	---

G. Why did you decide to go to call or text 'Wo haw ne sen' instead of the appropriate authority?	Post code

18. What about 'Feedback' on Joy FM? (If no, skip to Q19)	Yes	No
	1	0

A. How often did you listen to that show on Joy FM?	
Every time it broadcasts	4
Often	3
Just sometimes	2
Rarely	1
Don't Know [DNR]	99

19. Have you called or sent a text message to the any other programme before? [if no, skip to Q.20]	Yes	No
	1	0

	Post code
A. Which radio station is that?	
B. What was the problem about?	

C. Why did you choose to call or text a radio station about a problem instead of going to the appropriate authority?	
--	--

20. Kindly tell me four channels through which you can lodge complaints about problems in your community in order of priority?			
1.		3.	
2.		4.	

Citizens' Actions/Collective Action/Delivery of Local Government Services

Now let's look at some of the actions citizens take (Interviewer please Read)

21. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem in community or to give them your views? [Read out options]					
	Never	Only once	A Few times	Often	Don't know [DNR]
A. Assembly man/woman	0	1	2	3	99
B. A Member of Parliament	0	1	2	3	99
C. An official of a government agency	0	1	2	3	99

22. Think of the last time you contacted any of these leaders. Did you go: [If respondent answered 0=Never for ALL PARTS of Q21, i.e. they NEVER contacted any of these leaders, circle code 7=Not applicable in both parts of Q 22 -25]				
A. Alone or with a group?	Alone	With a group	Not applicable [did not contact any]	Don't know [DNR]
	1	2	7	99
B. To discuss a community or personal problem?	Community problem	Personal problem	Not applicable [did not contact any]	Don't know [DNR]
	1	2	7	99
23. If it was a community problem, what was it about?				Post code
24. If it was a personal problem, what was it about?				Post code

25. Think of the last time you contacted any of these leaders either with a group or alone about a problem, what was the outcome? Was the problem resolved? (Do not read options, but prompt for answer).					
Yes it was resolved promptly	It was resolved but I can't tell whether it was because of the contact	No, it was not resolved, but I tried to use other means	No, it was not resolved and I did not follow-up	Not applicable [did not contact any]	Don't know [DNR]
1	2	3	4	7	99

26. What about local government? I do not mean the central government. I mean your municipal authority (e.g. AMA/district offices). How well or badly would you say your local government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion].					
	Very badly	Fairly badly	Fairly well	Very well	Don't know? Haven't heard enough [DNR]
A. Maintaining local roads	1	2	3	4	99
B. Maintaining local market places	1	2	3	4	99
C. Maintaining health standards in public restaurants and food stalls	1	2	3	4	99
D. keeping the community clean (e.g., refuse removed)	1	2	3	4	99
E. Collecting revenue	1	2	3	4	99
F. Collecting rates on privately owned houses	1	2	3	4	99

27. How well or badly do you think the local council (e.g. AMA/district offices) is practicing the following procedures? Or haven't you heard enough to have an opinion? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]					
	Very badly	Fairly badly	Fairly well	Very well	Don't know? Haven't heard enough [DNR]
A. Making their programme known to ordinary people	1	2	3	4	99
B. Providing citizens with information about their budget (i.e. revenue collection and expenditures)	1	2	3	4	99
C. Allowing citizens like yourself to participate in their decisions	1	2	3	4	99
D. Consulting others (including traditional, civic and community leaders) before making decisions	1	2	3	4	99
E. Providing effective ways to handle complaints about Assemblymen/women	1	2	3	4	99
F. Guaranteeing that local government revenues are used for public services and not for private gain	1	2	3	4	99

28. When there are problems with how local government is run in your community, how much can an ordinary person like you do to improve the situation? [Read out options]	
A great deal	4
Some	3
A small amount	2
Nothing	1
Don't know [Do not read]	99

29. If you yourself have seen problems in how local government is run in the past year, how often, if at all, did you do any of the following: [Read out options] [If respondent saw no problems, use code 7=Not applicable for ALL parts of Q29.]						
	Never	Once or twice	Several times	Many times	Not applicable/ Saw no problems [DNR]	Don't know? Haven't heard enough [DNR]
A. Discuss the problem with other people in your community?	0	1	2	3	7	99
B. Join others in your community to address the problem?	0	1	2	3	7	99
C. Discuss the problem with other community, religious, or traditional leaders?	0	1	2	3	7	99
D. Call a radio show?	0	1	2	3	7	99

E. Make a complaint to your municipal authority officials, for example, by going in person or by writing a letter?	0	1	2	3	7	99
F. Make a complaint to other government officials, for example, by going in person or by writing a letter?	0	1	2	3	7	99
G. Write a letter to a newspaper						

30. Who in your opinion is a 'serial caller'?	Post code

31. What are your views about people who call radio stations repeatedly?	Post code

32. If you knew somebody who calls a radio station continuously, would you approach that person about carrying your personal or community problem forward?			
Yes	1	No	0

A. If yes, why?	Post code

B. If No, why not?	Post code

33. What do you think the role of a 'Serial Caller' in your community is? Are they...		
Local opinion leaders		1
Unofficial Assembly men/women		2
Ordinary people like you		3
People who wield a certain level of political power		4
Other: [Interviewer record verbatim response]		8
Don't Know [Do not read]		99

THANK YOU VERY MUCH. YOUR ANSWERS HAVE BEEN VERY HELPFUL

ENDTIME. Time interview ended [Interviewer; Enter hour and minute, use 24hr. Clock]		
Length of interviewer: For Office Use: Duration of interview in minutes		

END INTERVIEW

DON'T FORGET TO COMPLETE NEXT SECTION

Observation

To be filled by interviewer

34. What was the primary language used in the interview?					
English	1				
Akan	2				
Ewe	3				
Ga/Dangbe	4				
Dagbani	5				
Hausa	6	Other [Specify] _____	Post code		

35. Were there any other people immediately present who might be listening during the interview?	
No one	1
Spouse only	2
Children only	3
A few others	4
Small crowd	5

36. Did the respondent check with others for information to answer any question?	Yes	No
37. Do you think anyone influenced the respondent's answers during the interview?	1	0
38. Were you approached by community and/or political party representatives?	1	0
39. Did you feel threatened during the interview?	1	0
40. Were you physically threatened during the interview?	1	0

41. What proportion of the questions do you feel the respondent had difficulty answering?	
All	4
Most	3
Some	2
Few	1
None	0

42. Which questions did the respondent have trouble answering? [Identify up to three. If the respondent had trouble with less than three, enter "000" in the boxes].			
A. First question			
B. Second question			
C. Third question			

43. What was the respondent's attitude toward you during the interview?			
	1	2	3
A. Was he or she	Friendly	In between	Hostile
	1	2	3
B. Was he or she	Interested	In between	Bored
	1	2	3
C. Was he or she	Cooperative	In between	Uncooperative
	1	2	3
D. Was he or she	Patient	In between	Impatient
	1	2	3
E. Was he or she	At ease	In between	Suspicious
	1	2	3
F. Was he or she	Honest	In between	Misleading

44. Respondent Gender	
Male	1
Female	2

45. Do you think the respondent is well informed about community problems?	
Well informed	1
Somewhat informed	2
Not very informed	3
Not informed at all	4

INTERVIEWER: I hereby certify that this interview was conducted in accordance with instructions received during training. All responses recorded here are those of the respondent who was chosen by the appropriate selection method.

INTERVIEWER SIGNATURE: _____

Appendix 2: Summary of survey results

District/ Sub Metro			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Ablekuma Central	15	2.4
	Ablekuma North	60	9.8
	Ablekuma South	60	9.8
	East Ayawaso	30	4.9
	West Ayawaso	60	9.8
	Ayawaso Central	15	2.4
	Ashiedu Keteke	30	4.9
	Okaikoi North	60	9.8
	Osu Klottey	30	4.9
	Ledzokuku	30	4.9
	La	30	4.9
	Ga South	46	7.5
	Ga West	14	2.3
	Ga East	90	14.6
	Adenta	30	4.9
	Okaikoi South	15	2.4
	Total	615	100.0

Q1.1. Age_band			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	18 - 24 years	193	31.4
	25 - 34 years	240	39.0
	35 - 44 years	118	19.2
	45 - 54 years	44	7.2
	55 - 64 years	15	2.4
	65 years or above	1	.2
	Don't know	4	.7
	Total	615	100.0

Q2. Language of Respondent			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	English	11	1.8
	Akan	210	34.1
	Ewe	122	19.8
	Ga/ Dangbe	220	35.8
	Dagbani	11	1.8
	Hausa	35	5.7
	Other	6	1.0
	Total	615	100.0

Q3.1. Number of Languages Spoken Well by Respondent			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	1	25	4.1
	2	163	26.5
	3	295	48.0
	4	107	17.4
	5	20	3.3
	6	5	.8
	Total	615	100.0

Q4. Educational Level			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No formal schooling	8	1.3
	Informal schooling only (including Koranic schooling)	8	1.3
	Some primary schooling	27	4.4
	Primary school completed	32	5.2
	Some secondary school/ high school	95	15.4
	Secondary school/ high school completed	213	34.6
	Post-secondary qualifications, other than university e.g. is	116	18.9
	Some university	51	8.3
	University completed	56	9.1
	Post-graduate	9	1.5
	Total	615	100.0

Q5. Occupation			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Never had a job	20	3.3
	Fisherman	6	1.0
	Trader/ Hawker/ Vendor	49	8.0
	Miner	6	1.0
	Domestic Worker/ Maid/ Char/ House help	5	.8
	Armed Services/ Police/ Security Personnel	15	2.4
	Artisan/ skilled manual worker in the formal sector	27	4.4
	Artisan/ skilled manual worker in the informal sector	38	6.2
	Clerical worker	41	6.7
	Unskilled manual worker in the formal sector	6	1.0
	Unskilled manual worker in the informal sector	12	2.0
	Business person (works in company for others)	39	6.3
	Business person (owns small business of less than 10 employees)	8	1.3
	Business person (owns large business of 10 or more employees)	10	1.6
	Mid Level Professional Worker (e.g. accountant, nurse, teach	115	18.7
	Upper level professional worker (e.g. lawyer, doctor, engine	18	2.9
	Manager/ Foreman/ Supervisor	26	4.2
	Retail Worker	28	4.6
	Student	130	21.1
	Housewife/ Works in the household	14	2.3
	Other	2	.3
	Total	615	100.0

Q6. Work for a private firm or a government agency/ company?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Private	333	54.1
	Public	127	20.7
	Student--not working	124	20.2
	Not applicable / never had a job	27	4.4
	Don't know	4	.7
	Total	615	100.0

Q7. Main earner of cash income in household?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	280	45.5
	No	319	51.9
	Refuse	1	.2
	Don't know	15	2.4
	Total	615	100.0

Q8a. Own Radio?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No	113	18.4
	Yes	502	81.6
	Total	615	100.0

Q8b. Own Mobile Phone?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No	97	15.8
	Yes	518	84.2
	Total	615	100.0

Q9. Radio Listenership: Do you listen to?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	All programs from morning until evening	225	36.6
	Only political or social programmes with call-in and text segment	92	15.0
	Only news	94	15.3
	Only music	139	22.6
	Other selected programs (sports and religious)	63	10.2
	Never	2	.3
	Total	615	100.0

Q10.1 First Most Important Radio Program Respondent Often Listens to			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Socio-political	126	20.5
	News	86	14.0
	social /call-in segments	53	8.6
	Business issues	1	.2
	Political	1	.2
	Music	215	35.0
	Religious	11	1.8
	Sports	114	18.5
	Other	7	1.1
	Total	614	99.8
Missing	System	1	.2
Total		615	100.0

Q10.2 Second Most Important Radio Programme Respondent Often Listens to			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Socio-political	119	19.3
	News	108	17.6
	social /call-in segments	63	10.2
	Business Issues	12	2.0
	Political	3	.5
	Music	203	33.0
	Religious	18	2.9
	Sports	38	6.2
	Other (quiz, announcement , comedy etc)	14	2.3
	Total	578	94.0
Missing	System	37	6.0
Total		615	100.0

Q10.3 Third Most Important Radio Programme Respondent Often Listens to			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Missing	1	.2
	Socio-political	78	12.7
	News	101	16.4
	social /call-in segments	59	9.6
	Business issues	3	.5
	Political	6	1.0
	Music	168	27.3
	Religious	29	4.7
	Sports	33	5.4
	Other	21	3.4
	Total	499	81.1
Missing	System	116	18.9
Total		615	100.0

Q11a. Source of news: Radio			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Less than once a month	3	.5
	A few times a month	8	1.3
	A few times a week	78	12.7
	Every day	526	85.5
	Total	615	100.0

Q11b. Source of news: Television			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Never	3	.5
	Less than once a month	4	.7
	A few times a month	43	7.0
	A few times a week	213	34.6
	Every day	352	57.2
	Total	615	100.0

Q11c. Source of news: Newspapers			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Never	66	10.7
	Less than once a month	81	13.2
	A few times a month	123	20.0
	A few times a week	223	36.3
	Every day	110	17.9
	Don't know	12	2.0
	Total	615	100.0

Q12. Interested in public affairs?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Not at all interested	58	9.4
	Not very interested	165	26.8
	Somewhat interested	256	41.6
	Very interested	136	22.1
	Total	615	100.0

Q13. Radio station listen to most frequently			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Joy FM	181	29.4
	Uniq FM	17	2.8
	Radio Gold	40	6.5
	Atlantis Radio	25	4.1
	Peace FM	138	22.4
	Adom FM	40	6.5
	Asempa FM	20	3.3
	Citi FM	26	4.2
	Obonu FM	40	6.5
	Happy FM	5	.8
	Top Radio	11	1.8
	Hitz FM	21	3.4
	Y FM	31	5.0
	X FM	3	.5
	Choice FM	6	1.0
	Vibe FM	2	.3
	Sunny FM	7	1.1
	Spring FM	1	.2
	Okay FM	1	.2
	Total	615	100.0

Q13b. How often respondent listen to the radio station			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Rarely	9	1.5
	Just sometimes	47	7.6
	Often	399	64.9
	Every time it broadcasts	133	21.6
	Don't know	27	4.4
	Total	615	100.0

Q13c. Why respondent listen to that radio station			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Quality of programming	223	36.3
	Their presenters	80	13.0
	Choice of language (local)	49	8.0
	Popularity and reach	29	4.7
	Sports reporting and coverage	21	3.4
	Quality of music played	54	8.8
	Reliable source of information, quality news, educative and	147	23.9
	Other (just like them, not loud, mature, entertaining, non p	12	2.0
	Total	615	100.0

Q13d. Trust information the radio station gives?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No	34	5.5
	Yes	581	94.5
	Total	615	100.0

Q13e_f. Explanation for answer in Q13D			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Accurate information, trustworthy and impartial news	378	61.5
	Their Presenters (experience)	40	6.5
	Popularity, favourite, best, and longevity	74	12.0
	Good Music and entertainment	34	5.5
	False information	28	4.6
	Can't explain	22	3.6
	Other	37	6.0
	Don't know	1	.2
	Other	1	.2
	Total	615	100.0

Q14. Listen to local language stations or English language stations?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Local language	176	28.6
	English	205	33.3
	A mix of the two	234	38.0
	Total	615	100.0

Q15. Listen to talk shows with call-in segments?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No	76	12.4
	Yes	539	87.6
	Total	615	100.0

Q16. How often listen to talk shows with call-in segments?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Rarely	29	4.7
	Just sometimes	143	23.3
	Often	303	49.3
	Every time it broadcasts	64	10.4
	Not applicable	76	12.4
	Total	615	100.0

Q17. Ever listened to "Wo haw ne sen" on Peace FM?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No	256	41.8
	Yes	363	59.2
	Total	615	100.0

Q17a. How often listen to "Wo haw ne sen"?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Rarely	58	9.4
	Just sometimes	109	17.7
	Often	109	17.7
	Every time it broadcasts	43	7.0
	Not applicable	294	47.8
	Don't know	2	.3
	Total	615	100.0

Q17b. Know other people who listen to "Wo haw ne sen"?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No	106	17.2
	Yes	215	35.0
	Not applicable	294	47.8
	Total	615	100.0

Q17c. Number of known listeners to "Wo haw ne sen"			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	1	18	2.9
	2	19	3.1
	3	15	2.4
	4	12	2.0
	5	26	4.2
	6	3	.5
	7	32	5.2
	8	38	6.2
	9	4	.7
	10	10	1.6
	11	11	1.8
	12	25	4.1
	14	1	.2
	20	1	.2
	Not Applicable	400	65.0
	Total	615	100.0

Q17d. Ever called or sent a text message to the "Wo haw ne sen" programme?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No	171	27.8
	Yes	45	7.3
	Not applicable	399	64.9
	Total	615	100.0

Q17e. What was problem about?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Social amenities /Public services issues of public concern	27	4.4
	Personal	23	3.7
	Not applicable	565	91.9
	Total	615	100.0

Q17f. Was problem resolved?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No	16	2.6
	Yes	26	4.2
	Not applicable	573	93.2
	Total	615	100.0

Q17g. Why decided to call or text "Wo haw ne sen" instead of the appropriate authority?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Speedy Resolution, problem solvers and ease of reach	29	4.7
	Draw attention to the problem	11	1.8
	Refuse to disclose	2	0.3
	Not Applicable	573	93.2
	Total	615	100

Q18. Ever listened to "Feedback" on Joy FM?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No	295	48
	Yes	320	52.
	Total	615	100.0

Q18a. How often listen to "Feedback" on Joy FM?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Rarely	44	7.2
	Just Sometimes	91	14.8
	Often	133	21.6
	Every time it broadcasts	68	11.1
	Not applicable	271	44.1
	Don't know	8	1.3
	Total	615	100.0

Q19. Ever called or sent a text message to any other program?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No	485	78.9
	Yes	129	21.0
	Don't know	1	.2
	Total	615	100.0

Q19b. What problem was about			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Missing	1	.2
	Public and land issues	3	.5
	Social and public services	73	11.9
	Music Request	26	4.2
	Abuse of human rights	6	1.0
	discuss Politics and government	27	4.4
	Personal matters (relationship, health etc)	16	2.6
	Not Applicable	450	73.2
	Other (discussion social/general, entertainment, sports, religious programme	13	2.1
	Total	615	100.0

Q19C.Why chose to call or text a radio station about problem instead of going to the appropriate authority?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Get to the authorities quickly	58	9.4
	To join in discussion	34	5.5
	No specific reason	6	1.0
	Can't remember	1	.2
	Wanted speedy resolution	25	4.1
	Not Applicable	449	73.0
	Other reasons (music request, quiz, sports result prediction	34	5.5
	Don't know	1	.2
	Refuse to say	7	1.1
	Total	615	100.0

Q20.1-4. Most Important Channel through which complaints about community problems can be lodged			
Channel	Rank		
	1 st response	2 nd response	3 rd response
Media (radio)	67.5%	18.1%	16.9%
Local Government (AMA/Assembly)	8.4%	33.7%	13.3%
Police	21.7%	10.8%	24.1%
Traditional Authority	1.2%	10.8%	8.4%
Media (TV)	-	8.4%	-
MP	1.2%	1.2%	3.6%
Serial caller	-	3.6%	1.2%
Don't know	-	14.5%	32.5%

Q21a. Contacted Assembly man/woman in the past year?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Never	497	80.8
	Only once	51	8.3
	A few times	57	9.3
	Often	10	1.6
	Total	615	100.0

Q21b. Contacted a Member of Parliament in the past year?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Never	557	90.6
	Only once	42	6.8
	A few times	15	2.4
	Often	1	.2
	Total	615	100.0

Q21c. Contacted official of a government agency in the past year?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Never	576	93.7
	Only once	23	3.7
	A few times	15	2.4
	Often	1	.2
	Total	615	100.0

Q22a. Contacted official alone or with a group?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Alone	60	9.8
	With a group	68	11.1
	Not applicable	487	79.2
	Total	615	100.0

Q22b. Contacted official to discuss a personal problem or a community problem?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Community problem	104	16.9
	Personal problem	24	3.9
	Not applicable	487	79.2
	Total	615	100.0

Q25. Was problem resolved?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes, it was resolved promptly	34	5.5
	Yes, it was resolved, but I can't tell whether it was because of the contact	48	7.8
	No, it was not resolved, but I tried to use other means	32	5.2
	No, it was not resolved and I did not follow-up	15	2.4
	Not applicable	486	79.0
	Total	615	100.0

Q26a. Performance of local government in maintaining local roads			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Very Badly	108	17.6
	Fairly Badly	180	29.3
	Fairly Well	243	39.5
	Very Well	62	10.1
	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	22	3.6
	Total	615	100.0

Q26b. Performance of local government in maintaining local market places			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Very Badly	105	17.1
	Fairly Badly	196	31.9
	Fairly Well	226	36.7
	Very Well	59	9.6
	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	29	4.7
	Total	615	100.0

Q26c. Performance of local government in maintaining health standards in public restaurant and food stores			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Very Badly	136	22.1
	Fairly Badly	188	30.6
	Fairly Well	215	35.0
	Very Well	49	8.0
	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	27	4.4
	Total	615	100.0

Q26d. Performance of local government in keeping community clean (e.g. removing refuse)			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Very Badly	156	25.4
	Fairly Badly	235	38.2
	Fairly Well	150	24.4
	Very Well	55	8.9
	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	19	3.1
	Total	615	100.0

Q26e. Performance of local government in collecting revenue			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Very Badly	116	18.9
	Fairly Badly	153	24.9
	Fairly Well	203	33.0
	Very Well	108	17.6
	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	35	5.7
	Total	615	100.0

Q26f. Performance of local government in collecting rates on privately owned houses			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Very Badly	143	23.3
	Fairly Badly	161	26.2
	Fairly Well	173	28.1
	Very Well	82	13.3
	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	56	9.1
	Total	615	100.0

Q27a. How well is local government making their programme of work known to ordinary people?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Very Badly	250	40.7
	Fairly Badly	205	33.3
	Fairly Well	91	14.8
	Very Well	16	2.6
	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	53	8.6
	Total	615	100.0

Q27b. How well is local government providing citizens with information about their budget?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Very Badly	273	44.4
	Fairly Badly	173	28.1
	Fairly Well	83	13.5
	Very Well	26	4.2
	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	60	9.8
	Total	615	100.0

Q27c. How well is local government allowing citizens to participate in decisions?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Very Badly	297	48.3
	Fairly Badly	164	26.7
	Fairly Well	73	11.9
	Very Well	18	2.9
	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	63	10.2
	Total	615	100.0

Q27d. How well is local government consulting others before making decisions?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Very Badly	245	39.8
	Fairly Badly	184	29.9
	Fairly Well	87	14.1
	Very Well	25	4.1
	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	74	12.0
	Total	615	100.0

Q27e. How well is local government handling complaints about Assemblymen/ women?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Very Badly	200	32.5
	Fairly Badly	228	37.1
	Fairly Well	85	13.8
	Very Well	23	3.7
	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	79	12.8
	Total	615	100.0

Q27f. How well is local government guaranteeing than local revenues are used for public services and not for private gains?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Very Badly	218	35.4
	Fairly Badly	195	31.7
	Fairly Well	88	14.3
	Very Well	36	5.9
	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough	78	12.7
	Total	615	100.0

Q28. How much can an ordinary person do to improve problems with how local government is run?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Nothing	128	20.8
	A small amount	222	36.1
	Some	212	34.5
	A great deal	47	7.6
	Don't know	6	1.0
	Total	615	100.0

Q29a. How often: Discussed problem about local government with community members?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Never	277	45.0
	Once or twice	170	27.6
	Several times	168	27.3
	Total	615	100.0

Q29b. How often: Joined community members to address problem?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Never	376	61.1
	Once or twice	114	18.5
	Several times	125	20.3
	Total	615	100.0

Q29c. How often: Discussed problem with community, religious, or traditional leaders?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Never	497	80.8
	Once or twice	65	10.6
	Several times	50	8.1
	Don't know	3	.5
	Total	615	100.0

Q29d. How often: Called a radio show on problem?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Never	490	79.7
	Once or twice	72	11.7
	Several times	51	8.3
	Don't know	2	.3
	Total	615	100.0

Q29e. How often: Made complaint to officials of municipal assembly (either in person or by writing a letter)?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Never	541	88.0
	Once or twice	44	7.2
	Several times	29	4.7
	Don't know	1	.2
	Total	615	100.0

Q29f. How often: Made complaint to other government officials (either in person or by writing a letter)?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Never	562	91.4
	Once or twice	31	5.0
	Several times	21	3.4
	Don't know	1	.2
	Total	615	100.0

Q29g. How often: Write a letter to a newspaper on problem?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Never	608	98.9
	Once or twice	7	1.1
	Total	615	100.0

Q30. Who is a 'serial Caller'?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Frequent caller (General)	392	63.7
	Frequent caller (Problems)	54	8.8
	Frequent caller (Politics)	16	2.6
	Nuisance/Addiction	23	3.7
	Other	4	.7
	Don't know/Can't Explain	126	20.5
	Total	615	100.0

Q31. Respondents' views about people who call radio stations repeatedly			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Political agents, doing for monetary gain	68	11.1
	Problem solvers, awareness creation	141	22.9
	Ordinary People exercising free speech, contributing to disc	119	19.3
	Addicted to calling and want to be heard/popularity	79	12.8
	People with a lot of time / credit on phone	62	10.1
	Can't define or explain	26	4.2
	Opinion leaders / community leaders	8	1.3
	Other	4	.7
	Don't Know	108	17.6
	Total	615	100.0

Q32. Approach a regular caller of a radio station to carry your personal or community problem forward if you knew the person?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No	396	64.4
	Yes	219	35.6
	Total	615	100.0

Q32 A_B. Explanation for answer in Q32			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	If it solves problems or has impact on social or community issues	150	24.4
	If they have resources	26	4.2
	They have access	38	6.2
	They are selfish/ selfish interests including political and	11	1.8
	Because of politics /political agents	16	2.6
	They are not the right channel	69	11.2
	Can call my self	116	18.9
	They are not trust worthy	50	8.1
	They can't solves problems	29	4.7
	Do not have time to approach/listen to radio	16	2.6
	Other (will not, privacy, criticize them etc)	29	4.7
	No Reason	65	10.6
	Total	615	100.0

Q33. Role of a "Serial Caller" in community			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Local opinion leaders	68	11.1
	Unofficial Assembly men/women	63	10.2
	Ordinary people like you	378	61.5
	People who wield a certain level of political power	51	8.3
	Don't Know	55	8.9
	Total	615	100.0

Q34. Primary Language of Interview			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	English	425	69.1
	Akan	111	18.0
	Ewe	12	2.0
	Ga/ Dangbe	67	10.9
	Total	615	100.0

Observation questions – filled in by field assistant (35-45)

Q35. Were other people present during the interview?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No one	423	68.8
	Spouse only	44	7.2
	Children only	68	11.1
	A few others	67	10.9
	Small crowd	13	2.1
	Total	615	100.0

Q36. Did respondent check with others for information to answer any question?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No	539	87.6
	Yes	76	12.4
	Total	615	100.0

Q37. Did anyone influence respondent's answers during the interview?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No	558	90.7
	Yes	57	9.3
	Total	615	100.0

Q38. Interviewer approached by community and/or political party representatives?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No	610	99.2
	Yes	5	.8
	Total	615	100.0

Q39. Interviewer felt threatened during interview?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No	612	99.5
	Yes	3	.5
	Total	615	100.0

Q40. Interviewer physically threatened during interview?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No	611	99.3
	Yes	4	.7
	Total	615	100.0

Q41. Portion of questions respondent had difficulty answering			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	None	389	63.3
	Few	214	34.8
	Some	12	2.0
	Total	615	100.0

Q42a. 1st Question: Respondent had difficulty answering			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	None	613	99.7
	13	1	.2
	20	1	.2
	Total	615	100.0

Q42b. 2nd Question: Respondent had difficulty answering			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	None	605	98.4
	20	6	1.0
	21	1	.2
	27	1	.2
	30	1	.2
	42	1	.2
	Total	615	100.0

Q42c. 3rd Question: Respondent had difficulty answering			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	None	612	99.5
	30	1	.2
	31	1	.2
	32	1	.2
	Total	615	100.0

Q43a. Respondent Friendly during interview?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Friendly	536	87.2
	In between	76	12.4
	Hostile	3	.5
	Total	615	100.0

Q43b. Respondent showed Interest in interview?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Interested	499	81.1
	In between	108	17.6
	Bored	8	1.3
	Total	615	100.0

Q43c. Respondent Cooperative during interview?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Cooperative	500	81.3
	In between	110	17.9
	Uncooperative	5	.8
	Total	615	100.0

Q43d. Respondent Patient during interview?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Patient	503	81.8
	In between	100	16.3
	Impatient	12	2.0
	Total	615	100.0

Q43e. Respondent At Ease during interview?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	At ease	459	74.6
	In between	129	21.0
	Suspicious	27	4.4
	Total	615	100.0

Q43F. Respondent Honest during interview?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Honest	488	79.3
	In between	119	19.3
	Misleading	8	1.3
	Total	615	100.0

Q44. Gender			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Male	308	50.1
	Female	307	49.9
	Total	615	100.0

Q45. Respondent well informed about community problems?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Well informed	79	12.8
	Somewhat informed	287	46.7
	Not very informed	214	34.8
	Not informed at all	35	5.7
	Total	615	100.0

Q46. Native of this town/ village?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes, a native of this town	203	33.0
	No, from another town or village in the district	74	12.0
	No, outside this district but within this region	58	9.4
	No, another region	276	44.9
	No, outside Ghana	4	.7
	Total	615	100.0

Appendix 3: T-Test results of interest in public affairs

Group Statistics

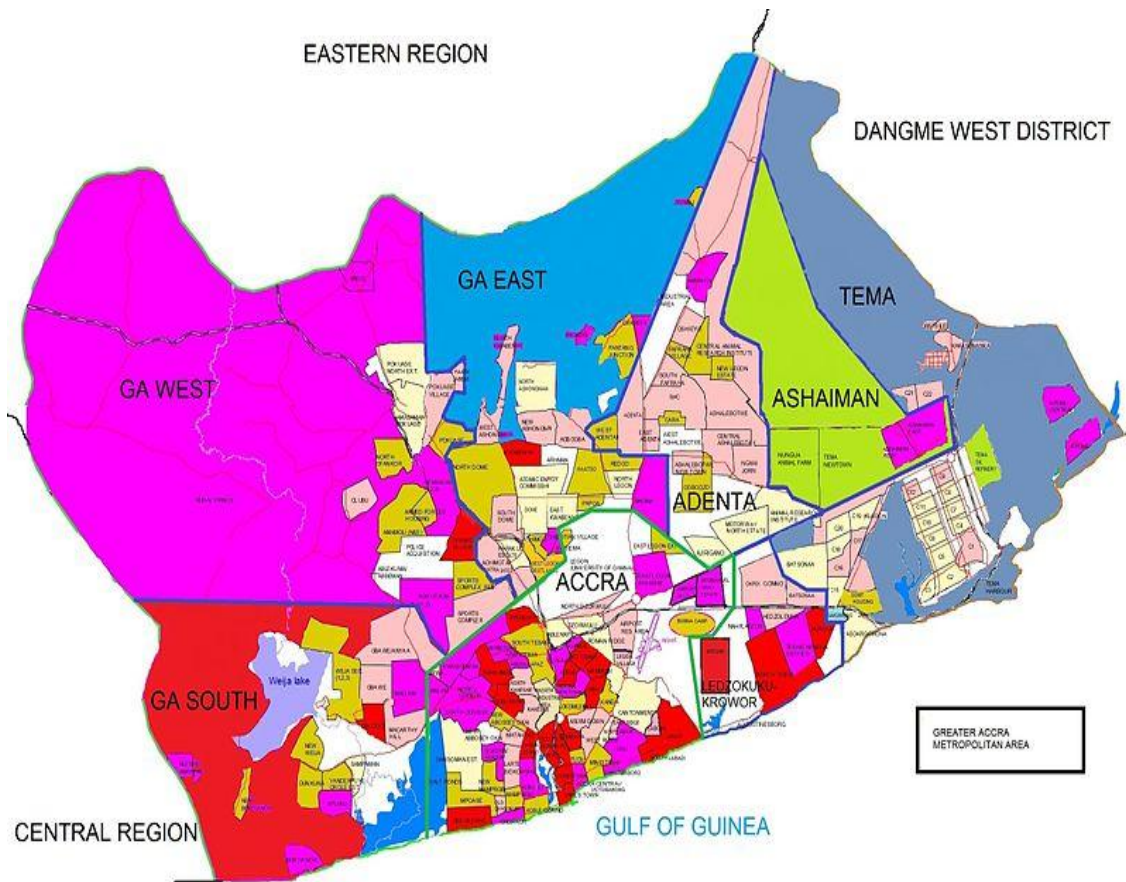
	Q19A Joy & Peace FM combined	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Q12. Interested in public affairs?	Did not text or call	532	1.66	.888	.039
	Caller of Joy FM & Peace	83	2.41	.699	.077
	FM combined				

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					
		F	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Differen ce	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
Q12. Interested in public affairs?	Equal variances not assumed	6.631	-8.691	127.244	.000	-.746	.086	Lower	Upper
								-.916	-.576

Source: Author's survey October-November, 2010, Accra

Appendix 4: Boundary map of Accra



Source: AMA, 2010