PROJECT WORK By ISABELLA GYAU

DEDICATION

To Kukua and Kweku Orhin

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ABSTRACT
The issue of the image of African countries in European media is an age-long one which has resurfaced in recent times. Eyebrows have been raised over the image of African countries in Europe and other Western Media which is always touted to be negative.
The question about how the EU is reported in the African media has however been relegated to the background.
This study therefore used content analysis to unearth how the EU and its member countries are reported in the African Media particularly in the Daily Graphic, a leading Daily Newspaper in Ghana in two separate years of 1998 and 2008 and whether what is reported reflects colonial ties between EU member countries and their former colonies in Africa. The study which used both quantitative and qualitative methods of research also sought to investigate the power relations between African media and their European counterpart, the sources of the stories were examined to find out whether they are stories written by European media or in-depth analysis of issues written by Ghanaian or African reporters. Special emphasis was placed on issues around trade and aid between Africa and the European Union which comes across as the key issues. The years 1998 and 2008 were selected because it has a ten year interval in which one can assess whether coverage of EU related issues in the paper has improved over the last ten years especially as the EU has grown in membership and scope, deepening its process of integration and acquiring new responsibilities in the world.
Findings of the study indicated a strong tie between some EU member countries and their former colonies, (i.e United Kingdom and Ghana). The study also found out that The Daily Graphic simply borrows stories from EU sources and reproduce them with very little or no analysis, comments, or criticisms, of the issues raised that may have implications for the country or Africa’s growth in terms of aid and trade issues. This is a pointer to the fact that European media has been setting the agenda and the Daily Graphic simply follows.
The study further revealed the unequal power relations between the EU and for that matter Africa which also reflects in media relations whereby as a result of poor salaries, logistical support and appropriate technology, newspapers in Africa, such as the Daily Graphic are unable to send reporters to the EU headquarters in Brussels to report issues from the African point of view and as such reproduce what has already been reported in the European media by European reporters and sent down through wire services.
Again from the study, it is evident that the Daily Graphic does not report regularly on issues on EU-Africa trade and aid. In 1998, aid related issues involving the EU and Africa were only six percent while that of 2008 was 11 percent. Trade related issues involving the EU and Africa recorded nine percent in both years.

Also reporters lack of interest in analysis of the issues in feature articles was reflected in 97 percent of news stories in 1998 as against three percent of feature articles in the same year while 2008 recorded a woefully two percent of feature articles as against a whopping 98 percent of news stories.

One of the issues that emerged as a surprise was the fact that contrary to expectations, EU related stories not connected to Africa received more coverage than what connects Africa to Europe. This may be an indication that African media gatekeepers are not selecting stories based on the interest of the country or continent but rather still serving their colonial masters under a new colonial empire facilitated by the EU.

Theories underpinning colonialism such as Edward Said’s Orientalism, modernization, media and society theories have helped to discuss some of the issues under focus.
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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

When people hear about the term *European media and Africa*, they usually associate the term with the image of Africa in European media which critics of European media say is negative with pictures of hunger, abject poverty and deprivation.

But what about vice versa? What do Africa media reporters report about the European Union and its member countries? Do they hold interviews about EU projects? Do they analyse trade pacts, report on views of their audiences on the continent or simply reproduce what has already been published in European media, written by European reporters and sent down through wire services?

Do Ghanaian or African newspapers ask critical questions about what interests their readers have in world trade and aid issues? How their readers perceive the world or on how world trade is being conducted and whether African countries are being treated fairly or not?

Media expert and Director of International Institute for Journalists based in Berlin, Germany, Astrid Khol, puts it this way “African media applies the same news criteria as the European Media, they give preference to regional news and national information, their readers want to hear about things that are happening a stone’s throw away and that have direct impact on their lives but where partnership with Africa is concerned, the media on both sides have a special role to play.”¹

Khol further explains that African and European journalists can ask critical questions about how their respective audiences perceive the other part of the world, correct distorted images, stereotypes and featured topics.

They can also supply valuable information to readers who look beyond the horizon of their immediate interests.²

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² Ibid  p.2
As to whether Khol is right about the trends in reportage of African media compared to European standards, this study is on a journey to discover how the Daily Graphic, the leading Ghanaian newspaper reported on EU related issues in the years 1998 and 2008 through content analyses.

The key question here is “Are Ghanaian newspapers and for that matter African editors and reporters interested in EU-Africa trade and aid relations and to what extent do these reflect in their newspapers reports?”

Emphases will be placed on stories connecting the European Union to Africa in the areas of aid, trade, sports, social and the EU as an institution. Also to be examined are EU issues or news that are not related in any way to Africa. Issues underpinning colonialism and modernization theories like aid and trade are key in these discussions.

1.1 Historical overview

Development writer Pieter Smidt van Gelder accounts that Africa and Europe have had a long chequered history which underpins the form of reportage of European issues in African countries like Ghana. For instance the scramble for Africa, also known as the Race for Africa, was the rush or hurry for African territories by European powers. These European powers rushed for African territories due to several reasons. These causes can be categorised into economic, social, political, humanitarian and social reasons. Partitioning is simply the division/sharing of African land among European powers.  

Therefore Africa and EU relations date back to the 15th century. According to European Union literature, the relationship is quite historic and punctuated with issues of slavery, trade, religion and mutual cooperation in several areas of life.

Around 1500 European colonisers discovered Africa and began to use the people of Western Africa as a work force. The slave trade, in which notoriously the Dutch, the Portuguese and the

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English participated, deprived the continent of a considerable part of the male population in their productive age.  

 Europeans were not the only ones to blame, though, slave structures already existed before the arrival of the colonisers. Once the Europeans were exploring the lands, the local elites often helped them in the slave trade. 

_Centuries later, in 1884 to be exact, the European colonisers divided the continent as if it was a piece of cake (Conference of Berlin). The colonial powers decided that whoever controlled the coast, could rule over the interior of a territory. The ‘big rulers’ shared among each other several countries, most of the time without having set foot on the land. One literally used the map and the ruler, to which the present dead straight borders between African countries still testify._

One of the consequences of this division he argues is that tribes, which originally did not belong together at all, were put together all of a sudden in an entirely new ‘country’, whereas other tribes were separated as a consequence of the new borders of the European intruders. Long before the Conference of Berlin, many explorations had already taken place, notably at the African coasts where the Europeans had begun to colonise Africa. Several European countries had their own companies of exploration, like the **Compagnie Française d’Afrique équatoriale** or the **Deutsche Ostafrika Gesellschaft** or the **Imperial British East African Company**.

Motives for colonialism according to Gelder were varied. “While the English were above all interested in trade and economic relations, the French motives to colonise were political; an extended French empire overseas would help to recover the French prestige.” The French

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5 Ibid [http://www.risq.org/article189.html](http://www.risq.org/article189.html)  
6 Ibid [http://www.risq.org/article189.html](http://www.risq.org/article189.html)  
7 **Compagnie Française d’Afrique équatoriale** or the **Deutsche Ostafrika Gesellschaft** or the **Imperial British East African Company**. –French, Dutch and English companies that according Gelder were operating In Sub-Saharan Africa during pre-colonial times.  

colonisers actually strived for one extended area to build up a Francafrique\(^8\), which they achieved in Western Africa in the end.

Today, the relationship has taken the form of Globalization or Post modernism with issues of trade, immigration and aid among others at the centre of the relationship and these arguably reflect what leading African newspapers continue to publish in their pages. What appears in newspapers in Africa is also a reflection of the activities of the EU in the world body politic. Author and development expert Maria Eriksson Baaz\(^9\) explains the current relationship between Africa and its former colonial masters in these passages better, “Following formal decolonisation, the political and economic processes of domination were informed by new global power relations in particular the Cold war and its aftermath, even though the lives of the people in the African continent (as elsewhere) continue to be materially and ideologically shaped by former colonisers and new actors in the arena, the processes of domination took new novel forms and involved changed institutional arrangements.”

1.2 Methodology and research approach

This two-part study involves the analysis of two different years of Ghana's leading newspaper, the Daily Graphic, which is a state-owned media. The study uses two methods to analyse the content of the newspapers. First, a content analytical method is used to collect and quantify data from the newspapers as to the extent of coverage of European Union as a body and individual European Union countries related stories and representations of issues. Then, the qualitative form of assessment is used to analyze the newspapers reportage on issues such as aid, trade, and other social issues.

Contents are in the first case checked for frequency, images, and forms the paper used in two years mainly 1998 and 2008 which are ten years apart. The years 1998 and 2008 were selected because the EU has grown in membership and scope, deepening its process of integration and acquiring new responsibilities in the world over the past ten years of its little over 50

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\(^8\) FrenchAfrique was the desire to create a French Africa by France

years existence. The study therefore sought to find out if this was reflected in the frequency, level of debate on issues, sources of news among others on EU related stories published in the newspaper.

While emphases are placed on the issues touching on EU-Africa relations, some of the analyses are focused on the interrelationships between EU countries as well as the European Union and its individual countries relationships with other world actors.

Content analysis was selected because it is a method for the systematic and quantitative analysis of communication content. Communications experts Anders Hansen, Simon Cottle, Ralph Negrine and Chris Newbold, state, “…content analysis is well suited for analyzing and mapping key characteristics of large bodies of texts and it lends its self well to the systematic charting of long term changes and trends in media coverage.”  

1.3 Aims and objectives of study
The study seeks to determine the following:

- To What extent is EU-Africa issues on aid and trade reported by the Daily Graphic and for that matter African media?
- Whether the coverage of EU and EU member countries’ related issues gives an indication of a continuation of colonial ties between EU member countries and their former colonies?
- To examine the power relations between European and the African Media using sources of news as a reference point?
- What is the frequency, features articles verses new stories, number of photos or images used as part of representation of such stories in 1998 as against 2008?

CHAPTER 2. DEFINITIONS

For purposes of this study, coverage of EU and EU countries related issues in the *Daily Graphic* of 1998/2008 have been divided into five broad categories comprising the following subheadings:

- EU & Africa Relations - Trade
- EU & Africa Relations - Aid
- EU & Africa Relations - Social issues
- EU & Africa Relations - Sporting Activities
- EU & Africa Relations - Non African countries relations-issues

2.1 EU-Africa Relations - Trade

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**Ghana, EU pact not a panacea**

A Development economist, Dr Nii Moi Thompson, has said that the signing of an economic agreement with Europe will not be a panacea for the country to overcome its trading problems.

"There will always be restrictions to the European market. As soon as they realise we have now become efficient in production, they will start putting up barriers of various kinds," Dr Thompson told the *Daily Graphic*.

He said the best option for the country was to concentrate on improving its production and promote regional trade where a huge market potential existed. Ghana, last December, signed an interim Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) with the European Union (EU) to safeguard its exports to the EU market under a quasi-preferential treatment agreement.

That was after an earlier agreement, the Cotonou Agreement, had expired on December 31, last year because it was inconsistent with World Trade Organisation (WTO) rules.

That agreement guaranteed a non-reciprocal quota and duty-free market access to the EU market for goods from Ghana and other African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries.

Dr Thompson said the country should do an introspective assessment of itself on how it could improve its production capacity.

"Presently, we can't meet orders and this calls for an integrated approach of fixing our energy and infrastructure," Dr Thompson said, and also drew a parallel between infrastructure and the services it generated.

"We need to get the needed services from the infrastructure, else we will not get the benefit thereof," he said.

The economist was worried about the state of lawlessness, the poor maintenance culture and the misuse of public property and infrastructure.

He deplored the culture whereby drivers and hawkers took over the roads in cities, making it difficult for the free flow of traffic, thus defeating the purpose for the project.

Dr Thompson buttressed his argument with the illustration that if, say, Ghana and Singapore each spent $20 million to put up a facility, the benefits would be different for the two countries depending on their level of intolerance of lawlessness.

He also cited poor delivery in the public sector, high labour cost and the expensive and unreliable Internet access as some of the reasons for the uncompetitiveness of businesses in the country.

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**Prudential Bank opens second branch in Tema**

Story: Anastasiass Eserum Dzavor, Tema

NR John Addo (middle), Chairman, Prudential Bank Limited (PBL), being assisted by Mr Stephen Sakyere-Ahankwa (left), the Managing Director of Prudential Bank, to officially inaugurate the second branch of the bank in the Tema municipality and the 12th across the country.

With them is Mr Rev. Thaddeus Pratt (right).
Example of EU-Africa trade related story

This refers to the various stories on trade comprising Economic Partnership Agreement (EPAs) and discussions around it, African exports to the EU, visits by trade delegation from Europe to Africa and Africa to Europe, activities of European companies in Ghana and other African countries, etc. Examples of such stories discovered in the study include headlines such as: Workers demonstrate against EU\textsuperscript{11}, EU bans seafood from Ghana,\textsuperscript{12} Ghana, EU pact not a panacea: Says Development Economist,\textsuperscript{13} Single European currency might pose challenge to World Trade etc\textsuperscript{14}.

2.2 EU and Africa Relations – Aid

\textsuperscript{11} Workers Demonstrate against EU (1998, April 29) Daily Graphic, p. 24
\textsuperscript{13} Ablodepey S. D (2008, February 7) Ghana, EU pact not a panacea, says Development expert. Daily Graphic p.57
Example of EU-Africa story – Aid

This also refers to stories published on EU support to African countries, stories on various EU projects in the paper, stories on various EU countries support and assistance in the provision of water, environmental sanitation, and provision of infrastructure. It also includes donations from development aid agencies of EU countries as well as donations by companies and NGOs of European Union countries’ origin working in Ghana and Africa at large. Examples of such stories published within the years under study include “European Union must help Africa”, “EU may cut off aid to warring African states”, France’s new Africa policy assessing the economic stakes; Thirty years of DED in Ghana, DANIDA will fight poverty, EU Spends €17.5b on micro project.

2.3 EU-Africa Relations - Social Issues

Example of EU-Africa story-Social

These include stories on diplomatic relations, immigration issues, security, religion, education and cultural exchanges among others.

Examples of such stories coded include headlines such as published in the *Daily Graphic*: “Police expels African migrants from France,” 21 “Ama Sumani, Kidneys and British sensitivity,” 22 Wescott lauds Ghanaian Community in Britain,” 23 “Egypt Spain sign agreement,” 24 “Prof. Mills receive French Envoy”, 25 Princess Anne to visit Ghana on March 11, 26 and “President commends Princess Anne.” 27

2.4 EU-Africa Relations –Sporting activities

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22 Sodzi S.T (2008, February 7) Ama Sumani, Kidneys and British sensitivity. Daily Graphic p.7(Ama Sumani was a Ghanaian studying in the UK who was deported while on cancer treatment by UK officials for not having resident permit.
23 Asmah K. (2008, February 4) Wescott lauds Ghanaian Community in Britain. Daily Graphic p.5(Dr.Nicholas Wescott was British High Commissioner to Ghana)
25 Prof. Mills Receives French Envoy (1998, October 30)Daily Graphic p. 16 (Prof. Mills was Ghana’s Vice President in 1998. He is now the President of the Republic of Ghana)
Example of EU-Africa story-Sports

These include stories on football and other forms of sport supported by EU and EU countries. It also includes stories on European football coaches managing African countries’ national football teams, African players based in Europe and their relationship with local sporting activities and stories on activities between European football clubs support base in Ghana and Africa. Headlines covered in this study include “Vogts to step down as Nigerian Coach,” 28 “New Castle Nigeria buyers want clarity,” 29 “Appiah too dear for Portsmouth.” 30

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28 Vogts to step down as Nigerian Coach (2008, February 21) Daily Graphic p. 62 (Berti Vogts is a German football coach)
29 New Castle Nigeria buyers want clarity, (2008, October 2, ) Daily Graphic p.70
30 Appiah too dear for Portsmouth (2008, September 25) Daily Graphic p.70(Stephen Appiah was a Ghanaian Footballer based in Europe)
2.5 EU-Other countries and Actors relations

Example of EU-Non-Africa story

This refers to all stories on EU and its member countries published in the paper but has no relationship with Africa; these include issues on security, trade, religion, diplomatic issues,
sporting issues etc. Such stories include “Sweden approves wire tapping law”; 31 “EU monitors begin patrols in Georgia,” 32 “Man U count cost of Champions league win”; 33 “Alitalia pilots agree to rescue plan”; 34 “Camorra, Brazil EU holds summit”; 35 “France unveils huge stimulus”; 36 “Finish PM calls for gun laws to be tightened,” 37 “EU faces battle over fish quotas,” 38 and “EU chiefs confront market crisis.” 39

CHAPTER 3. THE DAILY GRAPHIC NEWSPAPER

31 Sweden approves wire tapping law( 2008, June 20) Daily Graphic p.2
32 EU Monitors begins Patrols in Georgia (2008 October 10) Daily Graphic p.2
33 Man U counts cost of champions league win. (2008, October 2) Daily Graphic , p70
34 Alitalia pilots agree to rescue plan (2008, September 30) Daily Graphic p.34
35 Camorra, Brazil EU holds summit, declares war on Italy(2008,September 26) Daily Graphic p.2
36 France unveils huge stimulus plan (2008, December 5) Daily Graphic p.2
37 Finish PM calls for gun laws to be tightened (2008, September 25) Daily Graphic p.2
The Daily Graphic newspaper is the focus of analysis of this study. It was established in Ghana in 1950 alongside the Sunday Mirror by the London Mirror Company. This was after several attempts by colonial masters, Britain to establish a newspaper in the country had proved futile.

3.1 History of the Daily Graphic Newspaper

Ghanaian Communication professors and authors Kwasi Ansu Kyereme and Kwame Karikari, posit that the newspaper industry had been wholly owned by local Ghanaian publishers or entrepreneurs for many years. “Efforts by one or two European expatriates have been a fiasco.” The authors stated adding “It was not until 1950 when the local monopoly was fatally shattered by the introduction by the Daily Graphic and the Sunday Mirror.”

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School of Communications studies Printing Press, university of Ghana,
With massive transnational capital, better technology and more efficient business organization, greater journalistic expertise and professionalism, the *Daily Graphic* was largely responsible for the elimination of much of the locally owned press from the market in the period prior to independence. The paper had gone through many experiences especially Ghana’s various military regimes. Today it is no more owned by a Trans-national corporation but a state property. The *Daily Graphic* appears on the news stands six times a week from Monday to Saturday. The *Daily Graphic* was selected for content analysis because it is the leading Daily Newspaper in Ghana with a circulation of about 80,000 per day. The *Daily Graphic* is also perceived to be one of the newspapers that publish articles on foreign issues.

### 3.2 The *Daily Graphic* in 1998

In 1998, the *Daily Graphic* was a 24 page newspaper with special features such as a World News page on page 2; An Inside Africa Page on page 5, Business page which changed from time to time, Features page, Regional News page, Centre spread, a page for foreign sports news, a page for local sports and two pages for funeral announcements as well as the back page. The rest of the pages were dedicated mainly to advertisements and other issues.

### 3.3 The *Daily Graphic* in 2008

The *Daily Graphic* in the year 2008 publishes between 48 and 72 pages a day depending on the availability of adverts and more news stories. It still maintains the World News page, in Page 2, the Inside Africa page in page 5, Editorial and Features page, a Gender and Children’s page which appears once a week, Regional News page, two pages for funeral announcements, Centre spread, Business Page, a page for foreign sports news and the back page. The rest of the pages are dedicated to adverts and other local news reports.
CHAPTER 4. THE KEY ISSUES: PARADOX OF AID AND TRADE AND AFRICA’S DEVELOPMENT

The key question in this study is: Are stories around aid and trade especially European Union aid and trade relations and development in Africa of interest to African reporters and editors? Do they examine the relationships and how it affects the continent? Khol explains that African and European journalists can ask critical questions about how their respective audiences perceive the other part of the world, correct distorted images, stereotypes and featured topics.41

While this study seeks to find out if African or Ghanaian journalists and editors of the Daily Graphic have been critically assessing the importance of aid, it is necessary to bring into view what other experts and development writers perceive the impact of aid advanced to Africa in the post colonial years to be which should be of interest to Ghanaian editors and their counterparts on the continent.

Some of the issues on development aid are especially centred on the attainment of the targets of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which were set in September 2000, aimed at halving the people living in abject poverty by the year 2015, reducing maternal and infant mortality, closing the gender gap in education, ensuring environmental sustainability and embarking on partnership for development issues among others.

Civil society groups all over the world have been serving as watch dogs on the attainment of the MDGs and the fulfillment of promises by the European Union and its counterpart world actors.

For instance in providing aid for Africa and other developing countries to achieve the MDG targets, Social Watch Report of the year 2006, published by an international network of civil society groups from various countries in the world reminds the EU as stating that the European Commission funds for overseas development aid will remain the same and therefore the increase in funding will be channeled largely by EU member states directly. 42


The report further said the commitment to supporting the MDGs are also confirmed in revised development policy statements. These include the *European Consensus on Development* by the European Parliament which sets out the EU development policy for the coming years and the *EU strategy for Africa* adopted by the council of European Union in 2005. Both documents according to the report give prominence to the centrality of the MDGs in the EU cooperation strategies towards developing countries and the use of its aid.

4.1 Views of Economists and Writers on Key issues

Ghanaian Development Economist and writer Nii Moi Thompson in an article in the *Daily Graphic* of September 4, 2008 traced the history of aid from the inaugural speech of US President Harry Trauman who declared in 1949, “More than half of the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery, their poverty is handicap, a threat to both them and to more prosperous areas. In cooperation with other nations we should foster capital investment in other areas needing development.”

Since then, Thompson says foreign aid took the form of projects such as dams and roads as well as programmes in specific sectors such as health education and public service. “By one estimate, between 1960 and 2004 Africa received (650 billion USD) measured in 2004 prices. Exactly how much of this money came into Africa or stayed with the giver to pay for the assortment of consultant fees and buy goods from their domestic firms has been a subject of much debate in recent times.”

Thompson also posits that how much money had flown out of Africa to the aid giving countries and how much has been used to pay for services from the donor countries at prices that are often inflated to support their economies has also been left out of the aid effectiveness discourse. However 50 years down the line it is thought that aid had not been effective enough to lead to development in recipient countries.

44 Ibid p 57
The decision to reform aid and make it more effective took the form of the Rome declaration of 2003 and the Paris declaration of 2005\(^\text{45}\) by the donors. One upshot of this re-orientation of aid has been the Multi-Donor Budgetary Support (MDBS) \(^\text{46}\) of which Ghana has been a beneficiary.

Thompson criticised the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) for defining foreign aid (formally known as Official Development Assistance to include grants and concessional loans in its 2005 website. This definition he says is misleading because it leaves out a more recent component of aid which is debt relief. For instance he states that on April 11, 2005, the organisation reported on its website that official development assistance to developing countries increased to USD 78.6 billion in 2004, its highest level ever. Thompson argues that taking into account inflation and the fall in the US dollar, this represents 4.6 percent rise in real terms from 2003 to 2004 and follows a 4.3 percent increase from 2002 to 2003.

He concluded that the largest rises in aid in real terms in 2004 by the EU countries were in Austria (22.0 percent) mainly due to debt relief; Greece (13.1 percent) due to increased technical cooperation and emergency relief; Luxembourg (10.5 percent) due to increased contributions to regional development banks; Portugal an exceptional (187.5 percent) due to a large debt relief operation for Angola; Spain (14.5 percent) due to the timing of contributions to international organizations and the United Kingdom (8.8 percent) due to higher project and programme aid expenditure and debt relief.

4.2 Views from Civil Society

Some civil society organisations have argued that what is termed as aid is a form of trade in disguise and until African heads realise this and fight for fair trade instead of unfair trade being paraded as aid with tied conditionalities, the continent’s road to economic prosperity will be a sad and a long one.

\(^{45}\) Rome Declaration: Ministers, Heads of Aid Agencies and other Senior Officials representing 28 aid recipient countries and more than 40 multilateral and bilateral development institutions endorsed the Rome Declaration on Harmonisation in February 2003. See: http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/54/50/31451637.pdf

\(^{46}\)MDBS was introduced by the World Bank in Ghana in 2003 to harmonise aid for donors which was otherwise repetitive and fragmented. See: http://www.moh-ghana.org/moh/docs/policies/policy_briefs/MULTIDONORBUDGETARYSUPPORT%201.pdf
There is also the issues of northern Civil Society Organisations (CSOs and including media organizations from northern countries who are rich and southern CSOs who are poor.) And the inherently disproportionate power relations, define financial endowments that exist between them, often, these unequal power relations have led to northern CSOs defining the Agenda for southern CSO counterparts following often on issues that otherwise may not command much public attention locally.

Many years of structural reforms aimed at improving trade in Africa and other parts of the world had not been successful

A Reuters feature article in the Daily Graphic of Sept 17, 2008 titled Africa Fail to make meaningful gains in trade liberalization quotes an UNCTAD report released in September 15, 2008 as saying that export performance in African countries following trade liberalization have been disappointing. “Although there have been a positive effect of trade liberalization on exports expressed as a percentage of GDP, this effect is weak and the overall trade balance in African countries have deteriorated since liberalization.”

The 2008 UNCTAD report further stated that African countries have failed to gain from trade liberalization and require massive investments to diversify their exports into more manufactured goods.

Since the mid 1980s, many African countries have liberalised through measures such as devaluing over-valued currency, easing foreign currency controls, removing import and export licenses; cutting tariffs eliminating export duties and dismantling marketing boards.

However all these have not worked leading to a call for aid for trade at the World Trade Organisation. Economists of all persuasions agree now that growth is the key to lifting people out of poverty and not aid.

The World Trade Organisation, (WTO) which coordinates the international Aid for trade programme in which development countries are helped to build trade capacity and infrastructure by ensuring that their trade projects are part of their aid and economic strategies accepts the view

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47 Africa Fail to make meaningful gains in trade liberalization(2008 Sept 17), Daily Graphic p.33
that African countries need to be supported to build infrastructure and put in place other
measures through aid that can boost trade on the continent.

Another feature article in the *Daily Graphic* of September 2, 2008 headlined “Aid not answer to poverty,” also maintains that trade openness is believed to have been central to the remarkable growth of developed countries since the mid 20th century and an important factor behind most of the developing world advocacy groups argue that trade negotiations are skewed against the interests of African countries, forcing them to open their markets to provide more export opportunities to European businesses.

The story further cites one of such advocacy groups playing the watchdog role as, the Manila Based Focus on the Global South which stated after the collapse of the Doha talks in 2008 that “…the failure of the trade talks was a respite for poor countries.”

“The aggressive push by rich countries led by EU and US for more trade liberalization at a time of global economic crisis of food and fuel became too blatant for developing countries to stomach,” the NGO stated.48

It called on African leaders to rather tackle cotton subsidies that squeeze them out of the market in a comprehensive manner rather than follow aid.

Kenya’s trade Minister Uhuru Kenyatta said at the end of the collapsed WTO talks last year that “Africa critically needs to realise development and get itself out of poverty through the establishment of fair trade rather than aid.”

Many African country leaders share the view that the solution to poverty reduction lies in the increased economic capacity that trade can bring rather than in aid and handouts.

The continent of Africa comprises 22 percent of the total surface of the world and 12 percent of the world’s population. Nonetheless, the continent represents no more than 1.7 percent of the global economy. In Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) where most of the world’s poorest and Least Developed Countries (LDC’s) are located, about 70 percent of the populations live on less than one dollar a day. When one regards the Human Development Index, most of the African states have a poor record concerning literacy rate, life expectancy and health care.49

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48 Aid not answer to poverty,( 2008, September 2) Daily Graphic p.34
Pieter Smidt Gelder argues there are a variety of reasons, which can at least partly explain the unfavourable situation of Africa compared to the rest of the world. To him, the rapid colonisation and sudden decolonisation left the continent in what he describes “a state of shock.” The new states he explained proved to be weak after the departure of colonisers partly due to what he calls “artificial constructions.” Gelder further says between 1963 and 1997, the continent experienced more than seventy ‘coups d’état especially during the Cold War and from 1975 onwards while the European countries generally maintained some attention for their former colonies. “When the Cold War ended, Africa lost most of its geopolitical importance. Rather than loyalty to liberalism or communism, other conditions for aid and assistance were imposed upon Africa, such as respect for human rights and free multiparty elections.”

Now, at the beginning of the 21st century, it seems that new modalities of development assistance are needed. Although the industrial countries spend (almost without exception) part of their budget on development aid, the official recommendation of the UN is that the wealthy countries spend 0.7 percent of their Gross National Income (GNI) on development assistance. Most of the industrialised countries, however, including the wealthiest (US, Japan, France) come closer to 0.3 percent. Moreover, the considerable subsidies given by Western governments to their own agriculture impede a fair access of African primary products to Western markets.

4.3 EU-Africa joint partnership for solutions

To ensure support for aid and trade in Africa, the European Union has pledged to change its trade pattern of assistance to the continent including removal of conditionalities attached to aid and trade that it claims will benefit both parties; residents of the European Union and Africa as a whole and demands that Africa stick to its development objectives especially in the attainment of the UN targets on the MDGs

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50 Ibid  [http://www.risq.org/article189.html](http://www.risq.org/article189.html)
51 Ibid  [http://www.risq.org/article189.html](http://www.risq.org/article189.html)
It has therefore come out with a joint EU-Africa strategy to right the wrongs of the past and ensure that its former colonies are on the smooth road to prosperity.\textsuperscript{52}

To implement the commitments made in the Joint Strategy, the EU and Africa poised to address and advance all identified objectives on all the strategic priorities, with a wider view of supporting African countries in their efforts to attain all the MDGs by the year 2015.

The Joint EU-Africa strategy also identifies strategic priorities in the area of peace and security, democratic governance and human rights, trade and regional integration and other key development issues.

According to the strategy, to reach early results on the key deliverables of the Lisbon Declaration,\textsuperscript{53} special attention will be devoted to a number of selected priority actions in the initial period 2008-2010, all of which will have a positive impact on the daily lives of the citizens of Africa and Europe.

The strategy will also pursue Africa-EU policy dialogue and common positions in support of both quick wins and longer term sustainable action to tackle the MDGs in the context of global partnerships and international fora, including in the context of the MDG Africa Steering Committee, chaired by the United Nations Secretary-General to close the financing gaps for development.

Other pledges of support outlined in the strategy states that the EU will “Work in line with the Paris Declaration and enhance the coordination among donors and with partner governments; Establish a system to address the rights of persons with disabilities and vulnerable groups in interventions to achieve the MDGs; assess and develop the institutional capacity to enhance the

\textsuperscript{52} Joint EU-Africa strategy, retrieved on May 12, 2008 from http://europafrika.files.wordpress.com/2006/10/africa-eu-strategic-partnership.pdf

\textsuperscript{53} Lisbon Declaration defines the framework for the Africa-EU strategic partnership, designed to guide EU-Africa dialogue and cooperation. See: http://ec.europa.eu/development/icenter/repository/EAS2007_lisbon_declaration_en.pdf
roles of, and collaboration between, the AU and the EU in direct action to tackle the people-centred what it termed “the people centred MDGs.”  

In addition, the strategy pledges to enhance coordination between AU, EU and civil society organizations in the framework of global partnership meetings and international fora; establish effective mechanisms for enhanced collaboration between African and European experts, such as joint workshops, twinning initiatives, and exchange visits while strengthening networking among African and European civil society organizations and ensure effective civil society inputs into policy dialogue.

To ensure that the EU keeps to its promises, African countries are expected to “strengthen the role of the African Union and its Commission in policy formulation and Implementation, and as the interlocutor for all matters of the Africa-EU partnership;”

African countries are also enjoined by the strategy to simplify the “framework for regional integration in articulation with Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) and rationalise EPAs, Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and Sub-Regional Organizations as well as strengthen the cooperation between AU institutions.

4.4 Learning from Europe- Education factor
Countries in Africa south of the Sahara need dire assistance in the areas of education, health, and infrastructural development.

For instance the European patterns of expansion of secondary education which took drastic measures to improve upon its secondary education in the 1940s is a desire of many countries such as Ghana. According to the World Bank in one its publications Directions in Development: Expanding Education and building competencies for young people, A new agenda for Secondary education “…in European countries nearly half a century elapsed between when primary

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54 Paris Declaration was endorsed on 2 March 2005, is an international agreement to which over one hundred Ministers, Heads of Agencies and other Senior Officials adhered and committed their countries and organisations to continue to increase efforts in harmonisation, alignment and managing aid for results with a set of monitorable actions and indicators. See: http://www.oecd.org/document/18/0,3343,en_2649_3236398_35401554_1_1_1_1,00.html
education was generalised and made free and compulsory and when access to secondary education was opened to all…”

The Bank further stated that “In 1945, countries such as France, Ireland and Spain enrolled a fairly low proportion of relevant age group in secondary education although participation group were somewhat higher in for example Sweden and the United Kingdom.” Such directions are yearned for by developing countries in Africa whose Gross Domestic products rate are less than eight percent per annually.

Some critics of Africa have also argued that the impacts of aid have been less felt because African countries have been misusing aid through maladministration and corruption, African heads and civil society activist have argued that donor agencies such as the EU gives with the right and takes back with the left through conditionalities and tied aid, while trade relations has been to the disadvantage of former colonies

Some of the well known shortcomings of the old policy recommendations did not take socio-economic structures into account. Described as the “standard packages” by September 2004 edition of a German Government Publication Development and Cooperation (D+C) magazine published by the German Ministry of Economic Cooperation it explains that the neo classical equilibrium model on which the Washington consensus is based permits analysis of allocation aspects but does not take institutional or socio economic structures into account.

Central to the economic recommendations of the old Washington consensus were liberalisation and deregulation of the economy as well as neutral monetary and fiscal policies. With the Cologne debt relief initiative, (Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative) the Washington consensus and its structural adjustment strategy were basically relegated to the past. They were superseded by the concept of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs).


56 Ibid. p5

57 Aid Effectiveness, Risky Investments (2004) Development and Cooperation (D+C) p. 272, Bonn InWent,
D+C recommends that to achieve lasting economic growth and a substantial reduction in poverty, developing countries ownership of poverty reduction programmes and aid issues needs to be strengthened. It posits that some of the recommendations that prevailed in the 1980s and ‘90s based on neo-classical economic theory had to be revised. The magazine argues that a proper approach will be how African economies might be shielded against external shocks and the instability of world commodity prices.\(^{58}\)

**CHAPTER 5. POST COLONIAL AND MODERNISATION THEORIES**

Theories related to this study include postcolonial theory and modernization theories on aid, trade, media and society.

The first stage of development theory emerged in the 1950s. The Cold War and decolonisation created a new interest in a new relation between Europe and Africa as well as between Europe and the rest of the world. Demand for strategic partnership and relationship with the European Union especially from African countries and other developing countries and regions kept growing by the day. Countries in South America, South Eastern Asia and Africa all struggled to have preferential treatment from the European Union in terms of aid and trade.

Modernisation theory is therefore seen as following the footsteps of the developed countries and hoping to become like them with the media being the main learning tool for progress and development. Others are poverty reduction mechanisms and packages such as aid and trade and the search of equality among all peoples of the world.

**5.1 Post Colonial Theory**

Author and Post colonial expert Bill Ashcroft reveals that from Renaissance to the late 19\(^{th}\) century, European colonial powers invaded occupied and annexed a huge area of the globe. That movement outwards, seldom wholeheartedly supported by those countries domestic populations,

\(^{58}\) Ibid 272
plaque by political opposition and by controversy over morality or the practicality of colonial occupation, nevertheless advanced so relentlessly that it has come to determine the cultural and political Character of the world.  

Ashcroft (2001) cites Basil (1983) that “…the legacy of this colonial control for newly independent governments in Africa was not a prosperous colonial business, but in many ways a profound colonial crisis.”

Sociology Professor and development specialist Jan Nederveen Pieterse throws more light on the economic aspects of Post colonial states, “In modern development thinking and economics, the core meaning of development was economic growth as in the growth theory and big push theory”  

Pieterse also reveals that in line with neo colonial intellectual division of labour in which theory is generated in the west and data supplied by the south, grand theories have been typically fashioned in the west and therefore articulate western political interests and follow western intellectual style and priorities.

Baaz also digs down memory lane for the pre-colonial lives of Africans which she stated became a subject of envy of Europeans who explored the continent.

“…leading a simple and innocent life untouched by the vices of Europe, served a nostalgic and political purpose as a reminder of the past, but also of the possible futures of Europe.”  

Citing Golbery (1803) Baaz (1998) stated “…gifted with a carelessness which is totally unique, with an extreme agility., indolence, sloth and sobriety, the negro exists in his native soil, in the sweetest apathy, unconscious of want or pain or privation, tormented neither with the cares of ambition nor with the devouring ardour of desire. To him, the necessary and indispensable articles of life are reduced to a very small number; and those endless wants which torment Europeans are not known amongst the Negroes of Africa.”

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61 Ibid p.8  
63 Ibid p. 55
Perhaps thanks to modernisation theory this situation cannot describe the 21st century African who perhaps have trod the European path and is asking for the same comforts Europeans enjoy through aid and trade.

Africans have complained that colonialism has denied them their heritage and impoverished the continent and as such there is the need for support to enable African inhabitants reach where Europe has reached in terms of development.

Pieterse (2001) cites (Amin 1989, Mehmet 1995) as stating that “Reading development theory then is also reading a history of hegemony and political intellectual eurocentrism.”

The newspaper articles on European Union Countries in the Daily Graphic were dotted with some ideas on Marxism which Pieterse describes as “A Western counter Hegemony” Pieterse further argues that modernization and westernization were virtually synonymous. As part of nation building development was taken as a homogenising project. In the context of decolonisation struggles those began to change along with indigenisation of politics

Author and University Professor Edward W. Said in his book Orientalism first published in 1978 believe European Colonial rule made significant impact on the subjects. He recounts Europe’s expansionist ideologies stating, “the period of immense advance in institutions and contents of orientalism coincides exactly with the period of unparalleled European Expansion; from 1815 to 1914, European direct colonial dominion expanded from 35 percent of the earth’s surface to about 85 percent of it.”

Said further states, “…every continent was affected none more so than Africa and Asia.”

He describes the two greatest empires as “British and French; allies and partners in some things, in others they were hostile rivals.”

Today, the former colonies of British and France perhaps (in the form of the African Union), arguably may be speaking back to the EU, which could be referred to as the new colonial empire and the most common ground is the past, a history that cannot be erased, a history of

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65 Ibid p8
66 Ibid P. 15
68 Ibid p.41
colonialism which though is in the past arguably continues with the aid of modernisation and new forms of relationships such as aid and trade.

5.2 Theories of Trade and Aid

Sociology Professor Manuel Castells states “the evolution of international trade in the last quarter of the 20th century was characterized by four major trends: its sectoral transformation; its relative diversification, with a growing proportion of trade shifting to developing countries, albeit with great differences; the interaction between liberalization of global trade and regionalization of world economy and for the formation of a network of trade relations between firms cutting across regions and countries. Together these trends configure the trading dimension of the new global economy.”  

According to a publication by the OECD, dubbed *Promoting Pro-poor Growth: policy Guidance for Donors* well functioning markets are important for pro-poor growth. Market failure hurts the poor disproportionately and the poor may be disadvantaged by the terms on which they participate in markets. Programmes are needed to ensure that markets that matter for their livelihoods work better for the poor. Such programmes need to be carefully designed to avoid replacing market failure with government failure.

In its publication, *Empowerment and poverty Reduction, the* World Bank, says an empowering approach to development puts poor people at the centre of development and views them as the most important resources rather than as the problem.

It recognises and values identity and this according to the Bank implies changes in belief and mindset and behavior that outsiders bring poverty reduction.

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71 Ibid. p 12
An empowering approach thus builds on poor people’s strengths; their knowledge, skills, values, initiative and motivation to solve problems, management resources, and rise out of poverty. Author and Globalisation expert Thomas Hylland Eriksen, agrees that the present human world is more tightly integrated than at any earlier point in history. \textquote{In the age of the jet plane and satellite dish, the age of global capitalism, the age of ubiquitous markets and global mass media, various commentators have claimed that the world is rapidly becoming a single place.}\textsuperscript{73}

James Curran and Myung-Jin Park in \textit{De-Westernising Media studies/ Beyond globalisation theory} trace the issue of global media and cultural diversity to the 1950s where four theories of tradition saw the universe only through western eyes. This was followed in the 1960s by a theory which assumed the developing world should imitate the west. This theory according to Curran and Park insisted that good communication was key to \textquote{the most challenging social problem of our time—the modernisation of most of the world.}\textsuperscript{74}

Pieterse further states that in modern development thinking and economics, the core meaning of development was economic growth as in growth theory and Big push theory. However in the course of time, mechanization and industrialization became part of this as in Rostow’s \textit{Stages of Growth}.

Various forms of development theories such as dependency, neoliberalism, and post development have all been discussed extensively and practiced. Some of these development paradigms such as the neo-liberal one and post development theory have not worked well for poor countries thereby intensifying civil society and human rights activities.\textsuperscript{75}

Civil society groups have used various strategies and what has become known as development communication to bring about changes in various communities and countries.

\textsuperscript{73} Eriksen, T. H (2005) \textit{How can the Glocal be Local, Islam, and the West and the globalisation of identity politics}, In Hemer O. and Tufte T. Eds., \textit{Media and Glocal Change, Rethinking Communication for Development}, pp. 25-40 Göteborg: CLACSO/NORDICOM.


\textsuperscript{75} Pieterse J .N (2001) \textit{Development Theory, Deconstructions and Reconstructions} p. 5&6, London, Sage
5.3 Media and society theories

Various forms of communication theories have been propounded to support media and society.

Media Expert Ulla Carlsson posits that the principal complaint that the third world countries voiced in the 1970s and which subsequently evolved into demand for a new international Information Order, the general disrespect for third world peoples’ cultural identity and the imbalance reflected of the transnational communication companies and the inequitable distribution of communication resources among regions of the world.76

Many African journalists have no access to internet and literacy levels are not high among Africans. This is in contrast to Europe where majority of the populace are literate and can therefore read everything their reporters write. European reporters or Journalists also do not lack logistics such as computers, top quality broadcast equipment, better remuneration and educational opportunities to help with academic progression.

This is in contrast to Africa where Journalists have to queue to use computers in the newsroom, are poorly remunerated and had to pay high fees to be trained among other problems.

In this light, Carlsson further argues that the two main focal points in the issue of new international information order were the role of the media and mass communication in the development of society and the relationship between industrialized and developing countries.

The emergence of new media and technology highlighted the role of the media in the process.

This according to Carlsson resulted in two separate paradigms; the modernization and dependency paradigms.77

It can therefore be argued that African media had sought to develop or modernize itself by depending on news from their European counterparts.

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77 Ibid p.196
CHAPTER 6. ANALYSIS OF STUDY

6.1 Frequency of stories in 1998/2008

Findings from the study on coverage of EU issues in the Daily Graphic indicates that a total number of 1,252 stories on EU as a body and other EU countries were published in the Daily Graphic (see Chart 1). This is a pointer to the fact that on the whole 1998 issues of the Daily Graphic recorded more EU related stories in the Ghanaian Daily than in 2008. The issues comprised EU-relations with other non-EU Countries and actors in the international system, EU-Africa relations on trade, aid, social issues, sporting activities etc. Apart from the European Union as a body or instituion, some EU member countries were selected for analysis due to the frequency of reportage on them and these consist of the United
Kingdom, France, Germany and Holland or the Netherlands. The rest of the European Union countries were put together as one under the code-name “other EU countries.” These included Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Finland, EU and the Chech Republic among others.

Out of 1,252 stories published in the *Daily Graphic* of 1998, stories that appeared depicting the European
Union as an actor constituted 118 which is nine percent. Other countries selected due to frequent reportage on them as actors include the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Holland. The United Kingdom in 1998 recorded a total number of 439 stories representing 35 percent which is the highest any single country recorded in the 1998 data. This was followed by Germany with 208 stories representing 17 percent while France followed closely with 184 stories representing 15 percent of total EU related news coverage. Holland recorded the lowest of reportage comprising 78 stories for the whole of 1998 which represents a mere six percent of total coverage in the *Daily Graphic*.

The rest of the EU countries were lumped together under “Other EU countries” because they were not frequently covered. Such countries include Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Czech Republic, Italy, and Spain among others. They also constituted 225 stories consisting of 18 percent of total stories covered.

**6. 2 Frequency of stories by country**
Chart 3

2008 EU ISSUES - TOTAL NO. OF STORIES BY COUNTRY

- UK: 486 stories (42%)
- France: 159 stories (14%)
- Germany: 81 stories (7%)
- Holland: 69 stories (6%)
- EU Body: 123 stories (11%)
- Other EU Countries: 229 stories (20%)

Legend:
- UK
- France
- Germany
- Holland
- EU Body
- Other EU Countries
This is in contrast to what pertained in the 2008 study where a total of 1,147 were recorded slightly lower than what was recorded ten years earlier. The EU as a body recorded a total number of 123 stories constituting 11 percent, an increase of two percent over its 1998 figure of nine percent. The UK however recorded a total of 486 stories, representing 42 percent. This is an increase of seven percent over its 1998 coverage which was 35 percent. This was followed by reportage on other EU countries which recorded a total number of 229 stories constituting 20 percent of total coverage of 2008 which is a slight rise of two percent above its 1998 figure of 18 percent.

This was followed by France with 159 total recorded stories forming 14 percent while Germany followed with 81 stories constituting seven percent. Holland trailed closely again with 69 stories representing six percent of total stories published (see Charts 2&3).

6.3 Sources of stories in 1998/2008

Chart 4

Out of the total number of stories recorded in 2008, BBC, which is presumed to be the most popular foreign media organization in Ghana, recorded only 29 representing two percent out of 1,252 stories published (see Chart 4).
This was followed by Reuters which had 93 stories representing seven percent, Associated Press, seven stories representing one percent while 61 stories were from other sources mainly in Europe such as The Sun in the UK, Danish Newspapers, Swedish News Agency, web sources, etc., Only one story was from Xinhua, the Chinese news agency and another one from CNN, an American Television and online news service. The two are recorded as part of other sources of news. Local Reporters wrote 176 out of the total of 1,252 stories on EU related issues recorded in 1998.

An interesting aspect of the 1998 news sources data was that majority of the stories, 886 (71 percent) were not sourced and this may be due to editorial discretion of the foreign page editors of the paper. It is quite obvious that, some of them could have been picked from BBC, Reuters or other allied foreign news services.

**Chart 5**

The Sources of news for the year 2008 is quite different from what pertained in 1998. Here, BBC recorded 430 representing 37 percent as against its 1998 figure of 29, an increase of 35 percent. Reuters on the other hand recorded 99 stories representing nine percent which is an increase of two percent over its 1998 figure.

The Associated Press recorded 59 stories representing five percent which is an increase of four percent over its 1998 figure while other foreign sources recorded 158 consisting of 14 percent.
Local reporters wrote 244 (21 percent) out of the total figure of 1,147 stories relating to The European Union and its member countries in the 2008 issues of the *Daily Graphic* in Ghana. This is an increase in the 1998 figure of 176.

In sharp contrast to what was recorded in 1998, stories that were not sourced which were mainly of foreign origin were 157 (14 percent) a decrease of about 57 percent of its 1998 figure of 886 representing 71 percent (see Chart 5).

**6.4 Type of stories**

These were defined under two broad categories for purposes of coding, feature articles and news stories. In 1998 40 feature articles representing three percent were recorded as against 1,212 representing news stories (97 percent) of total stories published. Three Editorials have been added to the feature articles for graphical representation.
This is not so different from the 2008 data where news stories comprised 1,120 representing 98 percent as against 27 stories representing two percent of feature articles; there was one editorial which has been added to the features for purposes of graphical representation (see Chart 6 & 7).

6.5 Page Placement

Chart 8
For purposes of this study, two broad categories were employed namely, foreign page, and local page. The Foreign page consists of the World News Page, The Inside Africa News page, and the foreign sports page. While the local pages consist of the Front page, inside pages; back page; business page; centre spread; regional news page, etc.

In a total of 1, 252 stories collected in 1998, Local page stories which were mainly local content recorded 180 which is 14 percent as against 1072 of foreign page stories of foreign origin which represents 86 percent.

Chart 9

This is in contrast with what pertained in 2008 where local pages recorded 242 local stories representing 21 percent out of a total of 1147 stories recorded in that year. Foreign page stories mainly of foreign origin recorded 905 stories representing 79 percent of total stories, an increase of six percent above 1998 levels (see Chart 8 & 9).

6.6 Images and Representation

Two forms of images or representation were employed to represent images accompanying the European Union related stories in 1998 and 2008. These were photos and cartoons which are mainly used by Ghanaian newspapers. However only two cartoons were used as representations or images in both either years. The rests were photographs of personalities or commodities or groups of people around whom a story is weaved. Majority of the photos for the foreign stories were discovered to be photographs of the personalities such as French President Nicholas
Sarkozy, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Britain Prime Minister Gordon Brown, the late British Princess Diana among others.

In the 1998 data, 153 photos were used with EU and EU related stories published in the *Daily Graphic* representing 12 percent as against 1,097 stories representing 87.6 percent used without photos. There were only two cartoons.

In the 2008 data, there was an increase in the use of photographs from 153 in 1998 to 245 in 2008 representing 21 percent, an increase of nine percent above 1998 levels.

Stories without photographs in 2008 were 902, representing 79 percent, a decrease of about eight percent of the 1998 figure. There were no cartoons used alongside EU and its member countries stories in the 2008 issues of the *Daily Graphic*.

### 6.7 Analysis of Issues of focus

#### EU & AFRICA - TRADE ISSUES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
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<th>2008</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>FEBRUARY</td>
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<tr>
<td>MARCH</td>
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<td>APRIL</td>
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<td>MAY</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>JUNE</td>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JULY</td>
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<tr>
<td>AUGUST</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEPTEMBER</td>
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<tr>
<td>OCTOBER</td>
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<tr>
<td>NOVEMBER</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DECEMBER</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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<td><strong>112</strong></td>
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*Table 1*
Data collected on EU & Africa trade issues indicate that a total of 117 stories which is nine percent of total stories recorded in 1998 (1252) were on trade as against 112 recorded (also nine percent) out of a total of 1147 in 2008. This shows a decrease in the reportage of trade issues in 2008 as against 1998. January 1998 recorded 16 stories as against 15 in January 2008; February 1998 also recorded 14, stories in sharp contrast with six stories recorded in the same month 10 years on. March 1998 also recorded five stories as against March 2008 which recorded six stories. April 1998 also recorded 14 stories as against 12 stories in April 2008, a slight decrease of two stories.

May 1998 also recorded 14 stories in sharp contrast to three stories recorded in may 2008, a sharp decrease of nine stories. June 1998 recorded11 stories as against six stories in 2008 while July 1998 recorded eight stories as against 15 stories in July 2008; August 1998 recorded four stories as against 17 in 2008 while September 1998 recorded three stories as against September 2008 which recorded seven stories. Also October 1998 recorded 12 stories as against 10 stories in 2008. November 1998 also recorded seven stories as against 10 stories, an increase of about three stories while December 1998 recorded nine stories as against five.

Figure 1

![Month by Month Analysis of EU & Africa Trade Issues](image-url)
EU & AFRICA - AID ISSUES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>1998</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2

This table is an indication that in 1998, 79 stories were published representing six percent out of a total of 1252 in the *Daily Graphic* on the European Union and Africa issues on aid as against 101 which represents 11 percent out of a total 1147 stories in 2008 depicting an increase of five percent in 2008.

The breakdown of the month by month analysis shows that January 1998 recorded 11 aid related stories as against 10 in 2008; February 1998 also recorded 10, stories less contrast with 15 stories recorded in 2008. March 1998 also recorded six stories as against March 2008 which recorded nine stories. April 1998 also recorded a dismal number of three stories as against nine stories in April 2008. May 1998 also recorded four stories as against eight stories recorded in May 2008, an increase of four stories or 50 percent. June 1998 recorded 10 stories as against four stories in 2008 while July 1998 recorded seven stories as against seven in July 2008; August 1998, recorded two stories as against eight while September 1998 recorded five stories as against six in September 2008. Also October 1998 recorded nine stories as against six stories in 2008. November 1998 also recorded 11 stories as against 12. December 1998 also recorded one story as against seven in 2008.
Table 3
This table also is an indication that in 1998, only 89 stories on EU and Africa social relations, representing seven percent out of a total 1252 were published. This is slightly lower than social
issues published in 2008 which amounted to 123 stories representing 11 percent of a total of 1147


Figure 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MONTH</th>
<th>1998 No. of Stories</th>
<th>2008 No. of Stories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>May</td>
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<td>June</td>
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<td>July</td>
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<td>August</td>
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<td>September</td>
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<td>November</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1998</th>
<th>2008</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JANUARY</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEBRUARY</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARCH</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APRIL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAY</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUNE</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JULY</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUGUST</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEPTEMBER</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCTOBER</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOVEMBER</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DECEMBER</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table 4 on EU & Africa relations- Sporting issues is an indication that in 1998, 64 stories were published in the Daily Graphic representing five percent out a total of 1252 stories while in 2008, a total number of 213 stories out of a total of 1147 stories representing 18.5 percent were recorded.

In detail, January 1998 recorded two sports stories as against 31 in 2008; February 1998 also recorded seven while 49 stories were recorded in 2008. March 1998 also recorded just one story as against March 2008 which recorded 22 stories. April 1998 also recorded one as against 18 stories in April 2008. May 1998 also recorded two stories as against five stories recorded in May 2008, June 1998 recorded 20 stories as against three stories in 2008 while July 1998 recorded four stories as against 17 in July 2008; August 1998, recorded five stories as against nothing in August 2008 while September 1998 recorded three as against 18 in September 2008. Also October 1998 recorded 10 stories as against 13 stories in 2008. November 1998 also recorded eight stories as against 19 stories in 2008 while December 1998 also recorded one story as against 18 in December 2008 (Also see Fig.4)
EU\&OTHER NON-AFRICAN COUNTRIES/ACTORS ISSUES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>No.of Stories</th>
<th>No.of Stories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JANUARY</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEBRUARY</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARCH</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APRIL</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAY</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUNE</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JULY</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUGUST</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEPTEMBER</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCTOBER</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOVEMBER</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DECEMBER</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>903</td>
<td>598</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5

This table actually reveals that a whopping 903 (representing 72 percent) stories recorded out of a total of 1252 were not on EU-African issues. This is in contrast with what pertained in 2008.
where 598 stories (representing 52 percent) recorded were also not of EU-African relations issues. The stories rather focused on activities within the EU member country or countries, or between the EU and its neighbouring countries who are not members of the EU or the EU and other countries as well other actors in the international system.

MONTH BY MONTH ANALYSIS OF ISSUES (EU & OTHER NON-AFRICAN COUNTRIES/ACTORS)

MONTH

1998 No. of Stories
CHAPTER 7. RESULTS OF ANALYSIS

7.1 Results on Key question

- EU & Africa Relations – Trade
A major or key objective of the study was to ascertain the extent to which trade issues are of interest and are reported by the Daily Graphic or the African Media.

Findings indicate that in 1998 more stories were recorded (117 stories on trade related issues between EU and Africa representing nine percent) out of a total of 1252 stories in general. The year 2008 also recorded 112 stories out of a total of 1147 also representing a little over nine percent.

What this means is that the number of stories slightly declined although the percentages are almost the same. This realisation is a pointer to the fact that trade activities are not really covered as they should be or compared to other countries where media leads in the crusade for a country’s trade interests or issues. Therefore it is not an overstatement to conclude that the Daily Graphic has not been quite proactive in its reportage on trade issues especially between Ghana and Africa and the EU in spite of the UNCTAD Conferences other aid related conferences held in the country in recent times.

- EU & Africa Relations- Aid
In addition, a key objective of the study was to find out to what extent issues on aid are reported and analysed in the Daily Graphic.

In 1998, the Daily Graphic recorded 79 stories (six percent) out of the total 1252 stories on EU-Africa aid related issues, while in 2008, it recorded 123 stories out of a total of 1147 (11 percent) of stories published. This also follows a low trend of reportage on development issues such as aid in the Ghanaian Daily. This is because in spite of the fact that 2008 figure is about five percent above the 1998 levels, a higher rate of reportage was expected especially with the Aid Effectiveness conference in Ghana in September 2008 and the fact that, the EU has reported that it is changing its trade policy to include aid. According to the Social Watch report of 2006, For
the first time, a time table was set for reaching the long standing UN target of 0.7 percent Gross National Income (GNI) by the EU with an interim target for the EU to reach an average minimum level of 0.56 percent by 1999.

The Social Watch report of 2006 further stated that the current commitment for the 15 old members of the EU to reach the 0.7 percent target by 2015, has been strategically planned to coincide with the deadline of the MDGs including the principal one of halving the proportion of people living in abject poverty.

These commitments by the EU and other issues could have been part of analysis or frequent reportage in the daily to increase aid related issues in the paper at least in the 2008 issues.

- **EU & Africa Relations -Social issues**

The extent representing diverse social issues in the newspapers for the years 1998 and 2008 was also interesting.

In 1998, the EU-Africa relations relating to social issues as defined earlier recorded 89 stories representing seven percent of total news coverage of 1252. This was against 123 out of 1147 total stories recorded in 2008 representing about 11 percent.

This is a slight increment of four percent above the 1998 levels in the social relations category which included diplomatic relations stories, immigration stories, security issues etc. Issues around Zimbabwe and the Ghana’s election in 2008 might have contributed to the increase in number of stories in 2008 in this category.

Reportage on the social relations has however been on the low side during both years of the study.

- **EU & Africa Relations -Sporting Activities**

In 1998, 64 activities were recorded about EU and Africa relations on sports, this is in contrast to 213 recorded in 2008. Although the World Cup football match held in France was in 1998, many of the stories focused on Europe and other nations which were recorded against EU –Other Countries relations. The increase in number of the 2008 reportage may be due to the increasing number of African and Ghanaian footballers in Europe, European coaches working in Africa and the activities of various European clubs linked to African players abroad.
Another area of interest to this study was to find out if the number of EU-Africa relations stories published as against EU-and its neighbours or other world actors published in Ghanaian Daily outnumber each other.

The European Union here received considerable coverage in the Daily Graphic of 1998 and 2008 on its activities with other countries and actors other than Africa. All these activities were lumped together be it sports, security, education, health, marriage, environment, trade immigration etc.

Some of the stories were also between the EU and its relationship with the United Nations. In 1998, 903 (72 percent) of such stories were recorded against a total of 1252. This is higher than 598 stories or 52 percent recorded in 2008.

It is interesting to note that more stories about the European Union and its member countries relationship with other countries/actors in the world received attention in the Daily Graphic of Both 1998 and 2008 than stories on the EU relationship with Africa. This is a pointer to the fact that Ghanaians and for that matter African are very much interested in what goes on in Europe or between Europe and other actors and not necessarily what affects Ghana or the African continent at large.

This issue reinforces the idea of colonialism and possibly brings to mind the origins of the Daily Graphic. As a newspaper set up by former colonialists the paper might have followed a particular trend on all issues involving the Europe and not what connects Africa to Europe and this has continued to this very day. In fact the difference is so huge and also reinforces the idea of unequal power relations. (72 percent of EU-others stories as against 28 percent of EU-Africa story in 1998 and 52 of EU-others story as against 48 percent of EU-Africa stories in 2008). It appears African countries are restricted in their reportage on EU-Africa relations and only report on the few stories the European writers report on the continent. However hungry for EU stories they resort to filling their news pages with everything about the EU to the detriment of doing serious analysis on their own.

Some media analysts have also laid the problem at the doorstep of lack of knowledge on the subject of aid and trade on EU-Africa relations. This is partly because of the background of
African journalist who may not have knowledge in trade and economics right from college but have studied journalism or communications straight away and as such feel unqualified to analyse documents and strategies prepared by seasoned economic experts from Europe.

7.2 Results of country by country analysis

Another objective was to ascertain whether coverage will reflect colonial ties of Ghana’s former colonial masters such as Britain and other countries that have had some form of relationship with Ghana and Africa in pre-colonial times.

Here it was discovered that the United Kingdom in both years 1998 and 2008 recorded 439 stories representing 35% of total news coverage for 1998 and 486 stories representing 42 percent for 2008 respectively, making the UK the country with frequent reportage on its activities than any single EU member country.

What this means is that the UK is ever increasing its presence in Ghana and perhaps other African countries deepening Post colonial relationships.

This is not surprising since Britain ruled Ghana for many years and many Ghanaians have families living in the UK. The UK also serves as a second home to many Ghanaians and several Ghanaian journalists have received education or training from UK Journalism training institutions. It is therefore not surprising that many stories on the United Kingdom were selected for publication by the Daily Graphic gate keepers of both foreign and local stories relating to the EU and its member countries.

Germany recorded 208 stories (17 percent) in 1998 as against 81 (seven percent) in 2008. This means that Germany’s reportage reduced drastically from 1998 to 2008.

This is rather surprising because Germany also has a special relationship with Ghana although Germany did not formally colonise Ghana. Again Germany’s Foundation for International Development (DSE) (Now InWENT) and the International Institute for Journalists have trained hundreds of Ghanaian Journalists since Post colonial years. A lot of Ghanaian technocrats have also received training in Germany coupled with technical assistance provided by the German
Technical Organization (GTZ), the reportage on Germany for both years appears somehow disappointing.

France also recorded 184 stories (15 percent) in 1998 but this reduced to 159 (14 percent) a slight reduction of its hold in the Ghanaian Daily. This is not surprising because Ghana has not got a warm relationship with France like its neighbouring Francophone countries consisting of Ivory Coast, Togo and Burkna Faso. Although Ghana is surrounded by French speaking countries, very few Ghanaians arguably speak French and this might have reflected in the low coverage of French issues. Even here most of the stories on France might have come from sporting activities, such stories on French coaches and Ghanaians footballers playing football in France among other stories.

Holland or the Netherlands on the other hand recorded 78 stories (seven percent) out of the total stories recorded in 1998 of 1252 while the country recorded 69 stories in 2008 (seven percent) out of a total of 1147 stories recorded in that year. This level of reportage is also low considering the close relationship between Holland and Ghana. There are a number of Ghanaians living in the Netherlands and unconfirmed reports indicated that as at 1998, there were 500,000 registered Ghanaians living in Holland.

Other EU countries who were not singled out for analysis proved to be stronger on the ground, countries like Sweden, Denmark, Spain in Italy were prominent in the headlines swelling the record of other countries up. In 1998, other EU countries recorded a total of 225 stories consisting of 18 percent as against a 2008 record of 229 stories constituting 20 percent. It is evidently clear that if some of those countries mentioned were singled out for analysis; they could have rubbed shoulders with countries like Holland and probably Germany.

Countries like Sweden appeared several times (though not quantified) especially in Aid and diplomatic relations. The EU as a body also recorded 118 stories in 1998 (nine percent) while it recorded 123 stories (11 percent) of total stories in 2008. The two percent increment in reportage of the EU as a body might have been as a result of the Aid for Development conference in September 2008 in Accra
and the UNCTAD conference also held in 2008 in Accra which brought up the issue of EPAs and other trade negotiations on the fore. Therefore the study suggests that colonialism is still a strong force behind EU-Africa relations and the EU as an institution now may now represents the ‘new colonial head’ that may be working through various member countries and aid agencies to deepen its relationship with Africa.  

### 7.3 Results of year by year analysis

One of the key objectives of the study was to discover whether the coverage of EU and EU member countries’ related issues in the Daily Graphic have improved over the last ten years i.e. in terms of frequency.

The results of the analysis are an indication that, the number of stories has rather declined. Stories on EU and its member countries in 1998 outnumbered that of 2008. Though the difference is only two percent, it was expected that more debate could have been generated in a leading newspaper like Daily Graphic leading to a higher increase in the reportage in the category of EU-Trade or Aid issues and further pushing the records up. However it is disappointing to note that 1998 rather recorded more EU related stories than 2008.

### 7.4 Unequal power relations between Africa and EU media

The outcome of the analysis on sources of EU related news, page placement and type of stories all give credence to the unequal power relations between the EU media and African Media. In 2008, alone BBC recorded 37 percent of total news coverage. Although in 1998, the figure was less due to non-sourced foreign stories, which formed 71 percent news was of foreign origin. To support this argument 86 percent of the news in 1998 were placed in foreign pages while only 14 percent were placed in local pages.

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78 ‘New Colonial head’ is being used figuratively as an institution with deep interest in African matters
Again in 2008, 79 percent of the news were placed in foreign pages while only 21 percent were placed in local pages. In addition to these, feature stories which are an indication of analysis, comments and criticisms which could be locally generated were almost missing with 1998 recording three percent and 2008 recording only two percent.

This outcome could be as a result of poor remuneration, lack of support and logistics and sometimes inadequate training plaguing African Journalists as against their European counterparts who are adequately resourced with good remuneration, on the job training on contemporary issues and advanced technology to work with.

This brings to mind the issues of northern Civil Society Organisations (CSOs and including media organizations from northern countries who are rich and southern CSOs who are poor.) This leads to inherently disproportionate power relations, defined by the financial endowments that exist between them. These unequal power relations have led to northern CSOs defining the Agenda for southern CSO counterparts following often on issues that otherwise may not command much public attention locally.

CHAPTER 8: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY

To facilitate the qualitative analysis, a simple random sampling method was used to select three stories per month for the two-year study of the Daily Graphic in the years 1998 and 2008. This yielded a total of 36 stories per year and 72 stories for the whole two years. Sixteen out of the 72 stories were on EU-Africa aid and trade issues while six out of the 72 stories were on EU Africa sports issues. Seven out of the 72 sampled stories were on social issues.

8.1 EU countries and former colonies

Is it possible that former colonial powers like the UK and France who are part of the EU still have strong links with their former colonies?
A number of stories published in the Ghanaian Daily Graphic seem to suggest a strong link between Ghana and its former colony the UK as the paper frequently published stories with UK origins to the detriment of other countries.

For instance the Daily Graphic of December 1, 1998 had a story with a headline British denies alleged Pinochet deal, where the Sunday Times and the Sunday Telegraph were quoted as stating that the British government has denied that it is close to a deal that would allow General Augustus Pinochet to leave the United Kingdom and stand trial in Chile. 79

In a follow-up story on December 7, 1998 with the headline “London Police on the alert the paper reported that the London Police was on the alert in anticipation of hundreds of Pinochet descending on London ahead of the British Home secretary’s verdict on the extradition case against the former Chilean Ruler Augustus Pinochet. 80

In the same Page 2, of December 7, 1998, another story on Pinochet was with the headline: Pinochet’s lawyers seek to overturn ruling 81 where the Daily Graphic quotes the Guardian Newspaper of London as saying that Lawyers for former Chilean leader Augustus Pinochet were seeking to overturn a ruling an earlier House of Lords ruling against the former Chilean dictator on grounds that the wife of one of the judges works for Amnesty International. 82 Publishing two stories from UK on the same page reduces the chances of other stories getting published.

On October 23, 1998, the Daily Graphic published two stories from UK on the same Page out of a total of five stories for foreign sports.

The first story which was sampled was headlined UK MPs call for probe into bid where the paper reported that a group of 46 members of Parliament have urged the government to ask the Britain’s monopolies watchdog to examine a bid for soccer club Manchester United by pay television company BSkyB. 83

79 Britain denies alleged Pinochet deal (1998 December 1) Daily Graphic p.2
81 Pinochet’s lawyers seek to overturn ruling (1998, December 7) Daily Graphic p.2
Another story on the same page which was not sampled but also from the UK was headlined Man U on warpath and it reported that Manchester United football club was on fire after 11 goals in two games.84

Another story sampled on June 12, 1998 was headlined Britain allows first cannabis farm. The Graphic which did not name the source of the story said Britain’s first government –sanctioned cannabis farm has been established to grow marijuana for medical research purposes85

The Only EU related story published on the foreign page of the Daily Graphic on September 11, 2008 was also on Britain and had the headline Britain to fall into recession. The first Paragraph of the BBC sourced story stated that “The UK, Germany and Spain will fall into recession in 2008, the European Commission has predicted.” “Brussels said the three countries would see two negative quarters of economic growth which is a technical definition of a recession,” the story continued.

This story which was written by a BBC reporter probably based in Brussels was picked and used the same way, though it was about three European countries, only Britain was mentioned in the headline, drawing attention to that particular country as against the other two- Germany and Spain.86

In all 19 out of 43 foreign stories that were not related to Africa were of UK origin and give an indication that the Daily Graphic has a penchant for selecting UK related stories for publication in its foreign pages and other pages.

8.2 Power Relations between Western and African Media

Looking at the number 43 out of 72 stories mainly from European sources without any linkage to Africa, coupled with the sourced ones from Europe with linkages to Africa, it may indicate that African media gate –keepers may be following closely what their European counterparts are reporting in their media and that the two sides are not on the same level due to the inability of African newspapers to produce interesting stories from their own perspectives and interests.

84 Man U on warpath (1998, October 23) Daily Graphic p.30
85 Britain allows first Cannabis farm (1998, June 12) Daily Graphic p.2
86 Britain to fall into recession (2008, September 11) Daily Graphic p. 2
For instance four out of the seven stories under EU-Africa, social issues sampled for the qualitative study have direct impact on the security situation in Africa but were all foreign sourced. One story with the headline *EU to resume deployment of troops to Chad and published by the Daily Graphic of February 12, 2008* is sourced by Reuters and BBC. In another story with the headline *EU envoy appeals for Kenya calm*, the BBC reported that The European Union’s Development Commissioner has urged both sides in Kenya’s disputed presidential poll to stop exacerbating tensions.

*Anti-French Protest in Comoros* is another headline published by the *Graphic* on March 28, 2008. Here the paper published a BBC report which said Police have fired tear gas to disperse hundreds of demonstrators in the Comoran capital Moroni where crowds chanted anti-French slogans near France’s embassy after a renegade leader colonel Mohammed Bacar fled to the French –run Island of Mayotte.

The *Daily Graphic* further on August 7, 2008 published a story again sourced from the BBC with the headline *France accused in Rwandan genocide* where Rwanda accused France of playing an active role in the genocide of 1994 in which about 800,000 people were killed. It would have been interesting to read what angles African reporters or media based newspapers would have reported the stories. Interestingly, the Daily Graphic has no other sources to such stories apart from EU and other international sources depicting unequal power relations between African media and the international media.

### 8.3 Aid and Trade Stories in the *Daily Graphic*

Are stories on aid and trade of interest to African Media gatekeepers and for that matter foreign editor of daily newspapers?

Out of a total of 72 stories sampled randomly for the qualitative analysis only 16 were on aid and trade between the EU and Africa. Only one of the stories was a feature article. The rest were either foreign sourced or local news stories on support from European countries without any in-depth analysis or implications for the local economy.

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87 EU to resume deployment of troops to Chad (2008, February 12) Daily Graphic p.5
A story published on May 30, 2008 and headlined *Ghana gets Spanish support for hospitals* said Ghana has received 10 million Euros worth of equipment in loan from the Spanish government to help improve health facilities in some hospitals in the country.\(^{89}\)

Another story of May 30, 2008 headlined *Britain gives more help to the health sector* sourced locally states that the British government has decided to provide 42.2 million pounds to strengthen the implementation of the government’s programme to provide free medical care for pregnant women.\(^{90}\)

In an article headlined *France increases funding to Africa*, the Daily Graphic reported that *the Agence Francaise de Developpement*, (AFD) the French Aid Agency committed a total of 8.76 billion French Franc in new projects in developing countries including Cameroun, Cote d’Ivoire, Mali, Tunisia and Morocco.\(^{91}\)

For instance the Daily Graphic of February 27, 1998 had a story headlined *Denmark earmarks $165 million for Ghana’s development where* it reported that Denmark has earmarked the amount which is to be provided under the Danish Development Assistance programme to developing countries and will assist the government of Ghana and the private sector in the reconstruction of the country’s economy.\(^{92}\)

Another story published on April 22, 1998 had the headline: *Danish embassy donates generator to Centre*.\(^{93}\) According to the story, the Danish Embassy in Ghana donated a 27 KVA generator valued at $13,000 to a project at Cape Coast in Ghana’s Coastal region, while another story headlined *SADC urges EU to help solve problems* published on November 5, 1998 states that the 14- nation Southern African Development Community has asked the EU to help Africa solve its debt problems which it described as a nightmare.\(^{94}\)

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\(^{90}\) Achiaw N. O (2008, May10) Britain gives more help to health sector Daily Graphic p.21


\(^{93}\) Quaicoe, J (1998, April 22) Danish embassy donates generator to Centre Daily Graphic p.25

\(^{94}\) SADC Urges EU to help solve Africa’s Problems 91998, November 5) Daily Graphic p. 5
Some 1998 headlines are synonymous with the 2008 headlines and it does not seem that the trend of reportage has changed that much.

For instance 1998 recorded more headlines like *EU hands over 28 projects in BA*\(^*95*\) *Germany provides 70 billion Cedis for projects*,\(^*96*\) *55 German Tourists visit Ghana’s attractions*,\(^*97*\) *Britain gives 130 million pounds to provide facilities*,\(^*98*\) *EU Commissions 17, micro projects*,\(^*99*\)

Some headlines in 2008 on the other hand were: *German government provides 39 million Euros to support MDGs*,\(^*100*\) *Germany to assist Ghana to improve rail system*,\(^*101*\) *Spanish government to offer help in vocational education*\(^*102*\) and *Ghanaian team to participate in Denmark art and culture festival*\(^*103*\)

**CHAPTER 9. REFLECTING ON ANALYSIS AND RESULTS**

One of the key objectives of this study was to examine the extent of activities of aid and trade issues between Africa and Europe. At the beginning of the study, it was expected that more stories will be recorded in this area and as such theories related to aid and trade were selected for application. However, as it turned out, 72 percent of the stories published in 1998 had no links with Africa whatsoever while 52 percent of stories published on the EU in 2008 also had no linkage to Africa.

Only 28 percent of stories in 1998 and 48 percent in 2008 had direct linkage to African issues. Such results could be deeply rooted in history of colonialism and how Ghanaians have been socialized to accept and report all news on the European Union and its member countries as

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\(^*95*\) Boadu K.A (1998, March 14) *EU hands over 28 projects in BA* . Daily Graphic p.16 (B.A stands for Brong-Ahafo Region and it is located in one of Ghana’s forest Zones.)

\(^*96*\) Awal I. (1998, November 3) *Germany provides 70 billion Cedis for projects* Daily Graphic p24

\(^*97*\) Dzamboe T. (1998, January 5) *55 German Tourists visit Ghana’s attractions* Daily Graphic p15

\(^*98*\) Dzamboe T. (1998, September 12) *Britain gives 130 million pounds to provide facilities* Daily Graphic p16


\(^*100*\) Yeboah L. A & Korantemaa H. (2008, July 7) *German Government provides 39 million Euros to support MDGs* p.57

\(^*101*\) Yeboah L. A (2008, November 7) *Germany to assist Ghana to improve rail system* Daily Graphic p.31

\(^*102*\) Syme S. (2008, February 11) *Spanish government to offer help in vocational education.* Daily Graphic p.31

\(^*103*\) *Ghanaian team to participate in Denmark art and culture festival* (2008,July 7) Daily Graphic p.20
something of interest and of great value. Also Post colonial relationships might be playing a significant role in these trends despite the fact that there is huge difference between the 1998 figure and the 2008 showing a decreasing trend in the reportage of non-Africa activities of the EU covered in the Ghanaian media. It is also an indication that selection of stories for publication in the African or Ghanaian media are not based on national or regional interests but on ‘business as usual’ where everything about Europe is good for publication to the detriment of issues that will put the country and continent forward in terms of growth.

The results of the study where more stories on EU and its member countries are more than stories about Europe and Africa and also where there are more stories with foreign sources reinforces the assertion of a top-bottom approach of communication theory between Europe and Africa.

Development and information expert Ulla Carlsson points out that “a small number of transnational companies control the markets for news and communications technology. Developing countries had no choice but to make use of the structures created by and for the industrialized regions of the world.”

Poorly developed and economically weak mass media are unable to report news events in their own countries or to report world events to their national audiences.

What this means is that even if the European media misreports an event, local media is unable to make corrections since it cannot match the international media backing for the work.

Carlsson explains that in the Cold War era, the newly independent countries of the third world were of strategic importance to both East and West. Development aid was an important factor in winning the hearts and minds of developing nations. New patron-client relationships emerged; old established ones changed.

Carlsson further elaborates that efforts by developing nations to make their voices heard in the international scene were not successful. However she says information and communication issues have resurfaced in the global arena in a somewhat different guise. The World Summit on

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105 Ibid p. 193
Information Society (WSIS), the UN and UNESCO and the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) are all involved in the search for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) \(^{106}\)

The issue of photographs or images accompanying such stories was also a matter of investigation and the findings have been quite disappointing.

According to ace culture and media expert Peter Hamilton, the public’s judgments about historical and contemporary incidents are often based on the photographs available to show them.\(^{107}\)

Hamilton goes on to state about photographs: “it is a powerful medium, capable of focusing attention on the significant issues of our time; its descriptive ability is no less than that of words. Despite the increasing awareness, that depiction does not embody truth itself, photography remains a principal medium for our understanding of the world.” \(^{108}\)

In the light of this, the Daily Graphic could have put in more effort geared towards the use of more local stories and photographs.

9.1 My Experience

This study has been very interesting. In the beginning, I was not too happy with the topic I selected since I had to abandon an earlier topic on tobacco for which I was to visit Sweden for the second time for the Study which was supported by Malmo City Authorities. I first visited Sweden on an environmental training programme in Kalmar University for three weeks in August-September 1999 and thought it will be good to re-visit after 10 years. As fate will have it, I could not attend due to ill health and had to find a new topic on coverage of EU related issues in the Daily Graphic for 1998/2008.

\(^{106}\) Ibid p. 195
\(^{108}\) Ibid p.75
However, I have enjoyed undertaking this study which took me through over 600 issues of the *Daily Graphic* which publishes six days a week from Monday to Saturday with the exception of Sundays. Getting the right coding sheet was very difficult, the coding sheet was changed a number of times before I finally drafted the one that will carry all the issues I wanted to focus on.

In the beginning, I wanted to analyse EU and other countries relations with emphasis on security and trade and others, but this proved difficult and at the end all EU and other actors issues were lumped together.

Coding sheets were prepared on monthly basis for the two years under study resulting in 24 coding sheets and two summary sheets for 1998 and 2008. The information gathered were extracted for analysis.

I have broadened my knowledge on a lot of issues, reading through aid and trade issues and following international trends as are reported in the paper. The decision to focus on aid and trade and choose theories mentioning them I can assess came from my own personal bias. As a Journalist who has specialized in the area of development reporting for over a decade, I was poised to do something relating to aid and trade between Europe and Africa. My decision to focus on Europe- Africa Relations was also borne out of an opportunity I got in October – November 2007, where I participated in a Programme organised by the German President Horst Kohler in Berlin and Frankfurt dubbed “Germany-European African Relations-Highlighting Development Cooperation” through the invitation of the Capacity Building International, (InWent) based in Berlin. As part of the programme we (conference participants) visited Brussels where we interacted with the various EU media personalities who briefed us (a group of 10 African journalists from Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, Kenya, Senegal, La Cote d’ Ivoire and Zambia) on how we can easily access news from their website and get in touch with them for interviews through email to increase our reportage of EU issues in our respective countries. My experiences from that programme I believed shaped my thoughts as I planned this study.
9.2 Limitations of study

This study left out a number of stories on International Trade activities that mention the European Union. But these were not computed because the European Union was not mentioned as a main actor or was not part of a headline.

Another limitation of the study was also its failure to code stories on countries like Spain, Denmark, Sweden and Italy separately. The initial perception that those countries did not record high stories quickly faded after some coding sheets have been filled. This is why the “Other countries” category recorded higher numbers of stories. In fact Ghana had had trade relationships with countries like Sweden and Denmark in Pre-colonial times. Some of Ghanaians along the Coast have claimed their foreign family names such as Hansen and Andersen are of Danish origin.

Categorisation of the issues under study was very difficult and at the end of the day Political issues, security and economic etc were all lumped together making that category a bit broad.

The study also failed to take note of the number of stories in which the EU or Africa were mentioned separately as actors.

The issue of writing academically was also a big challenge. After many years of story writing I had a feel that each paragraph looked more like a news story than thesis. Having lived in an African country where literacy levels are not high, journalist are encouraged to use very simple everyday English in their writings to meet the standards of the average reader and also to get more people interested in buying newspapers, and my desire to make the language as academic as possible made me spent a lot of time going back and forth the same paragraphs.

Another limitation of this study was the fact that sometimes, it was difficult distinguishing between stories on aid and trade, some aid stories just look like trade stories and in such instances the researcher’s discretion was employed for placement on the coding sheet.
Furthermore, some stories also had two foreign sources, such as Reuters and BBC and this made coding for sourcing a bit difficult, here too the first source was used for the coding. Also, some stories (especially in 1998) were of foreign origin but were not sourced and this made it difficult to compare effectively and analyse with the 2008 issues.

Another point of concern was the issue of findings where sometimes the variations of figures between 1998 and 2008 were very slim making the drawing of conclusions difficult.

The qualitative analysis in the project plan was to interview two former editors of the foreign page of the Daily Graphic. While that was not possible, some of the stories were sampled for analysis, however due to the limited number of words, not all the sampled stories could be analysed well to bring out their effect. In spite of this limitation, the qualitative analysis which combined the results of both years in analysis makes quite interesting reading.

### 9.3 Other Critical Issues

The content analysis of Coverage of EU and EU member countries related stories in the *Daily Graphic* of 1998 and 2008 has revealed that under the period of study more stories were published ten years ago than last year. This shows a decreasing trend of EU influence in general in the Ghanaian media.

It also brought to the fore the relationship between a country like Britain and its former colony Ghana reflecting in the higher number of stories published on the UK alone in *The Daily Graphic* as against other European countries.

The study also brought to fore the fact Journalist working in Europe set the media agenda and reporters or media gatekeepers in Africa just follow. This issue could be as a result of factors such as lack of resources for African media systems, lack of training and education on aid and international trade and lack of interest by the reporters. The study also brought to light how issues on aid and trade were seldom reported and how foreign content dominate the stories published in the years under review.

The issue of aid and trade are also discussed at length but unfortunately, the study does not show that they are of that interest to the *Daily Graphic*.
Very few feature articles were published indicating that in-depth analysis of issues especially on trade and aid which connects Africa to Europe under modernisation theory is also very limited. *Daily Graphic* in the two years of the study simply republished stories written from Europe by European reporters and sent down through wire services or through the internet.

Some of the foreign stories especially in 1998 were not sourced making comparison with 2008 difficult.

The limited use of photographs also denied the stories images that could have drawn the attention of more readers to the stories. Such a small amount of photos accompanying the stories as computed above was quite unfortunate.

However the biggest surprise of all was the fact that more of the stories published during the period under study did not connect Africa to Europe. (A whopping 72 percent of stories in 1998 and 52 percent in 2008) were on Europe and other actors and not Africa. This for me was a big disappointment indicating that reportage on EU related issues are not based on national or regional interest but rather on a continuous bond of servitude where African media gate keepers continuously see everything their former colonial masters do as good and must be reported.

### 9.4 Future Studies

In spite of the limitations it has been an interesting study and future studies could examine EU-Africa relations vis-à-vis US-Africa or China-Africa relations to see how these world powers are competing with the EU over its former colonies in Africa in terms of aid and trade. Over the past decade Asian presence, particularly the Chinese presence in Africa has been very strong in terms of aid, trade, tourism and improvement in diplomatic relations raising concerns among development experts as to how this can affect Africa’s relations with its former colonial powers.
CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION

The study has been in-depth, content analysis as a tool has been used to quantify and analyse the frequency of reportage, issues, sources, type of news, photographs among others carried by the 1998/2008 issues of the Daily Graphic published in Ghana. The analysis show that reportage on EU related issues in general in the Ghanaian daily has not improved. The number of stories and articles in the 1998 editions are even more than number of stories in the 2008 editions. While the year 1998 editions recorded 1252 stories, the year 2008 recorded 1147 stories.

From the study, it is evident that the Daily Graphic does not report regularly on the key issues of this study such as EU -Africa trade and aid. In 1998, aid related issues involving the EU and Africa were only six percent while that of 2008 was 11 percent. Trade related issues involving the EU and Africa recorded nine percent in both years.

Also Reporters have no interest in analysis of the issues in feature articles resulting in 97 percent of news stories in 1998 as against three percent of feature articles while 2008 recorded a woefully two percent of feature articles a whopping 98 percent of news stories.

On sources of news published relating to EU, only 14 percent were locally generated in 1998, the rest of 86 percent in total from various sources and no sources were all of foreign origin.

In 2008, local content increased to 21 percent as against 81 percent foreign sources.

This is a pointer to the fact that European media has been setting the agenda and the Daily Graphic simply follows.

However the biggest the disappointment was the fact that more of the stories published during the period under study did not connect Africa to Europe as expected. (A whopping 72 percent of stories in 1998 and 52 percent in 2008) were on Europe and other actors and not Africa. This for me was a big disappointment indicating that reportage on EU related issues are not based on national or regional interest but rather on a continuous bond of servitude where African media gate keepers continuously see everything their former colonial masters do as good and must be reported.
Theories underpinning colonialism such as Edward Said’s Orientalism, modernization, media and society theories have helped to discuss some of the issues under focus.

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## SUMMARY SHEET FOR 1998

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France’s new Africa policy

... Assessing the new economic stakes

By Daniel Kondor

France is one of the few European countries with a history of long-standing relations with Africa. The country is consistently adapting its cooperation and development aid to the needs of the continent.

France, which is also the second largest donor of official aid (after Japan) to developing countries with 85.1 billion francs (US$6.6 billion) representing 4.4 per cent of France’s GDP went to Africa in 1996. France, therefore, remains by far the largest donor of official aid to Africa. In 1997, it devoted over 95 per cent of its official development assistance (ODA) to the whole of Africa, including the Western Sahara.

France’s new policy aims to promote an atmosphere of openness in the African continent. It is designed to strengthen France’s role as a major player in the development of Africa.

The new policy is based on the principle of non-interference. It seeks to foster good governance and peace in the region. The policy also aims to help improve the living standards of the African people.

France has been a significant player in the African continent, particularly in the Western Sahara. It has been instrumental in bringing about peace in the region.

The new policy is expected to bring about significant changes in the relationship between France and Africa. It is expected to lead to increased investment and cooperation in various sectors, including trade, education, and infrastructure.

The policy is expected to be implemented in a phased manner, with the focus initially on key sectors such as education, health, and infrastructure. The aim is to create a conducive environment for investment and cooperation in the region.

The new policy is expected to be welcomed by African leaders, who have long sought for stronger cooperation with France. It is hoped that the policy will help to bring about significant changes in the relationship between France and Africa, leading to increased investment and cooperation in various sectors.

Financial

The interbank market has realized a substantial increase in the supply of funds, with Dollar inflow outstanding. Consequently, the cedi continues to enjoy attractive stability.

Most banks keep long term positions and maintain balances between 2900 and 3200. Further drops have been recorded in the weighted average discount rates for the 91 day and 182 days bills and bonds. The 91 day bills are at 1.10 per cent and the 182 days bills at 1.40 per cent.

The 1 year and 3 year bonds also lost 0.52 and 0.42 points to trade at 31.20 and 29.74 per cent, respectively.

The pound continues to remain the strongest currency against the US dollar. The pound currently trades at 2.850.

Last week, the pound traded just below 2.820 at 2.823. It peaked around 2.850.

DAILY GRAPHIC, Thursday, November 12, 1998, Page 23

STOCK EXCHANGE

GSE poised for recovery

MID-WEEK trading at the close of business on the Ghana Stock Exchange saw the appreciation in the share prices of three equities as against two decliners reports GOTHE EVANS.

With the upward price movements in the share prices of MOGL and SCBL, the GSE All-Share Index gained 7.72 points to close at 799.13 points. Volume of trading however still continues to be low with 14,670 shares being traded on the close of business.

Equities |
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MOGL |
SCBL |
Figure 1998 |
1.30 |
2.00 |
Figure 1998 |
1.00 |
2.00 |

Source: GSE

* Hubert Vandeme, French Foreign Minister
Police expels African migrants from France

POLICE yesterday evacuated about 100 illegal African immigrants from a south Paris church where they had peacefully occupied to press demands to be allowed to settle in France.

A spokesman for the Black immigrants said police detained several people among those who had occupied St. Jeanne d'Arc church on Sunday.

Two dozen Mauritanians occupied St. Pierre church in the Normandy Port of Le Havre on Saturday, and several dozen African immigrants have been inside Ery cathedral outside Paris since March 7. The protesting migrants are bachelors who arrived in France without their families. Authorities have vowed not to let individuals with such status remain in France if they entered illegally.

Two years ago, a group of African families who also entered France illegally, but whose children were later born in the country, occupied St. Bernard church in northern Paris.

Their plight, and their brutal expulsion by police after several weeks of occupation, sparked nationwide sympathy. Authorities ended up giving most of them papers allowing them to stay in France, saying this was for the sake of their children.

The left-wing government which came to power last June is studying applications for residence permits by more than 140,000 illegal immigrants.

REUTERGNA

Pro-Abacha groups to clash?

Pro-Abacha groups under opposition also plan a demonstration against the regime of President Obasanjo. The demonstration is scheduled to take place next Saturday, March 18, the day on which a coalition of pro-Abacha groups have called a huge rally in Lagos to urge

...
‘European Union must help Africa’

By Joe Nynah

President Jerry John Rawlings has called on countries of the European Union to help Africa to develop a common perspective towards the solution of the continent’s problems.

He said the promotion and the development of fragmented and parallel institutions in Africa at a time when there is a shift towards integration worldwide is unacceptable.

President Rawlings made the call at the Castle, Accra, yesterday when the Chief of General Staff of the United Kingdom Armed Forces, General Sir Roger Wheeler called on him.

He said the co-operation being developed in Europe must not lead to division in other regions.

President Rawlings noted that some new relations that have emerged in the world are confronted with new problems, arising out of the new global environment.

The President, therefore, stressed the need for collaboration to enhance efficiency in dealing with new global problems, such as international terrorism, conflicts and arms proliferation.

He said world leaders have a heavy responsibility which

*Continued on P. 3*
A LARGE advance party comprising personnel from the US State Department and the White House has begun arriving in Accra to prepare for the visit of President Bill Clinton to Ghana scheduled for March 23, this year.

In all, President Clinton’s entourage will number about 600.

Yesterday, two huge US Air Force planes were spotted at the Kotoka International Airport in Accra and it is believed they flew in the advance party and logistics for the visit.

Meanwhile, preparations for the visit are underway. While the official programme is yet to be published, sources close to the State Protocol have confirmed that the main event will be a cheque presentation by the US President at the Independence Square.

President Clinton who will be accompanied by his wife, Hillary, will on arrival drive through some principal streets of Accra en route to the Independence Square.

A well-placed source which indicated that a decision is yet to be taken on the route, said the Presidential motorcade will either go through the Ring Road-Tawiah Flyover at Kaneshi or the Nima Highway.

At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Graphic learned that all political parties have been invited in.

President Rawlings in a chat with the visiting Royal Highness Princess Anne of Great Britain at the Castle, Osu, yesterday. Picture by ROCKSON ASMAH.

PresidentRawlings expressed the hope that the impressive impact the Princess has made on the social scene would encourage other organisations to enter that arena.

He expressed the hope that Princess Anne would leave the country with good

President commends Princess Anne

By Joe Bradford Nyinah

President Jerry John Rawlings yesterday received in audience her Royal Highness, Princess Anne of the United Kingdom and commended her concern for children and the socially deprived.

He said Ghana feels honoured by the Royal visit and indicated the readiness of various social groups to receive her as she tours various parts of the country.

Princess Anne, who arrived in the country last Wednesday night would visit various charity groups, especially those of the Save the Children Fund of which she is the Life Patron.

President Rawlings gave the assurance that government is doing all it can to provide the necessary relief to children and the socially disadvantaged.

He however expressed regret that financial and logistic constraints hinder such efforts.

President Rawlings hoped the Princess would undertake a full tour of Ghana to learn more about the country.

Princess Anne, who arrived in the country last Wednesday night, was to depart today.

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**Continued on P. 3**

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**Advance already**

By Elvis D. Aryeh (Editor)

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Single European currency poses challenges to world trade

By Deborah Fynn & Hannah Hesse

The Executive Director of the Ghana Commercial Bank (GCB), Mr. K. A. Ansaah, has stressed the need for Ghanaians to appreciate the challenges and opportunities which the single European currency will pose in terms of world trade expansion.

He said Ghana, as a developing country, cannot ignore the Euro to her detriment since she is vulnerably dependent on the countries of the European Union as a major trading partner in both imports and exports. Mr. Ansaah made this statement at the opening of a one-day seminar on the European single currency at the Novotel in Accra on Wednesday.

The seminar, organised by the GCB with support from Dresdner Bank of Germany, attracted about one hundred participants from the business community.

The European Economic Community will, from January 1 next year, be introducing the Euro as the unit of currency in 11 countries in Europe. It will eventually replace the familiar currency units like the French and Belgian francs, the Mark and Kroon among many others.

Mr. Ansaah observed that with the increasing international trade among nations, a country could ignore the Euro at its own peril, if the currency succeeds as an acceptable medium of exchange.

The Area Manager in charge of Corporates and Relationship Management for Africa of the Dresdner Bank, Mr. Reinhard Haas said the introduction of the Euro will make it the world’s second most important currency.

He said the new currency will bring about changes in all international financial markets and also challenge the monopsonisation of the US Dollar for commodity pricing.

Mr. Haas said since Dresdner Bank offers financial services to over 100 correspondent banks in Africa, potential consumers and potential investors should take note of it.

Ghana is still attractive to investors — Ofosu-Boateng

By Paul Awortwi-Mensah

A MINISTER of State, Mr. Akunooah Oforou-Boateng, has indicated that the country is fast becoming an attractive investment destination because of its economic and political stability.

He said over the past years many investors have trooped to the country to look for investment opportunities due to its liberalised economy.

Mr. Ofosu-Boateng said this in Accra on Tuesday at a press briefing prior to the departure of a delegation of Mr. Ofosu-Boateng, who is also the Member of Parliament for Lower West Akwapim and Chairman of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Trade, Industry and Tourism, said the hotel industry in the country needs a facelift to be able to play a more meaningful role in the hospitality industry.

He said the country needs about 2,000 to 2,600 new hotel rooms of international standard by the year 2000 which should be increased to about 8,000 by the year 2010 to meet the demand for accommodation.

Mr. Ofosu-Boateng continued to introduce measures to improve the investment climate in the country.

The leader of the delegation Mr. Helmut Fanz, commended the government and the private sector for the mutual understanding between them that has helped a liberal economy to thrive in Ghana.

Mr. Fanz said now that members of the delegation have studied the investment climate in Ghana, they will review what they have learnt to know the areas to invest in.

He thanked the government for the