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Social Studies**

*Erasmus*

**ANALYZING THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN  
FIGHTING CORRUPTION IN URBAN WATER SUPPLY  
IN ACCRA-TEMA METROPOLITAN AREA (ATMA),  
GHANA**

A Research Paper presented by:

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***Disclaimer:***

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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## List of Acronyms

ADB	African Development Bank
AFD	Agence France de De´veloppement
ATMA	Accra Tema Metropolitan Area
AUCPCC	Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption
AVRL	Aqua Vitens Rand Limited
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BNI	Bureau of National Investigation
CAGD	Controller and Accountant General’s Department
CHRAJ	Commission of Human Rights and Administrative Justice
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CLL	Criminal Libel Law
CNN	Cable News Network
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CWSA	Community Water and Sanitation Agency
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DFiD	Department For International Development
EOCO	Economic and Organised Crime Office
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
EU	European Union
FIC	Financial Intelligence Centre

GACC	Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition
GAMA	Greater Accra Metropolitan Area
GCGL	Graphic Communications Group Limited
GII	Ghana Integrity Initiative
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GNA	Ghana News Agency
GoG	Government of Ghana
GSS	Ghana Statistical Services
GWCL	Ghana Water Company Limited
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISSODEC	Integrated Social Development Centre
MDIF	Media Development and Investment Fund
MFWA	Media Foundation of West Africa
MMDA	Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies
MOFEP	Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
MWRWW	Ministry of Water Resources, Works and Housing
MWS	Ministry of Water and Sanitation
NACAP	National Anti-Corruption Action Plan
NCA	National Communications Authority
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NMC	National Media Commission

NPP	New Patriotic Party
NRW	Non Revenue Water
NTC	New Times Corporation
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PPP	Public Private Partnership
PURC	Public Utilities Commission
RTI	Right to Information
RWS	Rural Water Supply
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SSIP	Small Scale Independent Producers
TI	Transparency International
TV	Television
UNCAC	United Nations Commission Against Corruption
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UWS	Urban Water Supply
WIGO	Water Integrity Global Outlook
WIN	Water Integrity Network
WRC	Water Resources Commission



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## **Abstract**

The provision of clean water for the urban population in developing countries is becoming both scarce and expensive largely because of rapid urbanisation and poor urban water management; including the lack of transparency and accountability and rising corruption.

Ghana's capital city, Accra, is facing such challenges in the urban water sector. Confronting the problem of corruption and ensuring transparency and accountability in the water sector requires a number of actors: first, an effective public sector; second, a dynamic private sector; and finally, an engaged civil society including an independent, robust and sustainable media to raise public awareness about water sector corruption, causes, effects and solutions.

Based on the review of relevant literature and content analysis of newspapers, this paper demonstrates how constant exposure to news media can help change people's perception of specific issues, such as a corruption engendered national conversation to cause specific change in policy and promote transparency and accountability.

The paper further argues that the effectiveness of the media in promoting transparency, accountability and fighting corruption in Ghana depends on a number of factors: first, the news media mostly lacks the capacity to tell the story of corruption in a compelling way to get the attention of the public; and second, ownership of the media limits the media's ability to remain independent in telling the story of corruption. In other cases, journalists lack the necessary training and skill to report on corruption.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

This paper uses empirical data from Accra, Ghana to contribute to the relatively small amount of literature on the role of the media in promoting transparency, accountability and fighting corruption in the water sector. While it is well known that good governance principles such as transparency and accountability are important for development outcomes, the field of development studies lacks a systematic assessment of the role of the media in bringing them about and the challenges it faces in doing so.

## **Keywords**

Water, Corruption, Media, Accountability, Transparency, Ghana, Accra

# Chapter 1 Introduction to the Topic

## 1.1 Background

A famous English-American poet, W.H. Auden once wrote that “thousands have lived without love but not without water”<sup>2</sup>. Clean and reliable water is necessary for the daily survival of communities and for industrial, agricultural and energy purposes (WRI 2017). This very vital resource has come under pressure in recent times largely because of climate change (Barlow 2010:2).

Lack of access to safe drinking water and sanitation is the cause of various health problems in many parts of the developing world – water is therefore vital to address many of the global challenges including malnutrition, poverty reduction and sustainable resource management (Rijsberman 2006:1) Indeed, Goal 6 of the United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDGS) clearly states that access to safe water and sanitation and sound management of freshwater ecosystems are essential to human health and to environmental sustainability and economic prosperity (UN 2015).

Accessible and high-quality freshwater is a limited and highly variable resource - the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development’s (OECD) projections show that water demand will rise by 55% by 2050; and, by the same year, 240 million people are expected to remain without access to clean water, and 1.4 billion without access to basic sanitation (OECD 2012).

Water access is said to be the biggest problem for most parts of sub-Saharan Africa and the UN estimates that water shortages is a potential killer to the economic development of the continent (Dzawu 2013).

In Ghana, like most African countries, water service delivery is assigned to a single water authority and the abilities of the water agencies to deliver water adequately, especially to urban areas, have been negatively affected by many factors. First, urbanisation is taking place at an unprecedented rate and the urban water systems are characterized by heavy financial losses and face key good governance tests including corruption (UN 2003).

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<sup>2</sup> Wystan Hugh Auden was an English-American poet. Auden's poetry was noted for its stylistic and technical achievement, its engagement with politics, morals, love, and religion, and its variety in tone, form and content (<https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poets/w-h-auden>)

## 1.2 What is the Problem?

The Accra Tema Metropolitan Area (ATMA), also known as Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA) or Accra for short, is Ghana's regional capital. Accra is a fast-growing urban and peri-urban city, which is facing considerable planning challenges because of rapid urbanization and rising population – in fact, with a current population of 4 million as at 2010 (the second highest in Ghana), the population of Accra is expected to double by 2030. At the regional level, Accra is the most densely populated region with a density of approximately 1,236 persons per square kilometre compared to 895.5 persons per square kilometre in 2000 (GSS 2012:2).

Providing water for Accra is therefore a huge challenge considering the population growth rate and since Accra consumes about 60% of the urban water supplied by the government owned Ghana Water Company Limited (GWCL). Adank et al. (2011:12) predict that, by 2030, Accra will face serious water challenges.

Indeed, Accra is already facing regular water crises. Water crisis has become a routine phenomenon in recent years. Between May 2012 – March 2013, the city plunged into a water and energy crisis that threatened people's livelihood as well as economic activities and caused unbearable hardships to the residents of the city (Kaleem and Guohua 2015:51)



Photo of Daily Guide newspaper on March 8, 2013 highlighting water crisis. Source: (Field Photo 2017)

In both of the water and energy sectors, the crisis was attributed largely to the weak institutional arrangements as well as lack of transparency and accountability, corruption, poor management and poor political will in water management (Kaleem and Guohua 2015:52)

The 2012/2013 water crisis compelled people to carry yellow gallons in all the regional capitals in search of clean water - those yellow gallons were nicknamed 'Kuffour Gallons' named after the former President (2001-2008), John Agyekum Kufuor (Benzoni 2013)

Whilst corruption in the water sector varies between different countries, Stålgren (2006) estimates that about 20% to 40% of total water sector investment worldwide is lost to financial dishonesty and impropriety - corruption is therefore a key feature of the governance crisis in water.

WIGO (2016) highlighted repeated scandals in some sub-Saharan African countries to illustrate the endemic nature of the water sector corruption. For instance, in Benin, € 4 million of Dutch funding vanished from the Ministry of Water in 2015; In Malawi, a reformed public financial management (PFM) system was misused to divert US\$ 55 million from public funds to the private accounts of officials. WIGO (2016) therefore made renewed calls for measures to combat corruption and improve water sector performance.

In circumstances where good governance mechanisms such as transparency and accountability are missing, basic services such as water is at risk in terms of quality, affordability and access (GII 2011).

Urban Water Supply (UWS) in Ghana is characterized by weak integrity mechanisms, which opens the sector up for corruption (Bellaubi and Pahl-Wostl 2017:1).

Indeed in 2000, the World Bank and the Department for International Development (DFiD) respectively cancelled a USD 100 million and USD 30 million water projects in Ghana because of massive corruption that was detected (Unicorn 2000). In June 2002, the privately-owned Ghanaian Chronicle newspaper reported the loss of USD 600,000 by the GWCL due to illegal connections and consumption of water (Ohene 2002 as cited by Hasty 2005:339).

In the recent past, several private newspapers have also reported cases of corruption in GWCL. For instance, on 10 November 2014, the Statesman Newspaper carried a headline “Ghana cedis 3.7million Rot at GWCL”. That story was also carried by the Moment Newspaper on 10 November 2014 with the headline “GHC. 3.7 million Chop Chop Cripples company to halt”. On 21 February 2017, the Daily Statesman Newspaper reported that some workers of GWCL had petitioned the President over a USD 278 million Kpong Water project meant to provide water in ATMA (See appendix 1 for the press cuttings).

On May 15, 2017, Citifmonline reported that a USD 150 million World Bank project known as the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA) Project meant to improve the water and sanitation situation in ATMA was not progressing because of corruption and other questionable practices (CITIFM 2017).

In the following month on July 2, 2017, an online news portal, the Ghana web, also reported that there were some corrupt practices involving the USD 48 million water component of the project (GhanaWeb 2017).

Van Rooijen (2008) points out that corruption is a key challenge hindering the effective operation of water agencies in Ghana. Corruption in the water sector in the ATMA takes many forms; from massive misappropriations of huge sums of money to illegal connections and consumption of water (Adank et al. 2011:vi)

### **1.3 So, what?**

Tackling the problems of urban water supply (especially corruption), requires, among others, effective reforms by politicians and policy makers and, to a large extent, advocacy efforts by the media (Stapenhurst 2000:2).

The World Bank has argued that the media are crucial in creating and maintaining an atmosphere in public life that discourages fraud and eliminates systemic corruption in public institutions (Stapenhurst 2000:3).

The main policy tool aimed at improving water service delivery in Ghana has been the introduction of private sector participation in water delivery (Ainuson 2010:59).

However, this policy intervention itself has come under attack for being an avenue for rent seeking individuals and bureaucrats to practice corruption (Awortwi 2007:9)

In general, the media have contributed largely to Ghana's democratic efforts by holding the state accountable, promoting citizen education and participation and monitoring state institutions (Majeed 2001: i).

In fact, in 2001, the media, together with the Integrated Social Development Centre (ISSODEC), successfully opposed a World Bank backed project to fully privatize the GWCL. This effort was largely carried out through increased media reportage to educate the public on the dangers of such privatization (Amenga-Etego and Grusky 2005: 275).

However, despite such 'success stories', Das (2007) argues that stories of corruption in water do not get the needed coverage in the mainstream media as compared to issues of business and politics.

In most liberal democratic systems, the media (often also referred to as the Fourth Estate) is a corner stone in the good governance agenda for their role

in ensuring that individuals and institutions who serve the public remain transparent and are held accountable (Coronel 2010). The media is widely regarded as the protectors of the excesses of power and it is argued that, apart from influencing public opinion and generating debates as well as solutions, media institutions exist as a check on powerful individuals, institutions and states who may overstep their boundaries in society (ibid).

However, in order to fight corruption in the water sector, there is the need for people to recognize that corrupt practices exist. Local and national media both have an important role to play by bringing issues of corruption to the attention of civil society, the public and policy makers, to ensure action is taken through policy or advocacy (WIGO 2016: 158).

In very specific terms, the media can act as a force to tackle the problem of corruption in both tangible and intangible ways. In tangible ways, consistent and sustained media reportage of a corruption issue can lead to the launching of investigations by authorities, scrapping of a law, impeachment or forced resignation of corrupt officials or launching of judicial proceedings and even public demonstrations to put pressure on government or an institution to act. Alternatively, the media can heighten the sense of accountability among officials, the public and institutions through constant hard-hitting news reportage (Stapenhurst 2000:2-3). One interesting example of a tangible way of tackling corruption is the case of judicial corruption in Ghana in 2015 – where an investigative journalist carried out an investigation of corrupt judges within Ghana’s judiciary, which subsequently led to the dismissal of 21 judges (BBC 2015)

However, despite this promising potential, WIGO (2016) argues that, in most countries, the media do not know how to tell the story of corruption in water in a compelling way to get the attention of the public.

Since corruption in the water sector is a sensitive topic, there are limitations as to how effective the media is in advocating for less corruption in the water sector. Firstly, ownership of the media can play a role here. Whether media is independent or state-owned influences the extent to which they can be critical about the level of corruption in state institutions. The state media tends to be less critical of state institutions whilst the private media will likely be more critical (WIGO 2016)

Secondly, the amount of resources available to journalists may influence how well the media is able to act as a watchdog. Finally, the rise of the internet and the ease of posting articles online has made it difficult to assess which reports are accurate or reliable – the ‘fake news’ phenomenon is freaking people out and threatening democracies around the world (Economists 2017:21). For instance, in Ghana, the Inspector-General of Police threatened to ban social media on election day in the run-up to Ghana’s 2016 election (Graphic 2016).

## 1.4 Main Objectives

To help better understand and analyze where exactly the challenges lie for the media in reporting on urban water corruption in the ATMA region, it is relevant to explore news media and water corruption dynamics with the following objectives:

- To understand news media's response and coverage of water corruption issues as news;
- To examine the challenges that prevent the media from engaging more in critical journalism in urban water supply as far as corruption is concerned; and
- To assess the media's influence on policy and the advocacy efforts against corruption.

## 1.4 Main Research Question

To what extent is the media able to cover corruption issues in UWS in the ATMA and with what effect?

### 1.4.1 Sub-Research Questions

**RQ1** What is the general situation as to informality/corruption in Ghana and the water sector in specific?

**RQ2** What is the overall nature of Ghana's media landscape (newspapers, journals, social media, community radio etc.)?

**RQ3** What did the media report on as far as corruption/integrity is concerned in UWS in ATMA between March 2012 - May 2013 in the Daily Graphic and Daily Guide?

**RQ4** What challenges (i.e., degree of media's financial or political independence, financial resources to do in-depth reporting and rise of social media or internet news reporting) do the media face in exposing corruption in the UWS?

**RQ5** To what extent, against this background, is the media effective in contributing to reducing corruption in the water sector and the advocacy efforts of NGOs in favour of water integrity?



## 1.5 Research Plan/Methodology

This study used a triangulated method of data collection: this involved a quantitative content analysis of the two major newspapers (The Daily Graphic and The Daily Guide newspapers) and a qualitative contextual analysis of water corruption/integrity related-themes versus non-corruption/integrity related themes from March 2012 – May 2013 in the ATMA.

Triangulation in research means using different data sources and methods to increase the credulity and validity of a research project – good research practice obliges the researcher to triangulate (Mathison 1988:13). Researchers use the triangulation method to expand the scope of their research and deepen insights – it is also widely used because it eliminates bias and captures complex human phenomenon better (Sandelowski 2000:247).

Neuendorf (2002:1) defines content analysis as a “systematic, objective and quantitative analysis of message characteristics”. Similarly, content analysis has been defined by Kerlinger (2000) as a method of studying and analysing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables.

Content analysis is a widely used technique in qualitative research, mostly employed in soliciting information and interpreting meaning in a context of data or text (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). Most researchers regard content analysis as a flexible method for analysing text data (Cavanagh 1997 cited by Hsieh and Shannon 2005). Secondly, other newspapers, various academic texts and literature were referred to in order to gain a relevant understanding of conceptual and theoretical perspectives for a critical analysis of the data.

### 1.5.1 Choice of Newspapers

There have been several studies to illustrate the influence of newspapers in setting an agenda (Lopez-Escobar et al. 1998 in Sikanku 2008:6). Reese and Daniellian (1996) in Sikanku (2008:7) observed that television trails behind newspapers in setting an agenda.

Lopez-Escobar et al. (1998) found that newspapers influenced issues discussed in other media such as television and radio in the 1995 Spanish regional elections. Borah (1996), using content analysis to examine newspaper coverage of dowries in India, found that other media such as television and radio relied heavily on newspapers for their discussions.

The choice of print media (newspapers) for the content analysis was strategic in the sense that the print has, over the years, set the agenda in Ghana’s democratic discourse (Sikanku 2008:1). ‘Newspaper review’ feature prominently in the early morning programmes of major television and radio stations

(Nyarko 2016:6). Some of the popular programmes include Breakfast Show (Ghana Television), Goodmorning Ghana (MetroTV), New Day (TV3), Super Morning Show (Joy FM), ‘Kokrooko’<sup>3</sup> (Peace FM) among others. Newspaper review programmes conceptualise an agenda setting mechanism where topical issues in the daily newspapers are reviewed and affords viewers and listeners the opportunity to phone-in and to take part in the agenda setting (ibid). See Figure 1 below of an early morning newspaper review in Ghana.

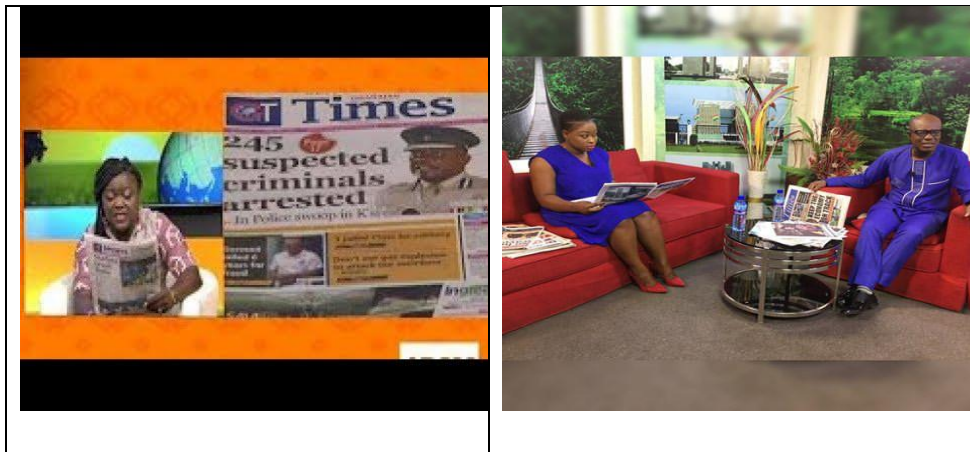


Photo of Early Morning Newspaper Review in Ghana - Source: [https://www.google.nl/search?q=newspaper+discussions+in+Ghana&rlz=1C1CHBF\\_enNL767NL767&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEw82tzYmq\\_XAhXP2qQKHakfDHgQ\\_AUICigB&biw=1368&bih=807](https://www.google.nl/search?q=newspaper+discussions+in+Ghana&rlz=1C1CHBF_enNL767NL767&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEw82tzYmq_XAhXP2qQKHakfDHgQ_AUICigB&biw=1368&bih=807)

Among Ghana’s flourishing newspaper landscape, the government owned *Daily Graphic* is the most prominent, oldest and widely circulated newspaper (Sikanku 2008:15). The *Daily Graphic* was established in 1953. The paper has reporters and regional offices in all the ten regions of Ghana with daily circulation of 2000,000 (Hasty 2005).

It has between 48 and 72 pages a day, depending on the availability of adverts and news stories - the various sections of the paper include the World News page, the Inside Africa page, Editorial and Features, a Gender and Children’s page, Regional News page, and pages for funeral announcements, business, and sports news. The rest of the pages are dedicated to adverts and other local news reports (ibid). The *Daily Graphic* has, over the years, attained a reputation for asserting its independence through editorial policies (Azanu 2012). Read more: <https://www.graphic.com.gh/>

<sup>3</sup> Kokrooko: This is an Akan (Ghanaian language) word meaning “wakening sound from a rooster” (cock crow).

On the other hand, following the *Daily Graphic* closely in terms of readership and circulation levels is the *Daily Guide*. It is owned by Western Publications (Sikanku 2008: 17).

The *Daily Guide*, which started small, has grown to become arguably the most successful private newspaper. Its circulation stands at about 25,000 daily. It is noted for its persistence in pursuing social justice. However, the paper stands accused for speaking for the governing New Patriotic Party (NPP) (ibid). Read more: <http://www.dailyguideghana.com>



Front pages of the *Daily Graphic* (L) and the *Daily Guide* (R) Source: [https://www.google.nl/search?rlz=1C1CHBF\\_enNL767NL767&biw=1368&bih=807&tbm=isch&sa=1&ei=iSMDWtWBDY20sAfc5bP4Bw&q=daily+graphic+on+corruption&oq=daily+graphic+on+corruption&gs\\_l=psyab.3...7889.12358.0.13068.14.14.0.0.0.95.691.14.14.0....0...1.1.64.psyab..0.4.191...0j0i67k1j0i30k1j0i24k1j0i10i24k1.0.n83d1HkGS\\_k#imgrc=BP6YYPI5tMfQIM](https://www.google.nl/search?rlz=1C1CHBF_enNL767NL767&biw=1368&bih=807&tbm=isch&sa=1&ei=iSMDWtWBDY20sAfc5bP4Bw&q=daily+graphic+on+corruption&oq=daily+graphic+on+corruption&gs_l=psyab.3...7889.12358.0.13068.14.14.0.0.0.95.691.14.14.0....0...1.1.64.psyab..0.4.191...0j0i67k1j0i30k1j0i24k1j0i10i24k1.0.n83d1HkGS_k#imgrc=BP6YYPI5tMfQIM)

These two newspaper were therefore selected for the content analysis based on their circulation levels and their ability to set the agenda of the country. This analysis contributed to answering sub-questions 3.

### 1.5.2 Key Informant Interviews

Key Informant Interviews were conducted to answer sub-questions 3 and 4. Interviews are also one of the most popular and widely used qualitative research techniques (Ary et al. 2006:7). Interviews provide a relaxed atmosphere to elicit detailed information from interviewees and helps the researcher to gather first-hand information (Boyce and Neale 2006:15).

Purposive sampling method was used in identifying and selecting interviewees. According to Wimmer and Domminick (2006:91), “purposive sampling includes subjects or elements selected for a specific characteristics or qualities and eliminates those who fail to meet these criteria”. Because corruption is a sensitive topic, the snowball sampling technique was also used – which is where the existing study subjects recruited some subjects from among their acquaintances to be interviewed. Two criteria of experience and knowledge about urban water supply, corruption and media were used in selecting the interviewees (ibid)

Twenty face-to-face key informant interviews were conducted (see appendix 1 for the interview guide and appendix 2 for the list of interviewees). The study is further informed by the author's experience in the sector and knowledge of corruption and media in Ghana.

## **1.6 Scope and Limitations**

The timeframe of May 2012 – March 2013 is important because, as highlighted above, Ghana and, for that matter, the ATMA area experienced acute water shortage. This shortage was attributed largely to the weak institutional arrangements as well as lack of transparency and accountability, corruption, poor management and poor political will in water management. The study was conducted in Accra, Ghana's capital city. Accra is a fast growing city with a population of about 4 million (GSS 2012).

Accra is facing major challenges especially in water access and anytime there is water crisis Accra is hard hit (Adank et al. 2012:43). Also, most of the stakeholders including the GWCL, and other CSOs and stakeholders in UWS are in Accra (ibid).

Similarly, Accra has the highest number of media establishments and most media houses are headquartered there (Nyarko 2012:3). Newspaper reviews are broadcast in Accra and syndicated to other parts of the country (ibid). This, therefore, makes Accra an ideal location to seek views from stakeholders in the UWS as well as the media regarding the media's role in fighting UWS corruption.

This time period is also significant because the GWCL entered into a management contract in 2006 with an amalgamation of a Dutch and South African company known as Aqua-Vitens Rand Limited (AVRL) in response to poor service delivery and to increase efficiency, transparency, accountability and stem the tide of corruption in UWS. However, in 2011 the contract ended and there still existed widespread transparency and accountability challenges in the urban water supply.

## **1.7 Ethical Considerations**

Ethics is described by Castello (2014:274) as the "rules of conduct that express and reinforce important social and cultural values of a society. The rules may be formal and written, spoken or simply understood by groups who subscribe to them". Getting people to open up on the subject of corruption was a key challenge ethical challenge because of the sensitive nature of the subject.

The study gave priority to ethics and reassured respondents of their right to remain anonymous if they wished to. Informed consent was also sought where participants were furnished with letters and questionnaires to enable them understand the context of the subject to determine their willingness or unwillingness to participate. Halse and Honey (2005: 274) argue that informed consent is very important in any research project. After furnishing them with consent letters, most respondents did not have a problem in responding to the interview questions except that they were not forthcoming with information because of the sensitive nature of the topic. Most of the participants eventually opened up after the researcher reminded them of their right to remain anonymous. However, among the 20 participants in the interview, only one person choose to remain anonymous.

## **1.8 Organisation of Study**

This paper is made up of six chapters - where the role of the media in fighting corruption in the water sector and the analytical model of such relationship is tested against data.

Chapter one gives a brief background to the global water situation and narrows to urban water supply in the study area and Ghana as a whole, as well as presenting the research problem, objectives and methodology.

Chapter two delves into the conceptual and theoretical framework, that framework provides the foundation on which this study is built. Chapter three give a detailed background of the study area and units.

Chapter Four analyses the results based on the themes that have been developed. Chapter Five discusses the findings by juxtaposing them with the analysis. Chapter six concludes the paper's arguments and makes suggestions and recommendations for future research and policy adoption.

## **Summary**

The watchdog role of the news media reflects the long established notion of the media as the fourth estate located in civil society that put checks and balances on the executive, legislature and judicial branches of government (Norris 2014:526).

The news media is expected to guard the public interest and protect it from incompetence and abuse by powerful leaders and bureaucrats thereby strengthening accountability and transparency (Norris 2014:562).

## **Chapter 2 Theorizing Media Effect on Good Governance and Corruption**

### **2.0 Introduction**

In this section, I discuss how the media can promote good governance and fight corruption, review literature on good governance and water sector corruption and the agenda setting effects of the media to develop the main hypothesis of this paper in answering the main RQ.

### **2.1 Defining Good Governance and Corruption**

Grindle (2011:119), posits that good governance is an improvement in the institutional, political and economic arrangements that determine proprieties for public spending and allocation of resources and to how administrative systems manage and deliver goods and services such as education, health and water – it also means an efficient, transparent and conducive environment where the views of minorities are taken into account in decision making and where a state is responsive to the present and future needs of its citizens (ibid).

Good governance is an important condition for development and in countries where corruption and good governance indicators such as transparency and accountability are missing, development suffers (Choudhry 2015:97).

The concept of good governance has become an attractive term used by most development partners to measure a country's development path (Grindle 2010:4). For example, according to the World Bank, good governance means an efficient and effective public sector, rule of law, transparency and accountability among others.

Similarly the DFID defines good governance using macroeconomic indicators: macroeconomic stability, poverty reduction, provision of basic services such as water, health care, efficient transport services and an accountable government (Grindle 2010:5). Hyden (2011:2) also adds that “the good governance agenda aims to ensure checks and balances in smoothing state-society or government citizen relationship”.

Corruption is a big challenge to good governance because development and democracy are closely associated with nation-building and a nation with a very good governance agenda means that a nation is more transparent, accountable and responsive to the needs of its citizens (Pillay 2004:589).

An improvement in good governance will ultimately lead to an increase in income levels, improved healthcare, and overall better development outcomes.

This argument places the problem of corruption as a key challenge for the good governance agenda (Pillay 2004:588).

Corruption remains a global developmental challenge and has existed since the beginning of civilisation (Choudry 2015:98). According to Transparency International (TI), corruption is defined as “the abuse of entrusted power for private gain...”. The World Bank also simply defines corruption as “the abuse of public office for private gain”.

Corruption is a challenge for many developing countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa - in the water sector, corruption means that money meant for the improvement of water is diverted leaving many in desperate need of water (Asare 2012:32).

Corruption has been one of Ghana’s biggest problems since independence in 1957, and it is generally agreed in Ghana that corruption is multi-dimensional in nature with a broad recognition that corruption undermines good governance and the rule of law (NACAP 2011:9).

## 2.2 Tracing the Root of Corruption

Based on the conceptualization of the World Bank and TI, corruption comes in various forms as outlined in Table 1. Corruption, bribery, theft and tax evasion, etc. cost some US \$1.26 trillion for developing countries per year; this amount of money could obviously be used to provide a lot of social services for the poor and lift them out of poverty (UN 2017).

**Table 1** Types and Forms of Corruption

Type of Corruption	Description
Bribery	The act of dishonestly persuading someone to act in one’s favour by a payment or other inducement. Inducements can take the form of gifts, loans, fees, rewards or other advantages (taxes, services, donations, etc.). The use of bribes can lead to collusion (e.g. inspectors under-reporting offences in exchange for bribes) and/or extortion (e.g. bribes extracted against the threat of over-reporting).
Embezzlement	To steal, misdirect or misappropriate funds or assets placed in one’s trust or under one’s control. From a legal point of view, embezzlement need not necessarily be or involve corruption.

Facilitation payment	<p>A small payment, also called a “speed” or “grease” payment, made to secure or expedite the performance of a routine or necessary action to which the payer has legal or other entitlement.</p> <p>The act of intentionally and dishonestly deceiving someone in order to gain an unfair or illegal advantage (financial, political or otherwise).</p>
Collusion	An arrangement between two or more parties designed to achieve an improper purpose, including influencing improperly the actions of another party.
Extortion	The act of impairing or harming, or threatening to impair or harm, directly or indirectly, any party or the property of the party to influence improperly the actions of a party.
Patronage, Clientelism and Nepotism	Patronage at its core means the support given by a patron. In government, it refers to the practice of appointing people directly.

Source: (DFiD 2015:12)

In a broader sense, corruption is a symptom of governance challenges including weak accountability and thrives in instances where people have too much discretion (DFiD 2015:6).



Governance structure also plays a pivotal role for corruption to thrive. When governance structures are weak, there is little accountability and too much discretion allowing corruption to thrive. Weaknesses in institutional structures may result in the failure to implement and enforce policies and laws that could otherwise ensure accountability and transparency (DFiD 2015:19).

In Ghana, the opportunities for corruption are immense and the chances of being caught are rather minimal (NACAP 2012:27). The problem of corruption in Ghana is contextually rooted in the social arrangements as well as the political culture where patronage and high expectation of an expensive lifestyle plus the culture of impunity produce systemic corruption (ibid).

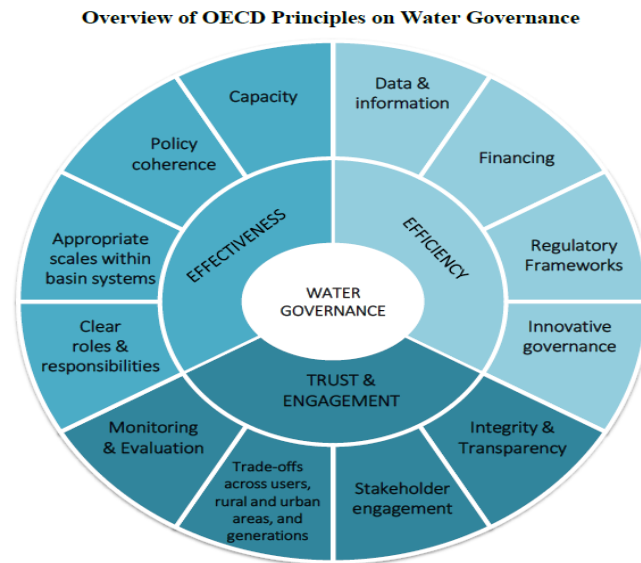
Corruption is a contextual problem rooted in a country's socio-political and cultural history – in societies where corruption is an expected behavior, individuals will be corrupt because the benefits of being corrupt outweighs behaving righteous at least at the individual level (Pellegrini 2011: 6).

### **2.3 Why does Good Governance and Corruption Matter in Water?**

Water is a high-risk area for corruption as there are less regulatory gaps in water management, which creates loopholes to exploit. Water management is viewed as a largely technical issue in most countries and is still regarded as an engineering challenge involving huge sums of investments.

Similarly, the concept of water governance provides a conceptual framework on how the different actors in society can work together through advocacy and public education to achieve integrity in the water sector (Franks 2007:292). See fig 3 for principles of good water governance.

**Figure 1 Principles of Water Governance**



Source: (OECD 2015 n.d)

The essence of institutional functioning in relation to water governance is based on a number of layers: first, there is the need for better coordination within urban water management units and the need to strengthen linkages with other sectors to improve effectiveness and accountability of service providers and local level institutions (Cleaver et al. 2005:27).

Attempting to address the problem of water governance have almost exclusively been based on a technological and natural-scientific understanding of water issues rather than a holistic underlying force behind human activities and their impact on water resources and services (Olsson and Head 2015:5). An integrated approach to water governance is essential as it will help analyze issues around policy settings and choices, regulatory frameworks, planning regimes, knowledge/science/expertise, stakeholder involvement, and impacts on citizens and stakeholders (ibid).

Corruption and the lack of transparency and accountability distorts development and increases the vulnerability of the poor and marginalized in the society. In 2008, TI's flagship publication 'The Global Corruption Report' specifically highlighted the crucial challenges of the water sector corruption and examined how the governance failure in the sector was posing a threat to water access (TI 2008: xviii).

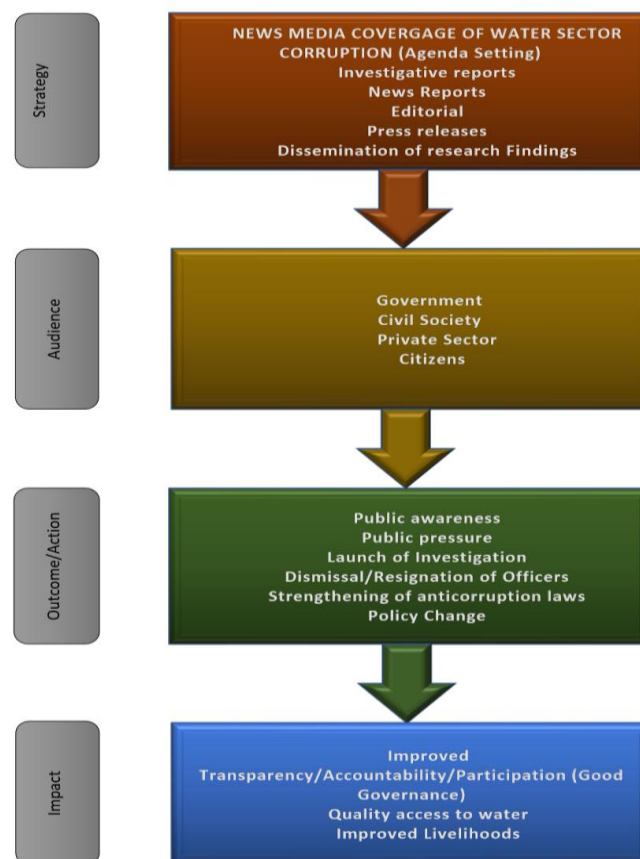
Transparency and accountability remains one of the least addressed challenges in relation to water governance and water service delivery (UNDP 2007a). Corruption in the water sector is a symptom of governance deficiencies in both the private and public spheres. In many countries, including Ghana,

institutional and judicial weaknesses do not promote transparency and accountability that affects the effectiveness of water service delivery (Estache and Kouassi 2002:17). Weak institutional and judicial functioning creates opportunities for corruption to thrive because, in such circumstances, people place their personal gain over the welfare of society and this is especially problematic in circumstances where there are huge income disparities, especially for people working in the urban water management sector or even people who are just greedy (ibid).

## 2.4 “Media Effect”/Conceptual Framework/Theory of Change/Agenda Setting

The watchdog role of the media along with other agencies form an important part in corruption detection and promoting transparency and accountability (Norris 2014:525)

**Figure 2** Theory of Change Underlying the News Media Effect on the Water Sector Corruption



Source: (Author’s Construction 2017)

The news media can help to raise public awareness of corruption in the form of investigative reports, news reports, dissemination of research findings and so on, which then compels government, the private sector, civil society and/or citizens to agitate for action in the form of launching an investigation, judicial action, dismissal or resignation of corrupt officials thereby contributing to improved transparency and accountability (GACC 2011:11).

The review of literature here, as illustrated in figure 3 above, emphasises two things: first, it reviews the conceptualisation and possible effects of the media in shaping peoples' opinion; and second, it moves into how those opinions actually bring about outcomes.

Agenda setting reinforces the notion that the media do not only hold the power to influence people's behavior and action, but can also influence public, private and social structures of power (Shaw 1979:101).

Moragan and Shanahan (2010) argue that the main proposition behind the agenda effects of the media lie in the evidence that constant exposure to the news media leads to the formation of an opinion, belief and attitude.

Shanahan and Morgan (2004:135) conclude that, after 20 years of research, "the cumulative exposure to television cultivates absorption of ideas and worldviews congruent with what is seen on TV" (2014:135)

While the actual correlation between the news media's effect in the control of corruption is quite strong, little is known of how it actually works in practice (Norris 2014: 534). The underlying assumption underpinning this relationship assumes that the news media's ability to set an agenda informs the public and leads to civil society action leading to improved transparency and accountability (see fig 2 above).

The influence of the media in setting a nation's agenda is a well-documented fact. People look for information in various media forms; television, radio, newspaper and, of late, online news platforms including social media. The media provides information to the public and determines the importance it attaches to the information based on emphasis and placement in the media (Mcombs n.d:1-2).

Literature emphasizes at least three levels of accountability in society: vertical (through elections and multi-party democracy); horizontal (within government – anti-corruption laws and institutions; and societal (exercised by NGOs and an independent media) (DFiD 2015:19).

Fighting corruption, therefore, must require a multi-stakeholder action involving the state, private sector, and civil society including the media and citizens. It is now increasingly being realized that the state is no longer claiming to be the sole entity capable of organizing society. There are various entities and bodies claiming the space in organizing society using multiple channels through the involvement of different actors at different levels from the local to the supranational (Josselin and Wallace 2001:98).

The importance of the media in performing its watchdog role in the society, governance and modernity has a long history from print through telegraphy, film, television, radio and now social media, helping shape the socio economic and political life of people (Lunt and Livingstone 2011:1).

The media (press, TV, radio and social media) have a larger popular base than ever with unprecedented impact on politics and policy. For example, President Bush Senior's decision to place troops in Somalia after seeing images of starving refugees on CNN and, subsequently, images of American soldiers on CNN being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu compelled former President Clinton to withdraw American troops and seemed to confirm the subtle power of the media (Belkap 2011).

The complex nature of the social structure makes people less aware of what is going on within their environment beyond their position in the society. The media fills the vacuum beyond economic engagements but in a deliberate attempt to persuade, entertain and provide information for social action (Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur 1976:4-5). As a central force of development, the media can highlight the importance of events in society that empowers citizens to determine their developmental path and allows them to be agents of changes. The media enables people to participate in debates and decisions that affect their lives (ibid).

The media may not be successful in telling us what to think through their watchdog role in the society, however, they are usually successful in telling us what to think about by constantly bombarding us with images and texts suggesting that those images and/or texts are important. This technique of the media is what is called agenda setting (Mcombs and Shaw n.d:176).

In other words, people rely upon the agenda of salient objects and attributes in their minds, the agenda that is shaped to a considerable degree by the mass media. (Mcombs 2005).

However, available empirical evidence suggests that, in many countries, the media indeed promotes transparency and accountability, but the news media is often constrained by the lack of resources and ethical issues, commercial and

political pressures from owners, political manipulation of editorial content, and low capacity among others (GACC 2011:9).

## **2.5 Media Capacity, Challenges and the Quest for Good Governance**

Media capacity is a precondition for efficient performance. According to Ubels et al. (2010:1) capacity development is about empowerment and increasing people's participation and voice in decision making (Ubels et al. 2010:1).

Despite the growing evidence in support of the role of the media in fighting corruption and promoting good governance, there remain challenges for media workers in some parts of the world (WIN 2016: 20).

Journalists are still faced with numerous problems from all actors in the governance arena: in some countries, journalists are still confined under very mysterious gag laws that prevent them from working freely. The private sector support for media development has also been limited, if not non-existent - in some circumstances pressure from media owners, and financial weakness with interlinked vulnerability to corruption and declining ethical standards are also problems (WIGO 2016:7).

Training programmes to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of journalists in many parts of the developing world have been ineffective. Attempts at training journalists through courses and workshops have been nothing more than a culture of per diems: this is so because journalists lack proper sources of income to sustain their livelihood so the per diems handed out during these trainings actually bring them income (Beckett and Kyrke-Smith 2007:5). Those who attend training lack commitment, or feel that the training offered lacked relevance. Either way, they were primarily in it for the money. Donor media training initiatives have also been uncoordinated and lack commitment from journalists (ibid).

The media landscape in much of Africa is characterized by low professional standards because of inadequate training for journalists with raising spates of ethical violations (Huang 2006:5).

There is also weak capacity in media management skills; absence of documented editorial policies; absence of human resource policies; absence of business plans; absence of programme development plans; weak capacity of journalists; and poor remuneration and delays in the payment of remuneration of journalists (MFWA 2017). Similarly, media restrictions pose a challenge in the fight against corruption (ibid).

According to a 2017 Freedom House (FH) Global press freedom summary, globally media freedom declined to its lowest point in 13 years in 2016

amid unprecedented threats to journalists and media outlets in major democracies (Freedom House 2017).

An independent media can function very effectively in an enabling environment where the laws and the political leadership including the government provide support for the work of journalist together with a dynamic private sector and an engaged civil society (Rotman 2015:6). See fig 3 below.

**Figure 3 Enabling factors for media**



**Source:** (Rotman 2015:34)

Furthermore, ownership of media is another big challenge hindering the capacity of journalists in most countries. Media outlets have become increasingly controlled by a few large corporations, politicians or individuals with strong political ties. Major companies that are not necessarily media related are beginning to own media outlets in larger numbers. These individuals use the media as mouthpieces to advance their political agenda – Journalists are therefore compelled to do the bidding of their owners without any editorial or ethical considerations (Ukpabi 2001:41). For example, News Corporation in the United States of America (USA) is owned by Rupert Murdoch who is also Republican.

In some cases in Africa, Ukpabi (2001) argues, some owners rarely instruct journalists on what to do but merely accept any outcome without excuses because for some of them the advertising revenue matters and once the revenue keep coming the owners rarely bother the journalist about ethical and professional standards and capacity development. In some other cases, government owned media is used for government propaganda and barely provide support for media capacity development apart from paying salaries (Sikanku 2008:37).

According to Djankov et al. (2003), governments in Africa control about 61% of the top five daily newspapers and television stations with an audience base of about 85% - yet there is lack of political will to transform the state media by investing in training and equipment.

Whilst media capacity continues to be a big problem especially in checking ethical journalism in Africa, there is constant innovation within the wider communication field, especially with the advent of social networks such as Facebook, twitter and online blogging. The biggest challenge for the media is therefore how to remain innovative, competitive and relevant in the face of the changing technological dynamics. For example, whilst news can now be delivered 24/7 via various digital platforms, some journalists are still grappling to catch up with modern trends.

## Summary

This section has demonstrated in support of several cases including Norris' (2014:532) argument that the news media's has effect in the fight against corruption (2014:536).

In 1995, for example, the World Bank reported that one fifth of allocated funds to schools in Uganda were misappropriated. However, after intense media campaigning by the government owned newspaper, by 2011 80 percent of the funds allocated to the same schools were actually spent for their purpose (GACC 2001:10 in Reinikka and Svensson 2005).

The dramatic events of the Watergate scandal in the 1970s. as revealed by an investigative journalist, which led to the resignation of President Nixon in August of 1974 also reinforces the potential impact of the news media or effects on the powerful as understood as agenda setting (Norris 2014:531).

Available empirical evidence suggests that, in many countries, the media indeed promotes transparency and accountability, but the news media is often constrained by the lack of resources and ethical issues, commercial and political pressures from owners, political manipulation of editorial content, and low capacity among others (GACC 2011:9).



## **Chapter 3 Background and Context**

### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents an overview of the Study area, corruption and media profile and the general background to broaden the understanding of the study in response to sub RQ 1 and 2.

### **3.1 Urban Water Supply Management and Services in Ghana**

Water supply in Ghana is divided into two broad categories: Urban Water Supply (UWS) and Community or Rural Water Supply (RWS). The Ghana Water Company Limited (GWCL) manages UWS whilst the Community Water and Sanitation Agency (CWSA) manages RWS. The CWSA and Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs) are the key institutions legally mandated to facilitate the provision of safe drinking water and related sanitation services to rural communities and small towns (IWAN 2013:5).

According to the 2010 Population Census in Ghana, an area with a population exceeding five thousand is considered urban whilst an area with a population below five thousand can be considered rural (GSS 2012).

The GWCL, formerly the Ghana Water and Sewage Corporation (GWSC), was incorporated by an Act of Parliament in 1968 to harness raw water and treat it for domestic use. Under the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) of 1999, the Government of the Republic of Ghana (GoG) sought to improve the efficiency and reduce the managerial and financial burden the GWCL places on the government, so the central Government converted the then GWSC into GWCL in February 1999 - GWCL has since 1999 been operating as a limited liability company following the enactment of the Statutory Corporations (Conversion to Companies) Act 1993 (Act 461, 1993) (Adanke et al. 2011:45).

Ghana currently has a population of about 25 million as at the last census of 2010. This result indicates that Ghana's population increased by 30.4 percent over the 2000 population figure of 19 million (GSS 2012: i). Under Ghana's decentralization policy, there are ten administrative regions with 216 MMDAs under the amended Local Governance Act (496) of 2016 (GSS 2012).

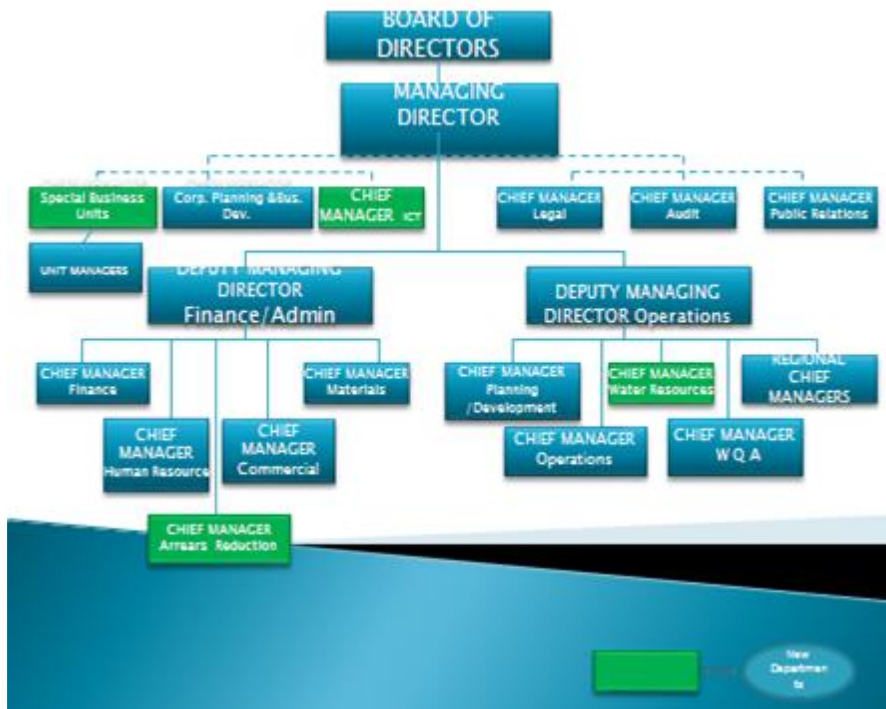
Ghana's decentralization policy, among others, seeks to consolidate the democratic process by ensuring that citizens can participate in the governance process and the delivery of public services to ensure transparency and accountability and promote good governance (Crawford 2004:3). Additionally, under the Act, the central government has delegated the provision of public services

to MMDAs through certain sector ministries (ibid). For instance, in the water sector, the Ministry of Water and Sanitation (MWS), formerly the Ministry of Water Resources Works and Housing (MWRWH), and agencies under the ministry have the oversight responsibility in the provision of water for Ghanaians. Apart from the ministry, the Public Utilities and Regulatory Commission (PURC) and the Water Resources Commission (WRC) have oversight responsibility of the GWCL and CWSA.

Whilst PURC sets guidelines and regulatory framework for tariff setting and to approve tariffs, the WRC has responsibility for the regulation and management of the utilization of water resources and for the coordination of any policy in relation to them (GWCL 2014). Other Ministries and Agencies with direct and indirect oversight responsibility over the GWCL include: MMDAs who do not have direct oversight responsibility over GWCL but occasionally pass bye-laws that might influence the operation of GWCL (e.g. traffic control regulations, pollution regulations, building codes and land development restrictions); and the Auditor General's Department, which has the responsibility of auditing the accounts of the GWCL to ensure value for money and ensure transparency and accountability; the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MoFEP), which guarantees and approves loans on behalf of the GoG for GWCL and customers who serve as the live-wire of GWCL's strength (GWCL 2014).

GWCL has a Board of Directors to whom the Managing Director reports. Functionally the company is run by Chief Managers, some of whom report to the Managing Director and others to the Deputy Managing Director. The organizational structure of GWCL, including operational departments, is indicated in Figure 4. The total staff strength for GWCL was 3,462 as at December 2013 (GWCL 2014).

**Figure 4 Management Structure of GWCL**



Source: (GWCL Audit Report 2014)

The GWCL has gone through a number of reforms in the past years with the aim of improving efficiency and providing millions of Ghanaians (Shang-Quartey 2013:33).

As mentioned earlier, the GWCL entered into a five-year management contract with Aqua Vitens Rand Limited (AVRL), a Dutch-South African joint venture in 2006. This management contract was met with a lot of public agitation by civil society including the media. This was due to the perception that all asset of the utility company were going to be handed over to a private company (Shang-Quartey 2013:36).

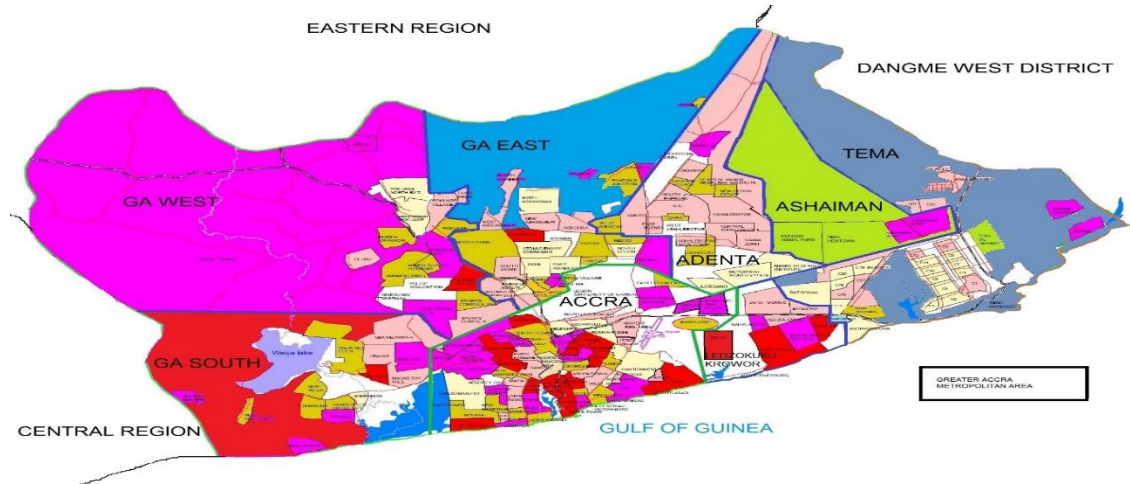
One of the major agitations against the contract was that the institutional frameworks for the contract was weak and ambiguous, entailing confusion about responsibilities for investment and maintenance, information asymmetries between regulator, government and operator and involving powerless and corrupt governments and regulators (Sohail and Cotton 2004: 29).

### 3.2 Water Supply and Services in ATMA

The ATMA region is made up of the Accra, the capital city of Ghana that has rapidly expanded to the Tema industrial city, thus Accra-Tema Metropolitan

Authority (ATMA for short as commonly referred to by GWCL) or the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA).

**Map 1 Map of ATMA**



Source: [https://www.google.nl/search?q=map+of+accra+metropolitan+area&cdcr=0&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewj75qPVqe3WAhXFzRoKHcF2BZsQ\\_AUICigB&biw=1366&bih=659#imgrc=I19CUBqfEo5pHM](https://www.google.nl/search?q=map+of+accra+metropolitan+area&cdcr=0&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewj75qPVqe3WAhXFzRoKHcF2BZsQ_AUICigB&biw=1366&bih=659#imgrc=I19CUBqfEo5pHM):

The population of ATMA is estimated at over 4 million people with a high rate of population growth and urbanization (GSS 2012). The actual daily water supply to ATMA is estimated at 398, 957 m<sup>3</sup>/day.

ATMA is supplied by two main sources of surface water: Weija Waterworks (203,685 m<sup>3</sup>/day) and Kpong Waterworks (190, 994 m<sup>3</sup>/day). Additional water is supplied by a few boreholes in Dodowa, North ATMA (4,278 m<sup>3</sup>/day). The current water supply in ATMA falls short of the water demand estimated at 680,000 m<sup>3</sup>/day (150 Mgd) (GWCL 2014).

The ATMA region has been divided into three regions by the GWCL for administrative purposes: Accra East, Accra West and Tema. GWCL provides direct services to people with a domestic connection. In addition, it provides piped water to private service providers like water vendors (standpipes), tanker services and sachet and bottled water producers. It also provides water to industries and private and governmental institutions (GWCL 2014).

The ATMA has four models of water service delivery: utility managed water supply, managed by GWCL; privately managed water supply; community managed water supply; and self-supply. The privately managed water supply can either depend on the GWCL network (intermediary private providers) or on the sources of independent private providers (Adank et al. 2011:23). See Fig 5 below.

**Figure 5 ATMA Water Service Delivery Models**

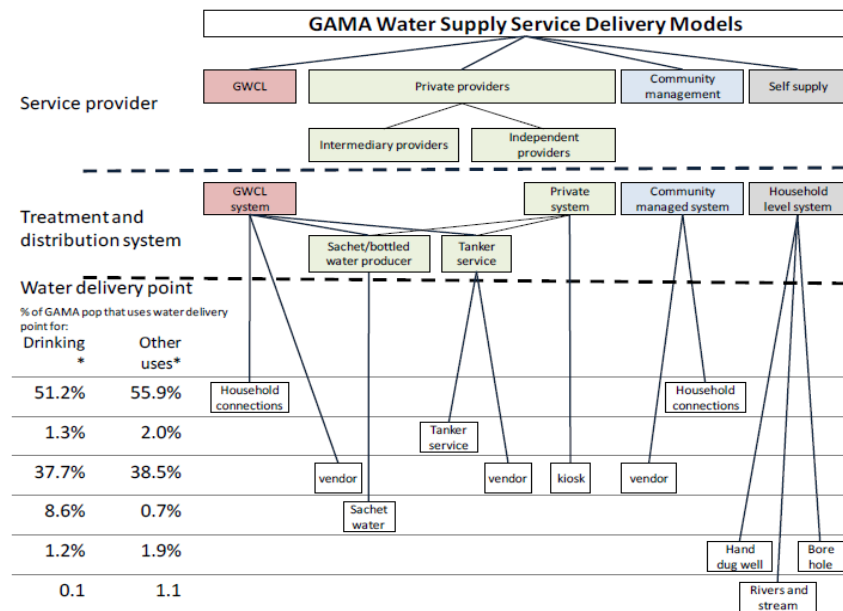


Figure 17: Water service delivery models in GAMA  
Source \*: GSS, 2008

Source: (Adank et al 2011:23)

The main source of piped water for the ATMA is the GWCL system. As shown above, many communities on the fringes of Accra are being served by other systems, like community-managed small town piped water supply systems implemented by CWSA, and Small Scale Independent Producers (SSIPs) operating and managing water supply kiosks independent of the GWCL system.

The GWCL runs a water rationing system that allows for some areas to get access to water on certain days (Adank et al. 2011:8). This is done to at least ensure every population is served clean drinking water once in a week. For this reason, citizens (high income earners) purchase large water storage tanks such as the poly tank to store water to last them a week or more. Those in the low-income bracket rely on unhygienic small storage systems to store water and informal vendors such as the water tanker services, community standpipes, and boreholes for their daily water needs (Morinville 2012).

Between 2 and 43 per cent of consumers in certain areas receive water for three days each week or less, with some users on higher locations receiving no water (GII 2011). Despite the measures taken by the GWCL to ration water, the majority of people in the urban, peri-urban and urban slums still face a great challenge in accessing water (Adanke et al. 2011:7).

GWCL in the ATMA region had a total of 245,652 water connections as at the end of December 2013 as can be seen in Table 2.

On a monthly average, the number of active (billed) connections and unbilled (not billed, suppressed, inactive and disconnected) connections was 72% leaving over 28% (67,507 connections) of the consumers suppressed/suspended as far as billing is concerned (GWCL 2014).

**Table 2 ATMA Consumers per Region**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Region</b>	<b>Connections</b>
1	Accra East	88,469
2	Accra West	88,006
3	Tema	69,177
	<b>Total</b>	<b>245,652</b>

**Source: (GWCL Audit Report 2014)**

It is estimated that most consumers receive water at least three days in Accra East and Accra West whereas the business and industrial areas of Tema receive water five days a week. About 70 % of the consumers are metered; however most of the meters are over 20 years old and are non-functional (GWCL 2014:4). There are 610 public stand posts (PSP) spread around the ATMA informal settlements and these receive water at least thrice a week. Water drawn from PSP is subsidised as it is charged at a lower than the average tariff. Water coverage in ATMA is estimated to be 70% (ibid).

### **3.3. Urban Water Supply Financing**

Production and supply of clean water is a capital-intensive business that requires huge capital investment (Fuest and Haffner, 2007: 5). In many developing countries, in addition to inflation and exchange-rate losses caused by the depreciation of the local currencies, the governments lack adequate financial commitment in funding as well as developing and implementing proper water policies (WaterAid 2013).

In Ghana, the government depends on donor agencies to fund the water sector. For instance, in the 2014 budget statement, out of the amount of GHC 531,389,023 allocated to the water sector, about 82 percent (GHC435, 647,085) was projected to come from donor partners (GoG Budget 2014).

Meanwhile, this donor funding has been mired in undue delays, mismanagement and corruption, which hinders the effectiveness and efficiency of implementing the water projects (Omotayo 2014:17).

Corruption, mismanagement and under investment is a major concern for urban water supply in Ghana. This is despite the fact that 90% of funds for the sector comes from donors such the Department for International Development (DFID), Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), World Bank (WB), Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Agence France de Développement (AFD), International Monetary Fund (IMF), and European Union (EU).

Over the past five years, a total of USD 445.798 million and EUR 57.598 million has been invested for an improved urban water supply in the ATMA area alone (GWCL 2014). See table 3 below. On the other hand, domestic sources of financing water projects come from payment of tariffs, connection fees, and capital costs and government support (from taxes) (UNDP 2006). Unfortunately, high rates of urban poverty and low average household's incomes limit households' capacity to finance operating costs through the payment of connection fees (Osumanu 2008).

**Table 3** Water Investments in ATMA (2011 – 2017)

Name of Project	Funding Agent	Brief Description	Total Cost (Millions)
Rehabilitation of Kpong Pumping Stations + Compact conventional plant	FINEXPO OF BELGIUM	Rehabilitation of Kpong Pumping Station + Construction of compact WTP (Capacity – 3.3MGD)	€ 16.569
ATMA Rural Water Supply Project - South of Kpong	ORET OF THE NETHERLANDS	Construction of 6.2MGD WTP to serve the peri-urban communities in ATMA from Kpong to Michel Camp	€ 41.029
ATMA Rural Water Supply Project - North of Kpong	BANK HAPOALIM OF ISRAEL	Construction of 3.0MGD WTP to serve the peri-urban communities in ATMA from Kpong to Atimpoku, Krobo and Somanya	US \$ 19.698
Teshie Desalination Water Project (PPP)	PPP BASIS (STANDARD BANK, SOUTH AFRICA)	Construction of 13.2MGD WTP to serve Teshie, Nungua and its environs	US \$ 115.000
Kpong Water Supply Expansion Project	CHINA EXIM BANK	Construction of 40MGD WTP to serve GAMA supply area	US \$ 273.000
Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA) Sanitation and Water Project	WORLD BANK	Update of the urban water supply Master Plan, Transmission and Distribution Improvement Works (about 150km), construction of storage reservoirs and stand pipes	US \$ 48.10

**Source: (GWCL Audit Report 2014)**

Notwithstanding the support from international donor organizations as seen above, the ATMA water supply system is plagued with several problems that the proposed water investments seeks to address. The current assessed demand of about 445,554m<sup>3</sup>/d (98Mgd) for the ATMA exceeds the current production of 370,000m<sup>3</sup>/d (82Mgd), resulting in water supply shortfalls (GWCL 2014).



### **3.4 Corruption Profile of Ghana**

Despite being regarded as a model of democracy in the sub-Saharan Africa region, corruption has permeated every sector of Ghanaian society and it has become a way of life to the extent that you must pay a bribe to get things done be it getting a passport, visiting the hospital, at the airports, getting assistance from police, accessing the judiciary, accessing water and so on and people have become immune to news of corruption in the country (Asare 2012:33).

In the latest Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (TI CPI), Ghana declined significantly from a score of 47 in 2015 to 43 in 2016 – the rampant nature of corruption in the country led Ghanaian to voice out their frustration by voting an incumbent president out for the first time in Ghana's history in 2016 (TI CPI 2017).

Corruption in Ghana takes many forms; bribery, extortion, nepotism, embezzlement etc. However, winner-takes all politics and competitive adversarial politics dominates - where power and family relations precedes the rule of law; when people's personal gain supersedes the national where there is very little political will to fight corruption (Bracking 2003:205).

In the past, Ghana has recorded several corruption scandals involving huge sums of money. For instance, in 2007, it emerged that, after spending US\$ 75 million dollars on Ghana's 50th birthday celebration, Dr Wireko Brobey, Chief Executive of the Ghana @50 secretariat and founding member of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) made cash payments to supposed contractors and service providers in polythene bags without any supporting documentation (Modern Ghana 2012).

In 2016, the then ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) government avoided procurement procedures and awarded an overpriced contract for the branding of 116 to a local media and events company owned by Selassie Ibrahim, wife of former minister and leading member of the NDC, Adam Ibrahim. (New York Times 2017)

#### ***3.4.1 Anti-Corruption Bodies and Interventions***

Ghana has, over the years, ratified many anti-corruption global and regional anti-corruption conventions geared towards stemming the tide of corruption; notable the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) and the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption (AUCPCC).

Even though Ghana has made significant strides in the introduction of anti-corruption legislation such as the Financial and Administrative Act 2003; Public Procurement (amended) Act 2016; Whistle Blower Act 720; Audit

Agency Act 2003 and the adoption of the National Anti-Corruption Action Plan (NACAP) to stem the tide of corruption, sadly, these laws are uncoordinated and have been found to be ineffective (GTZ 2009:2). See Table 4 for a timeline of anti-corruption laws in Ghana.

The institutions most relevant in the fight against corruption in Ghana are the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), Economic and Organised Crime Office (EOCO), the Ghana Police Service, the Attorney-General’s Office, the Financial Intelligence Center (FIC), the Auditor-General’s Office, the Internal Audit Agency, the Public Procurement Authority (PPA), Controller and Accountant-General’s Department (CAGD), Bureau of National Investigations (BNI) and the Public Accounts’ Committee of Parliament (PAC). Within the Judicial Service, Ghana has established Financial and Economic Crime Courts (FECC).

The CHRAJ and the EOCO are the most important corruption investigation authorities in the country, yet these two bodies (especially the CHRAJ) are faced with enormous capacity problems (Short 2015:8). CHRAJ has problems retaining its key staff especially its legal officers because of poor pay and lack of incentives including poor conditions of service and, despite constant appeals to government, little has been done to improve the situation. The Commission is unable to reach most Ghanaians through its outreach programmes especially rural dwellers that make up about 70% of the population, and mostly depend on charity from donor- agencies to carry out its programmes (Asibuo 2000:17).

**Table 4 Key Anti-Corruption Interventions in Ghana (1957-2010)**

Period	Intervention
1957-1966	First criminal legislation on corruption was enacted: The Criminal Offences Act, 1960 (Act 29) and the Criminal and Other Offences (Procedure) Act, 1960 (Act 30)
1967-1974	A Commission of Inquiry into Bribery and Corruption under the chairmanship of Justice P.D. Anin, popularly known as the Justice Anin Commission, was established. Several other Commissions were established within the period to investigate individual public officers alleged to have committed corrupt acts.  The Police Service Act, 1970 (Act 350) was enacted

1979-1991	House Cleaning Exercises; Public Tribunals; Citizens' Vetting Committees
1992-2000	<p>The 1992 Constitution, which sought to integrate anti-corruption into national development, was adopted. The Constitution formed the basis for adoption of further measures to combat corruption including the Representation of the People Law, 1992 (PNDCL 284)</p> <p>The first Action Plan - the National Anti-Corruption Strategy and Plan was formulated. CHRAJ was established under Act 456 of 1993</p> <p>Other independent governance institutions and the Serious Fraud Office (SFO) were established</p> <p>A number of laws were enacted within the period, including:</p> <p>Political Office Holders (Declaration and Disqualification) Act, 1998 (Act 550); Audit Service Act 2000, Act (584); Political Parties Act, 2000 (Act 574); The National Institutional Renewal Programme (NIRP); and other public sector reforms were initiated during the period</p>
2001-2008	<p>Zero Tolerance for Corruption policy was launched.</p> <p>Some key anti-corruption laws were enacted including Financial Administration Act 2003 (Act 654); Internal Audit Agency Act, 2003 (Act 658); Public Procurement Act, 2003 (Act 663); Whistleblowers Act, 2006 (Act 720); and Anti-Money Laundering Act, 2008 (Act 749)</p> <p>At the international level, the UNCAC and AU Convention were ratified in December 2005 as additional instruments to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Protocol</p>

	<p>on the Fight against Corruption, which had been ratified earlier.</p> <p>The CHRAJ also issued Guidelines on Conflict of Interest to assist public officials identify and manage conflicts of interest.</p>
2009-2010	<p>Code of Conduct for Public Officers of Ghana was launched.</p> <p>Anti-Corruption manual was produced by the Ministry of Justice in 2009</p> <p>Anti-corruption legislation enacted during the period includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) The Economic and Organized Crime Office Act, 2010, (Act 804);</li> <li>( b) The Mutual Legal Assistance Act, 2010(Act 807);</li> <li>(c) The CHRAJ (Investigations Procedure) Regulations (C.I. 67)</li> <li>(d) AML Regulations of 2011, L.I. 1987</li> </ul> <p>A working group to facilitate the development of a National Anti-Corruption Action Plan (NACAP) was inaugurated in 2009</p>

**Source: (NACAP 2011: 15)**

In June 2014, Ghana’s parliament finally approved the NACAP as a national strategy to combat corruption by mobilizing the efforts and resources of government, the private sector, the media and individuals through the promotion of integrity and enforcement of anti-corruption laws.

### **3.5 Media Landscape in Ghana**

The media in Ghana started as far back as 1822 when the then Crown Governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Charles McCarthy, established the Royal Gold-Coast Gazette as a duplicate of the Royal Gazette of Sierra Leone. Since then, the media industry has gone through several changes from the time Ghana gained independence in 1957, through various authoritarian regimes to today (Temo 2013:8). Much of Ghana’s media structure has been inherited from the

British colonial regime. For example, the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) is based on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). (ibid)

Unlike other African countries, the Ghanaian media enjoys a high percentage of freedom largely attributed to the guarantee in the 1992 Republican Constitution of Ghana of the freedom and independence of the media. However, it was not until 2001, when the Criminal Libel Law (CLL) was repealed, that the blossoming of the media was ushered in. The CLL, among others, sought to protect “the great men”, people and the national interest and against hearsay, fake news and irresponsible reportage (Tiemeo 2013:9).

Since the adoption of multi-party democracy in 1992 and the repeal of the CLL in 2001 to today, Ghana has had a series of elections and peaceful transfers of power from one democratically elected government to the other with power alternating between two political parties - the opposition National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the ruling New Patriotic Party (NPP) - and the media has played a significant role in safeguarding Ghana’s democracy (Owusu 2012:11).

Ghana’s media is deemed partly free according to the 2017 Freedom House Press ranking with a score of 33/100. In 2016, there were some significant legal developments in favour of Ghana’s media landscape (Freedom House 2017). In June, the government withdrew the Interception of Postal Packets and Telecommunications Messages Bill, known as the “spy bill,” from parliamentary consideration, which had the potential to undermine the right to privacy in private communications. In November, the Supreme Court struck down the 2015 content standards regulations issued by the National Media Commission, NMC (a government agency mandated to register, regulate and monitor media activities in Ghana) saying they were tantamount to a censorship regime (Freedom House 2017)

### ***3.5.1 Challenge of the Media in Ghana***

Despite these achievements, there have been recent developments in the media landscape in Ghana that raises an alarm about the future of media freedom in the country. In September 2017, the National Communications Authority, (NCA), another government agency, sanctioned a total of 131 radio authorization holders found to have breached section 13 of the Electronic Communications Act (2009), Act 775 (Ghanaweb 2017)

The media in Ghana is currently undergoing a credibility crisis because, for many, the profession has declined in public esteem. In November 2011, the GII ranked the media as one of the most corrupt institutions in the country after the police (Owusu 2013:12). At the same time, the GII Survey Report in 2017 named the media as one of the most trusted institution for the public to report crime (GII 2017:7) In April 2016, a former Presidential hopeful lashed out at the media insisting that they are part of the deep-rooted corruption in the country (Myjoyonline.com 2016)

Subsequently, in September 2017, the umbrella body of Journalists in Ghana, the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) issued a cautionary statement to journalist against irresponsible and unethical journalism in the country especially with regards to investigative or anti-corruption reportage (CITIFM 2017)

CSOs, including the Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC), the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA) among others, immediately condemned that statement as an affront to media freedom and anti-corruption efforts (Myjoyonline 2017)

That notwithstanding, there is a growing public perception that journalists are irresponsible, unfair, biased and, above all, unethical; while others go so far as to say that journalists cannot promote good governance or fight corruption, some are even calling for the CLL to be brought back. Part of the problem is because journalists have abandoned their ethics and objectivity for political partisanship and it very easy to predict how a corruption discussion or issue will go in the media depending on the type of media you use.

Arresting the problem of irresponsible journalism requires effective regulation, but currently in Ghana the two main regulars of the media have overlapping roles with low collaboration, which creates room for bad journalism. For example, the National Media Commission (NMC) is responsible for monitoring media content as a complaint organization but lacks effective means to sanction irresponsible journalism. The National Communications Authority issues licenses and revokes them but the two are deficient in terms of funding and power to sanction (MFWA 2017).

### ***3.5.2 Forms/Types of Media in Ghana***

Using the term media denotes a medium that reaches large audiences using popular means such as newspapers, television, radio, internet, wire service etc. It also includes advertising and public relations. In sum, media comprises newspapers and magazines printed for mass readership; and the broadcast media comprises radio and television involving transmission by airwaves, cable or satellite of sound or images for simultaneous reception by mass audience (National Media Policy n.d). Currently, there are over 200 media houses in Ghana comprising print, electronic (radio and television) and online platforms (NMC n.d).

Half of Ghana's media houses are in Accra alone with syndicate partners and affiliates in all the ten regions of Ghana. There are currently about 30 newspapers, 50 radio stations including community and campus radio stations, over 30 television stations and about 10 online media platforms in Accra; and it is often said that Ghana's agenda is set in Accra (Nyarko 2012: 3) See table 5 for a list of the most popular media houses in Accra and their accompanying risks levels<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The risk levels indicate how influential the media house is in setting the agenda in the country because of their location and audience

**Table 5** List of Popular Media Houses in Accra and Risks Levels

High Risk	<p><b>Radio:</b> Joy FM, CITI FM, Unique FM, Radio Gold, Peace FM</p> <p><b>Print:</b> Daily Graphic, Ghanaian Times, Business and Financial Times, Daily Guide, Enquirer and Chronicle</p> <p><b>Television:</b> Ghana Television, TV3, Metro TV, Joy News, UTV, DSTV</p>
Medium Risk	<p><b>Radio:</b> Adom FM, Starr FM, Oman FM, Hello FM etc</p> <p><b>Print:</b> Daily Dispatch, Crusading Guide, the Democrat, The Statesman etc</p> <p>Television: Viasat 1, TV Africa, Net2 TV, etc.</p>
Low Risk	All others

Source: (Author’s compilation 2017)

Ghana’s media carry a variety of programmes ranging from health, sports, entertainment, politics, business and finance. However, in recent times, there has been an influx of foreign programming, especially for TV, which is heavily dominated with soap operas from South America and India (James n.d).

### ***3.5.3 Media Ownership and Development***

As earlier on stated, the media provides information and sample public opinion that is central in the decision making process. However, there are critical questions on how the media should be organized. The media ownership structure helps to understand how the media manages its resources and shape opinions in the society (MFWA 2017). For instance, a government owned media will have a different approach in the agenda setting process than a privately owned media.

In Ghana, the ownership landscape of the media is politically polarized with most media supporting either the government or opposition. Much of the problem, some argue, is a result of the increased media ownership by politicians and people linked to political parties and low capacity of journalists among others (Owusu 2013:12-15).

Government-owned media in most cases engage in propaganda and manipulation of information to extend political regimes - However, the private media, in most cases, are considered to provide an alternative, unbiased view for people to make informed judgments and puts checks-and-balances on the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary (Djankov et al. 2003:342).

The repeal of the CLL 2001 paved the way for private, politically linked individuals to establish media houses as propaganda machinery for their party base: the challenge remains as to how these media houses can maintain a level of independence in their editorials.

In Ghana, about a third of the media houses have direct political links or are state owned (MFWA 2017). For instance, the Agyapong family (Net 2 TV, Oman FM, Ash FM, Spice FM): Stella Wilson Agyapong is married to Kennedy Agyapong, the NPP MP for Assin Central and Chairman of the Select Committee on Communications, which is responsible for initiating legislation that concerns the media sector.

On the other hand, Sainti Baffoe-Bonnie (Gold TV, Radio Gold), the founder of Network Broadcasting Company Limited was a serving government official under the leadership of the former president, President John Mahama (MFWA 2017)

Overall the state has the largest media network in the country comprising newspapers, radio and television networks with extensive reach. They include the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC), the Graphic Communication Group Limited (GCGL), the New Times Corporation (NTC) and the Ghana News Agency (GNA). The GBC has both TV and radio platforms all over Ghana. The GCGL produces the Daily Graphic, Ghana's largest newspaper with about 2 million in circulation daily. The GNA is a wire service with a national presence (MFWA 2017)

The NTC, producers of the Ghanaian Times newspaper, has somewhat of a national presence. Apart from the GBC and the GNA, who get government and donor support for capacity development and administrative and human resources cost, the two state print organisations, the GCGL and the NTC are self-sufficient and independent of government subsidies. They, however, receive a large amounts of state advertising, which allows them to remain competitive (MFWA 2017).

## Summary

In this chapter, the overview of the study area (ATMA) was presented as well the corruption and media landscape of Ghana. Some key challenges facing the media industry was also identified. It also highlighted some of the major stakeholders in UWS, water financing and water delivery services in ATMA to provide context of the study.

As the main focus of this study was to analyse the role of the media in fighting corruption in UWS in Accra, content analysis of two leading newspapers were conducted (see chapter 4) as well as key informant interviews with key stakeholders to; first understand issues which grabbed the media's attention and secondly understand the challenges that lie for the media in exposing corruption in UWS and promoting transparency, accountability and water integrity.



## Chapter 4 Analysis of Results

### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses the results of the content analysis in response to RQ 3. The main objective is to find out what the two main media houses, the Daily Graphic and the Daily Guide reported as far as corruption/integrity was concerned regarding UWS in ATMA between March 2012 and May 2013.

Section 4.1 presents the experimental evidence of content analysis as reported by the two papers in the broad theme of corruption/integrity. Section 4.2 also looks the other non-relating themes of corruption and integrity.

All the codes in the category of transparency, accountability, embezzlement, theft etc. were grouped into the broad theme of corruption/integrity. The other codes not relating to corruption/integrity such as; water tariffs, investments, water shortage etc were grouped in the Non-relating theme. This was done in order to do a comprehensive analysis of the corruption/integrity themes against the non-relating themes.

Table 6 below gives a detailed breakdown of how the two newspapers covered or reported on the various themes.

**Table 6 Frequency Distribution of Issues Reported by the Two Newspapers from May 2012 to March 2013**

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Frequency (Daily Graphic)</i>	<i>Frequency (Daily Guide)</i>	<i>Percentage (Daily Graphic)</i>	<i>Percentage (Daily Graphic)</i>
Water Resources	21	5	85	15
Corruption/Integrity	6	5	55	45
Water Investments	7	10	85	15
Water Shortage	12	5	85	15
Water Tariffs	27	5	85	15
Water Events/Projects	3	1	90	10
Water Advertisements	4	1	90	10
Sanitation	3	1	90	10
Unrelated	2		50	50

Source: (Author's compilation 2017)

#### **4.1 Theme of Corruption/Integrity**

As seen in Table 6 above, the Daily Graphic published a total of six articles on the above theme representing 55%. This mostly bordered on corruption probes, procurement irregularities, dismissal of corrupt officials in water probes among others.

On the other hand, the Daily Guide published a total of five articles on the same theme during that period representing 45%. The articles published by the Daily Guide mostly had to do with water theft/illegal connections and procurement irregularities in the purchase of water chemicals. The total number of articles for the two newspapers was nine (9).

Interestingly, during that same period other private newspapers carried various articles on corruption/integrity that did not appear in the two leading newspapers.

On 21 February 2013, there was another report in the Daily Graphic where the Minister for Water Resources, Works and Housing had set up a committee to investigate procurement circumstances leading to the purchase of expired water chemicals. The same newspaper reported on 14, March 2013 that four senior officials were found guilty of breaching the procurement process involving millions of Ghanaian Cedis and had been indicted. On May 23, 2013, the Enquirer Newspaper reported procurement breaches in the purchase of water chemicals involving some big shots at the GWCL. (see appendix 2)

Similarly, the Daily Graphic performed fairly well on the theme of corruption (55% against 45% of the Daily Guide) was startling to the Editor, Daily Dispatch (EDD). He argued that government newspapers always do the bidding of the government and, as such, leave a vacuum for the private media, especially when it comes to critical reporting of government institutions like the GWCL.

The private media is best placed to promote water integrity. Most corruption issues are exposed by the private media. The public media is not so keen on exposing corruption because the public media seeks to protect government interest.

(Interview, Accra, 25/08/17)

Former Executive Director (FED), GII also echoed these sentiments arguing that, because of the assumption that the private media is independent, they are usually bold in exposing incidence of corruption as compared to the public media.

The private media are better suited to report on water as public water supply cannot be checked by the public media. The private media may be bold and should be able to do something

(Interview, Accra, 15/08/17).

Nevertheless, the Daily Graphic has a large staff, resources and reach as compared to the Daily Guide – this therefore gives the paper an upper hand in the news media business.

## 4.2 Non-relating Corruption/Integrity Themes

From Table 6, it can be observed that the non-relating corruption/integrity themes such as water investments, water resources, water shortage, tariffs etc. dominated the pages of the Daily Graphic and the Daily Guide during the period under review.

Water tariffs appeared 27 times representing 85% in the Daily Graphic alone. Under the same code, it only appeared five times in the Daily Guide representing 15%. The second biggest gainer in the broad non-relating theme was water resources with a total frequency of 21 representing 85% in the Daily Graphic and five representing 15% in the Daily Guide.

Interestingly, again, the code of water shortage in the period of the water crises came third in this broad category for both the Daily Graphic and the Daily Guide. In the Daily Graphic, the total frequency was 12 representing 87% and five in the Daily Guide representing 12%.

The Editor of the WASH Times (EWT), observed that this development can be largely attributed to the fact that any time Ghana, specifically Accra, experiences a water crisis the PURC, together with the GWCL, call for tariff increment.

The PURC, GWCL and the government always use the inefficiencies and the lack of transparency and accountability in the water sector to call for tariff increment; water crises in Accra is not new to the media anymore, in fact we have all carried stories on water crises in the past but anytime you carry the story nothing is done

Interview, Accra, 29/08/17

A freelance WASH journalist, added that:

Politicians and government bureaucrats will always want to short-change people by increasing water tariffs to conceal their inefficiencies, but Ghana's vibrant media and civil society will always resist such attempts

Interview, Accra, 18/08/17

Water tariffs have always been a contentious issue in Ghana's water sector. The PURC and the GWCL believe that people are not paying the right tariff in order to provide a sufficient water supply. The civil society, including the media, have lead relentless campaigns calling on the GWCL to improve water service delivery before asking for tariff increment.

The Trades Union Congress have argued that tariff increments puts unbearable pressure on citizens, especially the poor. In fact, during the analysis, the TUC was mentioned 20 times in various articles in the Daily Graphic and the Daily Guide calling for downward tariff adjustments.

## Summary

This chapter revealed how the two newspapers carried news articles between 2012 – 2013 with regards to water crises and corruption. The prominent themes that dominated the news space during that period was tariff adjustment. The theme of corruption was less visible during that period. Based on the analysis, it is important to note that the news media, along with the public, have agenda setting effects.

By the content of their articles, both the Daily Graphic and the Daily Guide capitalised on the important issues that was of interest to the people or topical. The water tariff was prominent because the TUC was pushing the agenda – the news media relied on the TUC agenda to sell their story because at that time, despite the water crisis, people started to agitate when PURC announced tariff increment. The interviews with the various stakeholders also brought out new dynamics of the challenges of the media.

# Chapter 5 Discussions

## 5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the twenty interviews conducted in Accra with CSOs, the media and stakeholders in the water sector in response to RQ 4 and 5. The responses showed that the media in Ghana are constrained by a number of factors which prevent them from carrying out the agenda setting effects in the promotion of good governance in the water sector.

## 5.1 Media Ownership and Partisan Journalism

Ownership of the media, to a large extent, determines how robust and critical the media can be in fighting corruption. This is so because media owners in some cases have a lot of influence on the editorial of the media. Government owned media are designed to represent the state and portray the state and its agencies in a favourable light. As such, the state media are deeply devoted to the promotion of the ideals of the state such as national cohesion, patriotism, state patronage and development.

Expanding on that, a Programmmes Manager (PM) with MFW stated that most Ghanaian media houses are owned by politicians or have political affiliations.

For instance, the Daily Guide newspaper belongs to the Blay Family: Frederick Blay is acting Chairman of the ruling New Patriotic Party (NPP) and recently appointed Chairman of the Ghana National Petroleum Authority (GNPC). Gina Blay, his wife, CEO of Western Publications Limited (Publishers of the Daily Guide newspaper) was recently appointed as Ghana's ambassador to Germany.

Interview, Accra, 23/08/17

The repeal of the CLL in Ghana ushered in a lot of private participation in the media landscape. The state no longer enjoys a monopoly over media ownership. The law regulating media ownership is vague as it does not restrict ownership. Political parties and business people have established media houses to advance their political or business agenda. Media groups are calling for laws to restrict political ownership of the media because the Ghanaian media is becoming too political.

As a result, journalists have taken entrenched political positions on important national matters to the frustration of many Ghanaians. Programme Manager (PMS), Safewater Network observed that:

I bet, if a corruption issue breaks up, you can tell exactly where and how the conversation will go depending on the media which breaks the story, the media content is heavily political

(Interview, Accra, 10/08/2017)

The majority of the media considers partisan politics to be a means of survival. They are very active and critical when their “government” is in opposition and become less critical when and become almost redundant when their ‘government’ is in power.

In the water sector, this partisan politicisation plays out in various forms. For instance, the Managing Directors of the GWCL are often appointed by the president as the Constitution demands. This prerogative creates patron - client relations. The MD of the GWCL, once he assumes power, also creates ‘a clique’ within the organisation and among the media – during such process, certain people in the organisation begin to revolt and pass on information of corruption to the media. The once critical media then becomes active and start running corruption stories. This media political chess game continues to play into the next government.

For instance, I found in other newspapers that were analysed that, in 2014, when the NDC was in power, the Daily Guide and New Stateman newspapers carried articles with headlines such as “Ghana Water Boss Fumbles over Judgement Debt” (July 13, 2013) and “GHC 3.7M Rot at GWCL” (November, 10, 2014) respectively.

These two newspapers are affiliated with the ruling NPP according to the influential media ownership study conducted by MFWA.

Subsequently in 2017, the Daily Democratic newspaper, affiliated to the opposition NDC, started carrying corruption stories after the party lost power in 2016. In its February 6<sup>th</sup> edition, it carried a headline “uneasy Calm @ Ghana Water – as Gov’t Appoints New MD”.

## **5.2 Unethical Journalism in the Face of Rising Water Sector Corruption**

Commenting on the issue of corruption in GWCL, Chief Manager, Public Relations (CMPR) of GWCL maintained most of the stories especially in the private media are mere fabrication promoted by some group of people to mar the reputation of the GWCL.

I will not pretend that we do not have a corruption problem in GWCL, in fact corruption is everywhere; however when a media house engages in extortion and fabrication then it is a serious problem for our democracy.

Over the past months, there have been a series of articles in the media bothering on corruption in GWCL, but these articles are mostly written by faceless people, it is our strategy not to respond to such articles”

(Interview, Accra, 11/08/17)

Although the CMPR doubts the authenticity of the media reports of corruption in GWCL, an anonymous<sup>5</sup> source with one of Ghana’s anti-corruption investigative bodies revealed that some of their investigations are triggered by media reports.

from 2013 till date we received four cases. The cases were received in 2014, 2016 and 2017. Two of the cases were self-initiated picked from the media, while the other two were complaints from the general public; directly and indirectly.

Interview, Accra, 8/09/1

He added that:

the investigation was able to established that some staff illegally withdrew over GHC 98,000.00 (Equivalent to EUROS 19,000.00) from a new service connection account in one of the branches in the Greater Accra Region of the GWCL; it was also established that over GHC 28,000.00, (Equivalent to EUROS 6, 000), which was allegedly stolen from a safe in a district manager's office was a deliberate act and in violation of the GWCL revenue manual; the amount exceeded how much should be kept in the safe.”

(Interview, Accra, 8/9/2017

Country Manager (CM), Water and Sanitation for the Urban Poor (WSUP) also noted that the sheer size of GWCL makes it attractive to politicians and government bureaucrats to manipulate.

I have heard of instances of corruption in GWCL through the media; GWCL makes an average of GHC 50 million, the minister can obviously tap and the MD and he will respond. Apart from that there is stealing materials and illegal connections

(Interview, Accra, 22/08/2017)

The CPRM skepticisms bout the media reports are part of the general observation in Ghana about irresponsible journalism. Ghana’s media is largely free and robust as compared to some countries. Journalist are free to report on every matter in the country provided they have access to information.

In fact, some media persons have almost become authoritarian. It is very common for people in the country to call on the media first in instances

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<sup>5</sup> This person chose anonymity because of the sensitivity of the topic



of violence and crime rather than law enforcement agencies. In a nutshell, people 'fear' the media and do not want their names to be mentioned in the media at all.

The robust nature of Ghana's media has somehow opened the flood-gates for irresponsible journalism. Journalists are now having to grapple with complaints and legal battles for cases of defamation or character assassination. In 2006, a renowned legal practitioner revealed that about 90% of libel cases in Ghana's Fast Track Court involved journalists and media houses (Ghanaweb 2016)

The repeal of the CLL in 2011 was heralded as a big step for media pluralism and freedom in Ghana. However, government, the private sector and civil society have raised concerns about the high level of unethical media practice.

### **5.3 RTI, antidote to irresponsible Journalism?**

The Freedom of Information Bill (FoI) or the Right to Information (RTI) has been heralded as a way of dealing with the problem of irresponsible reporting at least because the bill will give journalists the opportunity to access information to enhance their reporting.

According to the Media Development and Investment Fund (MDIF), access to information helps the media to report accurately and is empowering citizens to demand accountability from their governments.

Attempts to pass the Bill started in 1999 by the former president Jerry John Rawlings. Since then, the Bill has gone through several reviews by different governments. The Bill seeks to empower the press to demand accountability on behalf of citizens in a country shrouded with official secrecy. However, there seems to be a lack of political will to pass the Bill according to the EDD.

As at now there is no law that compels officials to release information to the public especially if it bothers on national interests: everything is shrouded in secrecy and officials hide under this to steal huge sums of money from the government

Interview, Accra, 17/09/2017)

According to the Executive Secretary of the Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC), the non-passage of the RTI is a mockery in the anti-corruption efforts of the country.

Citizens and the media have the right to access information, anything less than that is a mockery of Ghana's democracy. It is believed that, if the RTI

is passed, government officials will be embarrassed because of the magnitude of corruption and inefficiencies and failure of the government system that might be revealed

(Interview, Accra, 17/09/2017).

Ghana is obliged to ensure a free flow of information and transparency under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), which guarantees full realization of socio-economic rights including access to clean water.

However, the mere passage of the RTI will not necessarily guarantee easy access to information. In certain countries like South Africa, at least 40 per cent of the requests for information that have been made to public servants have gone unanswered. In Uganda, two journalists who wanted to compel the government to disclose information on an oil exploitation agreements lost their court case.

In Kenya, journalists are yet to take advantage of an open data initiative launched in 2001 to allow them to have access to government information including budgets to inform their audience.

In 2012, the Ghana Open Data Initiative was started with the aim of promoting efficiency, transparency and accountability as well as providing citizens with information. As in Kenya, if the Bill is passed in Ghana, the biggest challenge will be making the public aware they can access information, ensuring public offices keep searchable databases or records and reducing the high application fees required and which are forfeited whether or not the information requested is available.

## **5.4 Poor Pay for Journalists and Corruption in the Media**

Ghanaian journalists are often poorly paid, under resourced, and often lack training. As a result, journalists in Ghana find themselves susceptible to bribery and self-censorship.

It is the responsibility of media owners to pay their reporters, however because of the partisan political nature of these media houses and dwindling advertising revenues, they are not always able to pay their journalists. These journalists therefore must rely on individuals and organisations for their survival. Nearly every day both the state and private media are invited by government agencies and other organisations to cover events of some sort. After these meetings the journalists are provided with some form of compensation, usually known as “solidarity” ‘soli’ for short or ‘brown envelope’ in some jurisdictions. Brown envelope journalism is believed to originate from the UK when some lobbyists allegedly paid two members of the British parliament on behalf of the

influential businessman Mohamed Al-Fayed to post specific questions on the agenda of the House of Commons.

The Guardian, which exposed the affair in October 1994, reported that the cash was handed over in brown envelopes, hence the rationale for the term. 'Brown envelopes' later it became to be adopted as a term designating the equivalent handover of cash from sources to journalists, according to Forbes (Tandoh n.d).

According to the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (2002:2915), Solidarity is "unity or accordance of feeling, action etc. especially among individuals with common interests, sympathies or aspirations, as members of a trade union, social class etc.; mutual support or cohesiveness within a group."

It is also very common for some of the government officials to chauffeur these journalist to and from their offices as a strategic way of maintaining patronage relations and a mutual relationship of need and obligation. This, therefore, limits a journalist's ability to be critical. It has been argued that such practices equates to corruption in the media itself.

The CM, agrees that 'soli' is big problem in the media:

... the media itself is corrupt, when you do a programme you have to compensate the journalist with 'soli' to get your programme aired or published; why should I pay if it is the responsibility of your organisation to pay you"? In fact, some Ghanaian journalist believe that 'soli' is their right and refusing to give them will definitely affect the reportage.

'Soli' undermines the noble profession of journalism. Journalism, like any profession that relies heavily on personal integrity, demands a lot of sacrifice but it pays off at the end of the day.

However, a Journalist with CITIFM, sees nothing wrong with journalists taking 'soli':

what is the big deal if they hand over an envelope to me after I cover their event. It is not that I demanded it. If it is given to me I will take it but I will not demand for it. How does that make me corrupt or immoral?

(Interview, Accra, 29/08/2017)

The GJA argue that the payment of 'soli' should be blamed on event organizers because they have perpetuated the act.

Poor remuneration is also one of the contributing factors to brown envelope journalism. As a result, some media men/women have turned the journalism profession into a money making venture rather than an opportunity to inform policy and development. A World Bank Official (WBO) adds that:

It is common to see journalist moving from one event to the other daily in search of 'soli' to supplement their low or non-existent pay. Media owners also employ less qualified people who do not have professional journalism training.

Interview, Accra, 22/08/17

Moreover, the media industry is not well regulated. Although there is the NMC to see to it that the right things are done; it seems the NMC with all the constitutional backing cannot hit as hard as is expected of it. So the 'rich entrepreneurs' have taken advantage of this and are establishing media houses especially radio stations and exploiting the poor journalists, hence, the need for them to take 'soli' to survive.

A Former Engineer (FM), GWCL argues that:

poor conditions of service including low pay is a dominant factor for the practice of brown envelope journalism and the general low standards in the work of journalists in Ghana.

Interview, Accra, 16/08/17

## **5.5 Media training**

Apart from low salaries, there is weak capacity in the Ghanaian media. There is lack of adequate training and mentoring of thousands of journalists in the country, even though some donor organisations and NGOs have made attempts to train journalists, most of them have been frustrated by the lack of commitment from the journalists.

Country Manager (CM), WaterAid Ghana, laments the lack of commitments of journalists to capacity programmes:

We (WaterAid) have set up what we call Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) journalists in ten countries in West Africa - Nigeria, Mali, Liberia, Benin, Burkina Faso etc. including Ghana but unfortunately, the Ghana group is not active.

Interview, Accra, 23/08/17

An informed and engaged media has the capacity to lead analytical discussions leading to policy change, whether it be by improving their knowledge on issues of water, building their skills to provide audiences with context and analysis, informing their understanding of corruption in the water sector as a

threat rather than a mere social issue, or in exploring ways to tell the story with fresh human interest angles that will appeal to editors.

There is plenty of media development initiatives in support of media development and capacity in many parts of the world. However, the ability of the media to perform their function still remains a challenge.

The CM explained that part of the problem why the Ghana group is not active is because they are not organised.

... they want us to support them, but for me until they organise themselves, they will not get that support. Generally, the media needs to be educated to address the water sector through identifying champions in the industry who are willing to and interested in the water sector. There is also the need to improve capacities in the media.

Interview, Accra, 23/08/17

Ghana has a number of media training institutions that have been established to train media men and women, but most of these media houses lack the basic ability to train journalists in special areas so they become experts in that sector.

News Editor (NE) of Metro TV, believes the media needs a lot of capacity. Among others, he proposes a special training for the media such as budget tracking, procurement and investigative reporting to enable them to do proper reporting on some of the integrity issues in the water sector.

We still have a lot of journalists do not understand water sector issues; apart from that, investigative reporting is expensive. To promote greater transparency and accountability in the water sector, CSOs and the private sector must support capacity development of journalists.

Accra Interview, 18/08/17

Similarly, social media or the news media presents opportunities as well as challenges for the future of the news media in promoting integrity in the water sector. Social media with the internet inclusive offers many people new ways of networking, sharing and receiving information outside of the mainstream media such as TV, radio and newspapers (Gibecheru 2012:5).

However, this new found phenomenon is not without challenges. In many parts of Africa internet penetration is still a huge challenge; the majority of people are without access. Whilst internet access is a big challenge, the mobile phone market has rapidly expanded to become larger than either the EU or the United States with some 650 million subscribers.

Social media is changing the way people consume and share news, in increasingly people's use of social media to participate in news production and diffusion (Lee and Ma 2012: 331).

For instance, what has become known as the Arab Spring was largely spread through social media news. In both the cases of Tunisia and Egypt, texts, photos and videos were shared on social media platforms such as Facebook, twitter and YouTube resulting in the eruption of major protests across the Arab world leading to the toppling of the governments in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya.

As an increasing phenomenon, social media can serve as mechanisms to name and shame corrupt officials and share information on corruption using blogs and corruption reporting platforms such as the I PAID A BRIBE by the GII in Ghana. This online corruption reporting platform helps to collect anonymous reports of bribes paid, bribes requested but not paid, and bribes that were expected but not forthcoming.

That notwithstanding, social media has also become a medium to spread fake news and has been used as a manipulative tool. In fact, social media has been largely credited in the election of USA President Donald Trump. Trump himself boasted about his social media numbers and the power of that medium in a CBS 60 Minutes interview before the election when he said “The fact that I have such power in terms of numbers with Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, I think it helped me win all of these races where they are spending much more money than I spent”.

In the famous alleged Russian meddling in the USA election that saw the election of Trump, the USA Congress is calling on Facebook and Twitter to disclose details about how they may have been used by Russia-linked entities to try to influence the election in favour of Trump.

In Ghana, many radio stations and newspapers now have established online platforms to complement their offline platforms. Especially for radio, mobile telephone phone-ins have been integrated into news programming to allow listeners to contribute to the discussion via phone-ins and SMSs. This mechanism has helped citizens contribute in ensuring transparency and accountability.

Despite the increasing phenomenon of social media, media houses still play an important role in analyzing the corruption information generated through social media because, in most instances, social media stories are fake (Wasswa 2011:45).

The PM of MFWA believes social media is an important medium to fight corruption but cautions that the medium has been high jacked by some people to seek attention and push an agenda.

The credibility of social media depends on the media house and the reporter. Some media houses go to people's personal social media pages for news. Also there is false news on social media as there is a fight for attention. There is scepticism about information on social media.

(Interview, Accra, 16/08/2017)

## **Summary**

The literature review as well as the discussions in the previous chapters confirms the notion that corruption is a threat to Ghana's overall good governance agenda and therefore a big challenge in ensuring good water governance/integrity.

The content analysis of the Daily Graphic, the Daily Guide and other private newspapers as well as the interviews was significant in indicating how media ownership, capacity, access to information and resources contributes to agenda setting and the quest for good governance in the water sector.

The findings provide empirical evidence linking the relationship between the media and in the fight against corruption in general; and, specifically, the water sector.

# Chapter Six Conclusions and Recommendations

## 6.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the conclusions drawn from this study, recommendations as well as limitations.

## 6.1 Conclusions

This study has demonstrated that in order for the media to effectively play their watchdog role in promoting transparency, accountability and promoting water integrity, certain conditions must be met. First of all, the independence of the media must be guaranteed. Besides this and in line with the results and findings presented above, there is also need for certain conditions to be met. Free media cannot play their watchdog role effectively if the media is still facing challenges with regards to low salaries, inadequate resources and capacity among others. Similarly, the media can play their watch dog role effectively if the government, private sector and civil society all play a role in providing a conducive environment for them to operate – especially the government.

The watchdog role of the media does not end at only producing information about misbehaviour, but how the information is used to hold people accountable for their action. Government must know that people want responsiveness and want to hold those in power accountable for their action. The media is likely to have minimal effect on corruption if they do not get the necessary support from government, private sector and civil society.

Malcom X, an American Activist once described the media as the most powerful force on earth. According to him “they control people’s minds”. Some people may find this description superfluous. However, The agenda setting effects of the media as conceptualised by McCombs and Shaw (1972) reinforces the notion that the media have ‘psychological and social effects’ by constantly bombarding people with information which may affect the way they think and make decisions.

Similarly, the new media (social media) is changing the media landscape and affecting how people learn and communicate information and has increased competition for people’s attention. In the Middle East, social media such as Facebook and twitter has toppled governments. Social media has also been used as a manipulative tool and to spread fake news and consensus in social media goes to the person with the highest number of followers or resources.

In specific, in the context of Ghana, this study suggests that the Ghanaian media is divided along political party lines. Evidence from this study demonstrates that Ghana’s media is sharply divided between the ruling NPP and the opposition NDC and that national issues are discussed at the dictate of these parties.



Evidence also, suggest that politicians and politically aligned business men and women establish media houses to extend their political agenda and beyond, extending their agendas, the owners invest little in building the capacity of the media houses and the journalists. The study also found an unacceptable levels of corruption within the media including extortion, blackmail the constant harassment by media men for ‘soli’ from politicians, and other private business men and women.

## **6.2 Recommendations**

The debate over whether journalists have any effect on fighting corruption and promoting water integrity is gaining interest among NGOs and CSOs. This research adds to the limited research in that regard.

Partisan political media ownership, lack of resources, the non-passage of the RTI, lack of specialised training in water reporting, and unethical actions of the media are among the reasons limiting the ability of the media to promote water integrity.

The lack of or limited integrity in the water sector adds up to make life unbearable for millions of poor people in Ghana. If the SDGs on water is to be achieved, the issue of water integrity should be taken more seriously, because water plays a key role in various aspects of it.

CSOs, such as WIN, should intensify their efforts in supporting the media to report on water. Journalists who show an interest in the water sector should be given the opportunity to broaden their knowledge on water issues through refresher courses to increase reporting on water integrity.

There is also the need for enhanced monitoring mechanisms by citizens, civil society including the media to strengthen accountability and transparency and ensure value for money in water service delivery.

The absence of freedom of information and established broadcasting laws have also been identified as part of the problem that have brought about a irresponsible media practice. The NMC and the NCA must work together to bring sanity into the media landscape.

## **6.3 Limitation**

The study monitored two out of 50 media houses within the ATMA region. These two newspapers were selected based on the assumption that they are among the most influential media houses in the country and the findings based on the analysis of their content will be a good reflection of the media coverage of urban water corruption in the country. This notwithstanding, it will be good in future studies to consider broadening the scope as far as the number of media houses are concerned to get a more representative and balanced view.

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Appendix 1  
Press cuttings

The Moment Page 4 Monday, Nov 10, 2014

### Gwcl Ghc3.7m 'chop Chop' Cripples Company

**Kwame Agbenorfe**

Reliable information gathered from the Ghana Water Company Limited (GWCL) indicates that, although, GWCL claims to be committed to meeting the increasing demand for better service delivery through efficient management of their core business of production and distribution of potable water and customer management in urban areas of Ghana, monies accrued from their operations have found themselves into individual pockets with management and the Board doing little to ensure accountability. Investigations have revealed that, in June 2013, two officers of the Accra West Region of the GWCL, Ins. Frank Asante who is the Distribution Manager and Mr Kofi Ntiamoah, Finance Manager were allegedly involved in a scheme used to siphon money from the company's accounts. Interestingly, when the issue came up, a committee was set up to investigate the allegation. However, strangely enough, the committee established that the total sum of Ghc3.7million was illegally taken by these two officials. The two according to checks

have their appointments terminated by the Managing Director who was press with the Committee report. Investigations after the committee report was available to the company establishes that the two who "stole" the Ghc3.7m were only sacked from the company whilst they were allowed to go away with "stolen" money to enjoy. This development has a down well with other at the company, who believe the decision taken by management not to recover "stolen" money from the officials, will encourage officials in positions of do same. In a resolution from the Production Staff of the Company, the workers put out their grievances and the many developments seem to ground the company, the workers according to aggrieved the GWCL, whereas the companies succeed based strong team work, their management led by Ins. is not working as a team has affected worker's m and performances of we have taken in nose dive lack of trust in the lead and the Managing Director. **Stay tuned for: How Revenue Is Declining**

The New Statesman Page 2 Monday November 10, 2014

### GHC3.7M ROT AT GWCL

**Kwabena Amankwah**

Information available to the New Statesman indicates that there is a Water Company Limited, workers at the Production Department for the removal of the Managing Director from office and the decision by the Board Chairman to intimidate the workers. The aggrieved workers have accused Kwaku Godwin Dovo, the MD, of presiding over "mismanagement" and "selective promotion". Pursuing an agenda of selective promotion, they explained their grievances in resolution dated October 15, 2014, and addressed to the Board Chairman, Eric Bilguo Adams, and Mr Bilguo Adams, in a response to the resolution. Mr Bilguo Adams, in a response to the resolution, asked the workers to render unqualified apology to the Minister for Water Resources and Housing, Board of Directors and the MD for describing the leadership of the Managing Director as a "visionless one". He explained the rationale behind his demand for apology: "This is because the Managing Director retired on 30th June, 2014 and was reappointed by His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Ghana on 13th June 2014. The recommendations of the Honourable Sector Minister and the Board description of the Managing Director's leadership as visionless one is therefore a slur on the Appointing Authority." The Board Chairman added in his response that a committee had been made to investigate the claims of the workers and warned them to ensure during the pendency of the investigation that your Resolution and any other issue pertaining to it do not appear in the print or electronic media or becomes the subject matter of any radio or television programme/discussion in the country or elsewhere." In a counter response, the workers explained in detail the basis of their agitation against the MD. On the claim of presiding over financial mismanagement, they explained that in June, 2013 amount of Ghc3.7million found to have been siphoned from the company's account by Frank Asante and Ntiamoah. Distribution. When the issue came up, a committee was instituted to investigate the crime and at the end of work unraveled the total taken illegally by these officers. For which management was going to initiate steps to recover the amount from 138-employees. For reasons known to the managing director, upon receipt of committee's report decide to terminate the engagement of the two officers, without further attempt to recover last amount. The workers lamented. They believe "per management action, officers in positions of trust most likely to suffer, if it will be termination contract." The aggrieved workers gave a clear indication some payments are siphoned made by the MD in respect

Appendix 2  
Press Cuttings

Aftermath of... 5... TR...  
 water shortage hits Accra...  
 GWCL MD, 2... ordered on le...  
 WaterAid supports projects...  
 The Enquirer Monday

Aftermath of... 5... TR...  
 water shortage hits Accra...  
 GWCL MD, 2... ordered on le...  
 WaterAid supports projects...  
 The Enquirer Monday

## Appendix 3

### Questioner



#### **Interview Guide for Government Agencies and CSOs in Water**

#### **Analyzing the Role and Effect of the Media in Fighting Corruption in Urban Water Management in the Accra Metropolis of Ghana**

This study is an attempt to generate first-hand information from respondents in assessing the role and effects of the Media in fighting corruption in urban water management in the Accra Metropolis of Ghana

This questionnaire is strictly for academic purpose. The interviewer is a student of the International Institute of Social Studies – Part of the Erasmus University in the Netherlands

The responses gathered will be treated as confidential and will be used for only academic purposes.

Thank you.

1. What is Urban Water Management (UWM)?
2. What are some of the problems with UWM?
3. Are you aware of corruption in UWM?
4. What type of corruption arise in the UWM?
5. What do you think can be done to fight UWM Corruption?
6. Are you aware of media reportage of corruption in UWM? If yes, what was/ were the issues? Which media broke the story?
7. What was done about the report?
8. Do you think the media makes any impact on UWM?
9. Do you think the media can help fight corruption in UWM?



## **Interview Guide for Media**

### **Analyzing the Role and Effect of the Media in Fighting Corruption in Urban Water Management in the Accra Metropolis of Ghana**

This study is an attempt to generate first-hand information from respondents in assessing the role and effects of the Media in fighting corruption in urban water management in the Accra Metropolis of Ghana

This questionnaire is strictly for academic purpose. The interviewer is a student of the International Institute of Social Studies – Part of the Erasmus University in the Netherlands

The responses gathered will be treated as confidential and will be used for only academic purposes.

Thank you.

1. How do you define corruption or what is integrity?
2. Which sectors of the economy are most corrupt in your opinion and why?
3. Is there corruption in the UWM?
4. Are you/people aware that UWM corruption is a problem in delivering water for the masses?
5. what has been the most difficult corruption case in UWM you have come across? What kind of issues arose? How did you deal with the issues?
6. What does the media currently report on with regards to UWM corruption?
7. Do you perceive any gray areas or problems weighing issues about media coverage of corruption in water as compared to markets and politics? If so, what? How do you address these?
8. Do you think there are problems with what the media currently report on UWM corruption and if so what kind of problems?
9. What are the barriers with the media in giving attention to corruption in UWM?
10. Do you think the media give adequate attention to UWM corruption as compared to issues of politics and markets? And why?
11. Do you think the media can help address the problem of corruption in UWM and how?
12. Is there any impact of media reportage on corruption in UWM on the advocacy efforts around water integrity?



13. Do you think the media has contributed in any way in improving water integrity?

14. Is there any effect on media reportage on corruption on water policy, law and regulations?

15. How far do you agree that media can help improve integrity in the water sector?

16. Do you have any other thoughts about these issues?



## **Interview Guide for Donors**

### **Analyzing the Role and Effect of the Media in Fighting Corruption in Urban Water Management in the Accra Metropolis of Ghana**

This study is an attempt to generate first-hand information from respondents in assessing the role and effects of the Media in fighting corruption in urban water management in the Accra Metropolis of Ghana

This questionnaire is strictly for academic purpose. The interviewer is a student of the International Institute of Social Studies – Part of the Erasmus University in the Netherlands

The responses gathered will be treated as confidential and will be used for only academic purposes.

Thank you.

1. What kind of investment have you made in UWM for the past five years?
2. What have been the main success stories of your investment in UWM?
3. What have been the main challenges in financing UWM?
4. What is your perspectives on corruption in UWM?
5. What are some of the issues that arise in UWM corruption?
6. What type of corruption comes to your attention in UWM?
7. Are you aware of media reportage of corruption in UWM? If yes, what was/ were the issues? And which media broke the story?
8. What do you think the media can do to fight corruption in UWM?

**Appendix 4**  
**Interview List**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Organization</b>	<b>Date</b>
<b>CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS</b>			
Joseph Ampadu-Boakye	Programme Manager	Safe water Network	10/08/17
Beauty Emefa Nartey	Executive Secretary	Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition	7/09/17
Vitus Azeem	Former Executive Director	Ghana Integrity Initiative	15/08/17
Mathew Adombire	Former engineer	Ghana Water Company Limited	
Abigail Larbi	Programme Manager	Media Foundation for West Africa	16/08/17
Issaka Musah	Country Programme Manager	Water and Sanitation for the Urban Poor	22/08/17
Abdul-Nashiru Mohammed	Country Manager	WaterAid Ghana	23/08/17
<b>DONORS</b>			
Nial Boot	WASH Coordinator	UNICEF	18/08/17
Harrold Esseku	WASH	World Bank	22/08/17
<b>GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONS</b>			

Christian Siwor	Regional Chief Manager	Ghana Water Company Limited	24/08/17
Stanley Martey	Chief Manager and Head of Communications	Ghana Water Company Limited	11/08/17
Tsibu Samuel Jnr.	Officer	Ghana Water Company Limited	29/08/17
Michael Nyoagbe	Officer	Ghana Water Company Limited	30/08/17
<b>JOURNALISTS</b>			
Patrick Baidoo	Editor-in-Chief	The WASH Times	29/08/17
Peter Serinnye	News Editor	Metro TV	18/08/17
Adombile Samuel	WASH Journalist	Freelance	18/08/17
Ben Epton	Editor-in-Chief	The Daily Dispatch	25/08/17
Eugenia Tenkoran	Journalist	CITIFM	29/08/17
Thomas Nii Adotey	Journalist	TV3	16/08/17