

## EXPLORING THE PROSPECTS OF PRINT MEDIA IN AN EVOLVING DIGITAL CULTURE IN GHANA

Africanus Lewil Diedong

Department of Communication Studies, SD Dombo University of Business and Integrated Development Studies, Wa, Ghana, [adeidong@ubids.edu.gh](mailto:adeidong@ubids.edu.gh)

### Abstract

Neo-globalisation era has presented the news media in Africa with opportunities and challenges. In Ghana, there are some shifts in how print news media operate in digitalised context. Yet there is a dearth of research about digitalising newsrooms and its implications for the development of a vibrant press in Ghana. Print media in Ghana are in the throes of innovating albeit at a slow pace and in a re-oriented fashion to connect with a globalised media landscape, which seems to be in a constantly changing mode. Re-orientation in the manner of producing and delivery of news content in an emerging digital ecosystem means that theoretically, actors operate in a network, which privileges a mutually responsive communication process over a top-down elitist approach. The paper argues that for the press in Ghana to remain relevant and contribute towards providing information and news to media-savvy readers, it needs to adapt to transformations in newsroom practices happening globally. Newspaper organisations' initiatives at introducing new technology in newsrooms are occurring at a time the government of Ghana seems to be championing a drive for a digital economy. How these attempts feed into global discourses of networked newsrooms is what the paper would examine.

**Keywords:** journalists, digitalising newsrooms, print media, new technologies, Ghana

### Introduction: Overview of the Evolution of the Press in Ghana

The evolution of the Ghanaian print media to the current emerging digitalised phase dates back to the early press - an era marked by nationalistic orientations. The media is a powerful instrument of control of people. It is therefore not surprising that in the quest for exercising power and dominance of territories in Africa, colonial administrators ensured its maximum use to achieve set agenda in their long-term vision of total control of governance of foreign territories.

Early press in West Africa took a firm root in Ghana, from where it extended to other colonies even though the first newspapers appeared in Sierra Leone. The Royal Gold Coast Gazette and Commercial Intelligencer began on 21 April 1822 (Anyidoho, 2016). It was the British colonial Governor, Sir Charles McCarthy, who had established a similar newspaper in Sierra Leone, who mooted the idea when he was transferred to the then Gold Coast. Records show that this newspaper lasted for three years. Thereafter, other newspapers such as The Accra Herald, which took inspiration from the colonisers' need for a newspaper were established albeit with brief spells of life. The history of the evolution of the media/press in Ghana (then called the Gold Coast) is documented by scholars such as Anyidoho (2016), Dzisah (2008) and Jones-Quartey (1974), Asante (1996).

Some notable observations from all the chronicles of the history of the press in Ghana are first and foremost, the colonial authorities sought to use the press to cater to their interests and, secondly they used the press as a facilitator for propagating the ideals of liberalism as practised by the Metropole (Great Britain) in Ghana. In the process, there was an apparent clash of interests and influence between the colonial authorities who sought to dictate the pace of how liberalism could be operationalised and an emerging crop of elites/journalists who vociferously expressed divergent views on the mode of governance of the colonisers. The adversarial position of newspapers such as Gold Coast Times compelled the colonial authority to suspend its publication (cited in Asante 1996: 1). European settlers' attempts at excluding Africans from the newspaper industry and the subsequent carry-over of such overt and covert suppressive practices against the press by colonial and post-colonial rulers served as remote and immediate causes of the slow modernisation of the print media industry in Africa and Ghana in particular.

Today, it appears the main driving force behind rapid transformations unfolding in the newspaper industry is intrinsically linked more with people's desire to stay connected in order to be informed and perhaps be better educated as citizens of the world than the hitherto drawn binary battle lines of a dominant pre-independent/post-independent press versus a subjugated and weak private press. The response of Ghanaian print media in terms of the preparedness of a reconfigured print newsrooms operational dynamics to cater adequately for readers' information needs and interests in a seamless manner in an emerging digitalised environment is a real challenge confronting the print media industry. Given the ubiquitous nature of new media and the advances made in Information and Communication Technology (ICT) the fortunes of the traditional print media can hardly be divorced from these developments.

Ghana enjoys a pluralistic media environment with over one hundred and thirty newspapers (Gadzekpo, 2022). However, the incremental growth in the number of newspapers in Ghana seems to pale in significance when balanced against the stature and profile of a modern newspaper. In Ghana, the number of persons using the Internet to pursue varied goals and interests is witnessing positive incremental growth. Individuals using the Internet (% of population) stood at 58% (World Bank Group, 2020). A research gap seems to exist about how Ghanaian print media, especially newsrooms are making moves to shift their operations along the lines of an emerging digitalised business setting and the implications thereof for their survival.

This, therefore, makes a study that explores how Ghanaian print media is making efforts to shift progressively news operations (newsroom convergence) along digital lines while still maintaining core aspects of publishing hard copies of newspapers compelling. The paper is anchored on three main questions:

- i) What necessitates shifts in Ghanaian newsrooms towards technological innovations?
- ii) How do journalists view technological innovations creeping into newsroom settings?
- iii) What are the challenges and prospects of emerging technological innovations for the print media in Ghana?

## **Theoretical Framework**

Amidst concerns about the dwindling fortunes of the print media across the world in the digital age, the newspaper industry in Ghana is at a crossroads of finding its feet on the media landscape. Many newspaper organisations in Ghana are in the process of convergence, a situation somewhat similar to the picture Quinn (2005) painted of media companies in Europe and the USA a couple of years ago, which he described as still in their infancy. The development poses relevant questions for the future of journalism, particularly for countries in Africa and other developing countries. Advances in ICT couple with favourable operating communication regimes governed by appropriate rules and regulations (National Communications Authority [NCA] Act, 2008; Atton & Mabweazara, 2011) is enabling people and institutions in Ghana and other parts of Africa to access the Internet for data and other relevant information for various purposes. Given the plethora of literature (Quarshie, 2012) on the potential of appropriate application of ICT in business operations and development activities, it is yet to be seen how Ghanaian print media environments are strategically aligning their operations to technological innovations to make their socio-economic contributions more meaningful.

Various newspaper organisations are at different stages of introducing innovations into their operations. The scenario of the pace of adoption in state-owned print media is quite different from the private newspapers. Even within each category – the public print media and private print media - there are differences in the nature of diffusion of innovations needed to make the media business more vibrant. It is important to note that the newspaper industry in their diverse approaches to introducing new technologies into their organisations appreciates the Internet as central to their growth and sustenance. Despite various levels of response to technology adoption, it is possible to differentiate among “leaders, learners and laggards” in the emerging scenario (Dennis et al., 2006).

The media convergence theory guides the study. On the media landscape in Africa and Ghana in particular convergence seems an important buzzword. Deuze (2014:140) loosely defines newsroom convergence as “increasing cooperation and collaboration between formerly distinct media newsrooms and other parts of a modern newspaper company.” In this paper, Media Convergence Theory is useful because it explains advances in technologies and how their introduction into newsrooms is defining and

shaping journalistic practices and quality of work, which is much debated (Erdal, 2009, p. 225; Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008). In the Ghanaian newsroom context in particular, convergence is reshaping the practice of journalism in various ways. As Pavlik puts it, “newsroom structures, journalistic practices and news content are evolving” (2004, p. 28). In the Media Convergence theory, the professional standpoint is prioritised and explored at this preliminary phase of the adoption of innovations by Ghanaian newspapers. In this perspective, it is observed that any type of newsroom convergence can challenge traditional newsroom practices with some implications in job routines and quality of work in the chain of news production. Multi-skilling in journalism is relevant since it is fast becoming a norm for journalists to have the capacity to gather the facts, assemble the contents, edit the pictures and sound, and deliver the news via several platforms. It increases the speed of production to meet vital deadlines in the production cycle.

In the emerging Ghanaian digital culture in which possession of hand-held devices such as smartphones and tablets connected to the Internet enables people, who hitherto were limited to reading only hard copies of newspapers, it is necessary that journalism organisations figure out how to penetrate these new spaces with alternative suitable content for audiences/readers. It is quite revealing that Deo-Silas’s (2013) study found that traditional news agencies have moved from being producers of hard copy publishers only to website publishers and they now have readers online who can access the exact copy of the printed version on their mobile phones, tablets or computers. This new opportunity for diffusion of information and data requires re-orientations in management and newsroom structure, the injection of new investments, especially in new technology as well as re-thinking how to foster relations with audiences and competitors in a cooperative and collaborative fashion. Therefore, it is not surprising that The Project for Excellence in Journalism (2008) has declared that there is no single or finished news product anymore. In their view, the news is shifting from being a product – today’s newspaper, Web site or newscast – to becoming a service focusing on how you can help me, or even empower me.

Empowering audiences/readers through emerging converging media systems seems a herculean task, which called for Ghanaian newspaper organisations to go beyond merely uploading contents of newspapers online for readers, to paying attention to training and retraining in multi-skilling for journalists and having functional interactive feedback tools, which takes into consideration readers’ viewpoints in the dissemination of information. A study of Egyptian newspapers showed that Egyptian newspapers do not provide any additional services to readers beyond replicating their papers online (El Gody, 2013). Embracing crucial factors of openness and responsiveness can be regarded as an appropriate approach to shift the old approach of publishing, which looks top-down to an interactive process of the ongoing conversation of elaborating and discussing stories as they unfold. There is dearth of literature on problematising how print media in Ghana are responding to technological innovations and the implications for the growth and sustenance of the news industry in Ghana. Interviews and newsroom observations of a cross-section of news editors and journalists from the state-owned and private print media offer an opportunity to investigate how emerging technological innovations are influencing the work of journalists in particular and the print media industry in general. How print media journalists respond to these shifts should be considered.

## **Methods**

The following set of interviews with seven Ghanaian journalists, three Ghanaian news editors and three IT officers, one each from the public and private print media outlets were selected for the study. Three interviews with journalists from the Daily Graphic were used. The other interviews included three journalists with Daily Guide, one journalist with the Ghanaian Chronicle. A purposive sampling technique was used to select four newspapers. Two of the selected newspapers are privately owned – Daily Guide and Ghanaian Chronicle. The Daily Graphic and Ghanaian Times are state-owned newspapers. These newspapers were selected for the study because they are widely considered as the most read and influential newspapers in the print media landscape in Ghana. A media measurement survey report of 2018 (Abbey, 2019) indicates that leading newspapers in Ghana include Daily Graphic, Daily Guide and the Ghanaian Times. The Daily Graphic and Daily Guide account for about 2.2 million readerships. The journalists were asked a set of questions about their experiences with technological changes occurring in the newsrooms and print media organisations, which affect their work routines and the fortunes of print media outlets in Ghana.

## **Experiences and Views about Shift towards Technological Innovations**

Although scholars have pointed out that convergence in newsrooms can be interpreted in a variety of ways that range from integration of print, online and broadcast functions, to digitalisation of various parts of the production process, it has largely been seen as a necessary change (Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008). Some excerpts of data collected from interviews of editors, journalists and IT officers of some Ghanaian newspapers confirm that it is important for newspapers to update their operating systems and staff in line with innovative trends to be competitive and viable. The IT departments of news organisations are important nerve centres for making sure that all systems operate effectively in a networked newsroom setting. Thus, management support is crucial for the IT department of newsrooms to function optimally. I observed that the newsrooms studied, and the IT departments' support services play a vital role in news and information delivery service. However, the IT departments are in need of clear strategic policy directions on how they can be strengthened to proactively deal with new technological developments impacting emerging converged media systems.

All the departments are networked. A strategic policy on digitalisation of the news organisation is very important, but one does not exist. Such a policy helps moves the organisation forward. We need to start taking the IT Department more seriously than we currently do. Because it seems to me personally like because we are a news house, the focus is more on journalists and reporters than the other units (Respondent at IT Department, Daily Graphic, 2022).

Here is seen to be developing an argument for a more harmonised and co-ordinated approach for planning and implementing decisions on new technologies via clear IT policies for newspaper organisations.

Print journalists seemed upbeat about how technological innovations introduced in the newsrooms challenged and energised them to learn quickly new skills to function effectively in.

On-going digitalisation is important. Some multimedia skills I had to learn because of the emerging work context are helpful. It makes work easier and faster. So for instance, if you are covering an event on the field, you can quickly send your intro to the news editor instead of waiting to get to the office before you start typing the story on your office computer (Reporter of Ghanaian Times, 2022).

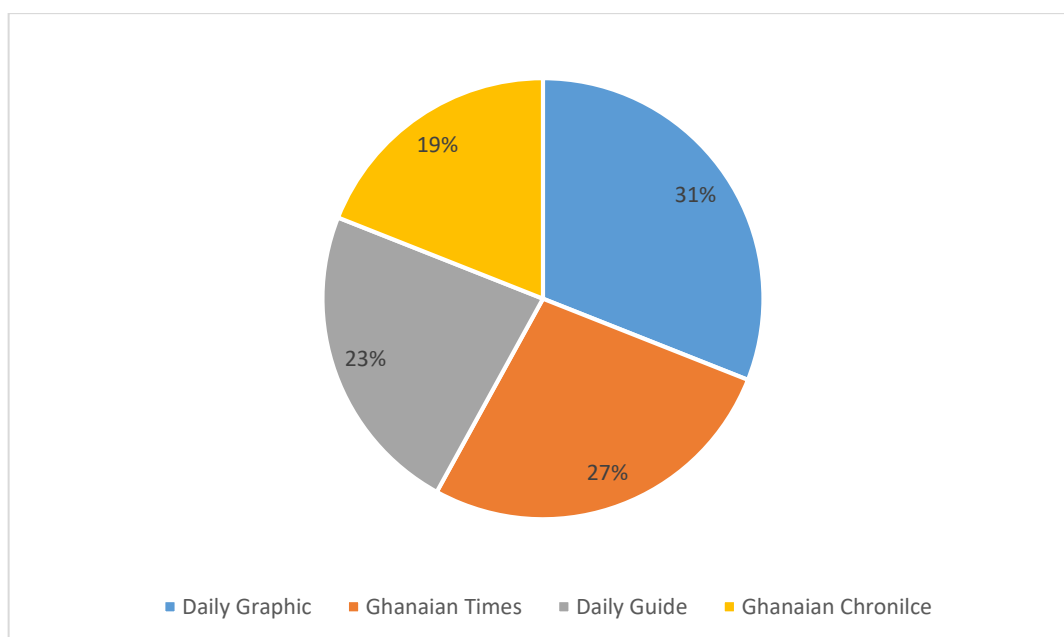
Another journalist held a similar view about the benefits of digital technologies and multimedia skills: "It has made typing easier and faster. A software like 'Text Fairy' which converts text on a hard copy to soft copy has made typing very easy." (Reporter of the Ghanaian Chronicle)

The need for continuous learning among journalists to fit appropriately into the emerging digital environment cannot be over-emphasised. Journalists have appreciated the fact that amidst the resource-constrained organisations in which they work, the cost of learning new skills to enable them to become more productive is necessarily a shared responsibility. "As far as training in multimedia skills is concerned, I would not suggest management should come into this, I know it is not possible. It all depends on the individual journalist's willingness to learn. You either come into the job prepared or you are ready to learn to upgrade on the job" (Reporter of Daily Guide, 2022). Another journalist's view was, "I don't think it should be the sole responsibility of a media organisation to equip journalists with digital skills. The individual journalist should familiarise themselves with skills themselves" (Reporter of the Ghanaian Chronicle, 2022).

Generally, the experiences of how journalists acquired new multimedia skills while on the job varied from one newspaper organisation to the other based on a number of factors. The most notable ones were the institutional capacity to invest in technological resources and capacity building for core staff, and journalists' drive to invest independently their own resources to learn new skills to avert the risk of being archaic or redundant. From "new institutionalism" perspectives as regards the uptake of digitalisation initiatives in newspaper organisations, the state-owned media seems to be doing better than the private ones, despite the fact that their (i.e. both public and private newspapers) strategies and policies towards new technologies in the newsrooms are somehow unclear and quite responsive to real needs.

As far back as 1997, we had had our first set of computers. We were doing the paperless production where from one stage of the production to another stage, we were relying on the computer. And then as time went on, by the start of the new millennium, it was obvious technology had taken over and the new trend was actually to go technological. So we had no choice but to go along that way. The Daily Graphic as market leaders in the country could not afford not to be part of it because that was the only way to stay relevant and sustain business. So technological innovation affected the entire chain – right from the newsgathering up to the finished product. Training is essential. When you come to the newsroom as a new person you are trained on the job. Therefore, everybody is going through training. There is constant training because if you don't, it affects production and because time is very essential we ensure that everybody is trained as when it is necessary. Sometimes once a year or twice (Deputy News Editor of the Daily Graphic, 2022).

The uptake of the process of digitalisation as can be seen in figure one is much better with state-owned print media organisations than the private ones. One remote factor for the slow pace of improvement in technological development of the private press could be attributed to the intermittent suppression of their smooth operations by ant-press pre and post-independent authoritarian regimes. Arguably, an immediate factor could be the inability of the numerous private newspapers organisation to explore ingenious ways of pooling resources through the Private Newspapers and Publishers Association of Ghana to raise enough capital to re-vitalise their businesses. The Reporters Without Borders (RSF, 2022) World Press Freedom Index point out that the lack of financial sustainability of some media houses, makes a number of media organisations financially less viable. Specifically, on print media, the Report noted: “Frequently, new newspapers are launched only to fold in a few months, due to inability to meet production costs. State-owned media, for their part, benefit from government advertising contracts and payment for publishing news items. Government advertising is awarded through a non-transparent and inequitable process.”



**Figure 1:** Uptake of Digitalisation Drive Among Ghanaian Newspapers

Although there is heightened awareness among management of private newspaper organisations to innovate technologically as well as improve the professional output of journalists, they find it quite difficult to match their good intentions with practical steps, which demonstrate commitments to implement planned activities in timely ways in tandem with the pace of technological innovations.

With private newspapers, the main challenge has to do with investment. As the sales have gone down, that is one of the reasons why we had to establish online versions of the newspaper to catch up. Because look, these days young folks just read the news online. And the urge to buy

newspapers is waning. It's not like before. So companies have to invest in the new technologies to catch up, as it were improving online and so on. Because look, I think the future of the newspaper is somewhat bleak. People who are able to read don't even like reading too much stuff. We took a decision recently that reporters shouldn't write more than 350 words, except in special cases where maybe you have a court case in major court case. Look, every reporter ordinarily should have a digital camera. Yes. Not all reporters have cameras. Here an attempt was made in the past to get some for us. Every reporter should have a smartphone, more than one. Despite the challenges, we are making attempts to improve our performance. We are the first private newspaper to have a one-stop publishing setup. We have our own printing press. The other private newspaper houses have to go to other places to have their printing (Editor of the Daily Guide, 2022).

The News Editor of the Ghanaian Chronicle shared similar views about limited funds to promote digitalisation drive, which the company very much cherishes. "Given that digitalisation is dynamic, one will only require more funds to acquire modern facilities needed for the newsroom" (News Editor of the Ghanaian Chronicle, 2022).

### **Networked Print Journalism**

The efficiency and effectiveness of networked print journalism need to be measured not only by mere online presence but rather by observing the quality of news/information content and the extent to which functional interactive tools are set in motion to allow fruitful public discourses on vital development issues of common interest. Most of the newspapers upload some selected stories and information in hard copies online, as if to demonstrate that they are also part of Web journalism. It is important Ghanaian print media appreciate that the new, emergent model of communication prizes interactivity by allowing readers to provide feedback and participate in news-making processes in various ways (Bowman & Willis, 2003). Consequently, initial attempts at networking newsrooms and introducing forms of multimedia in Ghana can hardly be described as skin-deep. Therefore, Boczkowski's (2010) suggestion that mimicry among news organisations becomes a key feature in the adoption of new technology and the trends set by big and prestigious organisations are to be followed by others was instructive and apt. Online networks have engendered a new form of journalism with requirements for journalists to be multi-skilled as well as operate with state-of-art equipment, which employers should make available for them to use.

Amidst the changing business environment of the print media, which presents opportunities and challenges, in a bid to attract readers and advertisements, some newspaper organisations online versions of their newspapers as well as set up radio and television stations to operate in a somewhat converged fashion to raise revenue. The Daily Guide now has a radio station and a Daily Guide Television Network, which operate 24 hours. The Daily Graphic's online version has introduced innovative features that allow readers to access video and audio content via a Quick Response Code. Given the heavy investment involved in maintaining an online presence, the expectation is that established Web sites should be able to generate funds. Indeed, not many funds are raised from initial investments in running websites. "The main prospect is the new media. Stories that may not be published in the newspaper for lack of space are published digitally. However, the challenge is that the revenue from those reports online may not catch up with the traditional means of purchase" (News Editor of the Ghanaian Chronicle, 2022).

Another important value for the establishment of Web sites is to nurture a culture of interactivity between readers and journalists on news content and data published on the sites. Whether such an expectation is being achieved is questionable. Although the online presence of newspapers affords newspaper organisations opportunities to engage more via social media handles such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram to communicate with audiences/readers to obtain vital feedback on their news delivery services, it appears newsrooms hardly utilise these handles to really democratise communication. If the task of contemporary journalism is to figure out how to include traditional and alternative content in audience's everyday information as noted by Deuze and Witschge (2018) Ghanaian print media seems to be falling short in that.

## Conclusion

The study examined how emerging technological innovations are influencing the work of journalists in particular and print media industry in general. The results point to the conclusion that no print media house in Ghana can be in business without making an effort towards integrating the Internet and related tools into its operations. Consequently, the shift towards technological integration is leading to initiatives with cross-media productions in most newspaper organisations. The implications of such cross-media productions is that journalists who desire to do solely their traditional job of reporting, as time goes by may either be compelled to “enskill” to do their job better in a multimedia context or professionally land themselves in a “decaying curve.”

Despite the fact that the low financial viability of newspapers makes it difficult for them to organise regular training sessions in multimedia skills for journalists, it is important to note that most journalists have appreciated the importance self-training in multi-skilling to empower themselves in the evolving digitalised context. Sometimes journalists are compelled to share computers in newsrooms to do their work. Notwithstanding such constraints, there is a positive sign that the emerging digital culture can be sustained since most journalists seem to have reasonable digital mindsets and perceive themselves as capable of performing well in the emerging digitalised environment.

It can be concluded that print media organisations’ online presence/cross-media productions serve more as a window for them to raise revenue through increasing traffic and getting more advertisements as well as gaining visibility. The claim of Vujnovic et al. (2010) about such developments, which bring about different organisational agendas putting emphasis on economic motives behind an innovation or a genuine commitment to openness and participation capable of fostering functional hybrid models between traditional top-down journalism and journalism 2.0 seems confirmed in the Ghanaian context. It thus appears that despite shifts towards journalism 2.0 in Ghana, which require that journalists negotiate their gatekeeping power with readers/audiences as well as take advantage of the sociotechnical capital available (Lasorsa et al., 2012) little is known about this phase of journalism practice in Ghana. Media consumers are important actors in the emerging digital ecosystem in which mutually responsive communication cannot be downplayed.

## References

- Abbey, T. N. (2019). *The future of newspapers in digital era: A study of daily graphic and daily guide* [Master’s thesis, University of Ghana]. University of Ghana Digital Collections. <https://ugspace.ug.edu.gh/bitstream/handle/123456789/35245/The%20Future%20of%20Newspapers%20in%20a%20Digital%20Era%20A%20Study%20of%20Daily%20Graphic%20and%20Daily%20Guide.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- Anyidoho, P. (2016). Ethnography of print and broadcast media in Ghana. *Imperial Journal of Interdisciplinary Research*, 2(7), 104–114. [https://www.imperialjournals.com/index\\_php/IJIR/article/view/1078/](https://www.imperialjournals.com/index_php/IJIR/article/view/1078/)
- Asante, C. E. (1996). *The press in Ghana: Problems and prospects*. University Press of America.
- Atton, C., & Mabweazara, H. (2011). New media and journalism practice in Africa: An agenda for research. *Journalism*, 12(6), 667–673. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884911405467>
- Boczkowski, P. J. (2010). *News at work: Imitation in an age of information abundance*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Bowman, S., & Willis, C. (2003). *We media: How audiences are shaping the future of news and information*. The Media Centre at the American Press Institute.
- Dennis, E. E., Warley, S., & Sheridan, J. (2006). Doing digital: An assessment of the top 25 U.S. media companies and their digital strategies. *Journal of Media Business Studies*, 3(1), 33–51. <https://doi.org/10.1080/16522354.2006.11073438>
- Deo-Silas, K. (2013). *Newsroom journalists’ use of social media in Ghana* [Master’s thesis, University of Ghana]. University of Ghana Digital Collections. <https://ugspace.ug.edu.gh/handle/123456789/23538?show=full>
- Deuze, M. (2004). What is multi-media journalism?. *Journalism Studies*, 5(2), 139–152. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670042000211131>
- Deuze, M., & Witschge, T. (2018). Beyond journalism: Theorizing the transformation of journalism. *Journalism*, 19(2), 165–181. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884916688550>
- Dzisah, W. S. (2008). *The news media and democracy in Ghana (1992-2000)* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Westminster.
- El Gody, A. (2013). *Journalism in a network: The role of ICTs in Egyptian newsrooms*. Lambert Academic Publishing.
- Erdal, I. J. (2009). Cross-media (re)production cultures. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, 15(2), 215–231. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856508105231>
- Gadzekpo, A. (2022). *Inaugural lecture on the theme: Taking the gown to town: Reflections of a scholar-activist on media in Ghana’s democratic journey*. University of Ghana.
- Jones-Quartey, K. A. B. (1974). *A summary history of the Ghana press, 1822-1960*. Ghana Information Services Department.
- Lasorsa, D. L., Lewis, S. C., & Holton, A. E. (2012). Normalizing Twitter: Journalism practice in an emerging

- communication space. *Journalism Studies*, 13(1), 19–36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2011.571825>
- National Communications Authority [NCA]. (2008). *National Communications Authority Act, 2008 (Act 769)*. <https://nca.org.gh/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Ghana-National-Communications-Authority-Act-769.pdf>
- Pavlik, J. V. (2004). A sea-change in journalism: Convergence, journalists, their audiences and sources. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, 10(4), 21–29. <https://doi.org/10.1177/135485650401000404>
- Quarshie, H. O., & Ami-Narh, J. (2012). The growth and usage of Internet in Ghana. *Journal of Emerging Trends in Computing and Information Sciences*, 3(9), 1302–1308. <http://www.cisjournal.org>
- Quinn, S. (2005). Convergence's fundamental question. *Journalism Studies*, 6(1), 29–38. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670052000328186>
- Reporters Without Borders [RSF]. (2022). *World Press Freedom Index Report*. <https://rsf.org/en/country/ghana>
- Saltzis, K., & Dickinson, R. (2008). Inside the changing newsroom: Journalists' responses to media convergence. *Aslib Proceedings: New Information Perspectives*, 60(3), 216–228. <https://doi.org/10.1108/00012530810879097>
- Smith, L. K., Tanner, A. H., & Duhe, S. F. (2007). Convergence concerns in local television: Conflicting views from the newsroom. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 51(4), 555–574. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838150701626354>
- Vujnovic, M., Singer, J. B., Paulussen, S., Heinonen, A., Reich, Z., Quandt, T., Hermida, A., & Domingo, D. (2010). Exploring the political-economic factors of participatory journalism. *Journalism Practice*, 4(3), 285–296. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512781003640588>
- World Bank Group. (2020). *Individuals using the Internet (% of population) - Ghana*. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/IT.NET.USER.ZS?locations=GH>