

Surviving digital disruption: Ghanaian newspapers' response to digitalisation

Journalism
2025, Vol. 0(0) 1–19
© The Author(s) 2025
Article reuse guidelines:
sagepub.com/journals-permissions
DOI: 10.1177/14648849251355814
journals.sagepub.com/home/jou



Stephen Tindi 

University of Media, Arts and Communication, Ghana

Paul Achonga Kabah Kwode 

Tamale Technical University, Ghana

Abstract

The impact of digitalisation on journalism is a global concern manifesting differently in various media systems. This paper explored how digitalisation affects newspapers in Ghana and newspapers' strategic responses to the phenomenon. Through qualitative in-depth interviews with news editors and journalists working with four newspapers; *Daily Graphic*, *Ghanaian Times*, *Daily Guide* and the *Republic Press*, this study revealed that digitalisation's impact on newspapers is mixed and uneven. Although the internet's wide availability enhances the speed of news production and reach, news consumption has shifted online, reducing newspaper sales and exposing them to online information disorder. In response, newspapers are producing multi-media content for traditional and digital media. By producing and distributing content via digital and print media, newspapers have demonstrated a capacity for harnessing technical convergence, but they have not shown the ability to fully harness the cultural and economic dimensions of media convergence. Also, newspapers have become multi-modal content producers without the preparation that must precede such major organisational transformations. The strategic responses of newspapers to digitalisation have implications for media regulation as it encourages conglomeration and escalates the concentration of media power.

Keywords

digitalisation, Ghana, journalism, newspaper, technology convergence

Corresponding author:

Stephen Tindi, Department of Communication Studies, University of Media, Arts and Communication, 32nd Gamel Abdul Nasser Rd. Accra Post Office Box 667, Osu, Accra, Ghana.

Email: Stephen.tindi@gjj.edu.gh

Introduction

Digitalisation is upending the newspaper industry, affecting readership, circulation and revenue (Croteau and Hoynes, 2019). The situation is worse in burgeoning media markets in sub-Saharan Africa (Onyenakeya, 2022) which are experiencing record growth in internet penetration (Kemp, 2024; International Telecommunication Union (2023). For instance, Graphic Communications Group Limited, the largest and longest-serving print news publishing company in Ghana, made headlines in April 2024 when it revealed plans to raise funds through a listing on the (GSE) Ghana Stock Exchange (Bonney, 2024). The struggles of the newspaper industry in Ghana (Amadu et al., 2018; Diedong, 2022; Nyarko, 2016), and other parts of the world are well documented (Lehtisaari et al., 2018; Meyer, 2009; Pickard, 2020), but the Graphic Communications Group's unprecedented decision to list on the GSE presented an opportunity to investigate the Ghanaian print media's strategies for overcoming the difficulties they face in the digital era.

Globally, the newspaper industry is in crisis. The once profitable business model of newspapers whereby news was printed, packaged and delivered to homes and offices daily and paid for by advertisers and subscribers has imploded (Kolo, 2016; Lehtisaari et al., 2018; Pickard, 2020). The continuous decline in audiences and advertising revenue has wiped out the profits of many newspaper publishers, causing them to fold up (Meyer, 2009; Pickard, 2020). Rapid digitalisation in society has deepened the crisis of the print news industry as platforms have become digital intermediaries and at the same time competitors to traditional newspapers (Brandstetter et al., 2022; Sparks et al., 2016).

The newspaper crisis cuts across media systems, but it is characterised by national and regional differences. Sparks et al. (2016) argue that the crisis affects the developed world like North America and Europe more, and differently in comparison to East Asia, especially China. Like Sparks et al. (2016), Kolo (2016) also observed that the crisis of the print media is different in developed and developing or newly industrialised countries. Responses to the newspaper crisis also vary across media systems; to thrive, some newspaper businesses in Europe and America have had to look for new markets using digital technologies; others have reduced expenses by either eliminating labour inputs or reducing the size of newspaper sheets (Bhuller et al., 2023; Karimi and Walter, 2015; Åkesson et al., 2018). In Ghana, however, not much is known about newspaper publishers' response to digitalisation in the media industry. Extant studies (Amadu et al., 2018; Diedong, 2022) have been preoccupied with the sustainability or otherwise of newspapers and how they should adjust to the times.

Newspapers' coping strategies and responses to the changes in the media landscape are indicators of their resilience levels and capacity to adapt to technological change. This paper, therefore, sought to explore how selected newspapers in Ghana are adapting to survive imminent displacement in the digital era. We achieved the paper's aim by addressing two research questions; (1) how has digitalisation affected newspapers in Ghana; and (2) how are newspapers responding to digitalisation's effects? As newspapers' survival in the digital age is a pressing concern, the paper primarily contributes to understanding the strategic actions newspapers take to survive in the age of digital

disruption. Furthermore, by analyzing newspapers' strategic actions through the lens of media convergence, we were able to provide insights for efficient media management in the face of technological disruption.

We proceed with a review of relevant literature on the evolution of Ghana's print media, the global print media's battle for survival, and technological convergence in the media landscape to further contextualize the study. Subsequently, the research methods section is presented, followed by the paper's findings, discussions, and conclusions.

Ghana's print media; past and present

The history of the print media in Ghana is the history of journalism in Ghana. Since the publication of the first newspaper in Ghana in the 19th century, newspapers have become essential staples providing nourishment for the country's political and business elite. More than that, newspapers, especially the Ghanaian-owned papers such as *Gold Coast Express*, *Gold Coast People*, *Gold Coast Leader*, *Gold Coast Spectator*, *West African Times* and the *Ghana Statesman* were instrumental in Ghana's struggle for political independence from British colonial rule (Anyidoho, 2016; Gadzekpo, 2007; Karikari, 1992; Nyarko, 2016). Before Ghana's independence from the British in 1957, newspapers provided a much-needed forum for socio-cultural education and political agitation. After independence, Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president, annexed the press by establishing the Guinea Press Limited to publish the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Weekly Spectator*. The Nkrumah government also acquired and brought under government control the *Daily Graphic* and the *Sunday Mirror*, the only viable private newspapers at the time (Anyidoho, 2016). After the fall of the Nkrumah government in 1966, subsequent governments, from Kofi Abrefa Busia of the second republic, Dr. Hilla Limann of the third republic and all the presidents in the fourth republic have encouraged press freedom (Anyidoho, 2016); setting the tone for what has become a flourishing media landscape in Ghana (Anyidoho, 2016; Gadzekpo, 2007). Not only in Ghana but throughout sub-Saharan Africa, the contribution of newspapers to the development of nationalism is well documented (Twumasi, 1974; Karikari, 1992; Kasoma, 2000). Newspapers served as avenues for critical political discourse which contributed to the awakening of the political consciousness of many educated Africans.

Despite their prominent role in Ghana's socio-political history, the press has faced challenges and remains so now. For example, whilst there were forty (40) newspapers in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) from 1931 to 1956, only eleven (11) were operating by 1956. Many newspapers folded up because they were not financially viable; they overly concentrated on the national capital, Accra and sought to distribute widely throughout the country despite their limited financial resources (Nyarko, 2016). Newspapers in Ghana suffered another setback when the government of Kwame Nkrumah sought to undermine the private press to silence political opponents. According to Fosu (2024), Nkrumah imprisoned the editor of the *Ashanti Pioneer* in 1962 under the Preventive Detention Act (PDA) for "publishing subversive information". This led to the collapse of the *Ashanti Pioneer*, the only surviving private newspaper at the time. Successive republican governments after the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah in February 1966 encouraged press

freedom, but the popularity of the print media diminished after the liberalization of the airwaves in Ghana in 1996. Radio, the truly mass medium became the most preferred mass medium because, unlike newspapers, radio was accessible to both literates and non-literates (Dzisah, 2014; Gadzekpo, 2021).

The plight of the newspapers worsened further and more rapidly at the turn of the new millennium due to the wide availability of the Internet (Amadu et al., 2018; Nyarko, 2016). In 2018, a nationally representative survey revealed that nine in 10 Ghanaians either do not read newspapers or read less than once a month. The same study showed that more than half (56%) listen to radio news every day, and about a quarter (27%) get news from internet sources like social media (Isbell and Appiah-Nyamekye, 2018). Ghana's internet base has been increasing consistently over the past decade. As of the beginning of 2024, 69.8% of Ghanaians were using the Internet. Ghana's internet user base grew by 454 thousand (+1.9%) between January 2023 and January 2024 (Kemp, 2024). More people are likely to get their news from the Internet as internet access improves.

Notwithstanding the topsy-turvy past of the Ghanaian press and the challenges they face today, they remain essential to Ghana's media system. Newspapers can potentially determine the direction of the news agenda in Ghana through their intermedia agenda setting relationship with the broadcast and digital media (Sikanku, 2011; Nyarko, 2016). For example, according to Nyarko (2016), most of the independent broadcast media (television and radio) in Ghana run programmes (newspaper reviews) that discuss the content of selected newspapers and generate public conversations around news emanating from the newspapers.

The global print media and the struggle for survival

The newspaper crisis is global phenomenon (Amadu et al., 2018; Thurman et al., 2018; Kolo, 2016; Lehtisaari et al., 2018; Pickard, 2020; Ting, 2020). Numerous newspapers in North America and Europe have stopped publishing altogether or switched to online-only versions due to a fall in readership and advertising earnings (Bakker, 2008; Nossek et al., 2015; Sparks et al., 2016; Wang and Sparks, 2018). Bakker (2008) revealed that in Europe, the circulation of paid dailies decreased by an average 14% between 1995 and 2006. In the United States of America, an average of two (2) local newspapers collapsed each week in 2022 according to the Northwestern University School of Journalism's "State of Local News Project" (Lesnes, 2024).

The newspaper crisis is driven largely by the economic difficulties of operating a newspaper, the decline in popularity of reading, and the fierce competition from digital media for advertising revenue (Mdlongwa, 2022; Thurman et al., 2018). Despite being a global phenomenon, the newspaper crisis manifests differently in different countries and media systems. In the United States of America and Canada, the decline became evident in 1984 and 1990 (Thurman et al., 2018). In East Asia, particularly China, the decline became apparent much later, in the 21st century (Nossek et al., 2015; Sparks et al., 2016; Ting, 2020). However, over the past two decades, the newspaper crisis has intensified to become a true global phenomenon affecting newspapers all over the world including those in the least developed parts of the world, like sub-Saharan Africa.

The globalisation of the newspaper crisis has coincided with hyper digitalisation around the world. More people are connected to the internet than ever. According to the International Communication Union (ITU), 5.4 billion people, representing 67% of the world's population had access to the Internet as of 2023. The rise in internet adoption is strongest in low-income regions of the world, including sub-Saharan Africa ([International Telecommunication Union \(2023\)](#)). The steady increase in internet availability has on one hand, enhanced news gathering processes, increased production speed and introduced new distribution channels including social media. Some major news organizations in developed nations such as Germany, the United States of America and France even receive additional revenues from digital newspaper subscriptions ([Fletcher and Nielsen, 2016](#)). On the other hand, however, many news organisations have had to downsize to remain profitable businesses, and some journalists have had to move to other professions that are more economically rewarding as newspaper businesses shrink ([Croteau and Hoynes, 2019](#)).

Newspapers around the world are responding to the crisis using different strategies. In most cases, however, newspaper publishers adopt a digital distribution strategy where they publish news online, in addition to selling physical papers ([Mdlongwa, 2022](#); [Nossek et al., 2015](#)). With evidence from Western media systems (Australia, Europe and the USA), [Thurman et al. \(2018\)](#) argue that reliance on digital distribution cannot sustain newspapers because many newspapers still have a larger readership for their print products than for their digital versions. More recent studies ([Chyi and Jeong, 2023](#); [Tomaz, 2023](#)) in Europe and the USA again confirm that physical newspapers continue to outperform digital newspapers in terms of readership, price, advertising, engagement, circulation, and subscription revenue. In China, struggling newspaper publishers have turned to combining their editorial and business divisions as well as using the newspaper as a platform for other non-news ventures. These tactics have resulted in an unhealthy confusion of the newspapers' journalistic and commercial objectives ([Wang and Sparks, 2018](#)). The effectiveness of newspapers' survival strategies in various media systems remains to be seen, but the future of print media depends on how it responds to the challenges it faces today.

Media convergence theory

The media convergence theory underpins this study. Media convergence is the fusion of technologies, tools and equipment for the production, distribution and dissemination of media content ([Chakaveh and Bogen, 2007](#); [Park, 2019](#)). There are various types of convergence – technological, media, and network convergence ([Park, 2019](#)). This study focuses on media convergence. Henry Jenkins is credited with the development of the media convergence theory, which he described as “cultural convergence”. Jenkins argued that media convergence goes beyond technological shift to affect how media audiences, industries and media markets interact ([Jenkins, 2004, 2006](#)). [Dwyer \(2010\)](#) upheld the cultural imperative of media convergence, describing the phenomenon as a process in which existing technologies accommodate new ones but also communication industries and cultures.

Media convergence theory emerged in response to the rise of digital technologies and changes in audience behaviour. It explains the merging of traditional and digital media in response to technological, cultural, and market-driven transformations (Jenkins, 2004, 2006). The creation, distribution, and consumption of news, as well as the cultural and professional values of media journalists, have all been impacted by media convergence (Fosu and Akpojivi, 2015; Pak, 2015; Sacco, 2016; Jamil, 2020). For instance, newspapers used to only publish their content in print. Currently, the same content can be found on a variety of platforms and devices, including social media. Media convergence is reflected also in users' engagement with media content. For Jenkins (2006), media producers and consumers no longer have distinct roles but rather engage with one another based on new set of rules. The active involvement of consumers is crucial to the dissemination of media content across platforms and competing media economies.

Media convergence has several positive implications for the practice of journalism. Journalists now can gather, process and disseminate news in a simple, easy and faster manner without the drudgery that used to be associated with news production (Lule, 2014). This is exemplified when journalists use smartphones to take photos and videos, edit and transmit them to their editors, who can equally edit stories and pictures on their smartphones without much hustle. Events can be transmitted to the newsroom live by reporters from any part of the world. All these are possible today due to technological convergence. Jamil (2020) averred that integrated digital tools could be used in contemporary times to transform journalism and newsrooms and how news is disseminated globally as well as enhance the communicative power of marginalised groups in society. Projecting the Global South stories and cultural values to the rest of the world thus comes easier through technological convergence (Jamil 2020).

Technological convergence is not without challenges. Among the negative implications of technological convergence to journalism is the proliferation of information disorder. Privacy concerns and data security have also been observed as noticeable risks associated with convergence of media technologies (Fuchs, 2017). "The converged technologies gather and use personal device data, which can result in digital privacy concerns for consumers. Converged or smart technologies control large volumes of data.... such data can potentially identify, locate, track, and monitor journalists" (Jamil, 2020: 222). This notwithstanding, Fosu and Akpojivi (2015) argue that the democratisation process in the Sub-region couple with advances in technology is giving greater opportunity for the mass media to converge. In such a process, the interface of traditional media and new media brings greater advantages to enhance audience consumption needs. In other parts of the continent, convergence culture is influencing journalism to the extent that news is readily produced and disseminated by journalists making it easier for citizens to be well informed and educated on diverse topical issues of importance (Williams and Tkach, 2022).

Methods

This study was conducted using a multiple case study design. Multiple case study design is a qualitative research design that focuses on two or more phenomena for in-depth

investigation from various perspectives in a real-life context (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). A case may be an individual, event, a situation, entity or a bounded social phenomenon (Schoch, 2020; Yin, 2003, 2009). This study considers multiple cases - four (4) news organizations, hence a multiple case study. Multiple case-study design was used because of its substantial analytical benefits; it helps researchers to conduct cross case analysis by shifting emphasis from comprehending a single case to identifying the similarities and differences among cases (Crowe et al., 2019; Hunziker and Blankenagel, 2021; Yin, 2009). The multiple case study design enabled the researchers to explore and compare how digitalisation has impacted different newspapers and their responses to digitalisation's impact on the dwindling fortunes of the newspaper industry in Ghana.

The researchers selected four (4) newspapers, namely *Daily Graphic*, *Ghanaian Times*, *Daily Guide* and the *Republic Press* based in Accra, the capital of Ghana as the cases for investigation. The newspapers were chosen because they represented the public and private print media in Ghana. *The Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times* are state-owned newspapers and published by the Graphic Communications Group and the New Times Corporation respectively. The *Daily Guide* and the *Republic Press* on the other hand are private newspapers published by the Daily Guide Network and the Republic Media. The selected papers have other differences. The *Daily Graphic* is the oldest newspaper in Ghana, it was established in 1950 when Ghana (then Gold Coast) was a British colony, and the *Ghanaian Times* was established in 1957 when Ghana became independent. The privately owned newspapers, the *Daily Guide* and the *Republic Press* were established in 1984 and 2020 respectively. The *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* are published daily, (except on Sundays and public holidays). The *Ghanaian Times* comes out 5 days (Monday to Friday) a week, and the *Republic Press* is published three times a week.

All four newspapers are printed in Ghana's capital, Accra, and distributed to other parts of the country. An equal number of respondents (three) were selected from each newspaper using the purposive sampling technique. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling technique in which the researcher seeks out and selects respondents based predefined criteria (Tongco, 2007). Participants for this study were selected based on their rich knowledge and experiences concerning digitalisation's impact on their respective news media organizations. A total of twelve (12) respondents (three from each organization) made up of editors and senior reporters (chief correspondents) were selected for the paper. The sample size is adequate as it helped the researchers to attain saturation – a point where the data gathered is sufficient because no new information is discovered in the data available (Saunders et al., 2017). Besides, qualitative studies characteristically focus on relatively small samples for in-depth investigation (Creswell and Creswell, 2018; Odoom and Agyepong, 2022).

The researchers obtained primary data using in-depth interviews. The interviews were conducted face-to-face and over the telephone depending on interviewees' preference and availability. In line with research ethics, the prior consent of all respondents was sought and obtained before each interview. With the explicit consent of respondents, all interviews were audio recorded and transcribed before analysis. The interviews were conducted from June 2024 to August 2024. On average, an interview lasted for 35 minutes. The researchers analysed the interview responses manually using the thematic

analysis technique. Thematic analysis is a widely used qualitative data analysis technique which involves deep immersion in the data to identify patterns of responses which are then used as central ideas or themes for organizing and understanding the data (Naeem et al., 2023). The thematic analysis was conducted using Braun and Clarke's six-step analytic framework. Following the steps outlined in Braun and Clarke (2006) the researchers first transcribed the audio-recorded interviews, then generated initial codes, searched for themes, reviewed the themes and defined and named the themes. Finally, the researchers used the themes to write the report.

In compliance with the anonymity principle, the researchers developed alphanumeric codes to avoid matching responses to the actual identities of respondents in this article. We used *DGr* to represent respondents from the *Daily Graphic*, *GT* for respondents from the *Ghanaian Times* and then *DG* and *RP* for respondents from the *Daily Guide* and *Republic Press*. The alphanumeric codes assigned to the various respondents are presented in Table 1 along with other demographic data.

Findings and discussions

This section presents results of the thematic analysis of interview responses. The results are presented in themes and supported by verbatim quotations from the respondents. The findings are presented and explained in a way that directly meets the paper's aims, beginning with the impact of digitalisation on newspapers.

Digitization's impact on newspapers in Ghana

The paper sought first to establish how digitalisation has impacted newspapers in Ghana. Through in-depth personal interviews with editors and reporters in the selected newspaper

Table 1. Demographic background of respondents.

No.	Organisation	Designation	Experience	Gender	Response code
1.	Daily Graphic	Sub-editor	30 years	Female	DGr1
2.	Daily Graphic	Reporter	6 years	Female	DGr2
3.	Daily Graphic	Reporter	3 years	Male	DGr3
4.	Ghanaian Times	Chief reporter	23 years	Male	GT1
5.	Ghanaian Times	Reporter	6 years	Female	GT2
6.	Ghanaian Times	Reporter	6 years	Male	GT3
7.	Daily Guide	Editor	13 years	Female	DG1
8.	Daily Guide	Reporter	5 years	Male	DG2
9.	Daily Guide	Reporter	3 years	Male	DG3
10.	Republic Press	Deputy- editor	12 years	Male	RP1
11.	Republic Press	Reporter	6 years	Male	RP2
12.	Republic Press	Reporter	3 years	Male	RP3

Source: Field data (2024)

publishing organisations, it emerged that digitalisation's impact on newspapers is mixed. The widespread availability and uptake of digital technology affects the operation of newspapers positively and negatively. The themes that emerged under the beneficial impacts are digitalisation's contribution to faster information gathering and reporting and its enhancement of newspapers' reach through the removal of geographic barriers.

Beneficial impacts

Faster news gathering and reporting. Speed is essential in news gathering and reporting. Our study revealed that digitalisation has expedited news gathering and reporting among print journalists.

With technology, reporters can file their stories from any part of the country so far as they have internet access and smartphones. In the past, one would have to go to the office to type, print and fax the stories to the head office. (GT1).

It [digitalisation] has rather enhanced our production and news gathering because you can ask or assign a reporter or a journalist to an assignment and the person doesn't have to go and come back. They can file the story from any location. The other thing is we can get stories on time (DGr1).

Increased reach. In addition, newspapers in Ghana are no longer limited by geographical location due to digitalisation. The internet which knows no geographical boundaries enables newspapers in Ghana to distribute digital versions of their content throughout the country and beyond. One editor said

Once you download the [Graphic News Plus] app and you have data, you should be able to access the *Daily Graphic* as a [digital] paper. And so, you could be in Afghanistan, you could be in South Africa, you could be in Tamale you could be in Togo, you could be in Burkina Faso, and you won't miss out on news from Ghana because you can access the *Graphic News Plus* online (DGr1).

A reporter from a different newspaper reiterated the point.

We can now reach people who are outside our jurisdiction through our digital copies and online platforms (RP2).

Notwithstanding digitalisation's beneficial impact, its adverse impacts on the operations of newspapers are substantial, the adverse impacts that were identified are explained in the ensuing paragraphs.

Adverse impacts

Reduction in newspaper sales and scale of operation. Digitalisation is negatively affecting newspaper sales and threatening journalism jobs. It emerged that newspapers are compelled to scale down their publishing operations and consequently employ fewer journalists due to digitalisation. A journalist working with the *Ghanaian Times*, a state-owned newspaper described the situation as such.

About 15 years ago we had four papers under our staple. The *Ghanaian Times*, which is the flagship, the weekend paper which is the *Spectator*, then we had the *Evening News* which was dedicated to political stories, then we had *Times Sports* which focused on sports. Now we publish two papers: the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Spectator*. The *Ghanaian Times* used to be published six times a week, unfortunately in the last few months, management has decided to publish five days a week, Monday to Friday – (GT1).

The *Daily Graphic*, *Daily Guide*, and the *Republic Press* also reported reduction in sales. An editor at the *Daily Graphic* averred that:

Many people are not subscribing as we used to. People prefer to have news on the go than having to read a newspaper. When I came to *Graphic* [Graphic Communications Group], I think we were printing 90,000 and 100,000 a day. Presently we are doing about half of it (DGr1).

Reduction in sales is a major one because a lot of people now prefer to have news online, so we do not sell as much as we used to. And you know that when a newspaper's circulation is limited it affects advertising as well (RP1).

The journalists further asserted that other factors like increasing cost of production and transportation interact with digitalisation to worsen the plight of newspapers.

Everything that we use for newspaper production is imported. The machine, the ink, the paper. You know the price of the dollar is going up as the cedi is going down which means that we are likely to spend much more to import things into town (DGr2).

It was found out that in the wake of these developments, the management of the *Daily Graphic* have submitted a proposal for tax waivers on the importation of raw materials for production to reduce cost but that is yet to be considered by the government.

Job losses among journalists. At the *Ghanaian Times* and *Republic Press*, digitalisation has affected recruitment as these organizations seek ways to reduce the cost of production by keeping a lean staff.

A journalist at the *Ghanaian Times* explained:

Previously every reporter was accompanied by a photographer [on assignments], but now the sophistication of smartphones makes it possible for every new reporter to go to the field and file stories with good pictures that they have taken with their phones. Today when you come to my corporation, the photo section has dwindled because nobody is recruiting new photographers. Everybody who is recruited must be a reporter who has some level of expertise in manipulating the phone for quality pictures. (GT3)

Despite remark of GT3, digitalisation's contribution to job losses was not as pronounced as the other adverse impacts.

Threat of information disorder. Information disorder refers to creating and or sharing false information intentionally or unintentionally to deceive or to cause harm (Kandel, 2020). The three types of information disorders, namely, misinformation, disinformation, and mal-information, are rife online. The rapid spread of information disorder online has created a chaotic information ecosystem that makes it difficult for journalists to uphold journalistic standards, including verification of facts. The editor of the *Daily Guide* explained:

The other challenge is the credibility of the information that people put on social media and other online platforms. With the advent of digital media and all that, if you are not careful you will be tempted to follow those people [agents of information disorder] and you could get into trouble (DG2).

The threat of information disorder, especially misinformation and disinformation was a concern for journalists working with other newspapers. A reporter at the *Republic Press* stated:

We try not to take any information from social media, unless from verified sources because you can easily be misled on social media (RP3).

The findings concerning the first objective of the paper - how digitalisation impacts newspapers - show digitalisation's impact on newspapers is mixed and uneven. The beneficial impacts include increased speed of news reporting and production, and the removal of geographic barriers to enhance the reach of newspapers. On the other hand, digitalisation has reduced the newspaper sales and scale of operation; it has led to job losses and newspapers risk being subjects and objects of online information disorder, especially misinformation and disinformation. These impacts are felt differently by the various newspapers, suggesting different levels of resilience among newspapers in the same media system. It appears the impact of digitalisation on newspapers is influenced by other factors such as the market position of the paper and the general economic conditions within the country.

Newspapers' responses to digitalisation's impact

This paper's second objective was to examine how newspapers are responding to the impact of digitalisation. It emerged that Ghanaian newspapers are responding to

digitalisation using different tactics but the same strategy. The newspapers are responding through two strategies multimodal production, and cost cutting and operational efficiency.

Multimodal production. In response to reduction in sales, all four newspapers are seeking to rake in additional revenue by combining physical newspaper production and distribution with online or digital news production and distribution.

The editor of the *Daily Guide* newspaper explained her organization's strategy.

We are resilient, we are versatile; so we are trying ways of keeping the paper in the hands of people who want to read the hardcopy papers. We have some subscribers opting for softcopy, so we give them that. We have a list of those who prefer softcopy and those who prefer hard copy (DG1).

Respondents in the other newspaper organizations shared similar views.

It is a very difficult situation but what we have been seeking to do is to strengthen our presence online because the adverts market has shifted strongly online (GT2).

Looking at how digital media is gradually taking over; the print media has become difficult to hold on to. Now if you are doing printing and you do not have online [digital content] to go with it, it will be very difficult for you to penetrate the market (RP2).

The *Daily Graphic* is taking a battery of actions in response to digitalisation's impact.

We have the *Graphic News Plus* and *Graphic online*. The *Graphic News Plus* is an app. It can be downloaded on any mobile device, once you download the app and you have data [internet connection], you should be able to access the *Daily Graphic* as a [digital news] paper. All our brands are on the news app so once you subscribe you get all the newspapers (DGr1).

We have 'Graphic Online TV' as a channel on YouTube. For some time now we have been trying to get a license to join the electronic industry, so digital TV is also coming soon. We are creating a lot of content (DGr3).

The responses show that all the newspapers are combining physical and online news publication. However, unlike the *Republic Press*, *Ghanaian Times* and *Daily Guide*, the *Daily Graphic* has a subscription-based mobile application (*Graphic News Plus*) in addition to an open-access news website. The *Daily Graphic* also embeds digital elements like quick response (QR) codes in the printed papers for readers to scan and visit *Graphic online* for more details (videos, pictures and audio) of news stories. The *Daily Graphic*, which is the largest of the four newspapers, also appears to be the most innovative.

Cost cutting and operational efficiency. Besides taking to the Internet, newspapers are responding to digitalisation's impact by cutting costs where they can. At one private newspaper, journalists explained that the company is reducing the number of print copies to reduce costs.

So now, as I was saying, we print just a few copies. We don't target the larger population; we distribute to the TV and radio stations mainly because they need it for their news review programmes. Previously we were distributing to many places like Kumasi and the Bono region, but now due to the digital space and the cost involved, we keep reducing the number (RP1).

We are also trying to cut down costs by dealing with staffing.... We used to have official stenographers, today everybody types their story either on the phone or on computers in the office (GT1).

It is evident from the interview responses that, challenged by digital technology, newspapers, especially the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Daily Guide* are compelled to run lean operations. The papers are seeking to reduce operating costs and to find additional revenue from digital sources.

Discussion

The findings of the paper show that digitalisation is transforming the media landscape, disrupting newspapers' production and distribution processes thereby reducing circulation and readership. It is also threatening journalism jobs and revenue sources as advertising is increasingly drifting to online sources. The adverse impacts of digitalisation on newspapers as revealed in this paper have been widely reported around the world, confirming that the newspaper crisis is a truly global phenomenon as [Amadu et al. \(2018\)](#), [Thurman et al. \(2018\)](#), [Pickard \(2020\)](#) [Kolo \(2016\)](#) [Lehtisaari et al. \(2018\)](#) and [Ting \(2020\)](#) hinted earlier. Despite being a global phenomenon, the newspaper crisis manifests differently in different countries and media systems.

Notably, the impact of digitalisation on Ghana's newspaper industry diverges somehow from global trends. Digitalisation has not led to massive job losses in Ghana. Rather, it exacerbated the financial challenges of journalists and media managers in the country's struggling media industry. The decline in advertising revenue has further strained newspaper businesses. However, instead of shutting down, newspapers in Ghana are adopting innovative strategies to survive, including conglomeration and digital journalism. The newspaper crisis in Ghana is made worse by the intense competition in the media landscape and the general economic difficulties in the country, confirming [Yeboah-Banin and Adjin-Tettey \(2023\)](#) who revealed that the Ghanaian media landscape is not financially viable. [Yeboah-Banin and Adjin-Tettey \(2023\)](#) argued that the Ghanaian media is saturated, its advertising revenues are low but general operating expenses are high, especially after the COVID-19 pandemic.

Further, the outcomes of the present study demonstrate that new innovative means of news gathering, processing and distributing are gaining currency in Ghana due to digitalisation which is enabling media convergence. Newspapers in Ghana are innovating to survive by combining traditional and digital journalism and by cutting down their expenses to save costs. Of the four newspapers investigated, the *Daily Graphic* is the most innovative. The *Daily Graphic*'s QR codes allow readers to easily shift between physical newspapers

and digital versions that are online. The *Daily Graphic* which is the largest and most widely circulated newspaper in Ghana has a heavy social media presence and plans to enter the broadcast media market through the establishment of a television station. The *Daily Graphic* is thus establishing other media outlets (digital and electronic) to ensure the flow of media products, consistent with the media convergence thesis (Jenkins, 2004, 2006). Also, the *Daily Guide* newspaper which used to be a standalone newspaper now operates a media network (Daily Guide Network) made up of digital and electronic outlets. Similarly, the *Republic Press* and the *Ghanaian Times* both have digital outlets established in response to digitalisation. It suffices to say that newspapers are establishing other media businesses and becoming conglomerates in response to digital disruption.

The strategic response of newspapers in Ghana to digitalisation's impact is in some ways like the response of newspapers in other parts of the world such as Asia, America and Europe (Mdlongwa, 2022; Nossek et al., 2015; Thurman et al., 2018; Tomaz, 2023). In most cases, newspaper publishers adopt a digital distribution strategy by publishing news online, in addition to selling physical papers (Mdlongwa, 2022; Nossek et al., 2015). However, studies, (Thurman et al., 2018; Tomaz, 2023) conducted in primarily Western media contexts have shown that this model is not quite profitable. Thurman et al. (2018) argued that reliance on digital distribution cannot sustain newspapers because many newspapers still have a larger readership for their print products than for their digital versions.

Notwithstanding the inability of newspapers in Ghana and elsewhere to effectively generate sufficient revenues from digital publication, it appears the instinctive response of newspapers to digitalisation's impact is to combine digital with print media – media convergence. The profitability of this model is up for debate, but it underscores the importance of the media convergence theory in explaining how traditional media respond to new technologies. One implication of this convergence is that the distinction between conventional newspaper and digital newspaper is less clear. For example, news consumers can access the same news through multiple channels (online and offline). The print media market and the digital market have also collided due to content convergence. These lend further impetus to Jenkins' assertion that media convergence goes beyond technological shift to affect how media audiences, industries, media markets interact (Jenkins, 2004).

For newspapers, the convergence of media has presented serious economic issues. Print newspapers' traditional revenue streams such as cover price, and advertisements have been affected by decreased circulation and competition from online platforms for advertisement. Perhaps, newspapers are unable to make as much revenue from digital publication as they would need because they face competition from blogs, social media, and digital-only news sources in addition to other print media. The heightened competition online has the potential to diminish newspaper's digital readership, profitability and consequently their contribution to society. This development has long been theorized by scholars stressing that a lot of implications awaits print journalism in the era of digital disruption where innovation is key ingredient at transforming journalism (Franklin, 2014; Croteau and Hoynes, 2019).

The survival strategies of newspapers in Ghana, especially the shift to digital journalism and conglomeration, are part of what media convergence theorist Henry Jenkins refers to as the top-down corporate-driven process of media convergence. It is a process in which media

companies promote the flow of media content across multiple platforms to broaden markets and expand revenue opportunities and audience commitments (Jenkins, 2004). The top-down corporate-driven process of media convergence has implications for media regulation because it escalates the concentration of media power in the hands of large media conglomerates.

Conclusion

Digitalisation has had a mixed, uneven but profound impact on newspapers in Ghana. On the one hand, digitalisation has led to increased speed of news production and the removal of geographic barriers. On the other hand, it has reduced circulation and revenue accruing to newspapers. Digitalisation also threatens journalism jobs and newspapers risk becoming subjects and objects of misinformation and disinformation. In response to digitalisation, newspapers have downsized their operations and are transitioning to multi-modal production which features print and digital journalism. However, digital journalism remains underdeveloped in Ghana and struggling newspapers do not stand a chance online without the requisite time and resource investment in digital journalism. Meanwhile, by merging digital and print technology, newspapers have demonstrated a capacity for harnessing technical convergence, but they have not shown the ability to fully harness the cultural and economic dimensions of media convergence.

The findings of this study provide empirical evidence of newspapers' responses to the impacts of digitalisation on the print media industry. It affirms the theoretical significance of media convergence by espousing how newspapers leverage media convergence to avoid displacement. The outcomes of this study also show that media convergence can be a viable strategy for withstanding technological disruption and demonstrating resilience in emerging media markets.

The convergence of print and digital media has implications for journalism practice and society. First and most obviously, newspapers are compelled by the development of the media landscape to transform into multi-modal content producers without the preparation that should accompany such major organizational transformations. Second, the shift affects how newsrooms operate, and the skill set required from journalists. For news consumers, convergence implies convenience, but not many of them will read the news slowly and in detail because these are primary characteristics of print news consumers. In effect, print journalism could survive digital persecution through media convergence, but the popularity of newspapers has ceased as they appeal to niche audiences and ardent readers at a cost to civic knowledge. We recommend that newspapers adapt to the shifting media landscape more strategically by understanding audiences' preferences and investing in digital journalism, including staff training. Journalists, for their part, must acquire skills in multimedia production and digital storytelling to function effectively in the changing media landscape.

Declaration of conflicting interests

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

ORCID iDs

Stephen Tindi  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2620-2175>

Paul Achonga Kabah Kwode  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3622-1449>

References

- Åkesson M, Sørensen C and Eriksson CI (2018) Ambidexterity under digitalisation: a tale of two decades of new media at a Swedish newspaper. *Scandinavian Journal of Management* 34(3): 276–288. DOI: [10.1016/j.scaman.2018.06.004](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scaman.2018.06.004).
- Amadu MF, Mohammed AM, Alhassan A, et al. (2018) Assessment of newspaper circulation and readership in northern Ghana. *UDS International Journal of Development* 5(2): 108–120. DOI: [10.47740/300.UDSIJD6i](https://doi.org/10.47740/300.UDSIJD6i).
- Anyidoho P (2016) Ethnography of print and broadcast media in Ghana. *Imperial Journal of Interdisciplinary Research* 2(7): 104–114.
- Bakker P (2008) The simultaneous rise and fall of free and paid newspapers in Europe. *Journalism Practice* 2(3): 427–443.
- Bhuller M, Havnes T, McCauley J and Mogstad M (2023) How the Internet Changed the Market for Print Media. *American economic journal: applied economics* 16(2): 318–358.
- Bonney E (2024, April 5) *Consolidating Media Leadership: Graphic to Raise Funds on GSE — MD*. Accra, Ghana: Graphic.com; Graphic Communications Group Limited. Available at: <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/ghana-news-consolidating-media-leadership-graphic-to-raise-funds-on-gse-md.html>.
- Brandstetter B, Krone J and Lischka JA (2022) *Digital News Distribution and Intermediaries*. Switzerland: Springer EBooks, 399–418. DOI: [10.1007/978-3-030-86680-8_22](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-86680-8_22).
- Braun V and Clarke V (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3(2): 77–101. DOI: [10.1191/1478088706qp063oa](https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa).
- Chakaveh S and Bogen M (2007) Media convergence, an introduction. *Lecture Notes in Computer Science* 4552: 811–814. DOI: [10.1007/978-3-540-73110-8_88](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-540-73110-8_88).
- Chyi I and Jeong HO (2023) Examining new models in journalism funding. *Media and Communication* 12(12): 1–20. DOI: [10.17645/mac.i398](https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.i398).
- Creswell JW and Creswell JD (2018) *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative & Mixed Methods Approaches*. 5th edition. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Croteau D and Hoynes W (2019) *Media and Society: Technology, Industries, Content, and Users*. 6th edition. Virginia, United States of America: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Crowe S, Cresswell K, Robertson A, et al. (2019) The case study approach. *BMC Medical Research Methodology* 11(1): 1–9. NCBI. DOI: [10.1186/1471-2288-11-100](https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2288-11-100).
- Diedong A (2022) Exploring the prospects of print media in an evolving digital culture in Ghana. *The Journal of Development Communication* 33(2): 44–51.
- Dwyer T (2010) *Media convergence*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).

- Dzisah WS (2014) *Case 1: Ghana—The Politicization of Liberalized Media*. England, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan UK EBooks, 133–145. DOI: [10.1057/9781137440563_11](https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137440563_11).
- Fletcher R and Nielsen RK (2016) Paying for online news. *Digital Journalism* 5(9): 1173–1191. DOI: [10.1080/21670811.2016.1246373](https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2016.1246373).
- Fosu M and Akpojivi U (2015) Media convergence practices and production in Ghana and Nigeria: Implications for democracy and research in Africa. *Journal of Applied Journalism & Media Studies* 4(2): 277–292.
- Franklin B (2014) The Future of Journalism: In an age of digital media and economic uncertainty. *Journalism studies* 15(5): 481–499.
- Fuchs C (2017) From digital positivism and administrative big data analytics towards critical digital and social media research!. *European Journal of communication* 32(1): 37–49.
- Gadzekpo A (2007) Fifty years of the media's struggle for democracy in Ghana. *Ghana Studies* 10(1): 89–106. DOI: [10.3368/ga.10.1.89](https://doi.org/10.3368/ga.10.1.89).
- Gadzekpo A (2021) Tuning in to his-story: an account of radio in Ghana through the experience of B. S. Gadzekpo. *Africa* 91(2): 177–194. DOI: [10.1017/s0001972021000012](https://doi.org/10.1017/s0001972021000012).
- Hunziker S and Blankenagel M (2021) Multiple case research design. In: Stefan H and Michael B (eds). *Research Design in Business and Management*. Wiesbaden: Springer, 171–186. doi: [10.1007/978-3-658-34357-6_9](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-34357-6_9).
- International Telecommunication Union (2023, September 12). Press Release, Geneva: ITU. <https://www.itu.int/en/mediacentre/Pages/PR-2023-09-12-universal-and-meaningful-connectivity-by-2030.aspx>
- Isbell T and Appiah-Nyamekye J (2018) *Ghanaians Rely on Radio and TV, but Support for Media Freedom Drops Sharply*. Accra, Ghana: Afrobarometer, 1–11.
- Jamil S (2020) Ethnic news media in the digital age: the impact of technological convergence in reshaping journalists' practices in Pakistan. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 15(2): 219–239. DOI: [10.1080/17447143.2020.1756305](https://doi.org/10.1080/17447143.2020.1756305).
- Jenkins H (2004) The cultural logic of media convergence. *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 7(1): 33–43. DOI: [10.1177/1367877904040603](https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877904040603).
- Jenkins H (2006) *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*. New York, United States of America: New York University Press, 1–24.
- Kandel N (2020) Information disorder syndrome and its management. *JNMA; journal of the Nepal Medical Association* 58(224): 280–285. DOI: [10.31729/jnma.4968](https://doi.org/10.31729/jnma.4968).
- Karikari K (1992) The “anti-white press” campaign: the opposition of the African press to the establishment of the daily graphic by the British mirror newspaper company in Ghana, 1950. *Gazette* 49(3): 215–232. DOI: [10.1177/001654929204900304](https://doi.org/10.1177/001654929204900304).
- Karimi J and Walter Z (2015) The role of dynamic capabilities in responding to digital disruption: a factor-based study of the newspaper industry. *Journal of Management Information Systems* 32(1): 39–81. DOI: [10.1080/07421222.2015.1029380](https://doi.org/10.1080/07421222.2015.1029380).
- Kasoma FP (2000) *The Press and Multiparty Politics in Africa*. Finland: University of Tampere.
- Kemp S (2024) *Digital 2024: Ghana*. Singapore: Kepios.
- Kolo C (2016) A long-term view on the business model of newspaper publishing: international comparison and quantitative modelling for Germany as case in point. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* 11(1): 1. DOI: [10.16997/wpsc.217](https://doi.org/10.16997/wpsc.217).

- Lehtisaari K, Villi M, Grönlund M, et al. (2018) Comparing innovation and social media strategies in Scandinavian and US newspapers. *Digital Journalism* 6(8): 1029–1040. DOI: [10.1080/21670811.2018.1503061](https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1503061).
- Lesnes C (2024) *Disappearance of Local Newspapers is Weighing on US Democracy*. Paris, France: Le Monde, Retrieved 14th December 2024. Available at: https://www.lemonde.fr/en/economy/article/2024/01/07/the-disappearance-of-local-newspapers-in-the-united-states-impacts-the-functioning-of-democracy_6409178_19.html#
- Lule J (2014) *Understanding Media and Culture: An Introduction to Mass Communication*. Washington, DC: Flatworld Knowledge, Inc.
- Mdlongwa F (2022) *Survival strategies of South African legacy newspapers in the digital revolution*. University of Johannesburg.
- Meyer P (2009) *The Vanishing Newspaper: Saving Journalism in the Information Age*. United States of America: University of Missouri Press.
- Naeem M, Ozuem W, Howell KE, et al. (2023) A step-by-step process of thematic analysis to develop a conceptual model in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 22(1): 1–18. Sagepub.
- Nossek H, Adoni H and Nimrod G (2015) Media audiences| is print really dying? The state of print media use in Europe. *International Journal of Communication* 9: 21.
- Nyarko J (2016) Newspaper review show in the broadcast media space in Ghana. *Sage Open* 6(2): 215824401665495. DOI: [10.1177/2158244016654952](https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244016654952).
- Odoom D and Agyepong L (2022) *Understanding Essentials Issues in Research Methodology: An Easy Guide*. Accra, Ghana: DigiBooks.
- Onyenakeya K (2022) Indigenous language newspapers and the digital media conundrum in Africa. *Information Development* 38(1): 83–96.
- Pak H-J (2015) Perceptions and influence of newspaper-led convergence with broadcast stations. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research Into New Media Technologies* 23(5): 477–496. DOI: [10.1177/1354856515619246](https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856515619246).
- Park SE (2019) *Technological Convergence: Regulatory, Digital Privacy, and Data Security Issues*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1–22.
- Pickard V (2020, March 12) Journalism's Market Failure Is a Crisis for Democracy. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business Review. <https://hbr.org/2020/03/journalisms-market-failure-is-a-crisis-for-democracy>
- Sacco V (2016) How does social media shape media convergence? The case of journalists covering war and conflict. Lugmayr A and Dal Zotto C, (eds.). *Media Convergence Handbook - Vol. 1*. Germany, 363–386. DOI: [10.1007/978-3-642-54484-2_20](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-54484-2_20).
- Saunders B, Sim J, Kingstone T, et al. (2017) Saturation in qualitative research: exploring its conceptualization and operationalization. *Quality and Quantity* 52(4): 1893–1907. DOI: [10.1007/s11135-017-0574-8](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-017-0574-8).
- Schoch K (2020) Chapter 16: case study research. In: Burkholder J, Cox K, Crawford M, et al. (eds) *Research Design and Methods: An Applied Guide for the Scholar-Practitioner*. Germany: Sage, 245–258.
- Sikanku EG (2011) Intermedia influences among Ghanaian online and print news media: Exploring salience transfer of media agendas. *Journal of Black Studies* 42(8): 1320–1335.

- Sparks C, Wang H, Huang Y, et al. (2016) The impact of digital media on newspapers: comparing responses in China and the United States. *Global Media and China* 1(3): 186–207. DOI: [10.1177/2059436416666385](https://doi.org/10.1177/2059436416666385).
- Thurman N, Picard RG, Myllylahti M and Krumsvik AH (2018) On digital distribution's failure to solve newspapers' existential crisis: Symptoms, causes, consequences, and remedies. *The Routledge handbook of developments in digital journalism studies*. Routledge, 172–185.
- Ting Y (2020) Newspapers are dead? A case study on Chinese newspapers' public opinion guidance in the context of new media. *Asian Journal for Public Opinion Research* 8(1): 22–40. DOI: [10.15206/ajpor.2020.8.1.22](https://doi.org/10.15206/ajpor.2020.8.1.22).
- Tomaz T (2023) European news media in the decade of digitalisation: persisting democratic performance with uneven developments. *Journalism* 25(5): 146488492311797. DOI: [10.1177/14648849231179781](https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849231179781).
- Tongco MDC (2007) Purposive sampling as a tool for informant selection. *Ethnobotany Research and Applications* 5(1): 147–158.
- Twumasi Y (1974) Press freedom and nationalism under colonial rule in the Gold Coast (Ghana). *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 7(3): 499–520.
- Wang H and Sparks C (2018) Marketing credibility. *Journalism Studies* 20(9): 1301–1318. DOI: [10.1080/1461670x.2018.1513815](https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670x.2018.1513815).
- Williams A and Tkach BK (2022) Access and dissemination of information and emerging media convergence in the Democratic Republic of Congo. *Information, Communication & Society* 25(10): 1383–1399.
- Yeboah-Banin AA and Adjin-Tettey TD (2023) *Financial Viability of the Ghanaian Media*. Accra, Ghana: Department of Communication Studies, University of Ghana, 31–46.
- Yin RK (2003) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 3rd edition. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Yin RK (2009) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 4th edition. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Author biographies

Stephen Tindi (PhD) is a lecturer in the Department of Communication Studies, Institute of Journalism, a constituent of the University of Media, Arts and Communication (UniMAC) in Accra, Ghana. His research interests span technology studies, media and information literacy and digital transformation in developing countries.

Paul Achonga Kabah Kwode is a researcher and lecturer with versatile experience and interest in media studies, political economy of the media, new media, journalism and communication studies in general. After working with the Ghana News Agency over a decade, he joined Tamale Technical University in 2016 and has since been making great contributions in the field of communication. Paul Achonga Kabah Kwode holds a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Communication from the University of South Africa. He is a member of the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) and actively participates in training and mentoring younger generation of journalists across the Northern parts of the country.