

**PORTRAYAL OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN GHANAIAN
NEWSPAPERS:**

A CASE STUDY OF THE FULANI



**THIS LONG ESSAY IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,
LEGON IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR
THE AWARD OF A MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN
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DECLARATION

I declare that, I have personally undertaken this study herein submitted under the supervision of the undersigned. Due acknowledgements have been given to all sources that were used in the study.

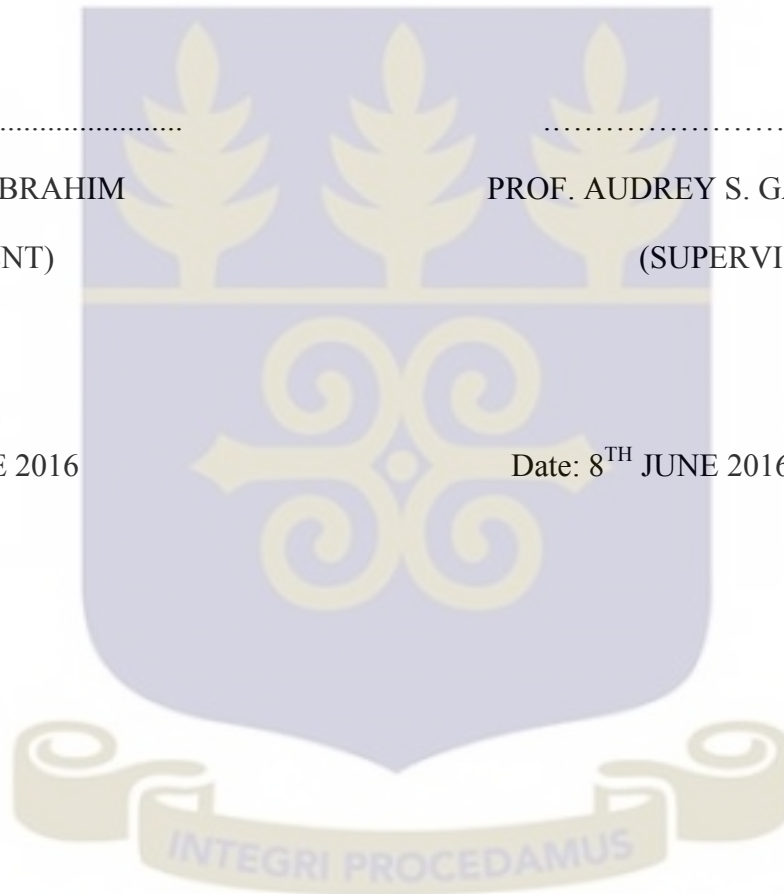
I certify that this study has not been submitted for any other degree in another university.

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DEDICATION

To my dearest parent, Ibrahim Seidu Barry and Ramatu Yaro; I can never repay your love and support through thick and thin. I appreciate all the trust in me and the investments in my education.

And also to all friends and relatives who made my studies possible. I say Allah richly bless and reward you.



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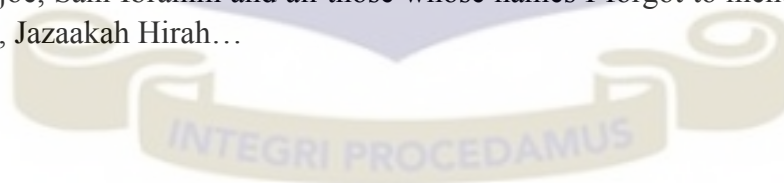
I will also like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor and mother, Prof. Audrey S. Gadzekpo (Dean of School of Information and Communication Studies), for her direction and positive criticisms, which led to the successful completion of this research. I must say I was lucky to have been supervised by a great mind whose discerning comments and particular attention to detail sustained the focus of this work to completion. What else can I say than to thank you for showing me the way and helping me to get here. Doc, we made it!

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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this study is to determine how Ghanaian newspapers, especially the most widely circulated state-owned *Daily Graphic* and privately owned *Daily Guide* portrayed the Fulani ethnic minority in their reportage.

The study used a quantitative content analysis approach in the gathering and collection of data. The census technique was used to sample 858 issues of the two dailies from 2013 to 2015. Eight categories were coded and analysed.

The framing theory was adopted as the theoretical basis of the study. The findings of the study showed that stories involving the Fulani hardly make the front pages and when they do they are linked with criminal activity. Also, the results of the study showed that majority of the stories involving the Fulani show lack of first-hand witness by the journalist and over reliance on secondary account as well as rumoured account. There is also identity labeling of the Fulani ethnic group when individual herdsmen are being referred to.

The content analysis indicate that the framing of issues relating to Fulanis portray them as being passive and led by their public representation of being “settlers” rather than having a sense of belonging and community/national aspirations.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background

Social psychological and sociological research demonstrates that what people think others feel about them, and about the groups to which they belong, has major consequences for the way they perceive themselves and for their relationship with the in which they society live (Baron & Kenny, 1986).

Stated differently, the perception that hostile media coverage has an impact on group members may be related to the perception that a group suffers from negative stereotyping by mainstream society. When people believe others think badly of them, they may in turn feel alienated and estranged from fellow citizens and from society at large, regardless of whether or not the coverage is indeed hostile or influential (Bullough 1967).

People are exposed to information about the world by the news media. In the course of news consumption attitudes towards the ones in the news are also developed as this information shapes people's opinions about the world.

The mass media plays a controlling and pervasive role in framing people's beliefs, perceptions as well as their collective emotions. How it communicates social issues ultimately shapes people's attitudes toward them.

Scholars like (Paluck, 2009) argues that while the media has been, can be and should be put to good use to reduce intergroup tension and prejudice, it often times plays an indecisive role, being neither clearly positive nor negative, though never a neutral one. However, Tsuda (2004) notes that the media frequently 'cheats' on its audience, presenting them with antithetical

images, which apparently strengthen dominant ideologies and stereotypes but erode them as well. This is also why the portrayal by the media of social and minority groups within a society (e.g., the elderly, ethnic groups, social movements, women, gays and lesbians, the disabled) inevitably raises questions about whether and to what extent such depictions promote or undermine the values of equity, democracy, and justice in a pluralist society.

The foregoing attracted the researcher's interest in undertaking this study to look at Ghanaian newspapers portrayal of the Fulani minority ethnic group and how the media frames them in light of the arguments above.

1.1.0 Brief Background of Fulani in Ghana

Fulanis are also referred to as *Fulbe* or *Fula* and the language they speak is *Ffulde*. The Fulani are not regarded as a group that is indigenous to Ghana. The different post-colonial administrations always considered them as 'non-Ghanaians', 'foreigners' or 'aliens'. Their social, cultural, economic and religious activities revolve around cattle and livestock husbandry. Their pastoral lifestyle was said to be far-off to the native way of life of the Ghanaian groups and related more with the northern Sahelian countries where nomadic pastoralism had a longer history. (Hutchison 1962 p429 in Tonah, 2005).

There are Fulani settlements in Northern Ghana, Brong Ahafo, the Accra Plains, and other southern regions. Traditionally, land and cultivation are related to their pastoral way of life and they tend to live a nomadic life by moving with their cattle or the cattle, which they keep for local owners, subject to the needs of the herd. In the Accra Plains and other areas where they have adopted a more sedentary way of life, they are seldom integrated into the local communities.

The 1960 population census, which provided the most detailed ethnic composition of the population of Ghana so far, estimated the population of Fulanis in Ghana at 25,050. It was arduous to know their exact number as many of them lived in the bush area, far from the settlements of the indigenous population. Also, they frequently move from one place to another at very short time span. Later censuses of 1970 and 1984 did not specify information on the ethnic make up of the Ghanaian populace. The issue of ethnicity of foreign nationals resident in Ghana had become controversial following the expulsion of West African aliens from Ghana in 1970 (Tonah, 2005).

“The 2000 population census gathered data on the nationality of the respondents where it differentiated between ‘a Ghanaian by birth’, that is a person born in or outside Ghana: one of whose parents is a Ghanaian citizen,” (Tonah 2005, page3). Ghana Statistical Service reported in 1999 that, the Fulani were apparently not considered to belong to any one of the ethnic groups originating from Ghana. “Some of the Fulanis in Ghana were probably counted as Ghanaians in the 2000 census, since it is known that more than 50% of the Fulani were born in Ghana and they claim Ghanaian nationality,” (Tonah 2005, page3).

According to Tonah (2005) the existence of Fulani in southern Ghana (the Accra plains being an exception) has been linked with the destruction of the forest, the degradation of the environment and farmer-herder clashes. “Most southern Ghanaians, therefore, tend to see the Fulani as foreign nationals who have only recently migrated into the country. The perception that the pastoral Fulani has been living in the Savanna areas for nearly a century is hardly known and little appreciated by southern Ghanaians,” (Tonah 2005, page3).

During the colonial period, extension officers and agriculturalists conducted majority of the research and publication on Fulani in Ghana. “Many of the studies examined issues on the various livestock breeds, methods of livestock, especially, cattle husbandry, the diseases and pests of the various types, productivity of the various livestock breed and so on,” (Tonah 2005, page4). Their main focus was on the productivity of cattle owned and herded by the Fulani. The concentration on research amongst those who studied the Fulani did not change much during the post-colonial era.

“There was very little interest in the Fulani pastoralist who managed and produced a substantial part of the country’s livestock, especially cattle. The most interesting aspect was the livestock and it’s productivity, and not the people who managed and produced the livestock. Colonial officials responsible for livestock development did recognize the fact that the Fulani devoted much of their time to cattle husbandry and therefore had healthier and better kept animals than many of the indigenous population among whom they settled,” (Tonah 2005, page4).

Hill (1970) indicates that many of the Fulani who had come to southern Ghana as livestock traders and cattle truckers had ended up working in other sectors of the economy. She found that a small group had taken up blue-collar jobs, but majority of them were working as farmers, traders, tailors, drivers, security men and in other areas in the informal sector. Majority, however, remained in the livestock sector working as cattle traders and herdsmen in the Accra Plains. Indigenous kraal owners in other areas surrounding the Accra Plains employed the services of Fulani as ‘head herdsmen’ of their kraals. These head herdsmen later employed the services of other Fulani, mostly young unmarried boys, as herdsmen directly responsible for the herding of cattle. This practice according to Hill had been in existence as early as the 1930s and 1940s. (Hill 1970 in Tonah 2005)

In contrast to Hill (1970), Opong (2002) focused on the non-pastoral Fulanis in the urban and pre-urban areas of the Greater Accra Region. She found that the Fulanis in Accra are a small minority who mainly reside in suburbs dominated by other migrants. Some of the identity changes identified among the Fulani in the urban areas of Ghana includes: many are fluent in Hausa and other Ghanaian languages other than their own *Fulfulde*, only a few of them own or herd cattle since most of them are engaged in other sectors of the urban economy. In spite of the fact that most of the urban Fulani have no relation whatsoever to cattle, the association of the Fulani with cattle has remained. Cattle have remained a prominent marker of the urban Fulani in Ghana, even amongst groups that have no direct relationship with the pastoral sector (Opong, 2002 in Tonah 2005).

1.1.1 State-Fulani Relations

The relationship between the state and Fulani pastoralists in Ghana, just as in many countries in the West African sub-region is strained. National and local government officials generally consider nomadic pastoralism and the pastoral lifestyle to be an archaic form of production that is outdated (Frantz 1990 in Tonah 2005).

The Ghanaian authorities have twice ordered a nation-wide expulsion of Fulani pastoralist from the country. The first expulsion, codenamed “Operation Cowleg” and “Operation Livestock Solidarity”, was carried out in April 1988 through to 1989. The second order was given in 1999, but the exercise itself continued throughout 2000. Whereas the first expulsion exercise was directed and coordinated by the central government, the second was decentralized and executed by the various regional and district administration across the country. (Tonah 2001)

The classification of the Fulani has not changed despite the increasing number of Fulani in the country during the last century. They are still considered by the state and the general Ghanaian public as being ‘aliens’ or ‘migrants’. This is in spite of the fact that most Fulani in Ghana today were born in the country and are descendants of second and third generation Fulani migrants in Ghana. The governments’ policy on the Fulani has been shaped against the background of the increasing population of Fulani migrants and the rising conflict and clashes between farmers and herdsmen in the country (Tonah, 2001).

“Most people of the forest zone regard the Fulani as the competitors rather than as a group whose economic activities are likely to be beneficial to them. Quite often, they compete with the Fulani for the use of available agricultural land. Conflicts between farmers and herders abound in the forest zone and the Ghanaian media has been reporting clashes and tensions between the two groups within communities across the forest zone,” (Tonah 2005 page230).

“The rising number of conflicts began receiving media attention in the late 1980s. Most of the media reports blamed the Fulani for the conflicts and the deteriorating security situation in many settlements in Ghana. The media also noted with concern the rising number of Fulani pastoralist moving into Ghana. It was alleged then that Fulani pastoralist from all parts of West Africa were making Ghana their homeland, permanently occupying traditional lands, and attacking local residents. Furthermore, the Fulani were accused of destroying the environment wherever they settled by cutting down trees to feed their livestock. Besides, it was widely reported that the frequent crossing of Fulani cattle from Burkina Faso into Ghana through illegal crossing points was to be blamed for the reoccurrence of livestock disease such as rinderpest, foot and mouth, and anthrax in parts of the country,” (Bhasin 1998:8; Daily Graphic, 16th April 1998 cited in Tonah 2005 page 237).

“There is increasing evidence that the expulsion of Fulani pastoralist from Ghana in 1999 has worsened farmer-pastoralist relations. Conflicts between the two groups more frequently degenerate into bloody battles. As opportunities for inter-ethnic dialogue decline, both groups have resorted to settling disputes through armed conflicts. There has been a sudden rise in the number of Fulani pastoralist carrying weapons on their seasonal migratory trips through the savanna and forest regions. Similarly, local youth groups and farmers have armed themselves to protect their interests and defend themselves in case of attack from Fulani pastoralist and their sympathizers. There has been a sharp rise in cases of gun battles between Fulani pastoralist and farmers throughout the country,” (Daily Graphic, 12th March, 2000; Ghanaian Chronicle, 7th & 8th August 2000 cited in Tonah 2005 page 253-254).

1.2 Problem Statement

Over the past years, there have been a significant coverage of issues relating to the Fulanis, however, most of that coverage has to do with the Fulani herdsmen. Part of it is largely due to the “Operation Cow Leg” policy, which has gained a lot of popularity. Most of the coverage about Fulani has been negative. There has been headlines like: “Fulani Robbers On The Increase In Ghana” – Daily Guide, June 6th 2014, “Nurses flee community due to fear of Fulani herdsmen” – Daily Graphic, January 17th 2015, in stories involving the Fulanis.

In a move to address the negative perception in the media, the National Chief of Fulani in Ghana, Idrissu Mohammed Bingli, in May 2013, convened a meeting in consultation with other Fulani chiefs in Ghana with the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development. There was a durbar with chief actors in the media; Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) and the

National Media Commission (NMC) to complain about how the ethnic group's identity is used when the newsmaker has an individual identity.

There have been no empirical studies to interrogate how the Fulanis are actually being portrayed in the media, which is where the interest of the researcher is. This study seeks to do that by looking at two influential newspapers in Ghana: the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* to see how they covered Fulani related issues.

1.3 Research Objectives

This research broadly sought to find out how two influential newspapers in Ghana: the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* covered the Fulani related issues from 2013 - 2015.

The study specifically had three key objectives namely:

1. To find out the nature and tone of stories on Fulani and to determine whether Fulanis are stereotyped in the news stories,
2. To find out how Fulanis are characterized in the two newspapers to determine if they are stereotyped in the news stories,
3. To find out the prominence given to stories involving Fulani in the two newspapers.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What is the nature and tone of stories involving the Fulani in the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide*?
2. What is the characterization of Fulanis in the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide*?

3. How much attention is given to stories involving Fulani herdsmen in the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide*?

1.5 Significance of the Study

There is little empirical study on the portrayal of ethnic minorities by Ghanaian newspapers, especially those perceived not to be of Ghanaian origin. The study is especially important at a time when stories of the Fulani continue to appear in the newspapers, albeit in the negative light. This study uncovers the portrayal of the Fulani ethnic minority and serves as a guide to draw editors and reporters attention how ethnic minorities are covered. Finally, it does add to literature on how ethnic minorities are portrayed.

1.6 Reason for newspaper choice

The *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* were chosen to represent state and one privately owned newspapers respectively. Also, they are the widely circulated newspapers in Ghana.

1.7 Definition of Terms

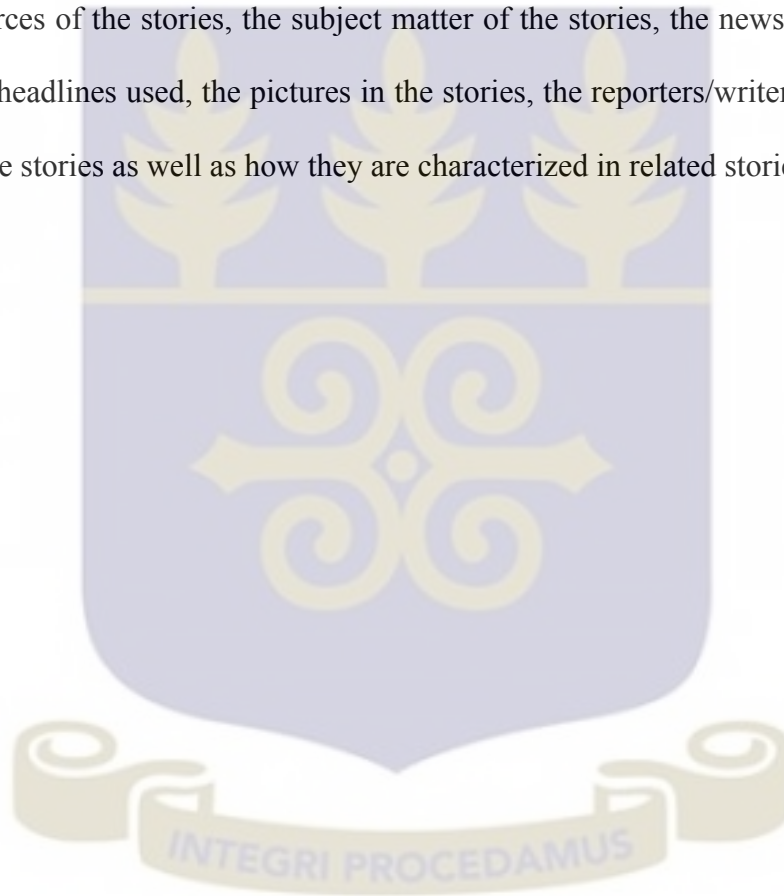
For a successful analysis and interpretation of this research, some key terms or phrases have been operationally defined. Their contextual meaning and usage regarding this study is quite different in relation to their everyday usage and meanings.

The Press: The press in this study refers to all print newspapers including the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide*.

Press Coverage: This was used to refer to news items in the newspapers, specifically those in the Daily Graphic and the Daily Guide.

Fulani related issues: This considered any news items, which mentions the Fulani in the two newspapers.

Nature/kind of Coverage: This refers to such questions as the frequency of Fulani related stories, the sources of the stories, the subject matter of the stories, the newsmakers, the tone of the stories, the headlines used, the pictures in the stories, the reporters/writers of the stories, the placement of the stories as well as how they are characterized in related stories.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter comprises of a critical review of related literature, which includes articles, books, research papers and journals that have been published by other scholars on the subject under study. Study of ethnic minorities like the Fulani is one that has garnered a lot of discussion in the academic field just like any other social issue. Social scientists and scholars from different academic backgrounds have handled it from various theoretical angles, some of which are worth reviewing in this chapter.

The chapter will also discuss the theoretical framework underpinning this study.

2.1 Review of Related Studies

Many different fields of study including sociology, social work and psychology have examined issues relating to minority portrayal from different perspectives. This is evident in the numerous results generated on reporting minorities both online and hard copy research journals available.

Much of the research on mass media and intergroup relations falls into two camps. One argues that the mass media reinforces the status quo and plays a very specific part in the distribution and acceptance of ethnic ideologies (Maneri & ter Wal, 2005; Mazzara, 2008; Pharr, 1996, Van Dijk, 1991, 2000; Volpato, Durante, Gabbiadini, Andrighetto, & Mari, 2010). Accordingly, the media occupies a preeminent place in the public representation of unequal social relations. As Cottle (2000) states, “It is in and through representations, for example, that members of the

media audience are variously invited to construct a sense of who ‘we’ are in relation to who ‘we’ are not” (p. 2). The other strand of research points out that the mass media actively criticizes and questions the status quo, thus representing a significant agent for driving sociopolitical and cultural change (Bodenhausen, Schwarz, Bless, & Wanke, 1995; Vrij, van Schie, & Cherryman, 1996; Tsuda, 2004). Both perspectives are useful for understanding this study.

2.1.1 Media portrayal of minorities in newspapers

Warren (2012) examined the *Houston Chronicle’s* construction of the Katrina evacuees as “the other.” It used Critical Race theory to inform a qualitative content analysis of newspaper coverage between August 2005 and August 2006. The study chronicled how majority of Houston media were key in the othering process.

In explaining othering, Schwalbe et al. (2000) defined it as “the process whereby a dominant group defines into existence an inferior group” (p. 422). They emphasized othering as the basic element in the process of creating and sustaining inequality.

Specifically, the study was seeking answers to the *Houston Chronicle’s* description and characterization of the Katrina evacuee and how it changed during the year post-Hurricane Katrina.

The methodology of the study examined the content of select issues and sections of the *Houston Chronicle*, the sole major mainstream newspaper in the Houston metropolitan area. The time frame of study was from August 27, 2005, to August 31, 2006. In 2005, the *Houston Chronicle*

was the seventh largest metropolitan newspaper, with a daily circulation of 527,744 and a Sunday circulation of 720,711. Further, it reached an estimated 70% of Houston area adults through its print and digital news service, as well as its Spanish language publications (“Chronicle Holds Steady,” 2005).

The study sampled 477 news articles that addressed some aspect of Hurricane Katrina. It also included 212 photographs, 25 editorials, as well as 43 letters to the editor. The one-year period covered pre-hurricane landfall evacuation through post landfall. The variety of sampling provided for a wide range of discussion, thereby allowing for a detailed analysis of the process of socially constructing the Katrina evacuee.

The study revealed the existence of racialized media coverage among national news networks in America, including the criminalization of the African American evacuees. This racialized coverage focused on evacuee involvement in violent crime. Another aspect of racialized media coverage in New Orleans, the study found, was that of blaming the victim. Residents were said to be contributors to their own misfortune due to their criminal behavior and their failure to evacuate prior to the hurricane’s landfall.

Similarly, Thomas (2015) studied the veiling debate in the Canadian media during the weeks following the ban of the niqab (veil) during citizenship ceremonies. Using Critical Discourse Analysis, the researcher assessed the dominant perspectives contained in 80 Canadian newspaper articles and governmental news releases focused upon the December announcement of the ban.

The researcher argued that banning niqab during citizenship ceremonies is negative to Muslim women because those who wear the full-face veil may now be reluctant to obtain citizenship.

Moreover, based upon the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, this event illustrated how Canada only incorporates cultural practices perceived as fitting with mainstream expectations of minority and immigrant integration. Additionally, the ban infringes upon the religious and personal freedom of minority groups to wear cultural and religious symbols.

Several media sources were used in the study including those with high national circulations. Stories published between December 12, 2011 and December 31, 2011 was selected for content analysis because they directly followed the niqab ban declaration. The sources for data retrieval were Google news search, Factiva, and the University of Alberta's Library Press Display. The search terms included "niqab ban" in conjunction with "Canadian citizenship ceremonies," "Jason Kenney," and "face veil." These searches retrieved over 200 articles. Article inclusion criteria ensured that they were appropriate for the content analysis, focused specifically on the Canadian ban rather than restrictions in other nations, and from Canadian publications. The study examined all representations of media publications including editorials, columns, and feature stories. Upon review, 80 of the original sources were relevant to the topic of the niqab ban.

The study found dominant voices in the media focused on the niqab as a symbol of gender oppression and a contradiction of Canadian values. Dissent focused upon the lack of public debate and the potential impact of the ban on other minority groups. This was a confirmation of Ernst (2011), which saw this as a contradiction between Canada as an "open, tolerant, (and) welcoming society" and the requirement for niqab-wearing women to remove their veils in order to become citizens.

Caviedas (2015) also studied a quantitative study of how newspaper articles in the UK, France and Italy most commonly frame immigration and migrants in securitisation of policy and discourse. Working on the assertion that studies have demonstrated that conservative newspapers harbour more negative views on immigration (Bauder, 2008;), and are more likely to securitise migration (Bourbeau, 2011), Caviedas did a comparative analysis of immigration coverage in a British and French newspaper from 2008 through 2012, and an Italian newspaper from 2009 through 2012.

He selected broadsheets available in electronic format that lie on the centre-right on the political spectrum from each country. These are London's *Daily Telegraph*, Milan's *Corriere della Sera*, and the Parisian *Le Figaro*, all of which function as national newspapers in terms of focus and readership. This methodology examined a subset of the political spectrum for print media to facilitate controlled comparisons across the different countries. Articles were located through an automated search in the Lexis-Nexis database for the word 'migrant(s)', 'migration' 'immigrant(s)' or 'immigration' in the header or lead paragraph. The coders, undergraduate students fluent in the language, culled editorials or articles not dealing with domestic immigration, and then read the 392 remaining articles in their entirety.

Direct comparison exposed interesting and occasionally unexpected contrasts between newspaper coverage in the three countries. The 7/7 London bombings of 2005, often linked indirectly to immigration, provided reason to suppose that British newspapers would highlight issues of physical threat more than France and Italy, where maritime border issues would potentially be a more prominent security-related narrative. Also, it was found that, media and particularly newspapers, are central in determining the terms of public discourse, then gathering information about the frames and tendencies of newspapers can provide valuable information to

governments and non-government actors alike concerning the state of the public debate and where to insert themselves. It revealed that economic issues remain at least equally important in the press' depiction of immigration.

2.1.2 Media portrayal of minorities in other media

Studies have been conducted on minority portrayal focusing on other media platforms like radio and television.

A research by Lucila Vargas and Bruce dePyssler (2000) in the United States using the framing and cultivation theory, examined how media misrepresentations of immigrants, and particularly Mexicans, play a significant role in shaping public attitudes and opinion about them.

The study examined media stereotypes of both Mexican immigrants and U.S.-born Latinos, since believed these two groups are interchangeable portrayed negatively. In their content analysis in order to give them a systematic objective look, they used the simple random sampling to pick some TV programs, newspapers and magazines as well as some movies and TV series which had Mexican portrayals from a huge population. Then they narrowed down further using multi-cluster sampling so their sampling is reflective of all the population.

Comparing an annual analysis of news stories broadcast on three networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC) in 1995, 1996 and 1997, in which Rod Carbeth and Diane Alveiro found what they described as a network brownout, the total number of stories focusing on Latinos and Latino-related issues had fluctuated between 1 to 3%. They also showed that when Latinos do appear, it is most often in affirmative action, immigration, welfare, crime, and drugs stories. They found a complex juxtaposition of stock-in-trade media portrayals of Mexican immigrants as criminals (illegals or smugglers of drugs and people) and as victims (naïve peons).

This was a further confirmation of a 1992-1995 content and textual analysis of North Carolina's most influential newspaper, the *Raleigh News and Observer* by (Vargas & dePyssler, 2000), which found Latinos consistently portrayed either as criminal aliens or as helpless victims/peons. Furthermore, their study found that the immigrant is stripped of the courage and strength characteristic of a survivor in a patronizing media construction that evokes pity from outsiders and humiliation on the part of the immigrant. The victim/peon portrayal appeals to liberal appetites.

Also, a study by Gattino & Tartaglia (2014) in Italy investigated whether ethnic prejudice is differentially influenced by the genre of television programs in their portrayal of ethnic minorities. They wanted to determine whether a higher educational level reduces ethnic prejudice in their television habits. The researchers chose television because, along with radio, as it is the predominant outlet for entertainment and news there, and because as Signorielli (2001) notes, television has become the "nation's primary storyteller" (p. 36). Also, programs featuring members of ethnic groups cast in protagonist or other roles in the narrative of various genres (e.g., News or Entertainment) can differentially influence racial perceptions (Armstrong, Neuendorf & Brentar, 1992). Therefore, they wanted to examine the influence of viewing three different television genres (films, news, entertainment) on ethnic prejudice and television consumption.

A self-reported questionnaire was administered to 401 Italian adults. Respondent were recruited in cities of different sizes via a convenience sampling method. Structural equation modeling was used to analyze the relationships between ethnic prejudice and television program contents and educational level. Viewing Reality and Variety Shows was positively related to ethnic prejudice, News and Public Affairs was negatively related, and Films and TV series had no

apparent influence on prejudice. Educational level was negatively related to both ethnic prejudice and watching Reality and Variety Shows, and positively related to viewing News and Public Affairs and Films and TV series programs.

2.1.3 Summary of Related Literature

Fleras (1994) has advocated that much of the existing research on media and minority coverage has misjudged the challenges of restructuring media-minority relations. In their efforts to tabulate all the wrongdoings of media representations, Fleras states that researchers have downplayed the “commercial logics” sustaining these portrayals, and ignored the constructed nature of media reality and corporate commitments. He advocated a reconstitution of our analytical sites by exploring the mass media as a contested site for control among competing sectors (Fleras 1994).

The above literature raises questions about carrying out a study in Ghana to establish how minorities like the Fulani are portrayed.



2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 The Framing Theory

The framing theory is the communication theory which underpins this study. Many media studies worldwide have employed the framing theory in studies conducted on media representation, portrayal and framing. Warren (2012) applied the framing theory seeking answers to the Houston Chronicle's description and characterization of the Katrina evacuee a year post-Hurricane Katrina. In Africa, Ado-Kurawa (2013) content analysed two Nigerian newspapers to identify the dominant frames that these newspapers used in the coverage of Islam. Kwakye's (2010) study did a content analysis of Ghanaian newspaper portrayal of persons also used the framing theory.

This study similarly relies on the framing theory to explain its findings. The theory is based on the assumption that, how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is comprehended by audiences.

Entman (1993) explains framing as the selection and salience of particular aspects of an issue rather than the issue itself. Consequently, frames are used to make certain aspects of the issue or news more memorable or noticeable to the audience, rather than to particular issues stand out or prominent. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation (Entman, 1993, p52). The framing and presentation of events and news in the mass media can thus systematically affect how recipients of the news come to understand these events (Price, Tewksbury, & Powers, 1995, p4).

Framing therefore is both a macrolevel and a microlevel construct (Scheufele, 1999). As a macroconstruct, the term “framing” refers to modes of presentation that journalists and other communicators use to present information in a way that resonates with existing underlying schemas among their audience (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). This does not mean, of course, that most journalists try to spin a story or deceive their audiences. In fact, framing, for them, is a necessary tool to reduce the complexity of an issue, given the constraints of their respective media related to news holes and airtime (Gans, 1979). Frames, in other words, become invaluable tools for presenting relatively complex issues, such as stem cell research, efficiently and in a way that makes them accessible to lay audiences because they play to existing cognitive schemas. As a micro construct, framing describes how people use information and presentation features regarding issues as they form impressions.

Tankard et al. (2001) elaborated 11 framing mechanisms or focal points for identifying and measuring news frames. This includes: source selection, photo captions, quotes selection, leads photos, headlines, and pull quotes. Others are logos, statistics and charts, paragraphs, concluding statements and subheads. In determining how a news article or item has been framed, therefore, it will be necessary to take all the 11 recommended mechanisms into account.

De Vresse (2005) acknowledges that there has been no single agreed way of recognizing media frames. This according to him means that some researchers dwell on operational definitions for their particular studies (De Vreese 2005). He adds that conventional method for identifying news frames has been the inductive and deductive approach (De Vreese 2005). With the inductive approach, frames are derived from the material (or data) during analysis thereby desisting from going into the research with predetermined frames in mind. On the other hand

the deductive approach is where frames are constructed ahead of the investigation (De Vreese 2005).

Another typology of the framing theory is issue-specific and generic frames described by De Vreese as 'a more general typology of framing'. Certain frames are applicable only to specific topics or events. Such frames may be labelled issue-specific frames. On the other hand generic frames transcend thematic limitations and can be identified in relation to different topics, some even over time and in different cultural contexts (De Vreese, 2005). The high degree issue-sensitivity nature of issue-specific frames, though helpful for specific topics, make them difficult to generalize, compare, and use as empirical evidence for theory building making generic frames advantageous in this regard (De Vreese 2005).

Also, news framing may be categorized as episodic or thematic. Iyengar (1991) in an analysis of the US network coverage of social issues such as poverty, crime, and unemployment from 1981 to 1986 found that daily news coverage was strongly biased towards an episodic interpretation in which news depicts social issues as limited to events only and not placed in a broader interpretation or context (the thematic frame) (De Vreese 2005). Episodic frames are influenced by norms and standards of news organisations. De Vreese argues that this process of framing induces a topical, disorganised, and isolated, rather than general and contextual, understanding of public affairs and social issues.

In classifying studies with respect to their focus on media and audience frames, framing research can be broken down into research examining frames as independent or dependent variables. Studies as dependent variables have examined the role of various factors influencing the creation or modification of frames (Scheufele, 1999, p107). At the media level, journalists'

framing of an issue may be influenced by several social-structural or organisational variables (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) and by individual or ideological variables (Tuchman, 1978). At the audience level, frames as the dependent variable are examined mostly as the direct outcomes of the way mass media frame an issue (e.g. Price, Tewksbury and Powers, 1995, 1996).

Conceptualisations of framing developed by Pan and Kosicki (1993), Entman (1993), and Huang (1996) examined media frames as the independent variable and audience frames as the dependable variable. Media frames as an independent variable can be classified into two: first conceptually defined media frames as an independent variable having an impact on attitudes, opinions, or individual frames (Pan and Kosicki, 1993, Entman, 1993) and second is to combine analytic data and survey data (Huang, 1996).

Using a newspaper article on an anti-abortion rally in Wichita, Kansas as an exemplar, Pan and Kosicki (1993) described the structure of news discourse in general and potential framing devices in particular. They identified four types of structural dimensions of news that influence the formation of frames:

1. Syntactic structures or patterns in the arrangement of words and phrases
2. Script structures referring to general newsworthiness of an event as well as the intention to communicate news and events.
3. Thematic structures reflecting the tendency of journalists to impose a casual theme on their news stories either in the form of explicit casual statements or by linking observations to the direct quote of a source.

4. Rhetorical structures or the stylistic choices made by journalists in relation to their intended effects.

2.2.2 Critique of the Framing Theory

There have been numerous studies, which put the framing theory to test and came out with criticisms. D'Angelo (2002) argues that the literature indicates the existence of at least three different framing paradigms. The first of these is a cognitive model, according to which the texts of journalistic accounts become embodied in the thoughts and words of those affected. Secondly, there is a constructivist variant of the process, which sees journalists as providing 'interpretative packages' of the positions of sponsors (i.e. sources) of news. Thirdly, there is a critical paradigm that sees frames as the outcome of newsgathering routines and values of elites. This attributes a hegemonic influence to framing.

According to Williams and Benford (1996:3) cited in Dugle (2013), the ambiguity of the framing concept stems partly from a "frame" having two different inferences as a metaphor. Firstly, it is used as grammar, "a structure in which meaning is contained in and conveyed by the relationships among the elements" (p.3). Secondly, frame metaphors are used in a contextual or indexical context where, "the frame acts as a boundary that keeps some elements in view and others out of view" (p.3). So a frame suggests "what is or is not important by grouping certain symbolic elements together and keeping others out" (p. 3).

Citing these criticisms and more critics of the framing theory therefore question its usage for effective analysis.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines and explains how the study was conducted. To answer research questions accurately, the quantitative methodology of research was used. The choice of this method is supported by the nature of the study undertaken. The researcher used content analysis to study the contents of the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide's* coverage of the subject under study. The year of study was 2013 – 2015.

3.1 Research Design

3.1.1 Content Analysis

A content analysis of selected newspapers was undertaken in order to meet the aims of this study. There are several definitions of content analysis. Walizer and Wienir (1978) in Wimmer and Dominick (2011) defined it as any systematic procedure devised to study the content of documented information. Kerlinger (2000 in Wimmer and Dominick 2011) defines content analysis as a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic and, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables. Also cited in Wimmer and Dominick (2011) is Krippendorff's (2004) definition as a research method for making replicable and valid references from data to their context.

Berelson (1952) also provides a definition similar to Kerlinger's; content analysis methodology is being employed to enable an objective, systematic, quantitative description of the content.

Although content analysis has been severally defined, Wimmer and Dominick (2011) focused on Kerlinger's definition and pointed out three characteristics, which represent content analysis; it is systematic, objective and quantitative. Systematic means that the content to be analyzed is selected according to clear and consistently applied rules, objective; that is, the researcher's personal idiosyncrasies and biases should not enter into the findings while quantitative aim of content analysis is an accurate representation of a body of messages (Wimmer and Dominick 2011).

From the above-mentioned, the researcher finds it fitting to employ content analysis. Also, other studies around the world that has researched media coverage of minorities and even media coverage studies have used content analysis to address concerns similar to this study. Kwakye's "Ghanaian newspapers portrayal of persons with disabilities" (2010) is an example of such a study. Also, Dimitrova and Connolly-Ahern (2007) employed content analysis in examining, "a framing analysis of online news sites in coalition countries and the Arab world during the Iraq war."

This research content analysed some categories of news items in the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide*. The two newspapers were selected for specific reasons; they are both dailies, have the widest nationwide circulation and are national in outlook and coverage. Also, one is privately owned while the other is state owned.

3.1.2 Universe

The universe of this research is made up of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* publications from January 1, 2013 – September 30, 2015.

3.1.3 The Daily Graphic

The *Daily Graphic* is a state-owned newspaper printed by the Graphic Communications Group Limited in Accra. Cecil King of the London Daily Mirror Group started it alongside the Sunday Mirror in 1950 (Eribo & Jong-Ebot, 1997). With a circulation of 100,000 copies it is the most commonly read daily newspaper in Ghana {Pettersson (2006), Kuehnhenrich (2012)}. In 1979 the paper was rechristened the *People's Daily Graphic* under Jerry Rawlings' military regime for a few years to "remind the people that it belongs to them" (Eribo & Jong-Ebot, 1997).

Being a state-owned paper, it regularly covers the government in a favourable light, detailing and boosting national unity and government policy (Hasty, 2005). The Graphic Communication Group is financially self-sustaining and doesn't depend, on government for its financing, despite being state-owned. The paper comes out daily except on Sundays and has reporters all over the ten regions of Ghana. It covers almost all aspects of society including politics, business and finance, tourism, international news, regional and other local news, education, health, opinions and features.

3.1.4 The Daily Guide

Daily Guide is a privately owned daily newspaper owned by Western Publications Limited in Accra, which comes out six times in a week. According to Kuehnhenrich (2012) it has a circulation of about 22,000 copies daily. It started publishing close to 20 years now. A survey by Synovate Survey (2011) ranked the paper second largest after *Daily Graphic*. The paper's sensational headlines and stories have made it popular with the population. Like the *Daily Graphic*, it covers almost all aspects of society including politics, business and finance,

international news, regional and other local news, education, health, finance, opinions and features.

Both newspapers come out six times in a week, from Monday to Saturday. As a result, in any particular year, they both publish average of 312 times in a year and 624 editions for the two years and 234 for nine months period.

3.1.5 Sampling Procedure

The sample for this study included all *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* publications from the January 1, 2013 – September 30, 2015. This method, noted by Wimmer and Dominick (2011), is termed census. A census is conducted when every element in a population is tested or measured (Wimmer and Dominick: 87) as done in this study. The year 2013 is significant because for once, the National Chief of Fulani in Ghana, Iddrisu Mohammed Bingli in consultation with all other Fulani chiefs in Ghana, moved to address the negative perception of Fulanis in the media with a public durbar. Also there were meeting with all stakeholders in the media, local governance and the security agencies. These dialogues have been continued till 2015 hence making 2015 also appropriate for the study. The two-year scope is essential to obtain a comprehensive record of the stories available on the Fulani. Elsewhere in the United States, the LexisNexis database is used to find the necessary samples for research, but this technology is unavailable in Ghana so the researcher must search for relevant news items manually.

3.1.6 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the smallest unit of content analysis (Wimmer and Dominick, 2011). The unit of analysis for this study covered all items with emphasis on the Fulani, which were featured in the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* from January 2013 – September 2015. For each unit, data gathered focused on headlines, opinions, letters to the editor, features, pictures (if any), editorials, story type, placement of story, sources used, and content of story.

The above units of analysis groupings have been operationally defined as:

Headline: This refers to the wording in the headlines of the stories, which features contain the word Fulani.

Opinions: This is a view or judgment formed about something, not necessarily based on fact or knowledge

Letters to the editor: This refers to the published letters, which readers have sent to the editors of the two newspapers, which makes reference to Fulanis.

Feature: This is an original piece of writing in newspaper devoted to the treatment of a particular topic, typically at length.

Pictures: This refers to the photographic images that go with the stories, opinion or articles relating to the Fulani.

Editorials: This refers to the newspapers stance on an issue.

Story type: This refers to the category of story, which relates to the Fulani. It tries to establish if the stories written are with information obtained through avenues such as press releases, news conferences or straight news stories.

Placement of story: This looks at where the stories involving the Fulani are placed in the two newspapers as against other stories.

Source: This refers to an individual, a group or an organisation that is mentioned/paraphrased in a story as the original provider of the news serving as the basis of the reportage involving the Fulani.

Visibility/voice: This refers to the newsmaker whose account is being quoted or reported in the stories.

3.1.7 Data Collection

The data was collected at the Department of Communication Studies library as well as the Balme Library of the University of Ghana. Data was gathered using a self-designed coding sheet (refer to appendix). This was to satisfy the number one condition of any content analysis study. The units of analysis were news items, which largely discusses Fulani related issues. “To qualify as substantive, at least one-third of the piece had to discuss the issues related to the topic of study...” Woodruff et al, (2003) cited in Botwe (2009).

3.1.8 Coding

A coding guide was developed based on the definitions below to collect, organize and interpret the relevant data. The aims and objectives of the study influenced the structure and variables on the coding guide.

Themes/topics were sorted into type of story, source of story, voice of the story, theme of story, author/writer of the story, tone of story, use of photograph, space allotted and placement of the story.

The sorting were operationally defined as:

Type of “Articles”: This indicates whether the story was a straight news report, a feature, an editorial, letter, opinion, a rejoinder/retraction or other etc. The story type category was coded to aid research establish the types of stories the two newspapers published on the Fulani during the period under study.

Theme of Story: This focuses on the main subject matter of the news item in the newspaper. The categories coded here include: arrest of criminals, victims ordeal, face-off/clashes, community/group meeting, other etc. This was coded to help ascertain the main issues about the Fulani covered.

Source attributed to story: This involved the individuals, experts, organisation who information within the Fulani related stories is attributed to. The individuals, experts or organisations coded comprised: security personnel or agencies, government officials, civil society organisations, group/community leader/member, newspapers own source or other for

news items that didn't fall under any of these categories. The story source was coded for in order to help explore the sources the two papers used for their reportage.

Placement of story: This was concerned with where in the two newspapers, stories on the Fulani appeared. Page placement implies the prominence a newspaper/magazine has given to the story. The most prominent pages in order of ranking are the front, middle, and back page in that order. Dzeble (2006) gathered this from an interview with editors of the two newspapers, cited in Dugle (2013). This classification was to help determine which of the two newspapers gave more prominence to the Fulani related stories.

Voice of the story: This is interested in knowing who the main actors in the story are. The focus here is whose side of the story is being told. These have been coded as: victims, Fulani, security officials, community/group leader and other. The purpose of this is to establish if there was balance in the story by giving all actors in the story equal opportunity to tell their side of the story.

Source Attributed to Story: This focused on the individuals, groups or media organizations that wrote the story. These have been coded as: staff reporter of the newspaper and external writers like individuals outside the media organization or experts like sociologist, criminologist, security expert or news agency reports like the Ghana News Agency (GNA). The purpose of this grouping was to determine the personalities who led the Fulani debate during the study period.

3.2 Method of Data Analysis

Descriptive statistical tools such as pie chart, cross-tabulations as well as frequency distribution tables were used in analysing and presenting data. The computer software, Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) devised for analysing social science data was also used. The statistical tools were used to present the data for simple analysis and understanding of the data.



CHAPTER FOUR

STUDY FINDINGS, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents findings from the study. This research sought to examine the portrayal of ethnic minorities specifically, the Fulani, in Ghanaian newspapers using the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* as a case study.

In order to achieve the objectives of the study, the researcher used descriptive statistical tools such as tables, charts and cross-tabulations of thematic areas, in presenting and analysing the data. The analysis will reflect on number of stories, placement of stories, tone of stories, stereotypical tags in the stories, voice in the stories, theme of the stories, treatment of the stories, sources of the stories, use of photographs and writer of the stories.

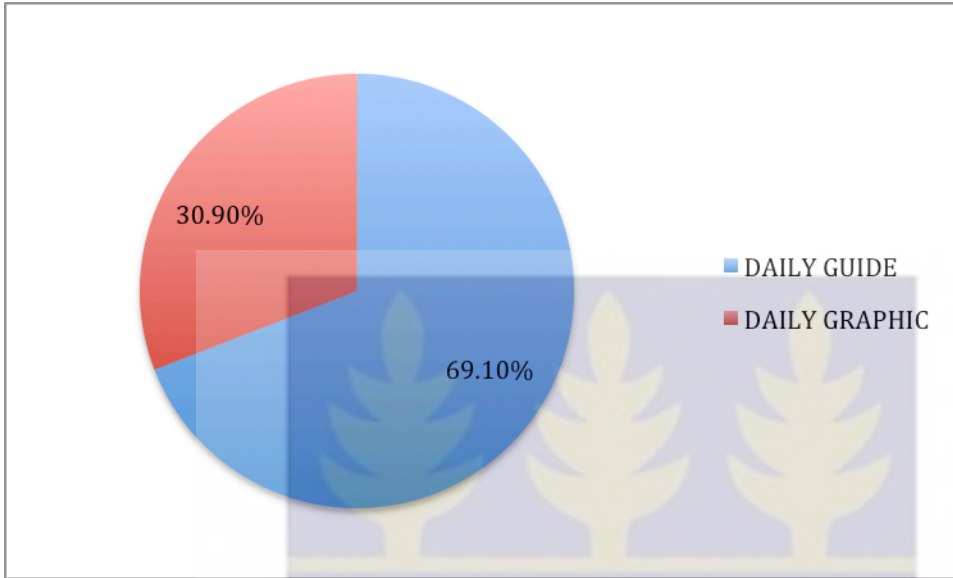
4.1 Number of stories published by the two dailies

Out of a total of 858 issues of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* there were a total of 94 stories published relating to the Fulani for both newspapers. There were two Fulani related stories in three different issues of the *Daily Guide*. Two editions of the *Daily Graphic* had more than one Fulani related stories in one edition.

The *Daily Guide* published 69.1% (65 stories) out of the total number of Fulani related news items, while the *Daily Graphic* published 30.9% (29 stories). It means that in ratio terms, the publications by the two newspapers were 2:1 although the *Daily Graphic* had more pages than the *Daily Guide* (between 64-80 pages and 24 pages correspondingly).

The pie chart below show the information above:

Figure 1: Comparison of total number of stories on fulani by two dailies



4.2 Placement of Story

The placement of a news story in a newspaper is a major determinant of the prominence and importance attached to the story. Dzeble (2006) found that the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* newspaper regard the front page, centre page and the back page as the most prominent pages in their newspapers. From the data analysed, the stories involving the Fulani do not make the front page often, but when they do make the front page, it is with stories involving crime. An example is the *Daily Guide* of May, 8, 2014 front page with the headline “Kumasi Robbers Gunned Down.”

Figure 2: Placement of stories

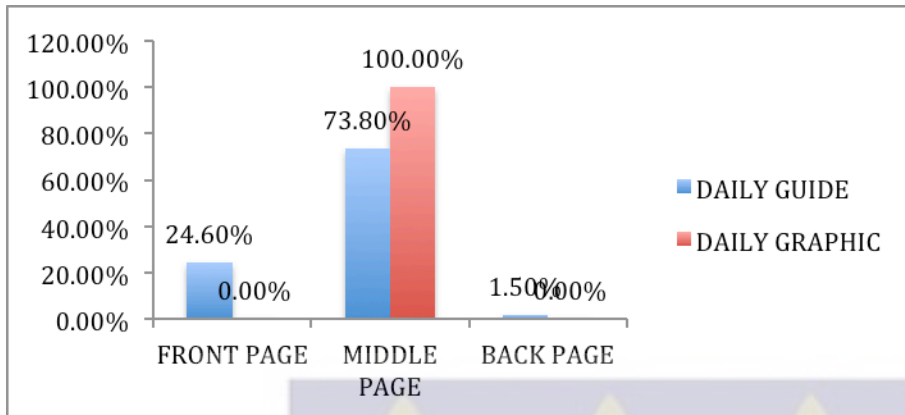


Figure 2 gives the frequency of news reports, editorial and opinions and their position as in the two dailies over this study's time frame. The researcher found that few stories on the Fulani appeared on the prominent pages (front, middle and back pages) of the two newspapers. Less than a quarter (24.6%) of Fulani related stories made it to the front page of the *Daily Guide* with none of the stories making it on the front page of the state-owned *Daily Graphic*. All 29 news items on the Fulani in the *Daily Graphic* were in the middle pages while one-third (73.80%) of the stories in the *Daily Guide* were featured in the middle pages.

Although other factors come to play in considering news items for page placement/prominence, it is clear the *Daily Graphic* did not give Fulani-related stories as much prominence in terms of placement as did the *Daily Guide*. Majority, 73.8 percent of their Fulani related issues were in the middle pages.

This finding is in variance with the researcher's anticipation that, the state-owned *Daily Graphic* would give more prominence in reporting Fulani issues than privately owned and operated *Daily Guide*, with the sole aim of making gain.

In the context of this study therefore, this finding addresses the research objective about the prominence given to Fulani related issues and suggests that the *Daily Guide* tends to give them more prominence than the *Daily Graphic*. This finding has major implications for the framing theory. The principles of framing, as advanced by Entman (1993), in comparing with the data from the study suggests that the two newspapers, generally, feature negative stories relating to crime about the Fulani. Most of the stories about the Fulani only feature the Fulani herdsmen who are involved in crimes. The *Daily Guide* features the Fulani related stories on the front pages but most of these stories framed the Fulani in a negative light. Also, all stories about the Fulani on the front pages and the middle pages were sensationalized. This is similar to the literature reviewed by Warren (2013), which revealed the existence of racialized media coverage among national news networks in America, which includes the criminalization of the African American evacuees post Hurricane Katrina. Warren also found a racialized coverage focused on the evacuee involvement in violent crime which was mostly what made the news.

4.3 Tone of the Story

Tone measures how a person, group, organization or issue is depicted in the media. Tone is normally labeled as positive, neutral or negative, with various degrees of negative and positive tones (www.mediamiser.com). This category was concerned with getting to know in what way the journalist/reporter wrote the story; whether it was favorable, unfavorable or neutral to all actors in the story. It was an important category because it gives an understanding of how the newspaper portrayed the Fulani. Also, it helps in knowing the characterization of the Fulani and how the two newspapers contextualize the issue of the Fulani in their reportage.

Figure 3: Tone of story

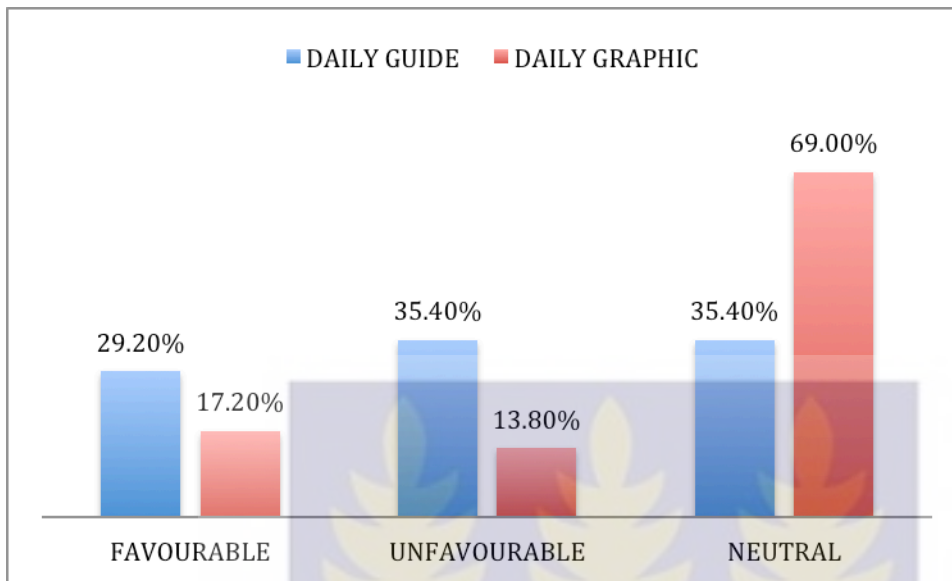


Figure 3 gives the various tones used by the two newspapers in their reportage of the Fulani. The most favoured tone by both dailies put together is neutral. Most stories (69%) in the *Daily Graphic* were neutral whereas the *Daily Guide* had the same number of stories (23 in total) neutral and unfavorable (23%). This was followed by 19 stories, which were unfavourable to the Fulani (29.2%). Five stories in the *Daily Graphic* were favourable (17.2%) to the Fulani whereas four stories (13.8%) were unfavorable. This finding is in support of the claim that as the state-owned *Daily Graphic* was expected to give all actors in the story an equal voice as compared to the privately owned *Daily Guide*. In addressing the research objective of tone, this finding suggests that the *Daily Guide* is as neutral as it is unfavorable in its portrayal of the Fulanis. The finding is also in confirmation that the *Daily Graphic* as a state-owned newspaper is expected to be fair, balanced and objective in reporting all sides of society.

Connecting placement and tone of the story, the data found that none of the stories found on the front pages of the *Daily Guide* relating to the Fulani was favorable. On the whole, these unfavorable stories in both newspapers were mostly position at the bottom strip and were

mostly quarter sized. Still, concerning tone, unfavorable stories in both newspapers do not indicate if suspects were of Fulani origin. The stories only say the offenders were suspects or are alleged to be of Fulani origin.

4.4 Characterization of Fulani

Stereotyping is the process by which people think they recognise a common feature in members of a particular group (whether a race, religion, sex, occupation etc) and then attribute that feature to every member of the group, whether they possess it or not. Stereotyping becomes offensive when undesirable characteristics are attributed to people (www.newsmanual.com).

This category was key in knowing how the Fulani were characterized in the data gathered. The stereotypes about Fulanis found in this study were identity clash of Fulani herdsmen with group identity, criminal labeling, aliens/foreigners/settlers and other.

Figure 4: Characterization of Fulanis

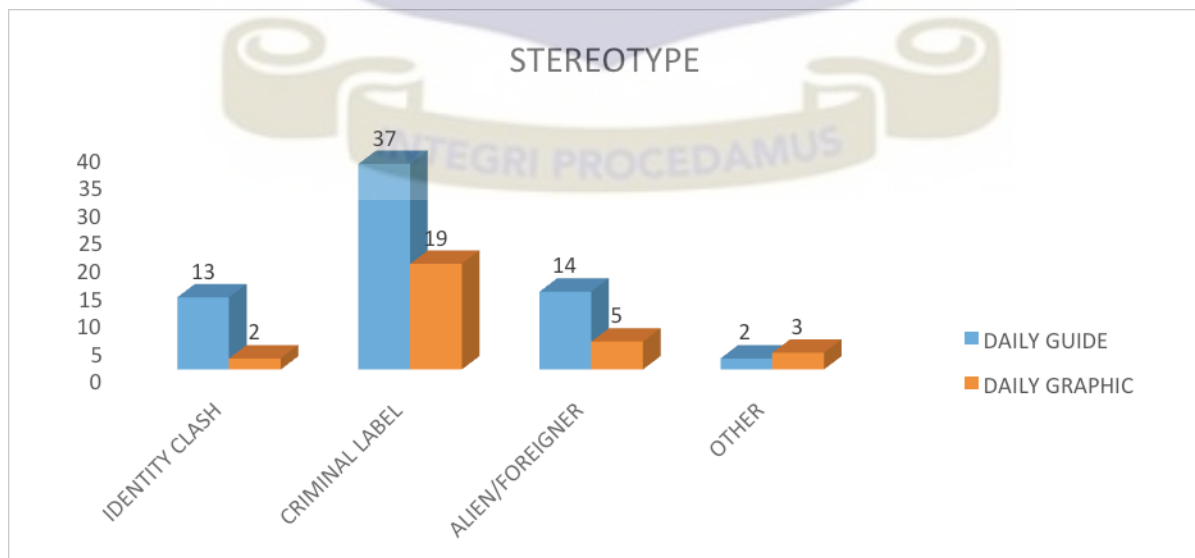


Figure 4 gives the various descriptions that go stories related with Fulanis. Both newspapers gave Fulanis one stereotypical label or another. All but five percent of the stories related to the Fulani were reported without a stereotypical label. In the *Daily Guide*, 37 of the stories about the Fulani had words such as “robber suspected to be Fulani”, when the headline confirms ‘Fulani Gunmen rob Wa filling station’ – (*Daily Guide*, May 26, 2014). In the *Daily Graphic*, 19 Fulani related stories tagged them as criminals, example ‘Two Fulanis arrested one year after robbery’ – (*Daily Graphic*, May 5, 2014)

Another stereotypical label found in the two dailies reports was the description of and or inference to Fulanis as ‘settler’, ‘aliens’, or ‘foreigners’. The *Daily Guide* had 14 stories with this tag while the *Daily Graphic* recorded 5 of such occurrences in their stories.

Also, there were stereotypical tags in stories where the group identity is used when the alleged herdsman attacker/robber is being referred to. ‘The Fulani threat’ – (*Daily Guide*, January 13, 2015) and ‘Fulanis clash with Kwahus’ - (*Daily Graphic*, January 28, 2015).

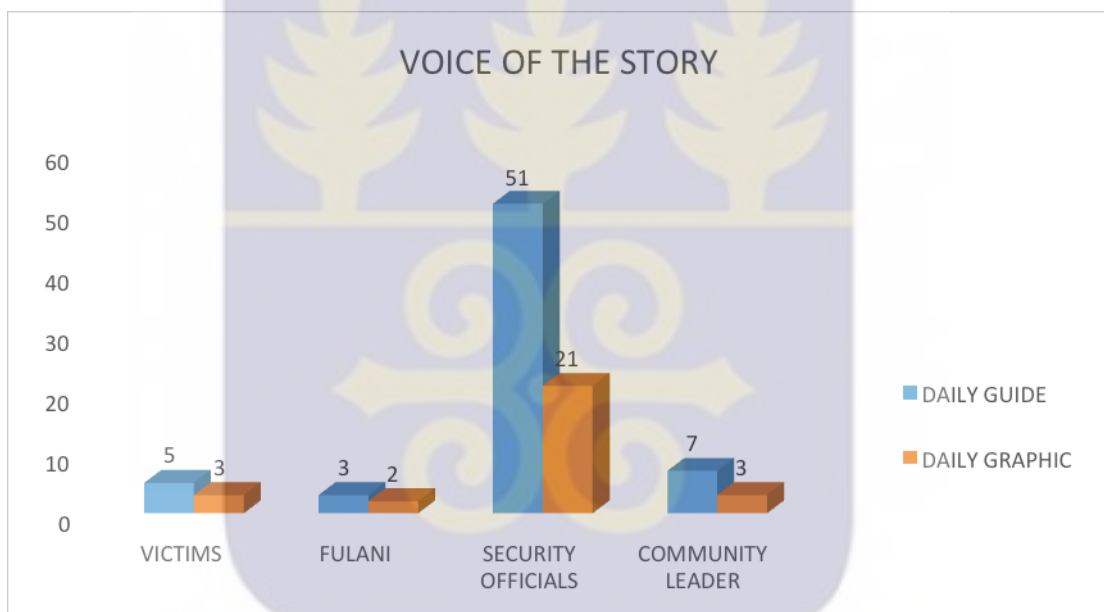
Two stories in the *Daily Guide* reported stories related to the Fulanis, which did not use any of the coded stereotypical tags while the *Daily Graphic* had three stories with such incidence.

This finding addresses the research objective of characterization of the Fulani in the two dailies. This researcher set looking for the two newspapers mention of Fulani ethnic minority reports in the newspapers however, every single story about them without exception of such an account was only with reference to them as herdsmen. There was no mention of Fulani in any other field of endeavor.

4.5 Voice of the story

This category was coded for to identify the main actors in the story. This was to help establish whose voice is heard in the story so as to know if all actors in the story were fairly represented. The coded categories were victims, the security officials, Fulani, community/group leader and other.

Figure 5: Voice of story



From Figure 5, security officials particularly the police were the main voice in the stories. They were also the most cited source giving information about alleged Fulani attacker/offender. The *Daily Guide* recorded 51 instances where the police was the main speaker in the story while the *Daily Graphic* recorded 21 occasions. Aggrieved community leaders who gave their side of issues to reporters were the next vocal voice in Fulani related stories in the two dailies. Some victims of Fulani attacks also spoke to reporters to tell their side of the story. One significant observation from the data was that the Fulani attackers/offenders were hardly given a voice in

all the stories gathered. This finding makes it clear the reported Fulani attackers are not given the opportunity to tell their side of the story.

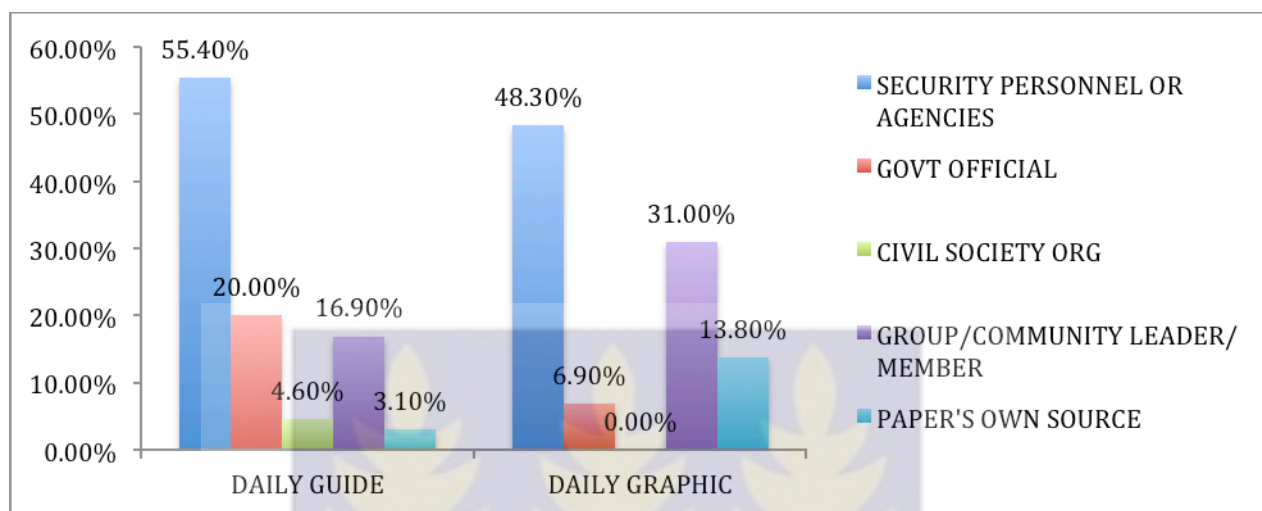
4.6 Source Attributed to Stories

Newspapers use sources in telling their stories. Some come from officials or witness, some from records or documents while others come from references sources. Various sources were cited in stories on Fulani including security agencies, government officials, civil society organization, a group/community leader/member as well as the newspapers own source. The source of stories assisted in testing the assertion that the state-owned *Daily Graphic* was likely to use more official government sources than the privately owned *Daily Guide*.

The most cited source of Fulani related stories were the security agencies particularly the police who were the source of more than half of the stories. The least cited source was civil society organization (3.2%). Group/community leader or members contributed close to one-fifth of the stories (21.3%) with fifteen stories sourced from government officials (16%) while the two dailies' own sources produced 6.4% of the stories.



Figure 6: Source attribute to story



The findings as represented in Figure 6 show that the two dailies relied on the security personnel or agencies for most of their stories on the Fulani. While the *Daily Guide* got about 20 percent of its stories on Fulani issues from first security sources and then government officials. The *Daily Graphic*, on the other hand, used only two government officials as a source for the 29 stories published on the Fulani.

The above finding is contrary to the claim by Hasty (2005) made in Chapter Two that, state-owned *Daily Graphic* was more likely to resort to government officials as key sources for publishing stories on the Fulani than the *Daily Guide* which is privately owned. This could partly be due to the fact that lately, all media houses get invitations to most government press conferences thus it is no longer the preserve of the state-owned result *Daily Graphic*.

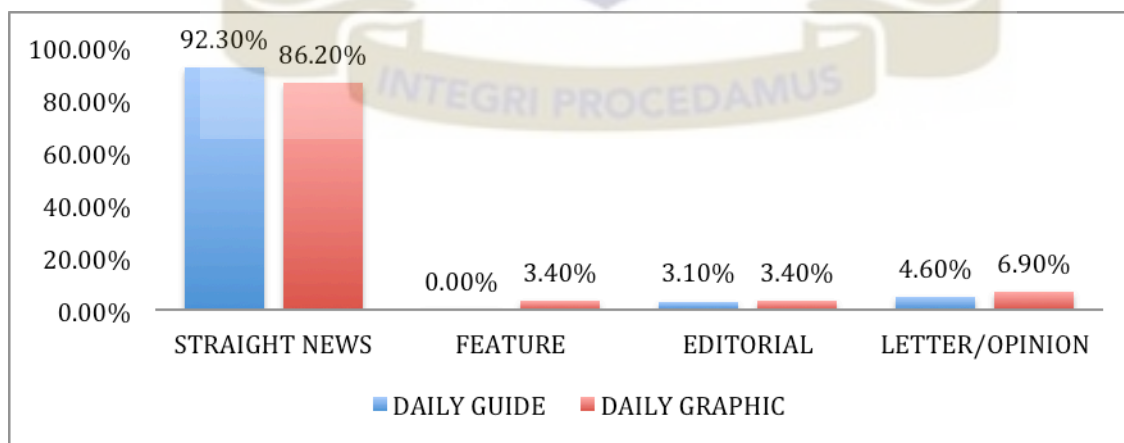
Considering that the *Daily Graphic* had fewer stories over the period of study, one could say they are not interested in the phenomenon under study to give it more coverage.

Linking the source attributed to the stories to tone, the research revealed that most of the neutral stories by the Daily Guide were written by external journalists specifically, the Ghana News Agency (GNA) newswire service. In most of these stories, the ethnic groups' name was used in lieu of individual identities in the headlines and the lead. Also, connecting the content of story and tone, it was discovered that where the stories are favorable, it is either a government official meeting the Fulani community to dialogue, a host community meeting between the Fulani herdsmen and police or an agricultural workshop.

4.7 Treatment of Story

Newspapers give different treatments to different news categories mostly straight news, features etc. This study focused on straight news, news features, editorials and letters/opinion. Types of Fulani related stories as collated from studying the two newspapers' contents are shown in table 4 below. Article classification as stated in Chapter Three, studied the items as a straight news story, a feature, editorial, letter/opinion or a rejoinder.

Figure 7: Type of story



From Figure 7, straight news category recorded the highest number of stories treated relating to the Fulani. Out of a total 94 articles, the two newspapers cumulatively allotted 90.5% of their space in writing straight news stories relating to the Fulani, which was more than the summation of other categories. Straight news or hard news is a type of news writing style in journalism, which is usually used for reporting event (Blake, 2015).

Letter/opinion accounted for (5.3%), editorial (3.2%) and features (1.1%). The fact that most of the stories in the two dailies on the Fulani issues were treated as straight news implies that the two newspapers were mostly covering events and incidents, as they happened for public attention, understanding and further action.

The findings in Table 7 shows that, aside from two dailies' straight news reports, the *Daily Guide* wrote two editorials and received three letters/opinion from the public/readers. The *Daily Graphic* recorded one less story than the *Daily Guide* in these categories. There was only one feature in the *Daily Graphic* relating to the Fulani while the *Daily Guide* had no feature. Fewer features mean that complex issues relating to the Fulani could not be explained properly. On the whole, there was no variation in the type of stories published on the Fulani by the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* during the study period, since bulk of the stories were straight news stories.

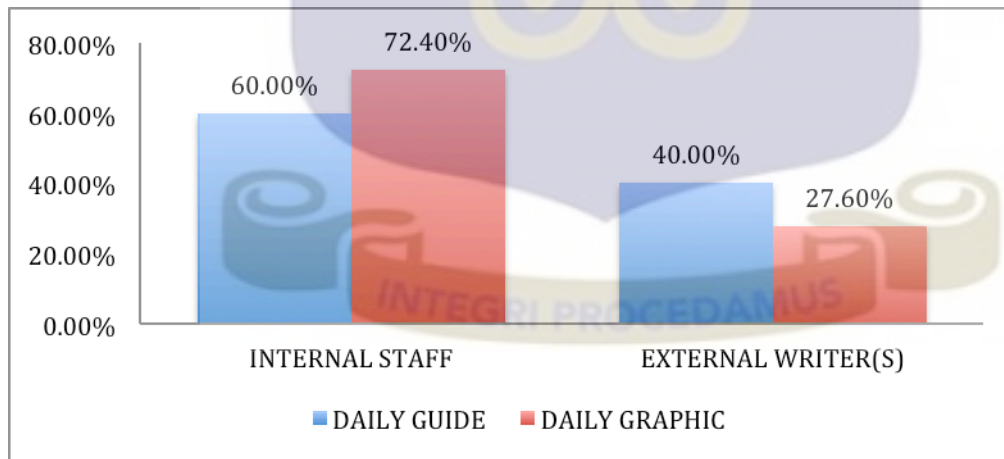
The findings relate to the episodic and thematic frames aspect of the theory. Episodic frames deals with event-related stories that do not regard the socio-cultural context of the stories whereas the thematic frames place the media stories under a wide context by relating the news a set of background checks and insight information. The *Daily Guide* indulged in more thematic frames than the *Daily Graphic*. This is because the private press focused more of their stories on

victims’ narration of their ordeals and encounters with the Fulani herdsmen. These stories are not event specific and they lend themselves to contextual interpretation of events that unfolded. Moreover, the *Daily Guide* threw more light on community members’ face-off with Fulani herdsmen than the *Daily Graphic* who led with more event stories such as community/group meeting/workshop which mostly involved government officials, elders of the affected communities and the leaders of Fulani herdsmen.

4.8 Staff/Other external source to Story

The study used this category to identify whether the newspapers’ staff, newswire service or other external sources wrote the stories gathered. This category was therefore meant to help identify which of the two newspapers dedicated journalist to cover Fulani issues, the different angles as well as compare the tone between staff and other external sources.

Figure 8: Staff/other external source of story



From Figure 8, it is evident the other external sources were focused on reporting Fulani related stories. Data from the study revealed that staff of the two media houses wrote 63.8 percent, 60

stories, of all the articles in the two dailies. However, other external sources authored 34 of the stories sampled, which is more than one-third (36.2%) of total articles reviewed.

A comparative breakdown of this category showed that, the *Daily Graphic* had over 72 percent of its stories on the Fulani, 21 out of 29 stories, written by its staff with eight written by other external sources. The *Daily Guide's* had over 60 percent of its stories sampled, 39 out of 65 stories, written by staff, while 26 stories were from other external sources.

Comparing the source of the stories and the newspaper, the data showed that most reports by the *Daily Graphic* staff were neutral in tone whereas most of the *Daily Guide* stories written by staff were unfavorable. Stories from other external sources especially newswire service, GNA, in the *Daily Guide* were mostly neutral in nature.

4.9 Theme of Story

Newspaper stories are framed in terms of themes. Theme of story centers on subject matter of the stories studied (Entman, 1993). The themes coded for this study were arrest of criminals, a report of the victim's ordeal, face-off/clashes and community/group meeting/workshop. This was significant as it helped establish the focal issues that were topical in the two newspapers in their reportage of the Fulani. Also, it helped when comparing the salient issues regarding the Fulani, which were considered in the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* and thus helped in answering questions regarding the nature of portrayal the two dailies afforded the Fulani.

Figure 9: Theme of stories published

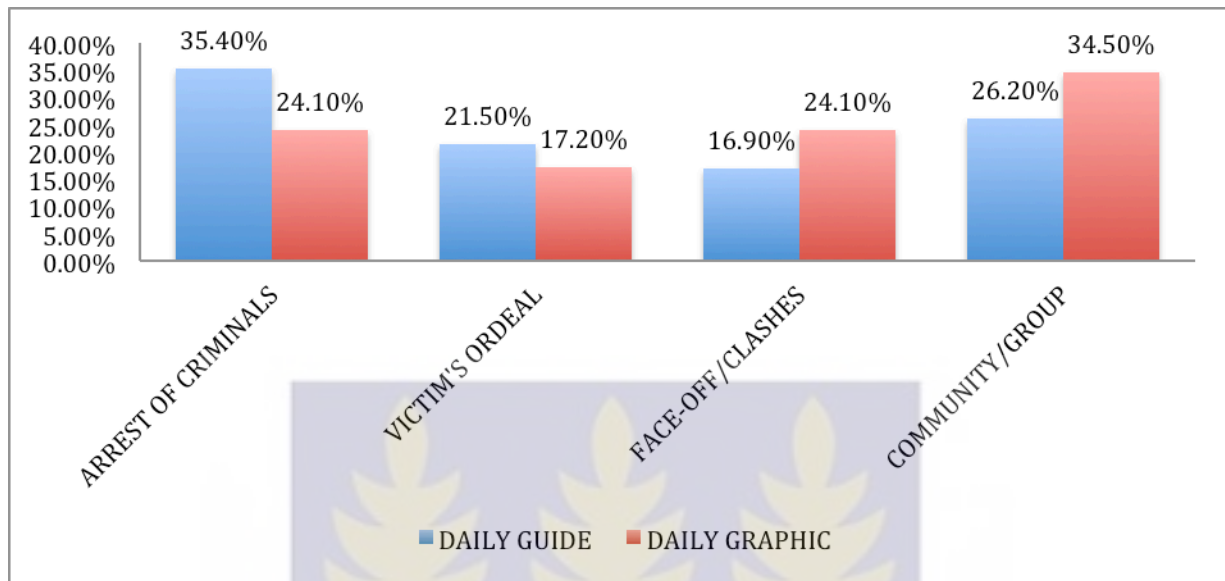


Figure 9 displays a categorisation of the subject matter of stories featured in the two dailies through the period of study.

From the data, the subject matter for majority of the stories featured on the Fulani by the *Daily Guide* focused on arrests of criminals (35.4%). It was followed by community/group meeting/workshop (26.2%). The *Daily Guide* recorded the most stories on victim's narration of their ordeal with the Fulani (63.6%). Eleven stories (16.9%) in the *Daily Guide* centered on Fulani faceoff and clashes with either the communities and or the police. Irrespective of the theme, most stories involving Fulanis in the *Daily Guide* had dramatic headlines.

In comparison, majority (34.50%) of the stories in the *Daily Graphic* reported on community/group meeting/workshop. There was equal focus (24.10%) on the theme of arrest of criminals and faceoff/clashes in the *Daily Graphic*, followed by victim's ordeal (17.20%).

This finding in addresses the research objective on nature of coverage the two dailies gives Fulani related issues. Majority of the stories focused on arrest of Fulani attacker/robber

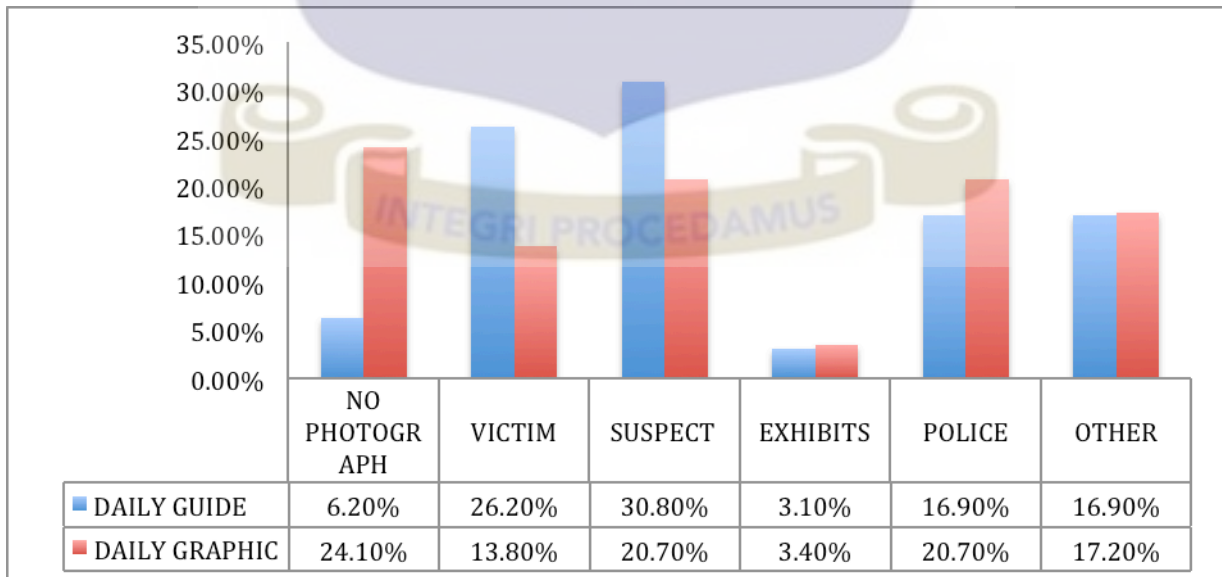
followed by group/community meeting on how to deal with the Fulani. Also, the finding is in confirmation of Hasty (2005) assertion that the *Daily Graphic* is mandated to cover officialdom and therefore actions like community/group meetings/workshop, which in these cases usually have the Member of Parliament, assemblyman/woman or other opinion leader in attendance often get into the paper.

4.10 Use of Visuals

Visuals bring a reader into the story and they help the reader better understand the content. Newspapers understand that some information is more efficiently and effectively presented through means of graphics than by the paragraph (Stovall, 2004).

Some of the ways in which visuals were used in the two selected newspapers includes cartooning and pictures of newsmakers.

Figure 10: Use of visuals



As indicated in Figure 10, one-third (30.8%) of the 65 stories in the *Daily Guide* showed pictures of Fulani offender in handcuffs, in the midst of police officers or shot dead. This was followed by 17 stories with pictures of victims of Fulani attacks/robbery. Also, the *Daily Guide* recorded 16.9 percent use of pictures of police and Other categories. Two stories showed pictures of weapons taken from Fulani offenders while four stories had no photographs. Majority (24.1%) of the stories in the *Daily Graphic* relating to the Fulani had no pictures. Also, the same number of stories (20.7%) in the *Daily Graphic* had pictures of Fulani attacker/robber and police officers whom stories relating to Fulani were attributed. The Other category, which includes photographs from community/group meeting/workshops, had 17.3 percent of picture use. The *Daily Graphic* showed 13.8 percent of pictures of victims of Fulani related attacks while 3.4 percent showed weapons used by Fulani attacker/robber.

4.11 Summary of Findings

This chapter has sought to present findings of the study as seen from the data collected from the sample. Among key findings of the study found that privately owned *Daily Guide* covered more stories on the Fulani within the time frame of the study than the state-owned *Daily Graphic*. Also, the study found that the security personnel or agencies dominated as source for information in the two dailies used for this study. Contrary to Dugle (2013)'s assertion that the state-owned *Daily Graphic* give prominence to social issues, which the Fulani related stories are, privately owned *Daily Guide* gave the issue more prominence in terms of page placement. The study found that, straight news dominated in both dailies and most stories were generated

in-house. Regarding the content of the stories, the study found that the *Daily Guide* reported more arrest of the Fulani against the *Daily Graphic* reports of Community/Group meeting/workshop. From the study, majority of the stories in the *Daily Graphic* adopted neutral tone in reporting about the Fulani in comparison with the *Daily Guide* stories, which had the same number of stories, which had unfavourable and neutral tones. Lastly, the study revealed that majority of the pictures used by the *Daily Guide* were of the victims of attack from the Fulani whereas majority of the stories from the *Daily Graphic* had no pictures to go with.

4.12 Discussion of Findings

The discussion of the findings is done in relation to the research objectives, theories and the reviewed literature, as set out in chapters one and two of this study. The findings of the study were derived from a content analysis content of newspaper publications of stories involving Fulani.

First Objective: To find out how the nature and tone of stories on Fulani and to determine whether Fulanis are stereotyped in the news stories

To meet the first objective stated in Chapter One, the researcher sought to establish the tone with which stories on Fulanis were covered. There were differences regarding the tone with which the two newspapers covered Fulani related stories; the *Daily Graphic* was far more neutral in its reportage than the *Daily Guide*.

This common depiction has the possibility of portraying Fulanis as social deviants; thus disabling them from fair and objective assessment of their guilt or innocence especially in the court of public opinion but even sometimes also arguably in the court of law.

Rather, they are presented as criminals, being passive and even dependent on illegal means to survive from day to day. This common depiction does not only create stereotypes against ethnic minority people as being poor, involved in illegalities and of criminal nature, but also reduce their self-esteem and increase their inability to fit into society, which always alienate them.

These findings confirm the studies of Warren (2012) and Thomas (2015) that members of minority ethnic groups do not receive positive and fair coverage from the mainstream media.

Entman (1993) and Pan & Kosicki (1993) opine that the words, images and symbols used by the media to describe a certain group of people have the tendency to influence public perception about such people. Following from the assumptions of the framing theory, readers of *Daily Guide* are more likely to develop unfavourable attitude towards Fulanis than their *Daily Graphic* counterparts. Also, through the use of words such as “alleged” and “suspected”, members of the general public are predisposed to associate Fulanis with crime and illegalities. It also shows a lack of first-hand witness by the journalist and over reliance on secondary account as well as rumoured account. The low representation of Fulanis in the stories as sources also indicate that the media frames were constructed based on other people’s account of the incidents, instead of complementing them with that of the Fulanis’. This also accounts for the largely negative tone with which Fulanis were portrayed.

Second Objective: To find out how Fulanis are characterized in the two newspapers to determine if they are stereotyped in the news stories

In addition to the trend of associating Fulanis with crime, the study found the tendency of newspapers to describe Fulanis as “aliens”, “foreigners” and “settlers”.

Tonah (2001) found that the classification of the Fulanis has not changed despite the fact that there are Fulani settlers in Ghana during the last century. They are still considered by the state and the general Ghanaian public as being ‘aliens’ or ‘migrants’. This is in spite of the fact that most Fulanis in Ghana today were born in the country and are descendants of second and third generation Fulani migrants in Ghana.

This shows that, on the one hand, the two newspapers tend to characterize Fulanis associate Fulanis with criminality, while; on the other hand, the two newspapers fail to acknowledge Fulanis who are settlers including a sitting Member of Parliament who is a full citizen of Ghana. This notwithstanding, the only characterization of Fulanis in the two newspapers is that of them being aliens or foreigners. Again, when you look at stories in relations to Fulanis in the two newspapers they are depicted as people who have failed to confirm to societal norms in communities in which they reside.

It may therefore be concluded that they reinforce a stereotypical depiction. This finding is consistent with the study by Caviedas (2015) that the media tend to project non-natives/immigrants and members of minority groups as security risks to their host countries. Similarly, this study finding does not differ significantly from Vargas and dePyssler (2000) who

found that the US media portrayed Mexicans as criminals, illegal immigrants, drug peddlers and smugglers.

Meanwhile, there are very few articles on the voice of Fulanis as newsmakers, whereas this should make up an important part of the media reportage.

Third Objective: To find out the prominence given to stories involving Fulani in Ghana.

According to Tankard *et al* (2001), source selection, photo captions, lead photos and headlines are some of the mechanisms of framing. In light of the above, this study found that majority of the stories on Fulani was accompanied with photographs to tell the story effectively. This means the two newspapers attached a great deal of prominence to Fulani related stories. This confirms Entman's (1993) assertion that the placement of a news story in a newspaper is a major determinant of the prominence and importance attached to the story. It is also consistent with Dzeble (2006), which found that the two newspapers regard particular pages as the most prominent pages in their newspapers.

Therefore, considering the logic of the media frame argument, it means the attitudes, perceptions, and opinions of the audience on Fulanis are most likely to be shaped by how the media frames such stories. Considering that the newspaper treats Fulani issues with more prominence it is more likely to influence their audience on how they perceive and treat such a minority group.

The content analysis indicate that the framing of issues relating to Fulanis portray them as being passive and led by their public representation of being “settlers” rather than having a sense of belonging and community/national aspirations.

4.13 Recommendations

These recommendations were derived from the findings of the study and are useful in terms of setting the tone for a more balanced and professional news coverage of minorities in Ghana.

i. There is a tendency to sensationalize stories regarding minorities, and in the context of this study, the Fulani. Stakeholder organizations like the National Media Commission, Ghana Journalists Association and the Ghana Independent Broadcasters Association (GIBA) must implore media practitioners to desist from exaggerating stories involving the Fulani or any ethnic minority for that matter. Stereotypical reference to Fulani as aliens/foreigners and criminals must be stopped. To this end, frequent sensitization workshops/lectures must be held to teach journalists to put an end to this.

ii. Majority of the stories involving Fulanis did not give them an opportunity to be heard. The police were the dominant voice in the most of the stories involving Fulanis. Failure to do this would result in a presentation one-sided accounts and unfair maligning of the group involved. This will also ensure the presentation of balanced stories, as in the case of the *Daily Graphic* and avoidance of bias stories like most of the *Daily Guide* stories on the Fulanis.

iii. In addition, the media should not be interested in only negative stories about the Fulani, but rather focus on every other newsworthy activity that they engage. This is needed to alter the negative way the media reports about Fulanis.

4.14 Limitations and Suggestions for Further Studies

The study was limited to the print media; it could have extended to cover radio, TV and online coverage of the Fulani. Future studies can therefore, consider gathering data from other media platforms broaden findings.

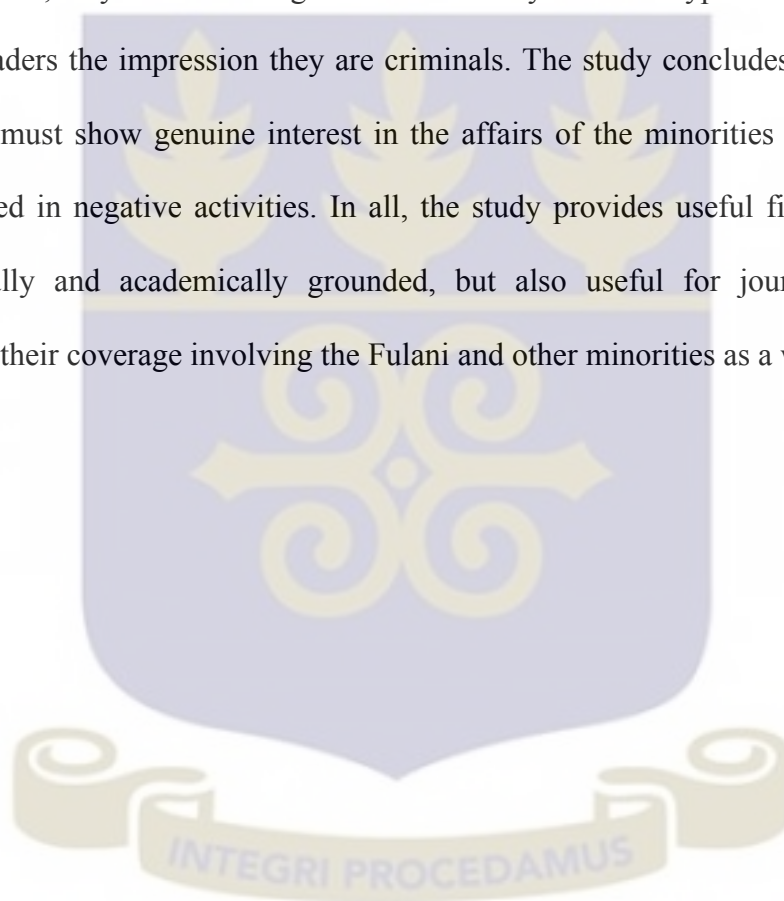
An interesting next step in understanding coverage of Fulani will be if study is complemented by either a survey or interview with the public to determine if the frames of media reportage are exactly the same frame from which the public views the Fulani.

The research was inhibited by the absence of literature on the subject matter, especially studies conducted in Ghana. This made the researcher rely on foreign studies to help in designing the study.

Media representation of minorities is an important aspect of media research; therefore, a lot of researchers must take the initiative to conduct more studies in that area. This will help understand the minorities and influence effective policies formulation and implementation regarding minorities such as Fulanis.

4.14 Conclusion

The research sought to study media coverage of Fulani stories in two of Ghana's major daily newspapers, the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide*. They were selected for their wide circulation and consistency within the Ghanaian media landscape. Through a content analysis of the newspapers, it was identified that while they are not always in the newspapers, when they are stories on them, they tend to be negative stories. They are stereotyped in most of the stories, which gives readers the impression they are criminals. The study concludes by recommending that the media must show genuine interest in the affairs of the minorities and not only when they are engaged in negative activities. In all, the study provides useful findings that are not only theoretically and academically grounded, but also useful for journalists and media practitioners in their coverage involving the Fulani and other minorities as a whole.



APPENDIX 1 CODING GUIDE

Newspaper.....

Date.....

Total number of stories on the Fulani.....

A. Type of story

1. Straight News Story
2. Feature
3. Editorial
4. Letter/Opinion
5. Rejoinder

B. Source of the Story

1. Security personnel or agencies
2. Government officials
3. Civil Society Organisations
4. Group/community leader/member,

C. Placement of Story

1. Front page
2. Middle page
3. Back page



D. Tone of Story

1. Favourable
2. Unfavourable
3. Neutral

E. Author/Writer

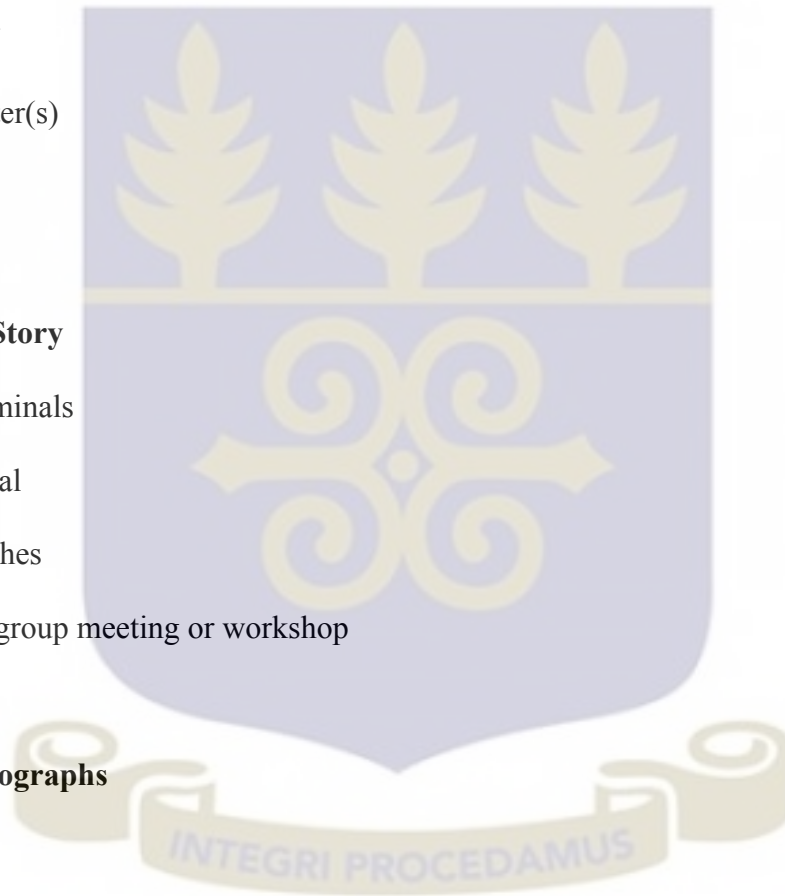
1. Internal staff
2. External writer(s)
3. Not Clear

F. Content of Story

1. Arrest of criminals
2. Victims ordeal
3. Face-off/clashes
4. Community/group meeting or workshop

G. Use of Photographs

1. Victim
2. Suspect
3. Exhibits
4. Crime Scene
5. Police
6. Other (specify).....



H. Space

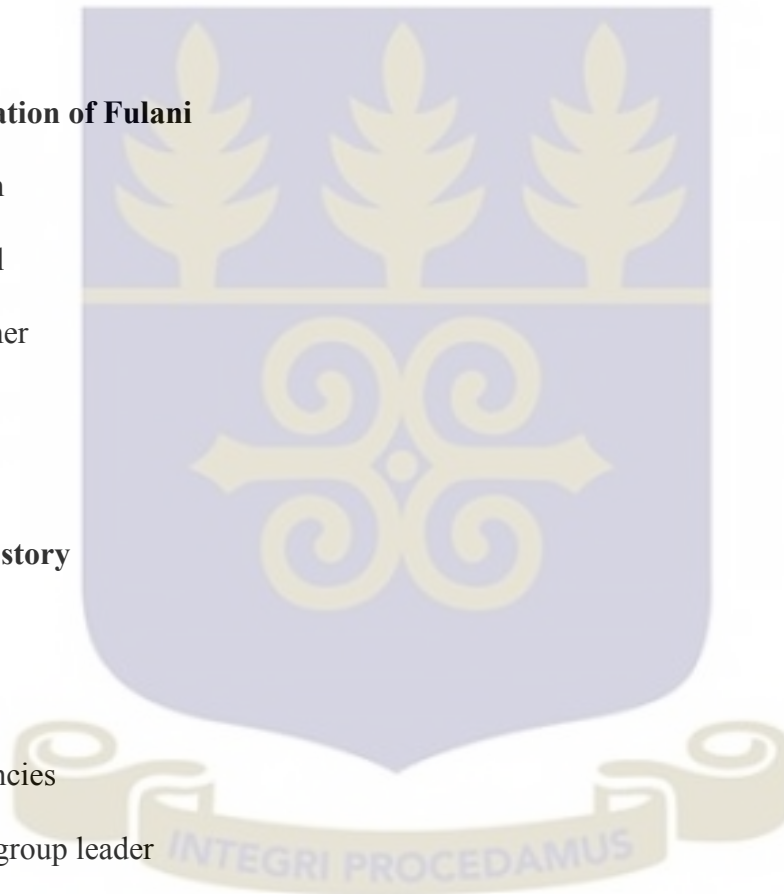
1. Full page
2. Half page
3. Quarter page
4. Bottom Strip
5. 1 1/8

I. Characterization of Fulani

1. Identity clash
2. Criminal label
3. Alien/foreigner
5. Other

J. Voice of the story

1. Victim
2. Fulani
3. Security agencies
4. Community/group leader



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