

**PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES DURING THE 2012
ELECTIONS BY THE DAILY GRAPHIC, DAILY GUIDE AND THE ENQUIRER**

BY

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DECLARATION

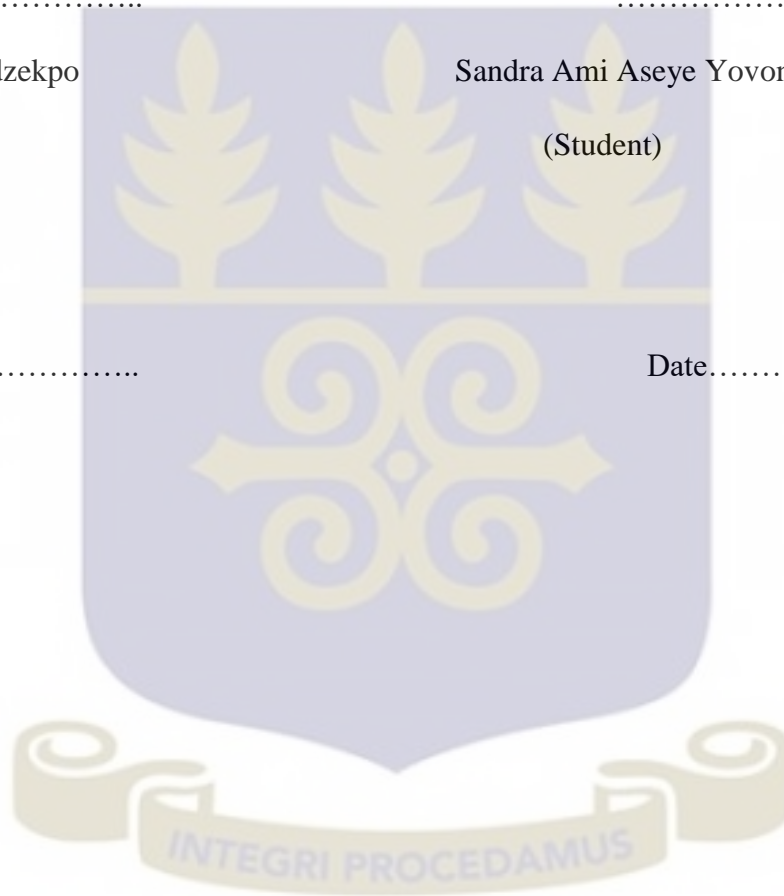
I declare that, except for references to other scholar's work which have been duly acknowledged, this work is a result of my own research conducted at the Department of Communication Studies, University of Ghana, Legon. The work was supervised by Prof. Audrey Gadzekpo.

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DEDICATION

This piece of work is dedicated to the glory and praise of God Almighty, and to all who helped me in diverse ways. I am eternally grateful to my family, Church & all lecturers of the Department of Communication Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, for their priceless support.

This study is also dedicated to all men and women committed to the course of women especially my beloved late mother, Victoria Amerley Quaye for who she was and what she lived for.



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To Him who is able to keep me from falling, the giver and sustainer of life, I ascribe all praise, honour and glory. Through all the storms and sorrows, He has brought me thus far by His grace. He who began the good work with me has brought it to a successful finale.

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To the families of Rev. Dr. Fred Deegbe, Mrs. Sarah Annan and Mrs. Josephine Amoah, I am blessed to have you in my life. You have always kept faith with me. Thank you very much.

ABSTRACT

This study is a quantitative content analysis of media coverage of female parliamentary candidates by the *Daily Graphic*, the *Daily Guide* and *The Enquirer* in the 2012 general elections in Ghana. The principal goal of the study was to determine the nature and extent of coverage afforded the female candidates in comparison to the male candidates and to establish whether gender played a role in coverage by the three newspapers. The research specifically sought to find out whether the coverage discriminated against women by according prominence to men and thereby maintaining the status quo of socially constructed roles.

The entire universe of 138 production days of each of the three newspapers was considered for the study and the focus was all political stories that had coverage of parliamentarians including female parliamentary candidates. The study period was from 1st October to the 6th of December 2012, a day before the elections. The study employed the liberal feminists' theory, the agenda-setting theory and the framing theory.

The evidence provided from the study showed that the overall coverage by the *Daily Graphic*, *Daily Guide* and *The Enquirer* favoured the male parliamentary candidates. But tone and enhancement of coverage favoured the female candidates substantially. The findings also showed that male reporters covered more male parliamentary candidates while female reporters also covered more female parliamentary candidates. Furthermore, the findings showed that comparatively the newspapers focused substantially on issues even though there were persistent personality traits, albeit marginal.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background

The media have been recognised as key players in democratic elections where they provide varying amounts of coverage, by paying attention to issues, setting expectations for candidates and critiquing them on a number of issues (Kleinnijenhuis *et. al.* 2001). Croteau and Hoynes, (2003) assert that the media have become the dominant social institution in contemporary society surpassing more influential institutions like education and religion.

The role of the media in both state-owned and private environment is an important component of any election, particularly those occurring in developing countries. However, existing academic literature on the role of the media in democratic elections in developing countries like Ghana is quite slim (Temin and Smith, 2002). According to Tetteh (2013), the media act as a crucial watchdog and gate keepers to democratic elections, safeguarding the transparency of the process. This implies that the media should be responsible for keeping watch over “what goes in” and “what goes out” as far as society is concerned, (Tetteh, 2013: 1). Norris (2010) also points out that:

As gatekeepers, the news media have a responsibility to reflect and incorporate the plurality of viewpoints and political persuasions in reporting, to maximise the diversity of perspectives and arguments heard in rational public deliberations, and to enrich the public sphere (2010:12).

The media play an indispensable role by educating voters on how to exercise their democratic rights, reporting on the development of an election campaign; providing a platform for the political parties and candidates to communicate their message to the electorate and debate each other and providing a platform for the public to communicate their concerns and opinions, to the parties/candidates (Open Society initiative for West Africa, 2010). Kleinnijenhuis *et. al.* (2001) also argue that, issues and personalities have been at play in election campaigns and are constantly competing for

attention. The media thus play an important role as to which one of the issues or personalities gain prominence in covering election campaigns. They maintain that, whatever is reported in the media, presents the voting public with frames with which to make critical decisions, (ibid).

The way in which the media afford candidates a platform during elections in Ghana is reflected in studies conducted by the Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) on the 2000 and 2004 elections and Gyimah-Boadi on 2008 elections. The studies found out that the media generally gave substantial coverage and access to the ruling party and its candidates. There were also variations in the tone of coverage between the state-owned and private media. The private print media tended to be negative towards the National Democratic Congress (NDC) party which was the incumbent party in the 2000 elections and the main opposition party in 2004 and 2008 elections. This made the private print media less objective than the state-owned print media in their coverage. On the other hand, the tones of coverage in the state-owned papers were largely positive or neutral towards all parties and candidates.

1.1 Ghanaian Media Environment

The media arena in Ghana has seen some transformation since 1991. As a prelude to the fourth republican constitutional rule, the Newspaper License Law was repealed in 1991 leading to the establishment of a number of privately-owned newspapers, radio stations and magazines (Hasty (2005). Another landmark in press freedom was the repeal of the Criminal Libel Law (Criminal Code, 1960, Act 29) in 2001 by the government of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), (Boafo-Arthur, 2007). These transformations opened the flood gates for media pluralism. Currently there are 342 authorised radio stations with 285 in operation and 57 non-operational (National Communication Authority, (NCA) as at 31st March 2014). There is also a total of 466 newspaper publications, including 11 national daily newspapers, 67 weeklies, 23 bi-weeklies and five tri-weeklies, and 28

authorised TV operators across the country with 11 free on air and six pay per view operational (NCA as at February 2014).

The plurality of the media in Ghana has injected some vibrancy and diversity into news reportage with some media houses, especially the electronic media, broadcasting in various local Ghanaian languages. It is thus, assumed that, the increase in media houses may perhaps offer increased coverage to politicians including the female candidates during elections.

1.2 Ghanaian Media and Women Journalists

The media landscape in Ghana has generally been male dominated (Awall 2015). He argues that Ghana has fallen below the regional percentage of almost 40 of women viv-a-vis 60 men who are in regular work within newsroom (ibid). Secher (2010) also avers that male-domination among top executives of media houses, makes job progression a gender based promotions. She argues that even though the women journalists have the opportunity to get promoted as long as they work hard, they have to distinguish themselves from their male colleagues and make their mark as competent and professional to really be taken seriously (ibid:32).

Secher (2010) further expresses concern over the absence of media policy to guarantee women their job after maternity. She posits that it is challenging for female journalists to start a family since journalism is a very time-consuming profession and the responsibility for domestic work is still primarily on the woman. Awall (2015) therefore suggests that women movements to exert pressure on managers of and owners of media houses to ensure they work to minimise the marginalisation of women to encourage more women in the profession. This suggestion confirms Gadzekpo's assertion that the media profession needs a lot of women who will be able to tell women's stories from the woman's standpoint(2011).

1.3 Guidelines on the Portrayal of Women in the Media

One major criticism leveled against the media both locally and internationally is their various forms of stereotyping and portrayal of women, the elderly, disabled, racial and ethnic groups. Studies on women's portrayal have reported various degrees of stereotyping when it comes to their depiction in the media (Lindner, 2004; Mann 2011 and Many 2013).

Following from such discussions, a number of national and international guidelines have been proposed to ensure that women are portrayed positively beyond their stereotypical roles. Some of these protocols are stated in the code of ethics of the Advertising Association of Ghana (AAG) which states that, advertising must not exploit sex in obvious or implied context or cast a group as inferior to others. Article 6 of the code of ethics of the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) also urges journalists not to produce journalistic material that is discriminatory to either by ethnicity, colour, creed, gender or sexual orientation. Others are the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1952), Article 7 of the UN Convention for Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Declaration Platform for Action (BDPFA) and others. These international protocols, for the purposes of this study, identified the media as critical in representing women's issues, and suggested the promotion of a balanced and non-stereotypical portrayal of women in the media and rather, present them as creative human beings, key actors and contributors to and beneficiaries of development process. The protocols also advocated the political right of and equality in women's access to and participation in the decision making process of governance in their various countries.

These guidelines are also followed by non-governmental organisations and the National Media Policy, (NMP). Section 7(2) of the National Media Commission's (NMC) media policy states that programming by the media should show high sensibility to the dignity and respect of womanhood,

defend and protect women's rights and interests. This is buttressed by the Women's Manifesto for Ghana, a political document put together by a coalition of women organisations. The Women's Manifesto, a political document initiated by Abantu, identified the lack of women's representation in politics and also recognised the role of the media in addressing some of the gender inequalities.

1.4 Coverage of Women

Research on media and women both locally and internationally spans several decades with the most extensive of these studies been conducted by the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP). Findings of the (2010) study revealed that women make up 24% of subjects seen, heard and read about in the media. Only 16% of the stories focused on women specifically, 48% reinforce gender stereotypes while only 8% of the news stories challenged such stereotypes (GMMP 2010: vii). Commenting on women's images in magazines, Baker (2005) posits that the depiction of women as sex objects is more blatant in men's magazines, whether they are black or white oriented. Also, female characters in the magazines are found to be verbally aggressive and affectionate than male characters, a depiction she stresses is manifest in the political arena, (ibid).

1.5 Coverage of Women in Politics

Politics and media coverage of women continue to attract a lot of debate globally. Anderson, Diabah and Mensah (2011) argue that, the media misrepresentations of female politicians, means that they presented are in hostile ways. This calls into question the credibility of these women as leaders of their nations. However, the British Council Gender Report (2012) denies that newspaper coverage of female politicians in governance is always negative, but states that coverage sometimes offer positive reinforcement for female government heads as role models for other females. Nonetheless, the report concedes that coverage of female politicians sometimes reflects common gender stereotypes, such as women having "soft" skills, which was considered trivial (ibid:7).

The media are blamed for sensationalising or trivialising women and women's issues. Manya (2013) avers that "clothing, makeup and hairdo of female politicians are scrutinized obsessively just as their views on vital issues. But no journalist can be bothered to comment on the mismatched shirt and tie of an overweight male politician" (ibid: 28). According to Gadzekpo (2003), the way the media trivialise women's issues in Ghana is similar to the disparaging of women in politics globally. She cites an instance in which a private newspaper angered women activists in an article on women in the NDC political party. The newspaper focused on their singleness in a tone that suggested that it was a punishment for their being active in politics. She concludes that such framing showed politics as an inhospitable arena for women.

1.6 Coverage of Women in Elections

Research conducted worldwide on gender coverage and elections showed that press coverage of female candidates differ from their male counterparts in terms of quality and quantity. Goodyear-Grant, (2013) argues that the visibility of women candidates is poor, with some women being prominent in news sometimes because of their unique value, or their connection to some powerful man. As such, front and political pages are mostly male dominated with females on non-prominent or political pages.

Gendered differences in press treatment during elections appear to be more dramatic for presidential candidates. Washburn and Washburn (2011) argue that media turned to portrayals of Clinton and Palin as "children", depicting Clinton's dependence on her husband as a spokesperson as well as her breakdown of emotions during debates. Her clothing choices were also often criticised for not being feminine and at the same time being noted as out of place in the male dominated halls of Congress. Palin was also not spared from coverage discussions of her childhood, high school days,

family, physical appearance and her beauty queen background. She was often cited as needing McCain to protect her from harsh press coverage (ibid: 5).

Parliamentary elections, according to Ibroscheva, and Raicheva-Stover (2009), have revived the enthusiasm of women and men alike to lay the foundation of a new just social system of equities. However, this interest has been bleak. Mavin, Bryans and Cunningham (2010) argue that coverage of policy matters corresponded to men's and women's stereotypical strengths. Therefore, issues such as foreign policy, defense, trade, and the economy were more likely to be discussed by male candidates, whereas women candidates, in their campaign coverage, were more frequently linked to issues of poverty, education, and health-care (ibid). Expanding the argument, Dziva, Makaye and Dube (2013) assert that in elections, newspaper headlines and journalists employ more aggressive and combative language for male party candidates and more passive discourse for female party candidates. They emphasise that such persistent biases in the media frustrate and undermine the electability of female parliamentary candidates (ibid).

1.7 Women and Politics

Globally, millions of women work as volunteers for major political parties and individual candidates. This notwithstanding, the process of governance has been male centred. Vander Stichele, (1998) argues that women's relationship with power, except in cases where women ruled as queens or empresses, was usually indirect and mediated by men.

For decades, African women for instance, consistently fell below the world average of political representation, (IPU, 2014). As Tripp (2001) states, it was unheard of for an African woman to run for presidency of her country until the era of 1990s. Tripp says that in 1996 Liberia's Ruth Perry became the first female African Head of State in a non-monarchical regime when she chaired her

country's six-member collective Presidency's Council of State. In 1994, Uganda's Wandera Specioza Kazibwe became Africa's first female Vice-President. Burundi and Rwanda's first female Prime Ministers were elected in 1993 and 1994 respectively (ibid).

The 21st century witnessed more feats for female political leaders. Notable among these women are Liberia's Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf who was elected as the first female African Executive Head of State in 2005 (Economic Commission for Africa, 2009). In 2012, Malawian Joyce Banda the then Vice-President (2009-April 2012), became the President after the death of President Binguwa Mutarika (Ndlovu and Mutale, 2013). In 2012, South Africa's Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma became the Chairperson of the Commission of African Union, and Catherine Samba-Panza, became the Acting Head of State of the Central African Republic in January 2014 (Current Female Leaders, 2015).

1.8 Women and Legislative Governance

Historically, women did not have right to vote in any country worldwide until 1893 when New Zealand became the first country to give women the right to vote, (Baah-Ennunh, Owusu and Kokor, 2005). In the USA for example, women came to Congress in 1916, gained the right to vote in 1920 and had 10% parliamentary seats in 1992. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) became the first country to reach 10% women in its national legislator in 1946. Ecuador elected its first female parliamentarian in 1956 and attained 10% parliamentary seats in 1998 (Paxton, Hughes and Painter 2010).

Elsewhere in Europe, Norway became sovereign in 1905 and Finland was the first country to adopt both fundamental democratic rights for women to vote and be voted for in 1906. In Britain for instance Bruley (2004) (as cited in Baah-Ennunh, Owusu and Kokor, 2005) posits that the Representation of the People's Act, 1918 allowed only women aged 30 years and above to vote and

to stand for parliamentary elections. Germany also attained 20% in 1950 and 30% in 1967 respectively. In Portugal, women gained the right to vote in 1976.

In Africa, the struggle for women's rights to decision-making process has also been an uphill task against patriarchy, poverty and religion. African women have consistently fallen well below the world average in political representation (Baah-Ennuh, Owusu and Kokor 2005:3). But this has improved. Women legislators in African parliaments tripled their numbers between 1990 and 2010. In Seychelles for instance, women claimed 44% of the seats in 2011 (Hughes and Tripp 2015). In November 1997, the South African Development Community (SADC) Heads of Government adopted the Declaration on Gender and Development, in which they committed themselves to achieving 30% representation of women in decision-making posts by 2005. Subsequently, in 2005, the SADC set another goal of 50% targeted at 2015.

In 2007, Rwanda elected the world's highest ratio of women in parliament with 48.8% and in 2008 became the first country to elect women to a majority of national legislative seats. By the end of 2010, women held an average of 27% of the parliamentary seats in post-conflict African countries, compared to just 14% in remaining countries (Hughes and Tripp 2015). The Rwandan experience as asserted by Cole (2011) has proven to be a referenced landmark not only in Africa, but for all democracies. Currently, women in Africa hold an average of 22.4% of national legislative seats; slightly higher than the world average of 21.8% (IPU, 2014). Statistics from the IPU on the world's average for women in parliament stood at 19.8% in 2012 (Jabre, 2012). By the end of 2012, America led the regions with the highest average of women MPs at 25.2%, followed by Africa (24.5%), Europe (22.6%), Asia (18.4%) and trailed by the Pacific 16.2% respectively. As at June 2014, only 22.3% of the members in single or lower houses of 190 parliaments around the world are women (Stockemer and Tremblay, 2015).

1.9 Women's political Status in Ghana

The literature on women in public life, blames colonialism for confining women to the private sphere which consisted of nurturing and other domestic chores (Allah-Mensah, 2005). Lithur, (2004) argues that the role of women '...needs to be placed within the context of the public, private divide argument' which she also states has been confined to the private sphere (2004:66). She blames colonialism for poor female participation in public life in Ghana and avers that traditionally, women played key public roles as *Ohemaa* (Queen-mother) who had her own *ahenfie* (court), *ntam* (oath) and *okyeame* (spokesperson). But Odotei contends with the view that in traditional societies, the corridors of power were always occupied by men. She avers that women were recognised as members of the native authority and maintained their traditional role in society. She affirms that to date, women have broken their frontiers and occupied traditional male stools and top positions that hitherto, were a preserve for males (Odotei, 2006).

The post-colonial state remained largely patriarchal and traditional. Writings and activism of many women during this era largely concede that, there were more men in terms of appointment and the need to incorporate more women into public office (Aniekwu, 2006).

Available statistics from Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, (MGCSP) suggest that the progress towards increasing the number of women in public life is slow, and shows a declining trend. The data showed that the proportion of seats held by women declined from 10.9% between the periods 2004-2006 to 8.3% between the periods 2008-2011 and went up to about 11% in 2012. Similarly, the proportion of elected district assembly members dropped from 11% in 2009 to 7% in 2010 and in the just ended district elections in 2015, it dropped further to 5.9% a little less than 6%. Women's share in other major political position is also low. Currently, there are seven (25%), women ministers of state, three in cabinet and four non-cabinet members. There are five

(26%) deputy ministers, three (30%) as deputy regional ministers but no female regional minister or regional coordinating director. There are also 16 (6.8%) female Metropolitan/District Chief Executives and 675, (25.6%) district assembly appointees ((Ms. Mercy Adjabeng, Communications Advisor, MGCSP, 2015).¹

1.10 Women in Political life

In Ghana, women's political participation predates the modern political system and their political involvement at the national level could be traced to the pre-independence era, (Bawa and Sanyare, 2013). Allah-Mensah (2005) however notes that, women's participation in politics, both as parliamentarians or as government ministers has traversed and fluctuated over the years.

The political life of Ghana between the overthrow of Dr. Nkrumah in 1966 and the coup d'état led by Flt. Lt. Jerry Rawlings on 31st December 1981, was dominated by various military regimes, although there were two civilian regimes, (1969 and 1979), albeit short lived (Prah, 2003). This period was described by Tsikata, (1989) as an 'apolitical' phase on the women's front. Rah explains that, the civilian regimes of the period did not show any particular interest in raising the profile of women as Nkrumah did. However, the major landmark in policy during the period was the establishment of the National Council for Women and Development (NCWD) in 1975 to promote women's issues (ibid). The first woman appointment into a key political position was made in 1979 in the person of Mrs. Amon Nikoi as Commissioner of Foreign Affairs.

The 1981 coup d'état gave birth to the Provisional National Defense Committee (PNDC) and to a new mass of political organisations which created opportunities for the establishment of a women's organisation, known as the Federation of Ghanaian Women (FEGAWO) in March 1982. Nonetheless, FEGAWO was swallowed by the 31st December Women's Movement (DWM), which

¹Information obtained during a visit to the Ministry by researcher

was launched in May 1982 and led by First Lady, Nana Konadu Agyemang-Rawlings, who was perceived to enjoy some support from the Chairman of PNDC (Prah, 2003). Gradually, the DWM dissolved the NCWD and replaced it with a management committee. Using the DWM as her platform, Mrs. Rawlings rose to political prominence. She was visible in the media and campaigned actively to garner votes for her husband, Mr. Rawlings. To Allah-Mensah (2005), there is ample proof to show that many women who had some political experience to contest and even won district level elections were all politically connected to the DWM.

Even though, Ghana has not had any female president, the Fourth Republic under the 1992 Constitution has recorded a few women nominees as vice-presidential candidates by the Convention Peoples Party (CPP), Peoples National Convention (PNC) and Progressive Peoples Party (PPP), (Wildaf, 2009). In 2010, Ms. Samia Yaaba Nkrumah was elected the Chairperson of the CPP. During the 2012 general elections however, for the first time, there were two female presidential flag bearers of marginal parties namely: Nana Konadu Agyemang-Rawlings of the National Democratic Party (NDP) and Akua Donkor of the Ghana Freedom Party (GFP).

1.11 Women in the Legislature

In the Gold-Coast Legislative Assembly, Mabel Dove Danquah was elected as the first Ghanaian legislator in 1954, but during independence in 1957, no female was elected. In the 1st Parliament of the First Republic, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah made a special provision under the Representation of the People's Act No: 8 of 1960 in the National Assembly, where 10 women were elected by special ballot, (Bawa and Sanyare, 2013). The 2nd Parliament in 1965 had 19 women out of which nine were elected to join the 10 reserved seats. Nkansah (2009) considers this to be very positive and progressive since Ghana was one of the first countries to introduce a quota system for women in politics and public office. Even so, 1969 saw a reversal of women representation in parliament. Out

of nine candidates, only one woman was elected to Parliament but this increased to two women in 1970 after a by-election. The 3rd Republican Parliament in 1979 witnessed a slight increment. Out of 19 women candidates, five women were elected (ibid).

Ghana returned to constitutional rule in 1992 after 11 years of military rule, under the 4th Republic. In the 1st Parliament of this era, 16 out of 23 women candidates secured seats in Parliament. The 1996 Parliament also saw 18 out of 57 women been elected and in 2000, 19 out of 95 women made it to Parliament. The 2004 Parliament witnessed an increase of women elected. Out of 104 women candidates, 25 made it to Parliament but, this gain was reversed in 2008 when 20 out of 103 women won their parliamentary seats (Bawa and Sanyare, 2013).

1.12 Women, Political Parties and Election 2012 (NPP & NDC)

Since a democratic process is the only way through which people are elected to parliament, political parties in Ghana have a significant role to play for women to become Members of Parliament. The 2012 manifestoes of both the NPP and the NDC outline various strategies to enhance the general well-being and particularly the political participation of Ghanaian women.

The women organisers of the NPP, Ms. Otiko Dzabah and the NDC, Mrs. Anita Desoso state that they did a lot of advocacy for various policies to support affirmative action during the 2012 elections. One major policy was an agreement between the political parties and the Electoral Commission (EC) to give at least a 30 percent quota of female representation and the other was the slashing of filing fees by 50 percent for women. NPP female candidates paid GHC 4, 000.00 and males paid GHC 8,000.00, while the NDC female and male candidates paid GHC 2, 500.00 and GHC 5, 000.00 respectively. This was followed up with a proposal made to the late President, John Evans Atta Mills and the EC Chairman of the possibility to field eligible women candidates in the constituencies of their various party strongholds. Even though the idea was welcomed, the

implementation process was truncated after the demise of the President and some male candidates also objected to the proposal².

The 7 December 2012 election was the sixth Presidential and Parliamentary elections since the restoration of multi-party democracy in 1992. The electioneering process brought into power MPs whose elections were based on the simple majority system with four-year term limits in single member constituencies. There were two dominant and 12 smaller political parties that registered with the EC and contested during the 2012 elections. All throughout Ghana, there was a total of 1332 parliamentary candidates for 275 constituencies. Out of this number, 133 female candidates contested at 45 constituencies, and this resulted in 30 (11%) women winning their seats (Commonwealth Observer Group report, 2013).

1.13 Statement of Problem

The representation of women in political office has been of great concern to many civil society organisations, gender advocacy groups and human rights institutions, thus provoking lots of debate and research. These concerns have attracted international response (especially since the launch of the First UN conference on Women in 1975) to call for support to promote women's participation in politics and representation in parliament. According to Lindner (2004) research on the portrayal of women has constantly reported various degrees of stereotyping when it comes to their depiction in the media. The GMMP (2005 & 2010) also reported that very little has changed in the way in which men and women have been featured in the media over the years.

Central to these issues of women is the role of the media in presenting and representing women in politics. The media are a good ally in efforts towards keeping the gender debate going. On the other

²Information was acquired in interview with both Md. Otiko Djabah and Mrs. Anita Desoso

hand, the persistent stereotypical portrayals and marginalisation of women by the media undermine the efforts of women's political participation and have significant consequences for voters' perceptions and attitudes towards especially female candidates in the political arena (Kittilson and Fridkin, 2008; Many, 2013). The focus of this study was whether the media marginalized and stereotyped female parliamentary candidates in the 2012 elections. This study therefore sought to examine portrayal of women parliamentary candidates during the 2012 general elections by the *Daily Graphic*, the *Daily Guide* and *The Enquirer*.

1.14 Objectives of the Study

This study intended to investigate how the three newspapers portrayed female parliamentary candidates during the 2012 elections. The newspapers were the *Daily Graphic*, *Daily Guide* and *The Enquirer*. The study also sought to find out the role of the media in projecting women as political leaders, policy makers and decision makers.

Specifically, the study will be guided by the following:

1. To examine whether coverage by the three newspapers marginalised female candidates as against their male counterparts during the 2012 elections.
2. To identify gender differences (if any), of reporters who covered the women parliamentary candidates during the 2012 elections.
3. To find out whether the female parliamentary candidates were covered in stereotypical ways.

1.15 Research Hypotheses

H₁: Female parliamentary candidates are likely to receive less visibility in political coverage in the three newspapers than their male counterparts.

H₀: Female and male parliamentary candidates are likely to receive equal visibility in political coverage in the three newspapers.

Rationale: Women constituted over 50 percent of the total population in Ghana and even then world over. Studies cited across the world have shown that women, including politicians and parliamentary candidates never receive coverage that is equal to their male counterparts (Dzeble, 2006; Goodyear-Grant, 2013 and Oyesomi and Oyero, 2012).

H₂: There is likely to be more female parliamentary candidates in the stories covered by female reporters than those covered by male reporters.

H₀: There is likely to be no difference in the number of female candidates in the stories covered by female and male reporters.

Rationale: Studies have argued that the little visibility given to females in the news results from the limited number of female reported decision-makers in the newsroom (Armstrong 2004). It is expected therefore that as more women enter the profession it will reflect in the way the issues of women feature in the news.

1.16 Significance of Study

Studies have been carried out on gender issues particularly, the coverage of women by the media. The crucial role played by the media in the enhancement of democratic governance like in Ghana makes it necessary to study the way media discharge their responsibilities. This study will bring into focus the role of the media as a purveyor of information to the society especially during elections and how the media present issues of candidates to the voting public. The study will provide empirical data which can assist advocates for gender equality to decide whether to lobby

media houses for better coverage for women and women's issues. This study will also contribute to the body of existing knowledge on gender coverage during elections for the academic community.

1.17 Definition of Terms

1. Election year: Refers to December 7 2012 when presidential and parliamentary elections were held in Ghana.
2. Parliamentary candidate: A person or politician vying for elections to represent his or her constituency in parliament.
3. Media portrayal: the way and manner in which the media represent a person negatively or positively
4. Visibility: the frequency in coverage, placement and photograph assigned to the stories and direct attribution given to the news subject.
5. Marginalisation: the way a person is or a group of persons are made to feel less important or disregarded

1.18 Organisation of the Study

The entire study is organised into five chapters. Chapter One introduces the background and outlines the role of the media to the democratic process and election, traces the history of women's participation in public life and politics. It also presents an overview of the 2012 parliamentary elections and states the research objectives and significance. Chapter two outlines the theoretical framework, the liberal feminist theory and the framing theory and reviews literature relating to the portrayal of female politicians in the media around the world, Africa and Ghana. Chapter three explains the methodology employed for data collection and analysis. Chapter four contains the findings and five discusses the data analysed, presents a conclusion of the study and advances some recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

A number of events take place in any given time and to cover a modest portion of these events would be an enormous task for media practitioners. This means that choices have to be made concerning which events to cover based on some theoretical framework. Several theories have been tested in the field of newspaper portrayal of female candidates during elections. This chapter looks at the liberal feminist's theory and the framing theory and reviews some related studies which will help to content analyse election coverage of Ghanaian female parliamentary candidates in the selected newspapers.

2.1 Liberal Feminist Theory

The Liberal Feminist theory was formulated by Betty Friedan in 1963. In her book, *The Feminine Mystic* Friedan explored the idea of women finding fulfillment beyond traditional roles by focusing on how legal, political, economic, and social rights can be fully extended to women within contemporary society (Friedan, 1963).

The theory assumes that sex roles' stereotyping exists in the mass media and its constant repetition to audiences reinforces such stereotypes in the broader society (Mann, 2011). Strinati, (2004) also avers that cultural representations of women in the media support and perpetuate the prevailing sexual division of labour. She emphasizes that such roles as mother and house wife, often seem to be the normal and accepted roles of women in a patriarchal society and are what account for the unequal position of women in society. Marger (2005) also argues that, the belief in the inborn capabilities of both sexes and the support received from socialising agents such as the family,

school, religion and the media promote some of these accepted behaviours to which men and women are expected to conform.

In her objection to the media portrayal of women in such traditional roles, Mann (2011) states that the solution is to promote more women into prominent roles in the mass media, which would hopefully solve the problem of negative stereotypes. Hutchinson (2011) also asserts that liberal feminists are characterised by a desire to integrate women into pre-existing public institutions and guarantee them the same rights that men enjoy. Hutchinson explains that the primary concern of the theory is to have a level playing field for both women and men. She therefore suggests that to achieve true equality women must infiltrate the public spheres from which they have been traditionally excluded (ibid).

2.2 Critique of the Liberal Feminist Theory

The Liberal Feminist theory has been criticised by structural theorists for neglecting the wider structures of patriarchal power and sticking to the findings uncovered by content analysis. The structural theorists contend that the gender differentiation and stratification contribute in some way to achieve critical tasks and ensure the survival of every society (Nelson, 1990). Tiger (1969) and Huber, (1990) also argue that women assumed domestic roles that revolved around child care and household duties naturally because of their nurturing roles, whilst the activities of hunting became naturally for men, since males were physically strong. They therefore posit that the media could not be faulted for such portrayals since such stereotypes as domestic roles of women already exist in the societies.

This theory is applicable to this current study in that, it will help assess the media's role in the representation of women and women's issues during the 2012 general elections in Ghana. Existing

literature has criticized the media for highlighting and representing women's issues in a way that is unfavourable to women as political leaders and policy makers, but on the other hand project men's issues favourably based on sexual roles. Thus, an assessment of press treatment of the female parliamentary candidates in Ghana could help to ascertain the extent to what is given focus or prominence during elections to the voting populace in terms of the media's agenda in framing issues. In this context, the media's role in framing political candidates is also considered.

2.3 Framing Theory

Goffman's work on frame analysis in 1974 is regarded as the foundation of the framing theory. Framing has become one of the most frequently used theories in mass media communication analysis, especially in the analysis of media coverage of political issues (Shih, Wijaya and Brossard, 2008). Even though the theory has been widely used, it has no universal definition and so different scholars describe it in different ways (Botan and Hazleton, 2006).

When Goffman (1979) introduced frame analysis, he explained how the media selected certain aspects of perceived reality to highlight, interpret and communicate. To him, the frames identified were shaped by the dominant order and used by advertisers to structure ways in which audiences saw women. In a more recent study, Dewulf and Bouwen (2012:5) also define framing as the forceful portrayal and direction of meaning in ongoing interactions which are temporal communications structures that people build around issues during discussions or debates.

Stromback and Luengo (2008) considered the different viewpoints of other scholars on framing and concluded that despite the different interpretations, there is a high degree of consensus that the theory is basically about the selection or choice of words, emphasis, sources, placement, and use of images and other journalistic methods of treating news stories. As a result of the media's ability to

emphasise framing, Peng (2008) indicates that the physical space dedicated to a portion of a particular story in a print news medium, frames the story in such a way that, that portion may take more space which will be more persuasive in a reader's understanding of the story. According to Gadzekpo (2002),

the hegemonic function of media becomes even clearer when we examine how media frame events. Together with news traditions and values, it is that pattern of selective emphasis and interpretation referred to as framing that makes certain representations (often derived from the dominant ideology) seem natural and acceptable. How the media frame and produce meanings contribute to the reproduction of ideology, thereby serving to sustain relationships of inequality and oppression. (2002:4).

Framing is important in media content studies because, as found by Chong and Druckman (2007), through framing, the media is able to redirect the attention of a number of people from one side of an issue to the very opposite of the issue. They conclude that framing is thus a powerful determinant in the outcomes of elections in the field of political communication. They suggest that framing is a deliberate tactic used by politicians and media personnel to co-ordinate individuals around particular interpretations (ibid). Stromback and Luengo (2008) however, disagree and contend that though framing occurs through the actions of media actors, they do not always do so intentionally because it is a phenomenon that cannot be avoided by journalists.

2.4 Relationship between the Two Theories Used

The two theories discussed so far in the chapter have helped to explain the nature of gender and how people come to know about it through a social institution like the media. Also, the theories recognise the existence of certain forms of inequalities within societies which have led to opportunities on one hand, and lack of them on the other, for segments within the society in relation to participation in its governance. The significance of women's absence from the news shows the crucial role played by the media in setting an agenda for public debate. By prioritising certain topics

and ignoring some and giving voice to certain political candidates and not others, the news agenda tells the voting public who and what is important. Further, the theories suggest that through the use of sexist portrayals, the media thus give a biased view of gender, giving the erroneous impression that the experiences of men override that of women and should be accepted as the norm of society.

2.5 Related Studies cross the World

Feminist theorists have stated that there is no argument that the media work with other social and cultural institutions to reinforce existing ideas about how gender is and should be lived (Enriques, 2001). The use of framing in the news media has also been considered as important to understand the way political coverage is typically represented to the voting public especially during elections. Below are some related studies reviewed.

In a study to highlight media's representation of women politicians in the United Kingdom (UK), Mavin, Bryans and Cunningham (2010) looked at how media depiction trivialized and discouraged women's suitability as political leaders, during 2010 general elections. The study employed a qualitative study approach and data was drawn from TV, the worldwide web and three national newspapers: the *ObserverMail*, *Guardian* and *Daily times*. The authors conducted a comparative analysis of text and images of the various media. The current study also sought to find out the attention the media gave to women parliamentary candidates by content analysing three national newspapers in an election period in Ghana.

Findings revealed that the physicality of the women MPs was put in the fore by the media, though they admit the competencies and capabilities of the women MPs. The women were portrayed as being indecisive and in a double dilemma. The media also ridiculed the women MPs by referring to

them as “Blair Babes” who are fit to discuss only ‘girlie’ issues which hold no value in national governmental policy. The authors concluded that the media portrayed the women MPs as aliens in the hostile environment of male-dominated political leadership. They maintain that standards in political reporting had fallen in both quantity and quality. As such, issues of personal appearance of women MPs and their age remained a major focus of media attention.

To investigate how female politicians were portrayed during the 2005 parliamentary elections in Bulgaria, Ibroscheva and Raicheva-Stover (2009) sought to ascertain whether the portrayals show gender stereotypes in the coverage of women politicians. This study employed a qualitative textual analysis and sampled issues in the *Trud*, daily newspaper, from May 28–July 23 2005, covering 28 days before and after the elections. The authors did content analysis of cover headlines, articles, profiles, editorials, pictures, and cartoons, looking at gendered nouns or adjectives, metaphors and descriptions of the candidates’ competency.

Employing the framing theory, the findings revealed that coverage trivialised and familiarised language by referring to female politicians often by their first name only and majority of articles were written and reported by female reporters or had no author. Moreover, out of the 110 photographs of women politicians, only four made it to the front page. The study finally stated that the press continues to under-represent and use stereotypical images of women politicians. Thus, when they achieve a measure of political success by joining even parliament, they are still not safe from insults and humiliation based on their gender.

Dan and Iorgoveanu (2013) also examined the variations in media coverage of four prominent male and female European Parliamentary (EP) candidates in the four weeks leading up to Election Day (May 8 to June 7, 2009) in Romania. The authors sought to find out whether there was gender bias

in terms of visibility, viability, and the balance between issue-related and traits coverage. The study conducted a verbal and visual-framing analysis of coverage based on articles published on the web sites of broadsheets: *Evenimentul Zilei (EvZ)* and *Gândul*, and tabloids: *Cancan*, and *Libertatea*. The study sampled a total of 280 articles.

The findings revealed that 40 percent of coverage had candidates explain their opinions with their own words. Male-issue direct quotes accounted for 55.7 percent and male candidates were considered as more viable than female candidates. Also, all candidates received more coverage on male rather than female issues and male candidates received the most coverage on female traits. Female candidates were portrayed with family members and partly as fashion models. The study also showed that women dominated the tabloid outlets (both verbally and visually) and men featured prominently in the broadsheets. The authors concluded that there was gender bias in the news coverage of the candidates and female candidates were portrayed in a way that undermined their authority.

In a cross-national study of newspaper coverage of men and women candidates during elections in Australia in 2004, Canada, and the United States of America (USA) both in 2006, Kittleson and Fridkin, (2008) focused on the attention devoted by the press to the candidates. One newspaper was selected from each country: the *Sydney Morning Herald* from Australia, *Toronto Star* from Canada and *New York Times* from USA. The coverage centred on four weeks leading up to the election in each nation. The authors analysed a total of 435 articles: 129 from Australia, 149 from Canada and 157 from the US.

Contrary to the findings of Dan and Iorgoveanu, (2013) in Romania, Kittleson and Fridkin's study revealed that the media did not focus more attention on the viability or family reference of female candidates. However, both male and female candidates for all three countries received far more press coverage concerning stereotypical gender issues. The study concluded that despite Australia's and Canada's higher proportions of women in their national legislatures relative to the US, all three nations displayed similar patterns of gender stereotypes linked to candidates' traits and issues. Also, given the common gender stereotypes, voters and party leaders may be less convinced that women candidates can handle male issues, compared to their male counterparts. The conclusions of the studies so far appear to be similar in their evaluation of media coverage of women political candidates even though there appear to be variations in their findings.

To determine the influence of a reporter's gender on source selection in newspaper stories, Armstrong (2004) conducted a study on the frequency and placement given to male and female sources and story subjects in newspaper coverage and their relationship to the gender of a reporter. A content analysis of 889 stories found that male sources and subjects received more attention and were placed more prominently in the stories. The results also indicated that the presence of females in bylines was a significant predictor of females appearing within the news story. That is, women journalists were more likely to select female news sources and vice versa.

2.6 Studies in Africa

In Africa, the subject of women and coverage has also attracted a lot of attention. Existing literature shows that the Continent has its fair share of varying challenges of media treatment of female candidates in elections reportage just as it is in abroad.

In a study to explore how print media framed the 22 women parliamentarians in their coverage of Kenya's general elections in 2011, Thuo (2012) examined the amount of media coverage and level of prominence given to stories on women politicians; and secondly, tried to identify the dominant gender frames used in newspaper content. The study which was qualitative in nature included the daily publications of the *Nation Media Group* and *Tile Standard Group* over a six months period from 1st January to 30th June 2011. Using the framing theory, the researcher did a content analysis of all the newspaper articles that mentioned any of the 22 women aspirants and interviewed 10 editors and writers working for the two media groups.

The findings were that the print media coverage of women in politics was low, with their stories placed in the inside pages and hardly on the headlines thus making them invisible. The researcher concluded that hidden influences such as cultural backgrounds of the media professionals, principles of what makes news and commercial interest contributed to the low coverage of women.

In a similar study of newspaper coverage of 22 women parliamentarians in the 2011 General elections in Nigeria, Oyesomi and Oyero (2012) aver that the media dictate what the people think about and not what the people think, thus the agenda of the media basically becomes the agenda of the people. The authors employed the agenda setting theory and analysed 288 editions of two leading Nigerian newspaper publications, *The Guardian* and *The Punch* from December 2010 to August 2011 during the run-up to the Nigerian 2011 elections.

Findings revealed that out of 464 issues in both newspapers analysed, only 64 stories represented issues of women. Also, fewer stories that were covered about women were not given in-depth coverage or prominence because most of the stories appeared in the inner pages while the front

pages captured only 10percent of all such stories. They concluded that the media did not cover the Nigerian general elections adequately, although they admitted that the reports were of high quality and suggested that the media needed to be re-oriented and re-positioned.

Manya (2013) in South-Africa conducted a study on representation of blackyoungwomen politicians using a case study of Lindiwe Mazibuko a parliamentary candidate in the country's 2011 elections. . The author sought to find out how South Africa's main opposition party's female parliamentary leader, was portrayed in four leading news websites: *Timeslive Online*, *City Press Online*, *Mail&Guardian Online* and *Independent Online*. The study was underpinned by the black feminists' theory and did content analysis of 101 articles published from the announcement of her nomination to the run up to the party's elections, her election and a month into her electionfrom the 1 September to 30 November 2011.

The findings revealed that Mazibuko's age was mentioned in 62 percent of the articles, her gender in 28 percent and her race in 21percent of the articles. Manya concluded the study by questioning the focus of these attributes, which she argued have no influence on Mazibuko's performance or ability to do her work. She maintained that not all persons suffered equally under the Apartheid regime, therefore the empowerment of young black women and their rise to positions of leadership remains an important priority if the gains of freedom are to be fully attained in South Africa.

A more recent study, Wonuola (2015) also examined the challenges of women's political participation and the role of media as an indispensable tool for political mobilisation by focusing on women in politics especially during the Fourth Republic (i.e. 1999 to 2014) in Nigeria. The paper

employed agenda- setting and developmental media theories to determine what the media need to do in promoting women activism in partisan politics especially in elective positions.

The study indicated that there is significant increase in the number of women in the political circle during the Fourth Republic as compared to what obtained in the past, even though most of these women were appointed rather than elected by the people. The research also uncovered some factors that impede women's active political participation including, lack of political education, discrimination and late night meetings of political class. The author concluded that the media is relevant in women's political development, so the former should create a platform to enlighten women about their political rights. They also suggested that political parties should provide incentives to the female aspirants in their parties to motivate them.

In analysing why media coverage of women politicians was poor in Nigeria during the 2011 general elections, Akor (2014) stated that the media are the ears and eyes of the public which help to mould and shape perceptions. Voters therefore rely on the media to make informed decisions especially during elections. However, levels of coverage given to women politicians in the media are poor and consist of stereotypes and other challenges which contribute to the poor showing for women at the polls. She said this fuels the reluctance of political parties to have women as candidates thereby feeding into a vicious circle of their low political representation.

The report revealed widespread manipulations of gender perceptions especially through the traditional media, where women were presented as just home-makers or objects of sexual desire during the elections. She added that women in executive positions were rarely promoted positively in the media while men on contrary, were portrayed as successful politicians, businessmen, and

confident decision makers, among others. Her report concluded that the media are a very effective channel for achieving increased women's political participation and affirmative action and so women right groups should work together with women politicians to encourage their increase in political representation in the next General elections in 2015.

In a study of how the media set an agenda during elections, Shaw (2007) investigated the run-off of the 2005 Liberian presidential elections between Mrs. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Mr. George Weah and how they were framed. She did content analyses of newspaper stories from *The Analyst* and *the Daily Observer* and conducted in-depth interviews of their editors. Her sample was purposefully selected to find evidence of the agenda-setting and framing theories as employed by the media in the run-off of the elections scheduled on 8th November 2005.

The study revealed that Mr. Weah had openly issued threats to the media in Liberia. As a result, some media practitioners deliberately set an agenda to sway un-decided voters to vote in favour of Mrs. Johnson Sirleaf by framing issues such as qualifications vs. popularity and thus, pushed Mr. Weah out of the contest for the presidency. The author concluded that by emphasising the strength of Sirleaf Johnson, the newspapers framed her positively and Weah negatively.

2.7 Studies in Ghana

Bringing into focus the Ghanaian context, similar studies have also been replicated on the issue of coverage given to women parliamentary candidates as pertains elsewhere in other countries.

In a study to elicit respondents' views and opinions on how women fared during the 2008 Ghanaian parliamentary elections, WiLDAF (2009) a women centered NGO, analysed voters' perception of

the idea of having a female parliamentarian or president. Selected female candidates were interviewed on a number of issues including media coverage by the distribution of semi-structured questionnaires across the 10 regions of Ghana. The study adopted a stratified random sampling procedure and data was collected through a descriptive survey. The results showed that, most of the women candidates were disappointed with the media coverage because they were more biased towards men, even though they admit the media was professional in some respect.

Also, though in theory there are no discriminations against women in politics, there are a lot of hidden practices that hinder women's abilities to contest fairly with their male counterparts. Also, very little was being done in practice to encourage and promote women's political participation in Ghana. The study thus concluded that it issues of cultural and traditional barriers have been over-emphasised: while legal, political and economic reasons debarring women from active participation in politics were less interrogated. The study also recommended a more positive and increased coverage for women candidates in the future.

Dzeble (2006) examined the role played by the media in projecting female politicians in Ghana, especially female parliamentary candidates in the 2004 elections. The study sought to examine the amount of coverage given to women politicians and to find out media policies and practices that influence selection of news subjects and stories for publication. The author did a quantitative content analysis the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* newspapers and conducted an in-depth interview with three groups of respondents, journalists and editors of the two newspapers, female parliamentarians and officials of female advocacy groups. The theories employed in the study are the Althusserian and Gramscian theories of ideology and hegemony; the concept of the public sphere; theories of representation and framing.

Findings revealed that the media gave disproportionately more coverage to male politicians in the country than their female counterparts. The results also showed that privately-owned media gave slightly more coverage to female politicians than the state-owned media. The study concluded that, the media gave some level of unfair coverage and representation to female politicians and gave more voice to the male political actors. This, according to the author created pictures in the minds of the electorate that effectively marginalised female politicians.

Related to this, is a study by Benneh (2005) on challenges of media coverage of Ghanaian women parliamentarians. The study which was underpinned by the framing theory, also sought to find out whether coverage in the media of the women parliamentarians reinforced or challenged the dominant culture and thereby contributed towards the marginalisation of women. She conducted an in-depth interview with eight women parliamentarians, four each from the ruling NPP and the main opposition NDC political parties.

The findings revealed that the women felt they received unprecedented low level of attention from the media although most of the coverage was positive. This notwithstanding, the NDC women parliamentarians felt the media discriminated against women and that most of their contributions in parliamentary debates were not covered. The interviewees all agreed that the state media did not cover a lot of their activities, especially at the constituency level. As a result, many of the respondents had to depend on the private FM stations. They were, however, pleased that the media had depicted them not in terms of their relationships with their husbands or fathers but rather as expert authorities and leaders in their own right.

Danso (2012) examined issues and personalities coverage during the 2004 and 2008 general elections. The main goal of the study was to determine the focus of stories and to find out whether priority was placed on issues or on personalities of the candidates involved in the elections. The study also sought to determine the specific type of issues and what about personalities the newspapers were interested in. The study employed a quantitative content analysis and sampled stories by the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* on the campaign activities by the political parties, presidential candidates as well as stories on their running mates for each month in the second half in each year. The theories guiding the study are framing and the functional theories.

The results showed that, the relative influence of personalities as compared to the relative influence of issues were at play in the coverage of the campaigns by the two newspapers. However, it also indicated that election coverage by the two newspapers in both 2004 and 2008 predominantly focused on issues. Though stories were mostly issue-based, they were framed to incorporate elements that spoke to the personalities of the candidates. Also, the study found that the GJA and NMC guidelines for the coverage of elections were followed to a large extent. The author concluded that in both election years, the style of coverage of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* did not show much difference.

2.8 The relationship between studies reviewed and Current study

This chapter has shown over the years and within different contexts, the way women have continued to be underrepresented and to some extent negatively portrayed in the media despite global and national levels of attempts to check the trend. The literature reviewed showed that there are several dimensions to ways the media actors discriminate against women including parliamentary candidates and keep them in the background where they have very little voice in

decisions that directly affect them. Therefore it is important to analyse this vital institution's reportage on women's issues during the 2012 elections in Ghana. Most of the studies reviewed employed the similar theories being considered for this study. Also, some of the studies analysed newspapers just as this study whilst others analysed online and broadcast media.

From the various perspectives on the theories discussed, the *Daily Graphic*, *Daily Guide* and *The Enquirer* would help to analyse (based on the coverage) whether the female parliamentary candidates were given fair representation in the Ghanaian press during the 2012 elections.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a description of the methods and procedures that were used to collect and analyse data. It discusses the research design, the study period and the rationale for the respective choices. The main purpose of this study was to investigate the coverage given to women parliamentary candidates in the run-up to the 2012 general elections by the *Daily Graphic*, *Daily Guide* and *The Enquirer*.

The selection of the newspapers was done for two main reasons. Firstly, all the newspapers have daily publications, are national in circulation and have political sections. Secondly, they have different orientations. The *Daily Guide* and *The Enquirer* are privately owned and are perceived to have opposing political persuasions whereas the *Daily Graphic* is state-owned and is supposed to give fair and balanced reportage without taking sides to any political grouping. The profiles of the three newspapers are as follows:

3.0.1 *DailyGraphic*

The Daily Mirror Group, a British newspaper giant, set up the *Daily Graphic* in Ghana in 1952, mainly for political as well as economic reasons. It was incorporated as a statutory corporation in 1965 and has since remained a state-owned organization (Asante and Gadzekpo, 2000). *Daily Graphic* is published by Graphic Communications Group Limited (GCGL) and managed by an eight-member board and a managing director appointed by the NMC in consultation with the President of the Republic of Ghana (GCGL Company profile, 2012).

A series of restructuring over the past two decades has resulted in the growth of the paper from eight pages in 1988 to its current 80 pages. According to a 2009 survey report for the Ghana Media Standards Improvement Project (GMSIP), the *Daily Graphic* was the most patronised and widely circulated newspaper among Ghanaians and its patronage cuts across gender, educational background, occupation and religious affiliations (GMSIP, 2009). The GCGL prides itself on a reputation for credible news, a quality which has made the company's professional approach to journalism, the standard in Ghana. The supremacy of the *Daily Graphic*, coupled with its long-standing history in the print media industry in Ghana has resulted in a situation where for some people the word *Graphic* is synonymous to newspaper. The paper is published six times a week (Monday to Saturday) and has a current nationwide circulation figure of 70,000. It has specialised sections for politics, business, gender, foreign news, features, regional news, metropolitan news, education and sports. Stories of the paper are also carried online at its website: www.graphicghana.com.

3.0.2 Daily Guide

The *Daily Guide* is the most widely read private newspaper in the country (Press Reference, 2011). According to the editor of the newspaper, Mr. Fortune Alimi, the *Daily Guide* is popular with the public because of its sensational headlines and stories. It is the second largest circulation daily newspaper, next to the state-owned *Daily Graphic*, but the largest circulation private daily newspaper in Ghana. The papers' objectives are to promote private enterprise, democracy, rule of law and good governance (stated in the company's history and profile, 2013).

The paper was launched in 1984 as a four-page weekly *Sports Guide* because conventional newspapers under the then military regime of the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) were denied licenses. However, the license was revoked when the regime noticed that the third page

of the paper was reserved for subtle political commentary on events unfolding in the country. The *Daily Guide* later resurfaced as a weekly paper when Ghana returned to constitutional rule in 1992 and eventually as a daily paper in 2001. The *paper* is currently a 22-page newspaper which circulates about 45, 000 copies nationwide (stated in the company's history and profile 2013).

Mr. Alimi, admits that because the owner of the newspaper, Hon. Freddie Blay, is the 1st National Vice-Chairman of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), the paper is perceived to be aligned with the NPP. But he maintains the paper is editorially independent. He states that *Daily Guide* is opposed to the kind of politics that obviously seeks to undermine democracy and strives to be as objective, sincere and professional as possible by telling the story as it is, straight and simple.³

The *Daily Guide* is published by Western Publications Limited, which also publishes *News One*, the *Business Guide* and the *Young Blazers* newspapers. Stories of the *Daily Guide* are also carried online at its website: <http://www.dailyguideghana.com/>

3.0.3 *The Enquirer*

The Enquirer is also a privately-owned newspaper established in 2005 as a four-page weekly newspaper with its first publication on Monday March 14 2005. It is one of the leading and widely-read private newspapers whose major readers are centered in Accra (stated in the company's profile, 2013). *The Enquirer* started publishing twice a week in 2007 and in January 2009, began daily publication with 16 pages and currently circulates about 25 000 copies nationwide. The Saturday Edition of *The Enquirer* came on the newsstand in July 2009, but fizzled out in December 2011. *The Enquirer* is committed to promoting democracy and human rights as it investigates to

³Information obtained in an interview the editor granted the researcher during data collection of this study

uncover and to tell the truth to its patrons and what they need to know about their government's operations, (stated in the company's mission statement).

Mr. Omaboe, the Supervisory Editor, states that, *The Enquirer* is perceived to be a pro-NDC paper and confirmed that Mr. Raymond Archer, the owner of the newspaper is indeed a member of the NDC party and so many NDC members find it convenient to publish their issues in the paper. He said, investigative journalism is the passion of Mr. Archer as the name of the paper connotes. As such, the paper believes in speaking for the underprivileged and women's emancipation by pointing out all that is wrong in the society in the interest of the country for the public to be the judge. The paper is thus editorially independent and tries as a matter of principle to be objective and professional in its reportage. He believes that among all the pro-NDC papers, in terms of content and even print quality, *The Enquirer* is far ahead of the rest.⁴

3.1 Research Design Approach

A quantitative content analysis was the approach used in collecting relevant data for this study. Kerlinger (2000) defines content analysis as a method of studying and analysing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables. Palmquist (2005) also views it as a tool used in determining the presence of certain words, concepts, phrases, themes or any communicative language within texts in an objective manner. Palmquist proposes that, to analyse the content of a given text, it must be broken down or coded on a variety of levels and examined based on the presence of specified content. This study was meant to analyse media coverage of female parliamentarians in Ghana during the 2012 general elections.

⁴Information gathered in an interview with the Mr. Omaboe during data collection when the researcher visited the media house

3.2 Study Universe

The universe of this study refers to the total editions of the three newspapers sampled which were published from Monday 1st October to Thursday 6th December 2012, the day before the elections. This period was chosen because it was an election year on Ghana's political calendar and the time frame was the last quarter of the year. This was a period when campaigning typically peaked as the Election Day, December 7, approached and media reportage was intensive with politicians clamouring for some media coverage. *The Enquirer* does not publish on Saturdays, so the Saturday publications of both the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* were not included in the analyses. For each newspaper selected 46 editions were selected for the two months and six days period. This amounted to 138 production days or editions which were considered for the study rather than a representative sample.

The focus of the analyses was on all political stories that had coverage of parliamentarians including women parliamentary candidates. This procedure was informed by a study of Fico and Cote (2002) that did content analyses of nine largest newspapers in Michigan on the 1998 elections of Governor's race from Labour Day which was 1st September to Election Day, the 3rd of November. The choice of all issues of the newspapers within the study period helped to prevent any form of sampling error that might have been encountered (if any) during any particular sampling procedure. This also helped in generating results that were more conclusive and reflective of the entire universe whilst satisfactorily meeting one of the principal goals of scientific research in describing the nature of the population (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003).

3.3 Unit of Analysis

The study considered the political news contents of the *Daily Graphic*, the *Daily Guide* and the *Enquirer* in Ghana. The unit of analysis is described as the smallest element of a content

analysis(Wimmer and Dominick 2003).They maintain that the unit of analysis should be operationally defined in a way that would make it clear to know what should or not be included in analysis of a phenomenon. The unit of analysis for this study was all stories on politicians and activities related to the 2012 elections. This includes every straight news, feature, editorial, and opinion, letters to the Editor in which a Ghanaian politician was mentioned in the newspapers selected. Attention was paid to such variables as:type of story, focus of story, subject story, and placement of story, source of story, context of story, enhancement and tone of story. A coding guide containing operationalised variables was then constructed along with a coding sheet to code the stories accordingly (See Appendix A).

3.4 Coding Technique

The coding scheme for this study was guided by the work of Danso (2012) and Dzeble (2006). The data collection focused on stories on the campaign activities of the various parliamentary candidates during the 2012 elections. The researcher read through all pages of the sampled editions of the three newspapers and marked all stories that had a Ghanaian politician in them. These stories were identified by headlines where the names of the candidates or the parties they represented were mentioned. A Code for each observation of a content category was accordingly recorded on the coding sheet(Refer to Appendix B).

3.5 Inter-coder reliability Test

Coding was carried out by the researcher and two independent coderswho were trained by taking them through the coding guide and sheet to ensure they thoroughly understood the coding procedure so as to obtain a more reliable data for the study. The researcher considered it important that an inter-coder reliability test be performed after the two independent coders had been trained on the coding process. One newspaper was randomly picked from the universe, photocopied and given

to the two coders separately together with a coding guide and sheet respectively. A day later, the coders submitted their results which were entered into the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) data set and Kappa's inter-coder reliability test carried out, (Lombard, synder-Duch and Bracken 2008), yielding a value of 0.89 agreement. This agreement was deemed satisfactory, which means that the guidelines for coding were reliable enough for actual coding of content for the study (Ref. Appendix C for steps used in kappa's inter-coder reliability test).

3.6 Data Analysis

The computerised SPSS designed for the analysis of social science data was used for analysing coded categories. Data gathered were coded, entered and analyzed quantitatively using the computer programme, SPSS. This was carried out through the formation of various frequency distribution tables, bar charts and pie charts based on the objectives and hypotheses for easy analyses and interpretation. Whereas the pie charts provided univariate analysis in response to certain objectives of the study, the frequency tables and the bar charts provided a mix of both univariate and bi-variate (cross-tabulation) analyses. Statistical differences and analyses were described beneath each of the tables, bars, and charts in simple percentages and sometimes in frequency counts. Hypotheses were also tested statistically using chi square which checks for relationship between the variables being tested.

In testing the hypotheses, 0.05 (five out of 100 times) was set as probability level since that appears to be the practice in Mass Media research studies per the literature reviewed. A level of significance of 0.05 indicates that the researcher has 5% chance of making a wrong decisions about rejecting the null hypothesis or accepting the research hypothesis (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003).

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

The findings of the research are presented in this chapter. The research is aimed at finding the extent and nature of coverage accorded the female parliamentary candidates in comparison to that of their male counterparts by the *Daily Graphic*, *Daily Guide* and *The Enquirer* during the 2012 general elections. This would eventually help to establish whether or not the coverage discriminated against women by according prominence to men and thereby maintaining the status quo of socially constructed roles.

To achieve the objectives of the study, data was collected quantitatively of sampled issues of the selected newspapers. The method of data analysis included coding the data from the manual coding sheets into the SPSS data variable format and then running frequency distributions, cross tabulations and respective statistical tests.

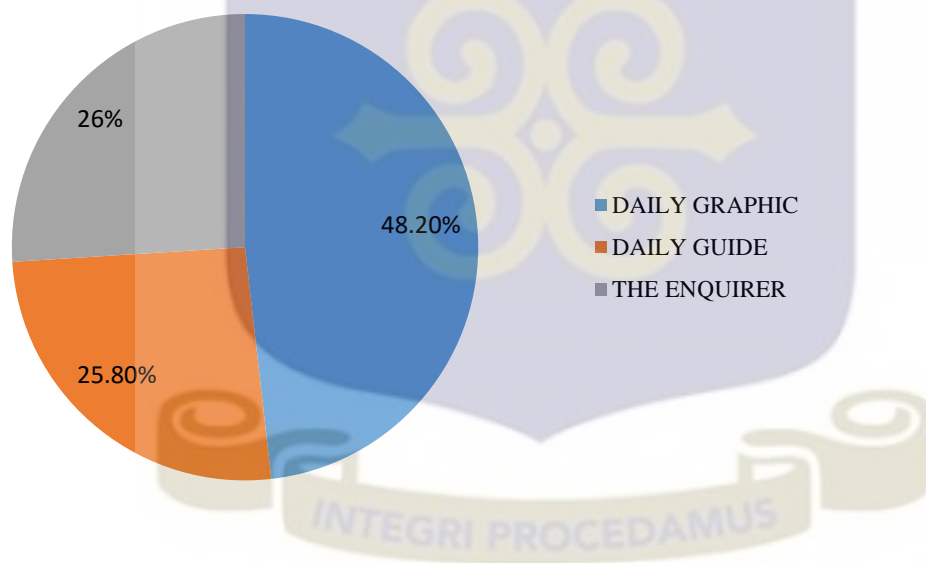
4.1 Number of Political Stories as Published by the three Newspapers

A total of 2,963 political stories were published by the *Daily Graphic*, *Daily Guide* and *The Enquirer* in the 138 editions between October and December 6 in 2012. The *Daily Graphic* published 1565 stories (52.8%), whilst the *Daily Guide* published 706 (23.8%) and *The Enquirer* 692 (23.4%). As stated in Chapter four, as at the time of data collection, the *Daily Graphic* was an 80-page newspaper while the *Daily Guide* and *The Enquirer* were a 22-page and 16-page newspaper respectively. Therefore the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* had more news space than *The Enquirer*, and the *Daily Graphic* had most stories, even though all the three newspapers had equal number of selected editions.

Out of the total number of 2,963 political stories, 461 of the stories(15.6%) focused on parliamentarians. This leaves a significant number of 2502 stories (84.4%) on other politicians like presidential and vice-presidential candidates, their spouses, government functionaries and officials of political parties who happen to fall outside of the target of this study. The *Daily Graphic* published a total of 222 representing 48.2 percent of the stories, followed by *The Enquirer* which published 120 stories (26%), slightly more than the *Daily Guide* which published 119 stories (25.8%), even though the latter had more news space than the former. Coverage of parliamentary stories by the three newspapers is illustrated in Table 1 below:

4.2 Coverage by Newspapers

Figure 1: Comparison of Coverage by Newspapers



4.3 Comparison of Number of stories reported on categories of Parliamentarians

Table 1: Number of stories reported on categories of Parliamentarians

Name of Newspaper	Subject Of Story		Total
	Male Parliamentary Candidate	Female Parliamentary Candidate	
Daily Graphic	163 73.4%	59 26.6%	222 100.0%
Daily Guide	67 56.3%	52 43.7%	119 100.0%
The Enquirer	80 66.7%	40 33.3%	120 100.0%
Total	310 67.2%	151 32.8%	461 100.0%

$$\chi^2 = 10.335$$

$$df = 2$$

$$p = 0.006$$

Out of the total number of 222 stories on parliamentarians in the *Daily Graphic*, more than 70 percent of the total count with 163 stories (73.4%) was on male parliamentarians. The paper recorded 59 stories representing 26.6 percent on female parliamentarians. The *Daily Guide* published 52 stories (43.7%) on the female parliamentarians with 67 stories (56.3%) on their male counterpart. On the other hand, the lowest coverage for female candidates was recorded by *The Enquirer* with 40 counts (33.3%) but published 80 stories (66.7%), a double of that amount on the male candidates.

The overall allocation of space by the three newspapers to the male and female parliamentary candidates shows that men were given higher coverage compared to their female counterparts. Out of the total 461 stories, 310 (67.2%) focused on male candidates and 151 stories (32.8%) focused on female candidates. This translates to one mention of a female candidate to two of their male counterparts.

4.4 Testing Hypothesis 1

H₁: Female parliamentary candidates are likely to receive less visibility in political coverage in the three newspapers than their male counterparts.

H₀: There will not be difference in coverage on female and male parliamentary candidates in the three newspapers.

Out of the total number of 222 stories on parliamentarians in the *Daily Graphic*, more than 70 percent (73.4%) were on male parliamentarians. The paper recorded 59 stories representing 26.6 percent on female Parliamentarians. The *Daily Guide* published 52 stories (43.7%) on the female parliamentarians with 67 stories (56.3%) on their male counterpart. On the other hand, the lowest coverage for female parliamentarians was recorded by *The Enquirer* with 40 counts (33.3%) but published 80 stories (66.7%). The findings revealed that the overall allocation of coverage by the three newspapers to the male and female parliamentary candidates showed that men were given higher coverage compared to their female counterparts. Out of the total 461 stories, 310(67.2%) focused on male candidates and 151 stories (32.8%) focused on female candidates.

The chi-square test from the findings of Table 1 (refer to pg. 47) showed that there is a significant relationship between female politician and the visibility they received in the three newspapers. A chi-square value of 10.335 ($\chi^2 = 10.335$) with degrees of 2 (df = 2) gave a probability value of 0.006 (p = 0.006) which is less than the significance level 0.05 set for the study. This means that there was a significant relationship between the subject of story and the newspaper so the null hypothesis is rejected and the research hypotheses that female parliamentary candidates are likely to receive less visibility in political coverage in the three newspapers as compared to their male counterparts is accepted. Therefore more male parliamentary candidates received more coverage as compared to female parliamentary candidates.

4.5 Categories of Stories Published about Parliamentary candidates

The study also coded for story types in which the parliamentary candidates appeared. Table 2 illustrates the frequencies in the types of stories.

Table 2: Type of story on Parliamentary Candidate

Name of Newspaper	Type of Story							Total
	Straight News Story	Editorial	Opinion Piece	Feature Story	Letter	Retraction /Rejoinder	Profile	
Daily Graphic	159 71.6%	1 0.5%	2 0.9%	47 21.2%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	13 5.9%	222 100.0%
Daily Guide	93 78.2%	2 1.7%	2 1.7%	4 3.4%	2 1.7%	4 3.4%	12 10.1%	119 100.0%
The Enquirer	94 78.3%	2 1.7%	6 5.0%	3 2.5%	6 5.0%	2 1.7%	7 5.8%	120 100.0%
Total	346 75.1%	5 1.1%	10 2.2%	54 11.7%	8 1.7%	6 1.3%	32 6.9%	461 100.0%

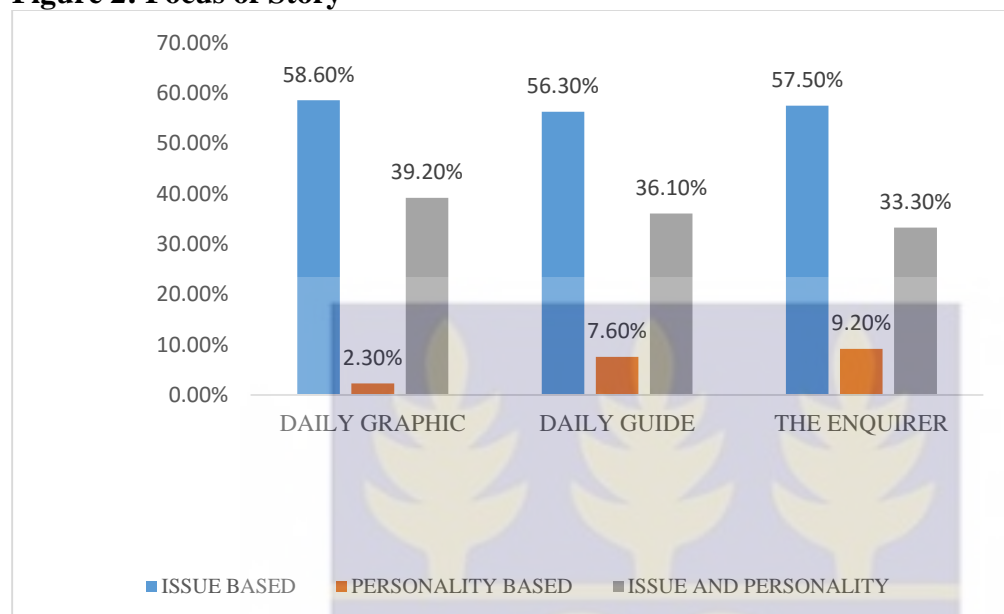
Out of the total of 461 stories, straight news accounted for 346 (75.1%), about three-quarters of the total stories, with the rest of the six categories sharing the one-third left of 115 stories or (24.9%). Straight news stories are events oriented and so are without analysis and interpretation. The order of coverage by story types is as follows: straight news (75.1%), features (11.7%), profile (6.9%), opinions (2.2%), letter (1.7%), retraction/rejoinder (1.3%) and editorial (1.1%). The findings show that the three newspapers mostly reported on events as indicated by the coverage of straight news stories. Nonetheless, the *Daily Graphic* devoted a significant amount of space to generate feature stories on the parliamentary candidates.

4.6 Focus of Story

The findings show that 58.6% of stories from the *Daily Graphic* were issue based, close to 40 percent of stories (39.2%) were on issue and personality and five stories (2.3%) were personality based. *Daily Guide* also had majority of their stories as issue based (56.3%), followed by stories

with the focus on both issue and personality (36.1%) and nine stories with focus on personality (7.6%).

Figure 2: Focus of Story



Also, *The Enquirer* had majority of its stories focused on issue (57.5%), followed by issue and personality based stories (33.3%) with close to 10 percent (9.2%) of stories focused only personality based. Considering the three newspapers, all of their stories focused more on issue with close to 60 percent of stories in all.

4.6.1 Comparing Subject of Story by Focus of Story

Table 3: Comparing Subject of Story by Focus of Story Cross tabulation

Subject of Story	FOCUS OF STORY			Total
	Issue Based	Personality Based	Issue And Personality	
Male Parliamentary Candidate	186 60.6%	12 3.9%	109 35.5%	307 100.0%
Female Parliamentary Candidate	80 51.9%	13 8.4%	61 39.6%	154 100.0%
Total	266 57.7%	25 5.4%	170 36.9%	461 100.0%

Comparing subject of story by the focus of the story showed that majority of stories on both males and female parliamentary candidate were issue based although male parliamentary candidates had a higher percentage as compared to female candidates. As observed 60.6 percent of stories on male parliamentary candidates were on issue, 35.5 percent were on both issue and personality and less than 4 percent were on personality. Female parliamentary candidate also had majority (51.9%) of their stories focus on issues with close to 40 percent (39.6%) of stories on both personality and issue and less than 10 percent (8.4%) on the personality of the candidates.

4.7 Type of Issue based Story

The findings show that majority of issue based stories in the *Daily Graphic* were on politics and governance with 40.5 percent of stories. Close to a quarter (23.4%) of stories in the *DailyGraphic* was on education and 14.4 percent of issues were on economics. All other issues in the *Daily Graphic* such as crime and security (7.2%), health and science (6.8%), legal and social (5.9%) and media and arts (1.4%) had less than 10 percent of coverage.

Daily Guide also had majority of its issues being politics and governance (31.9%) with a quarter being on education (25.2%) and (10.1%) on economics. *The Enquirer* also had majority of issues on politics and governance (32.5%), followed by education (17.5%) and economics (15.0%). There were also issues on legal and social (12.5%), security and crime (9.2%), power and energy (5.8%), health and science (4.2%) and media and arts (3.3%). Generally, politics was the major type of issue based stories, followed by education and economics.

Table 4: Type of Issue Based Story by Newspaper Cross Tabulation

Type Of Issue Based Story	NAME OF NEWSPAPER			Total
	Daily Graphic	Daily Guide	The Enquirer	
Politics & Governance	90 40.5%	38 31.9%	39 32.5%	167 36.2%
Economics	32 14.4%	12 10.1%	18 15.0%	62 13.4%
Security And Crime	16 7.2%	11 9.2%	11 9.2%	38 8.2%
Power And Energy	1 0.5%	8 6.7%	7 5.8%	16 3.5%
Legal And Social	13 5.9%	9 7.6%	15 12.5%	37 8.0%
Health And Science	15 6.8%	5 4.2%	5 4.2%	25 5.4%
Education	52 23.4%	30 25.2%	21 17.5%	103 22.3%
Media And Arts	3 1.4%	6 5.0%	4 3.3%	13 2.8%
Total	222 100.0%	119 100.0%	120 100.0%	461 100.0%

4.7.1 Type of Issue Based Story by Subject of Story Cross Tabulation

Comparing the type of issues in stories with respect to the type of parliamentary candidate being discussed showed that, majority of issues were on politics and governance in stories concerning both male and female parliamentary candidates which was followed by stories on education. The findings show that 38.1 percent of stories on male parliamentary candidates were on political and governance issues, 20.8 percent were on education and 12.4 percent were on economics. Other types of issues in stories with male parliamentary candidates had less than 10% in stories where subjects were male parliamentary candidates. Female parliamentary candidates also had 32.5 percent of stories based on politics and governance, a quarter (25.3%) was based on education and 15.6 percent were based on economics. All other types of issues discussed in stories concerning female parliamentary candidates had less than 8 percent of representations.

Table 5: Type of Issue Based Story by Subject of Story Cross Tabulation

Type Of Issue Based Story	SUBJECT OF STORY		Total
	Male Parliamentary Candidate	Female Parliamentary Candidate	
POLITICS & GOVERNANCE	117 38.1%	50 32.5%	167 36.2%
Economics	38 12.4%	24 15.6%	62 13.4%
Security And Crime	27 8.8%	11 7.1%	38 8.2%
Power And Energy	12 3.9%	4 2.6%	16 3.5%
Legal And Social	26 8.5%	11 7.1%	37 8.0%
Health And Science	14 4.6%	11 7.1%	25 5.4%
Education	64 20.8%	39 25.3%	103 22.3%
Media And Arts	9 2.9%	4 2.6%	13 2.8%
Other	0 0	0 0	0 0
Total	307 100.0%	154 100.0%	461 100.0%

This shows that females received relatively less political coverage than their male counterparts. In stories that comprise the bulk of news agenda that is politics and government, education and economics, female candidates featured prominently in Education and Economics, showing that female politicians were unlikely to be covered engaging in politics. On the other hand, the male candidates featured dominantly only in politics and governance in the major news categories.

4.8 Type of Personality Based Story

This is a breakdown of the various aspects of the personalities of the candidates. Table 5 shows the frequency distribution of the type of personality based stories reported by the *Daily Graphic*, *Daily Guide* and *The Enquirer* in 2012.

The findings show that more than half (53.6%) of the stories in the *Daily Graphic* with the personality of the subject being discussed were on competence, (13.1%) were on both character and work experience, (11.7%) on physical attributes, (7.7%) of stories were on achievement. Less than 2 percent (1.8%) discussed no personality attribute, three (1.4%) and two stories discussed the candidates in reference to family and (0.9%) discussed the candidates in partly-reference to family. The *Daily Guide* also had majority of personality stories of the subjects being discussed (32.8%) on competence, (20.2%) on character, (19.3%) on achievements, work experience as well as physical attributes recorded (8.4%) for each category, etc.

The *Enquirer* also had majority of personality based stories on competence (27.5%), work experience recorded 21.7 percent, character had 21.2 percent of stories and stories on achievement recorded (14.2%) in *The Enquirer*. From the findings, majority of stories in the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* and *The Enquirer* recorded high reportage of personality based stories on competence.

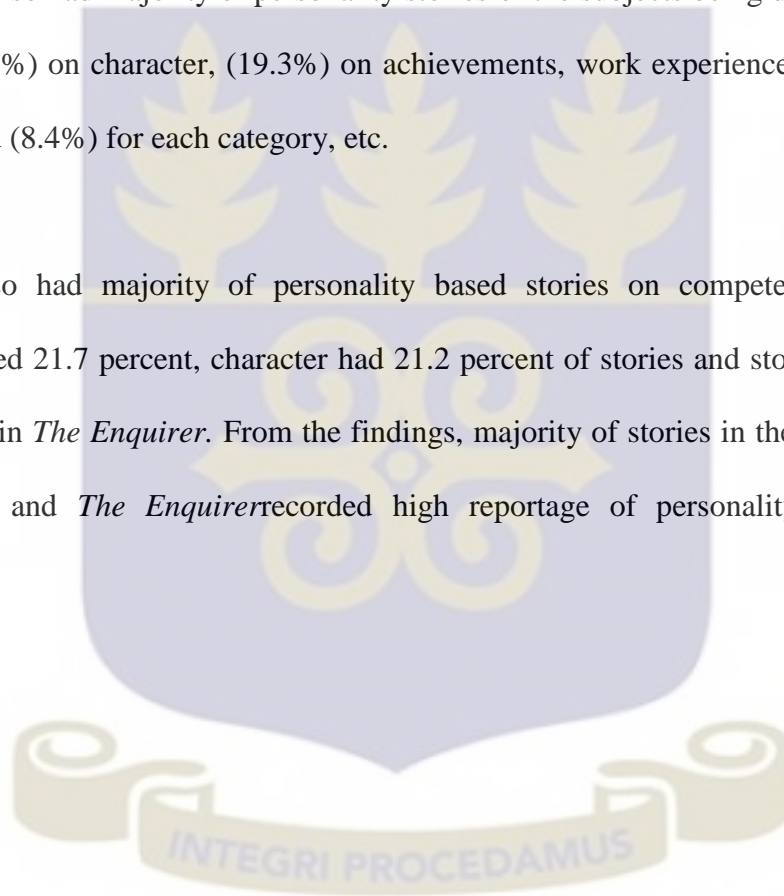


Table 6: Type of Personality based Story by Newspaper

Type Of Personality Based Story	NAME OF NEWSPAPER			Total
	Daily Graphic	Daily Guide	The Enquirer	
Character	29 13.1%	24 20.2%	17 21.2%	70 15.2%
Work Experience	29 13.1%	10 8.4%	26 21.7%	65 14%
Competence	119 53.6%	39 32.8%	33 27.5%	191 41.4%
Physical Attributes	26 11.7%	10 8.4%	5 4.2%	41 8.9%
Reference To Family	3 1.4%	0 0.0%	3 2.5%	6 1.3%
Partly Reference To Family	2 0.9%	6 5.0%	8 6.7%	16 3.5%
Achievements	17 7.7%	23 19.3%	17 14.2%	57 12.4%
None	4 1.8%	7 5.9%	11 9.2%	22 4.8%
Total	222 100.0%	119 100.0%	120 100.0%	461 100.0%

4.8.1 Type of Personality based by Subject of story

The findings show that majority (42.3%) of stories on male parliamentary candidates were based on competence. A total number of 19.2 percent stories were based on character, 12.1 percent were based on achievements, 9.4 percent were based on work experience and 6.5 percent of stories were on physical attributes.

Table 7: Type of Personality based by Subject of story

Type Of Personality Based Story	SUBJECT OF STORY		Total
	Male Parliamentary Candidate	Female Parliamentary Candidate	
Character	59 19.2%	27 17.5%	86 18.7%
Work Experience	29 9.4%	14 9.1%	43 9.3%
Competence	130 42.3%	54 35.1%	184 39.9%
Physical Attributes	20 6.5%	21 13.6%	41 8.9%
Reference To Family	3 1.0%	3 1.9%	6 1.3%
Partly Reference To Family	9 2.9%	7 4.5%	16 3.5%
Achievements	37 12.1%	20 13.0%	57 12.4%
None	20 6.5%	8 5.2%	28 6.1%
Total	307 100.0%	154 100.0%	461 100.0%

Stories on female parliamentary candidates also had majority of them with their personality discussed. Out of those stories that discussed the personality of the female parliamentary candidate, (35.1%) concentrated on competence of the female parliamentary candidate, 17.5 percent was on character, (13.6%) were on physical attributes, (13.0%) were on achievements, (9.1%) were on work experience, (5.2%) were on character, (4.5%) were partly reference to family and (1.9%) on reference to family. Generally, majority of the stories were personality based with close to (40, 0%) of the total number of stories, however, those which did not focus on personality of the subjects recorded a total of (6.1%).

4.9 Placement by Newspaper

The prominence or the priority a newspaper gives to a story may be determined by the page on which the story is placed and the importance readers attach to the story. As a result, stories on the front pages of newspapers are considered more important, followed by the centre-spread and back pages. Similarly, stories that are placed on the front pages as leads are considered to be of more prominence than other stories on the front pages but are not lead stories. Table 7 above shows the distribution. The table summarises the placement of stories in the various newspapers. As observed, majority of stories in the *Daily Graphic* were on the political page, that of *Daily Guide* were also on the political page and that of *The Enquirer* were on the “other pages”. The findings show that more than three quarters (76.1%) of stories in the *Daily Graphic* were in the political page and 12.6 percent were in the Gender page. Prominent pages like the front page, centre-spread, back page and editorial page all had less than 4 percent of total stories placed there in the *Daily Graphic*. A quarter (25.2%) of stories in the *Daily Graphic* were on the political page, 11.8 percent were at the front-page non-lead, 10.9 percent were at the back page and 10.1 percent were at the centre-spread. The rest of the prominent pages like front-page main story/lead and editorial had less than (10%) of stories placed there.

With *The Enquirer*, majority of its stories were placed in the “other pages” of the paper. However, *Enquirer* had the highest stories at front page non-lead (24.2%) followed by the political page with 14.2 percent of stories placed there. Also, the *Daily Guide* had more stories on the editorial section of the newspaper followed by *The Enquirer* with the *Daily Graphic* having the least number of stories in the editorial section as shown below.

Table 8: Placement of Story

Placement Of Story	NAME OF NEWSPAPER			Total
	DAILY GRAPHIC	DAILY GUIDE	THE ENQUIRER	
Front-Page Main Story/Lead	4 1.8%	11 9.2%	11 9.2%	26 5.6%
Front-Page Non Lead	4 1.8%	14 11.8%	29 24.2%	47 10.2%
Centre Spread	8 3.6%	12 10.1%	4 3.3%	24 5.2%
Political Page	169 76.1%	30 25.2%	17 14.2%	216 46.9%
Gender Page	28 12.6%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	28 6.1%
Editorial	3 1.4%	10 8.4%	9 7.5%	22 4.8%
Back Page	2 0.9%	13 10.9%	1 0.8%	16 3.5%
Other Pages	4 1.8%	29 24.4%	49 40.8%	82 17.8%
TOTAL	222 100.0%	119 100.0%	120 100.0%	461 100.0%

4.9.1 Placement by subject of story

The findings show that majority of stories concerning both male and female parliamentary candidates were placed on the political pages of the newspapers. However, more male parliamentary candidates (53.4 %) stories were placed at the political page as compared to the number of female parliamentary candidates (33.8%) stories placed on the page. The gender page had more female parliamentary candidate stories (14.9%) placed there as compared to the number of male parliamentary candidates' (1.6%) stories placed there. Stories on front page but non-lead stories contained more female parliamentary candidates (11.7%) than male parliamentary candidate stories (9.4%). Also there were more editorial stories (5.2%) on female parliamentary candidates as compared to that of male parliamentary candidate (4.6%).

Table 9: Placement of Story by Subject of Story Cross Tabulation

Placement Of Story	SUBJECT OF STORY		Total
	Male Parliamentary Candidate	Female Parliamentary Candidate	
Front-Page Main Story/Lead	21 6.8%	5 3.2%	26 5.6%
Front-Page Non Lead	29 9.4%	18 11.7%	47 10.2%
Centre Spread	17 5.5%	7 4.5%	24 5.2%
Political Page	164 53.4%	52 33.8%	216 46.9%
Gender Page	5 1.6%	23 14.9%	28 6.1%
Editorial	14 4.6%	8 5.2%	22 4.8%
Back Page	7 2.3%	9 5.8%	16 3.5%
Other Pages	50 16.3%	32 20.8%	82 17.8%
Total	307 100.0%	154 100.0%	461 100.0%

4.10 Source of Story

The findings indicate that the highest number of news was supplied by staff reporters of the three newspapers. The bylines of staff reporters recorded 62.7% of the parliamentary stories. This is followed by a total number of 59 stories, representing 12.8% which had no bylines indicating no names were given as the writers of these stories. News agencies, namely the Ghana News Agency also supplied 57(12.4%) stories. Contributors who also constitute as readers wrote letters and feature articles to the editor and this amounted to 42 stories representing (9.1%). This is followed by press/publicity release with scanty 9 (2.0%) stories. A negligible 5 (1.1%) stories were from other sources and these were mainly stories culled from online portals of radio stations.

Table 10: Newspaper by Source of Story Cross tabulation

Newspaper	SOURCE OF STORY						Total
	Staff Reporter	Press Release / Publicity Release	News Agency (E.G GNA)	Contributor	No Byline	Other (Specify)	
Daily Graphic	154 69.4%	5 2.3%	20 9.0%	31 14.0%	7 3.2%	5 2.3%	222 100.0%
Daily Guide	74 62.2%	4 3.4%	29 24.4%	1 0.8%	11 9.2%	0 0.0%	119 100.0%
The Enquirer	61 50.8%	0 0.0%	8 6.7%	10 8.3% culled	41 34.2%	0 0.0%	120 100.0%
Total	289 62.7%	9 2.0%	57 12.4%	42 9.1%	59 12.8%	5 1.1%	461 100.0%

4.11 Context of Story

Comparing the context of story by the newspapers, content analyzed showed stories concerning male and female parliamentary candidates were written in various contexts as observed from the table. Of all the contexts, stories in the *Daily Graphic* were mostly placed in the context of expert source (36.5%) followed by campaign event (24.8%). There was also context on both male and female parliamentary candidates in the *Daily Graphic* with “other election issues” representing 10.4%, “other speech event” representing 9.0 percent and interview with journalist (4.5%). Of all the stories in the *Daily Guide*, majority of story context was interview with journalist representing 32.8 percent. There was also context of “other election issues” with 15.1 percent, campaign event was 13.4% and the context of donation was 10.1 percent. All other story contexts in the *Daily Graphic* was less than 10 percent, i.e. inauguration/inspection (7.6%), meet the people tour of constituency (5.9%), primaries (5.0%) etc. Also, of all the stories in *The Enquirer*, majority of its contexts were on interview with journalist (25.8%), campaign event (24.2%) and expert source (10.0%).

Table 11: Context of Story by Newspaper Cross tabulation

Context of Story	NAME OF NEWSPAPER			Total
	Daily Graphic	Daily Guide	The Enquirer	
Political Rally	7 3.2%	6 5.0%	7 5.8%	20 4.3%
Campaign Event	55 24.8%	16 13.4%	29 24.2%	100 21.7%
Other Speech Event	20 9.0%	3 2.5%	9 7.5%	32 6.9%
Interview With Journalist	10 4.5%	39 32.8%	31 25.8%	80 17.4%
Press Statement/Press Conference	2 0.9%	0 0.0%	2 1.7%	4 0.9%
Inauguration /Inspection	3 1.4%	9 7.6%	3 2.5%	15 3.3%
Donation Of Items	7 3.2%	12 10.1%	4 3.3%	23 5.0%
Meet The People Tour Of Constituency	4 1.8%	7 5.9%	8 6.7%	19 4.1%
Expert Source	81 36.5%	3 2.5%	12 10.0%	96 20.8%
Other Election Issues	23 10.4%	18 15.1%	6 5.0%	47 10.2%
Primaries	4 1.8%	6 5.0%	7 5.8%	17 3.7%
Durbar Of Chiefs	1 0.5%	0 0.0%	2 1.7%	3 0.7%
Other	5 2.3%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	5 1.1%
Total	222 100.0%	119 100.0%	120 100.0%	461 100.0%

Majority of context of stories in the *Daily Graphic* was on expert source (36.5%) but the majority of context of stories in the *Daily Guide* and *The Enquirer* was on interview with journalist representing 32.8 and 25.8 percent respectively.

4.11.1 Context of Story by Subject of story

Table 12: Context of Story by Subject Cross tabulation

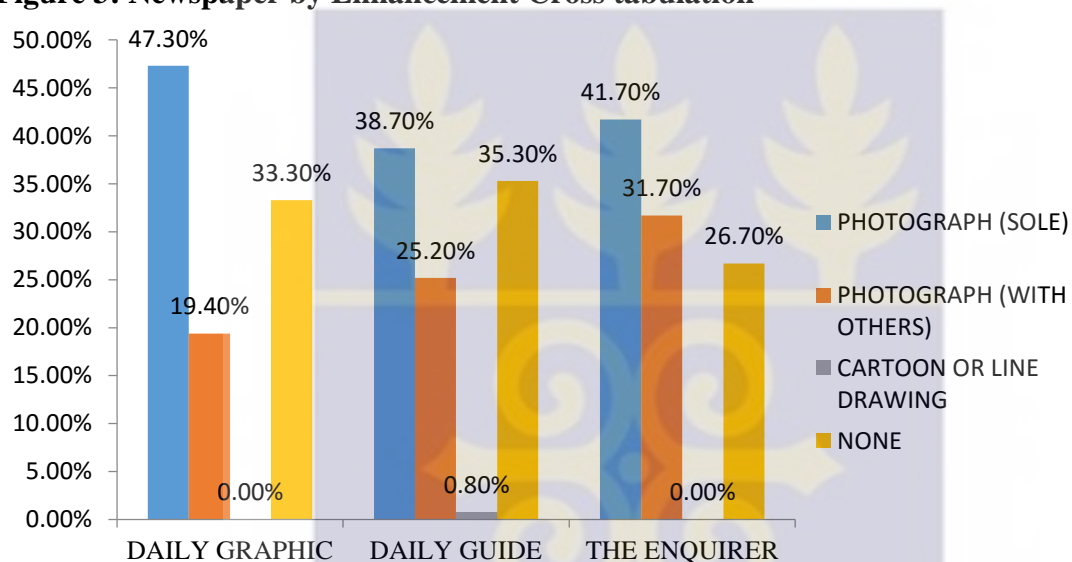
Context Of Story	Subject Of Story		Total
	Male Parliamentary Candidate	Female Parliamentary Candidate	
Political Rally	11 3.6%	9 5.8%	20 4.3%
Campaign Event	72 23.5%	28 18.2%	100 21.7%
Other Speech Event	25 8.1%	7 4.5%	32 6.9%
Interview With Journalist	48 15.6%	32 20.8%	80 17.4%
Press Statement/Press Conference	4 1.3%	0 0.0%	4 0.9%
Inauguration /Inspection	10 3.3%	5 3.2%	15 3.3%
Donation Of Items	18 5.9%	5 3.2%	23 5.0%
Meet The People Tour Of Constituency	15 4.9%	4 2.6%	19 4.1%
Expert Source	54 17.6%	42 27.3%	96 20.8%
Other Election Issues	30 9.8%	17 11.0%	47 10.2%
Primaries	13 4.2%	4 2.6%	17 3.7%
Durbar Of Chiefs	2 0.7%	1 0.6%	3 0.7%
Other	5 1.6%	0 0.0%	5 1.1%
Total	307 100.0%	154 100.0%	461 100.0%

Generally, the findings showed that the highest context in which stories of male parliamentary candidates were discussed most was campaign event and that of female parliamentary candidates were of expert sources. A total number of 23.5 percent of stories on context in which majority of male parliamentary candidates stories were discussed was campaign events, followed by expert source representing 17.6 percent and interview with journalist with 15.6 percent of stories. On the

other hand, stories on female parliamentary candidates were mostly discussed in the context of expert source (27.3%), interview with journalist (20.8%) and that of campaign event (18.2%). Other context of which female parliamentary candidates were discussed was “other election issues” (9.8%), “other speech event” (8.1%), donation of items (5.9%) etc.

4.12 Story Enhancement

Figure 3: Newspaper by Enhancement Cross tabulation



The findings show that, close to half (47.3%) of stories from the *Daily Graphic* had sole photographic enhancement. Close to a fifth (19.4%) of stories had photos with others but recorded no category for cartoon or line drawing. However, more than 30 percent (33.3%) of stories in the *Daily Graphic* had no enhancement at all. *Daily Guide* had close to 40 percent (38.7%) sole photographic enhancement, more than a quarter (25.2%) had photograph with others and only one story (0.8%) had line drawing. On the other hand, more than 30 percent (35.3%) had no photographic enhancement. *The Enquirer* also had majority (41.7%) of its stories with photographic enhancement (sole), 31.7 percent of photo enhancement (with others) and less than 30 percent (26.7%) of *The Enquirer's* stories did not have photo enhancement. Cumulatively, more than 75 percent of all stories had some enhancement attached as observed from the findings.

4.13 Tone of Story

Table 13: Newspaper by Tone of Story

Name of Newspaper	TONE			Total
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	
Daily Graphic	117 52.7%	27 12.2%	78 35.1%	222 100.0%
Daily Guide	68 57.1%	16 13.4%	35 29.4%	119 100.0%
The Enquirer	55 45.8%	34 28.3%	31 25.8%	120 100.0%
Total	240 52.1%	77 16.7%	144 31.2%	461 100.0%

More than half (52.7%) of stories in the *Daily Graphic* had favourable tones, less than 15 percent (12.2%) of stories had unfavourable tone and more than 30 percent (35.1%) were neither favourable nor unfavourable. *Daily Guide* had close to 60 percent (57.1%) of its stories being favourable, 13.4 percent was unfavourable and almost 30 percent (29.4%) were neither favourable nor unfavourable. *The Enquirer* also had close to half (45.8%) favourable tones, close to 30 percent (28.3%) was unfavourable and 25.8 percent were neither favourable nor unfavourable. Overall, as presented in the table, favourable stories recorded the highest (52.1%), frequency, followed by neutral stories (25.8%) and unfavourable stories were the least frequency with 16.7 percent.

4.14 Tone by Subject of story

The findings show that close to half (49.4%) of stories on male parliamentary candidates were favourable and close to 60 percent (57.6%) of female parliamentary candidates were favourable. On the other hand, 17.2 percent of stories on female parliamentary candidates were unfavourable with 25.2 percent being neutral. Also, 16.5 percent of stories on male parliamentary candidates were unfavourable and 34.2% of stories on males were neutral. The findings show that, more than half of the total stories were favourable followed by the number of stories which were neutral.

Table 14: Tone by Subject of story

Tone	Subject of Story		Total
	Male Parl. Cand.	Female Parl. Cand.	
Favourable	153 49.4%	87 57.6%	240 52.1%
Unfavourable	51 16.5%	26 17.2%	77 16.7%
Neutral	106 34.2%	38 25.2%	144 31.2%
Total	310 100.0%	151 100.0%	461 100.0%

4.15 Gender of Reporter by Subject of Story

There were male and female reporters in the three newspaper used in the study and there were also stories of which gender of the reporters could not be determined. More than 70 percent (74.2%) of stories written by male reporter had male parliamentary candidate as the subject and a quarter had a female parliamentary candidate as the subject in the story. Also, female reporters hand majority of their subjects being female parliamentary candidates.

Table 15: Gender of Reporter by Subject of Story Cross tabulation

Gender of Reporter	SUBJECT OF STORY		Total
	Male Parliamentary Candidate	Female Parliamentary Candidate	
Male	198 74.2%	69 25.8%	267 100.0%
Female	29 40.3%	43 59.7%	72 100.0%
Cannot Determine	83 68.0%	39 32.0%	122 100.0%
Total	310 67.2%	151 32.8%	461 100.0%

$$\chi^2 = 33.134$$

$$df = 2$$

$$p = 0.00$$

As observed, close to 60 percent (59.7%) of stories by female reporters had the subject as female parliamentary candidates and 40.3 percent of stories had subjects as male parliamentary candidates. Stories with which the gender of reporters could not be determined had close to 70 percent (68.0%) of subjects being male parliamentary candidates and recorded 32.0 percent for

female parliamentary candidates as the subject. The findings indeed showed that the gender of a reporter affected the reportage as male reporters reported more on male parliamentary candidates and female reporters also reported more on female parliamentary candidates.

4.16 Testing Hypothesis 2

H₂: There is likely to be more female parliamentary candidates in the stories covered by female reporters than those covered by male reporters.

H₀: There is likely to be no difference in the number female candidates in the stories covered by female and male reporters.

There were male and female reporters in the three newspaper used in the study and there were also stories of which gender of the reporters could not be determined. More than 70 percent (74.2%) of stories written by male reporter had male parliamentary candidate as the subject and close to 60 percent (59.7%) of stories by female reporters had the subject as female parliamentary candidates. Stories which the gender of reporter could not be determined had close to 70% (68.0%) of subjects being male parliamentary candidate and 32.0% female parliamentary candidates as the subject. The findings indeed showed that the gender of a reporter affected the reportage, as male reporters reported more on male parliamentary candidates and female reporters reported more on female parliamentary candidates.

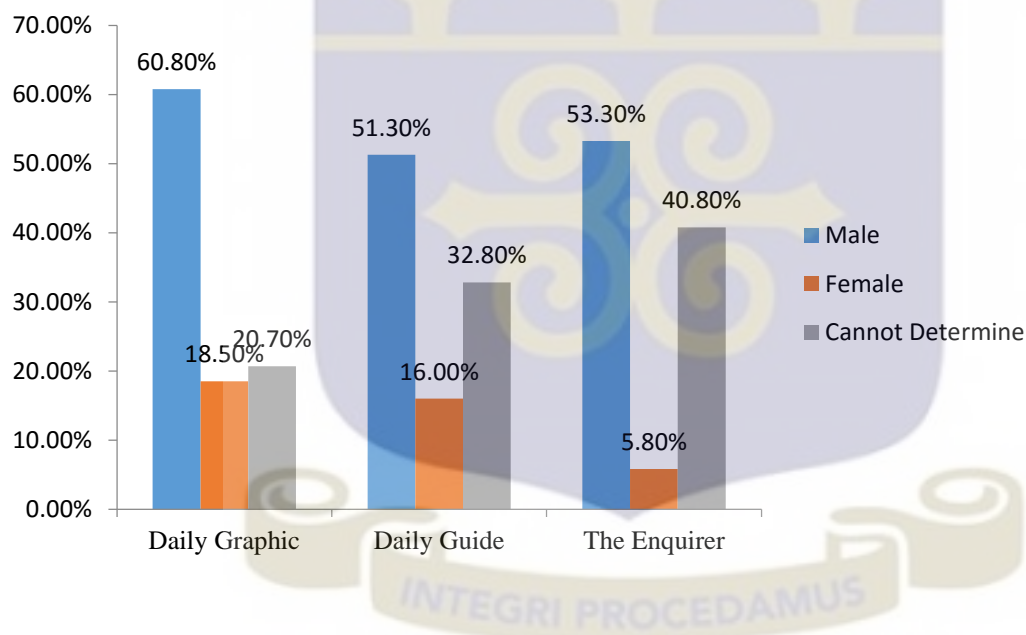
The chi-square test on the findings from Table 15(refer to pg: 64) showed that there was a significant relationship between gender of reporter and the subject of the story. A chi-square value of 33.134 ($\chi^2 = 33.134$) with degrees of 2 ($df = 2$) gave a probability value of 0.00 ($p = 0.00$) which is less than the significance level 0.05 set for the study. This means that there was a significant relationship between gender of reporter and the subject of story so the null hypothesis is rejected

and the research hypotheses that says there is likely to be more female parliamentary candidates in the stories covered by female reporters than those covered by male reporters is accepted.

4.17 Gender of Reporter by Newspaper

The findings show that 60 percent of reporters from *Daily Graphic* were males, 18.5 percent were females and 20.7 percent of the reporters with no byline. More than half (51.3%) of the reporters from *Daily Guide* were males, 16.0 percent were females and more than 30 percent of reporters in the *Daily Guide* had no byline.

Figure 4: Gender of Reporter by Newspaper

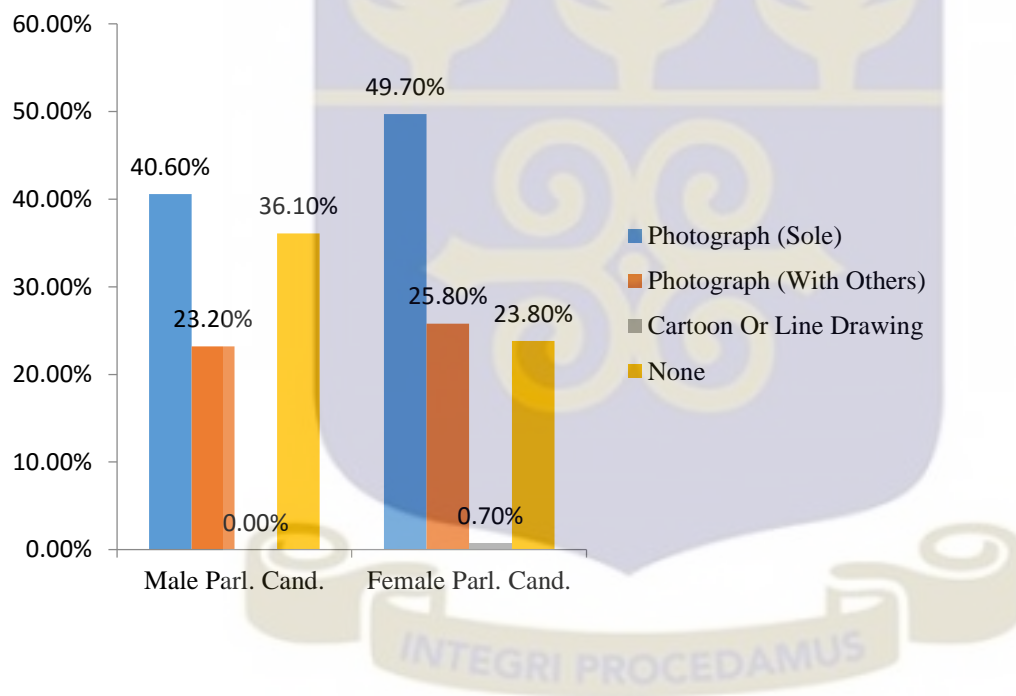


The chart above shows that more than half (53.3%) of the reporters from *The Enquirer* were males and a paltry 5.8%, representing less than 6 percent were females. However, a significant amount of 40.8% percent of stories had no byline in the paper. The *Enquirer* therefore, more than half of the sources were males and close to 30 percent of reporters' gender could not be determined.

4.18 Enhancement by Subject of story

On whether male or female parliamentary candidates' stories were enhanced, it was observed that close to half (49.7%) of stories on female parliamentary candidates had photograph (sole) attached as compared to 40.6 percent male parliamentary candidates who had photographs (sole) attached. A quarter (25.8%) of stories on female parliamentary candidates had photograph (with others) and less than a quarter (23.3%) of stories on male parliamentary candidates had photograph (with others), and none of stories on male parliamentary candidates had cartoon or line drawing. Conversely, one story (0.7%) on female parliamentary candidate had a cartoon or line drawing attached.

Figure 5: Enhancement by Subject of story



On the contrary, more than a third (36.1%) of stories on male parliamentary candidates had no photograph enhancement and close to a quarter (23.8%) of stories on female candidates had no photograph enhancement.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This study conducted quantitative content analysis of election reporting by the *Daily Graphic*, the *Daily Guide* and *The Enquirer* to determine the coverage given to female parliamentary candidates as compared to their male counterparts during the 2012 elections in Ghana. The study sought to establish if there was a difference between the coverage given to male and female parliamentary candidates and also to establish whether the gender of a reporter mattered in the reportage. This chapter sums up the key issues that arose from the study as presented in the preceding chapters.

5.1 Coverage and Prominence

In general, out of 2,963 political stories, 461 stories with parliamentary candidates as the focus were sampled for the study, representing 15.6%. The *Daily Graphic* published a total of 222 representing 48.2% of the stories, followed by *The Enquirer* which published 120 stories (26%), slightly more than the *Daily Guide* which published 119 stories (25.8%), even though the latter had more news pages than the former. The differences could be explained by the fact that as noted earlier, the *Daily Graphic* had relatively more news pages than the *Daily Guide* and *The Enquirer*.

The overall distribution of coverage by the three newspapers on the parliamentary candidates shows that men were given more coverage compared to their female counterparts. The findings revealed that, out of the total number of 222 stories in the *Daily Graphic*, more than 70 percent of the total counts with 163 stories (73.4%) were on male parliamentarians and the female candidates received 59 stories (26.6%), which is a little over one quarter of total coverage. The *Daily Guide* published 67 stories (56.3%) on male candidates as against 52 stories (43.7%) published for female

candidates. *The Enquirer* published 80 stories (66.7%) on male parliamentarians as compared to 40 stories published (33.7%) for female candidates. Greater coverage in percentage terms was therefore given to male parliamentary candidates than their female counterpart. From the findings, it appears the *Daily Guide* gave relatively more coverage to the female candidates than the *Daily Graphic* and *The Enquirer*.

Prominence given to candidates was also measured through placement of stories on candidates. Generally, very few of the stories on parliamentary candidates were on the prominent pages like the front page, centre-spread, political page and the back page. Although the stories were few, male parliamentarians seem to dominate in all these prominent pages with the exception of the gender page which had more female parliamentarians (14.9%) than male parliamentarians (1.6%), (Table 9). This finding is consistent with the argument of Goodyear-Grant (2013), who posits that the visibility of women candidates is poor and the prominent pages of newspapers are mostly male dominated with females lagging behind. Also, Thuo in her work found that the print media coverage of women parliamentary candidates was low, with their stories placed in the inside pages and hardly on the headlines or prominent pages thus, making them invisible (Thuo, 2012).

Similarly, photographic enhancement is another way of giving prominence to stories in newspapers. With regards to stories enhanced with photographs, majority of stories on females were enhanced with sole photographs and photographs with others. In the same way, tone of stories on female parliamentary candidates seemed to be more favourable with close to 60 percent of stories on female being favourable as compared to close to 50 percent of stories on male parliamentary candidates. This means that the female candidates received positive portrayal than their male counterparts. This is contrary to findings from most feminists' literature that seem to suggest that tone of coverage of women candidates is usually negative.

5.2 Gender differences in the reportage of women parliamentary candidates

As noted, the overall allocation of coverage by the three newspapers to the male and female parliamentary candidates shows that men were given more coverage compared to their female counterparts. Out of the total 461 stories, 310 (67.2%) focused on male candidates and 151 stories (32.8%) focused on female candidates. This translates to one mention of a female parliamentary to 2 of their male counterparts.

There were male and female reporters in the three newspapers sampled for the study and there were also stories of which gender of the reporters could not be determined. More than half of all the reporters in the three newspapers were male (60.8%) reporters from *Daily Graphic*, 51.3 percent from *Daily Guide* and 53.3 percent of *The Enquirer* reporters were males. Comparing the gender of reporters and the subject of their stories (whether male or female parliamentary candidate) revealed that, more than 70 percent (74.2%) of stories written by male reporter had male parliamentary candidate as the subject; female reporters had majority of their subjects being female parliamentary candidates. A Close to 60 percent (59.7%) of stories reported by female reporters had female parliamentary candidates as subjects. Indeed, the gender of a reporter did matter in the reportage as male reporters covered more male parliamentary candidates and female reporters also covered more female parliamentary candidates. This finding is consistent with the study by Armstrong (2004) and Dzeble (2006) who argue that, the presence of females in bylines was a significant predictor of females appearing within the news story. It suffices to say that, female journalists were more likely to select females as news sources and vice versa.

5.3 Whether female parliamentarians were covered in stereotypical ways

The major type of personality based story on both male and female parliamentary candidates was on competence. As observed, more than 40 percent of stories (42.3%) on male parliamentary candidates were based on competence and more than a third (35.1%) of stories on female candidates was based on competence. Generally, female dominated in achievement and physical attributes and male parliamentarians dominated in competence, character and work experience.

The finding show that majority of personality based stories on both male and female parliamentary candidate were in the “competence” category. Majority of personality based stories which could portray female parliamentarians in a stereotypical way concentrated on competence of which in percentage terms, female parliamentary candidates recorded 35.1 %, a 7.2% less than their male counterpart (42.3%). It means that, the female candidates were portrayed as less competent than their male counterparts. Also, 19.2% of stories were on character of male parliamentary candidates whilst 17.5 percent of stories were on female parliamentary candidates. The female candidates recorded 13.0% on achievements, about 0.9% more than their male counterparts (12.1%).

For stereotypical description whereby parliamentary candidates were described based on their physical attributes or partly in reference to family or reference to family, female candidates dominated with 13.6%, 4.5% and 1.9% of stories respectively as compared to 6.5%, 2.9% and (1.00%) respectively, of same categories of their male counterparts. This is in consonance with Dan and Iorgoveanu, (2013) and Kittilson and Fridkin, (2008) who argue that press coverage of female candidates during elections differ from their male counterparts in terms of quality and quantity and often depicting them in terms of feminine stereotypes.

5.4 Conclusion

A major finding of this study was that, all the three newspapers *Daily Graphic*, the *Daily Guide* and *the Enquirer* focused predominantly on issues in 2012. The study also showed that considerable attention was also given to issues and personalities by the *three newspapers*. However, stories coded also indicated that in 2012, personality traits featured in reportage by the three newspapers. The study further showed that the competence of the candidates involved in the elections was the foremost focus of stories that dwelt on personalities though candidates character and personal achievements also featured prominently. However, focus on personality and references to family stereotypes were persistent in the coverage of the candidates, especially the female candidates by the three newspapers, albeit not prominent.

Also, the overall volumes of coverage favoured the male candidates as compared to their female counterparts. Comparatively, the *Daily Guide* gave more coverage to the female candidates than the *Daily Graphic* and *The Enquirer*. In terms of photographic enhancement, the *Daily Graphic* dominated and the female candidates recorded the highest of enhancement compared to their male counterparts. Overall tones of coverage were also good. The *Daily Guide* gave less unfavourable tone as compared to the *Daily Graphic* which recorded the highest favourable tone and *The Enquirer* which recorded the highest frequency of unfavourable tone. Also, female candidates recorded the highest favourable tone as against their male candidates as presented in the findings.

The study anticipated that, the gender of source and reporter could be a factor in the *Daily Graphic*, the *Daily Guide* and *The Enquirer's* coverage of the parliamentary candidates in the Ghanaian election. Through statistical test, the results validated this expectation. Male reporters covered more male candidates and female reporters also covered more female candidates. The findings indeed

showed that irrespective of the page on which a candidate was featured, the tone or the enhancement used, gender of a reporter did matter in the coverage of the three newspapers during the 2012 elections.

With reference to context of coverage, the study found that female candidates granted more interviews to journalists. The *Daily Guide* granted more interviews than the *Daily Graphic* and *The Enquirer*. However, the female candidates received less coverage for campaign events. Such small coverage could limit the chances of female candidates of getting elected even at the party level to represent the constituency and also at the national elections level. This is so because media exposure presents opportunities for candidates to introduce themselves and to present their capabilities to the electorate.

As noted, the study also found that the style in the election coverage of the three newspapers did not show much difference. In all the three newspapers majority of the type of news was event-related and straight news coverage. The *Daily Graphic* did a significant amount of feature stories though it recorded no editorial piece on the candidates.

Finally, the study found that majority of personality based stories which could portray female parliamentarians in a stereotypical way concentrated on competence of which in percentage terms, female parliamentary candidates recorded 35.1%, with 7.2% less than their male counterpart (42.3%). Thus, female candidates were portrayed as less competent than their male counterparts. On personality trait, 19.2 percent of stories were based on character of male parliamentary candidates whilst 17.5 percent of same category was on female parliamentary candidates. However, the female candidates recorded 13.0% on achievements, about 0.9% more than their male counterparts

(12.1%). Generally, female parliamentary candidates were marginally portrayed in a stereotypical way as compared to their male parliamentary candidates by the three newspapers.

5.5 Limitations of the study

One difficulty faced was in differentiating between an official duty and a campaign activity. The newspapers studied in some cases failed to differentiate in such terms particularly when there was an incumbent parliamentarian or a government official who was also contesting in the elections.

The method chosen for the study was quantitative content analysis. Even though it is very valuable in communication research, content analysis only provides a description of the content of newspaper coverage. The method does not tell for instance how and why editors and reporters decided to focus on what they do in covering candidates during elections and also did not tell whether or not these stories affect voter decisions.

Also, since this study was confined to the coverage of parliamentary candidates during elections by the *Daily Graphic*, the *Daily Guide* and *The Enquirer* in 2012, its findings cannot be generalised to cover all newspapers on all elections coverage so far in Ghana.

5.6 Recommendations

As a policy implication, this study suggests the following recommendations as a means to entrenching the values of women's inclusive and participatory political governance processes through the media:

1. The women's wings of political parties should intensify their campaign for women's political advancement by lobbying relevant stakeholders like the Presidency,

Parliament, civil society groups and the media to help formulate policies that touch on women's political participation.

2. Political parties, civil society and non-governmental organisations should also liaise with the media when organising workshops for women, so that the women would have the opportunity to interact with media practitioners.
3. The media must intensify its public education and sensitisation measures by designing programmes that will help transform socio-cultural value systems that work against women.
4. Capacity building and women's empowerment workshops must be organised regularly for women with political ambitions as a confidence-building measure, so that such women do not easily succumb to intimidation during elections.
5. Civil Society and gender-oriented organisations should institute an award scheme for media houses and media practitioners who distinguish themselves in the coverage of issues relating to women's political participation.

Based on the findings of this study and the issues that have risen from the discussions, the following suggestions are also made for future research to establish the linkage between the media coverage and number of women in politics. This study used three newspapers for the study to establish media coverage of female parliamentary candidates during the 2012 election year which represents only the print media. The following recommendations are suggested:

1. A future research should be conducted on coverage given by the broadcast media which have proliferated in recent years across the country. Discussion programmes and talk shows in broadcast media are becoming increasingly popular with many of them broadcasting in various local Ghanaian languages. Many of the panelists who appear on these discussion

platforms are also politicians. With their wider reach and benefit of audio-visual component, they are likely to make more impact than the print media for campaign messaging.

2. Social media have also become popular in Ghana in recent times. With the influx of smart phones, social media platforms have become more interactive and very vibrant. A study on coverage and how political activists use the social media to pursue their campaign agendas is likely to generate some useful findings considering the innovative uses of smart phone.
3. A study on the public on source of campaign messages should be conducted to establish whether or not the electorates are influenced by media content in their decision on choice of candidate for parliament. This could help to established whether the media are likely to influence and change societal perceptions about the viability of women as politicians or parliamentarian.
4. It is also recommended that a future research be conducted to establish whether newspaper ownership has any influence on the way women's issues are covered in the media.
5. It is further suggested that the Department of Communication refurbishes its library to accommodate more newspapers to facilitate easy access to information on newspapers.

The researcher considers this study as an addition to the body of knowledge in the study of newspaper coverage of gender in elections. Regardless of the limitations, it is the hope of the researcher that the findings and the recommendations made will go a long way to boost research in press coverage of elections.

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APPENDIX A

Coding Guide

1. Name of Newspaper

1. Daily Graphic
2. Daily Guide
3. The Enquirer

2. Day /Date of Publication

1. Monday
2. Tuesday
3. Wednesday
4. Thursday
5. Friday

3. Total number of political stories.....

4. Total number of stories on parliamentary candidates /politicians coded

5. Type of Story

1. Straight News story
2. Editorial
3. Opinion Piece
4. Feature Story
5. Letter
6. Retraction/ Rejoinder
7. Profile
8. Other (specify).....

6. Focus of Story

1. Issue based
2. Personality based
3. Issues and personality
4. Other issues (Specify)

7. Type of issue based Story

1. Politics and governance
2. Economics
3. Security and Crime
4. Power and energy
5. Legal and social
6. Health and science
7. Education
8. Media and Arts

8. Type of Personality-based Story

1. Character

2. Work Experience
3. Competence
4. Physical Attributes
5. Reference to family
6. Partly reference to family
7. Achievements
8. Other

9.Placement of Story

1. Front- Page Main News story/lead
2. Front- Page Other News story
3. Centre Spread
4. Politics page
5. Gender page
6. Editorial page
7. Back Page
8. Other pages

10.Subject of Story

1. Male- Parliamentary Candidate
2. Female-Parliamentary Candidate

11. Political affiliation of Subject

1. NDC
2. NPP
3. CPP
4. PPP
5. PNC
6. Independent Candidate
7. NDP
8. Other (specify)

12. Source of Story

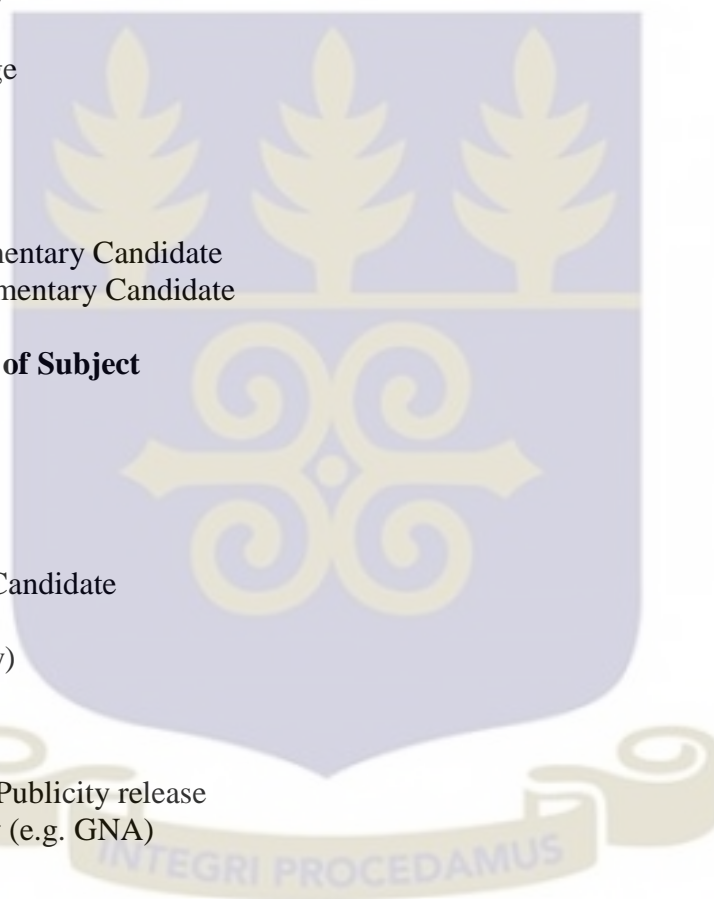
1. Staff reporter
2. Press release/Publicity release
3. News Agency (e.g. GNA)
4. Contributor
5. No byline
6. Others (specify)

13. Gender of Reporter

1. Male
2. Female
3. Cannot determine

14. Context of Story

1. Political rally
2. Campaign event



3. Other speech event
4. Interview with journalist
5. Press statement/ press conference
6. Inauguration/inspection/launch of projects
7. Donation of items
8. Meet the people tour of constituency
9. Expert source
10. Other election issues
11. Primaries
12. Durbar of chiefs
13. Other (specify)

15. Enhancement

1. Photograph (sole)
2. Photograph (with others)
3. Cartoon or line drawing
4. None

16. Tone

1. Favourable
2. Unfavourable
3. Neutral

Operationalisation of variables considered

Type of story: newspaper items as they are classified into categories such as straight news, feature, editorial, letter, opinion, follow-up, rejoinder / retraction, interview, investigative report, news analysis, photo story, profile and other category that will cater for stories that do not fall within the listed categories.

Focus of Story: this refers to the central attention of the story. Focus of story was categorised into: issue based, personality based, both issue and personality based and 'other' for stories that did not fall in any of the categories. Issue-based stories were stories which border on the matters such as the economy, politics and governance, security and crime, legal and social, health and science, energy, education and media fell under issues. Personality- based stories were stories with a concentration on the candidates who were involved in the elections other than their parties and political issues,

and also a concentration on personal qualities such as character, competence, appearance, and physical attributes.

Type of Issue-based Story: based on the definition of issues by BenoitDan and Iorgoveanu, (2013)& (1999) and in reference to the type of issue-based stories being considered, a list of 54 possible issues were grouped into eight broad categories plus “other” in case a story did not fall within the 54 issues. For each issue, a number of topics are suggested to help fit the coverage in the most appropriate categories. Where a source addressed several subjects within the same story, the subject given the most prominence, say in terms of space or commentary devoted to it will be selected.

1. Politics and Government

1. Party politics, elections, the electoral and political processes, interparty relations,
2. Government business, policies, bills and legislation, district assembly matters...
3. Foreign/International Politics, diplomatic relations, regional/continental relations, bilateral/
Multilateral/multinational relations, negotiations, treaties,
4. Other related issues.

2. Economy

5. Economic and trade policies, strategies, conditionality initiatives e.g. IMF, IFC, World Bank. Millennium Challenge Account, Trade negotiations, Budget, contracts, etc...
6. Economic indicators, statistics, business, banking, micro/macro-financing, international/government/ private/ corporate funding, trade, stock/ bond markets, investments- money markets, small and medium scale entrepreneurships, private sector development insurance schemes , revenue generation. Grants/ loans/ scholarships, cost-sharing, fundraising, dividends, corporate responsibility, imports/exports, debt recovery and servicing...
7. Poverty /poverty reduction, housing, rural electrification, social welfare, aid to the needy, eg. LEAP, LISDEP, GYEEDA, SADA, school feeding, free Laptops, uniforms and shoes ...
8. Labour issues, strikes, trade unions, negotiations, human resource development/capacity building, employment, unemployment...

9. Rural economy, agriculture and agricultural policy, farming practices, food security, land rights/ issues/ disputes, trading/ hawking, fishing, per trolling, tourism.
10. Consumer issues/ protection , taxation/ levies /Tariffs, regulation, prices, market issues, lending rates
11. Transport, traffic, road safety, aviation, ports/ shipping, railways...
12. Other related issues.

3. Security and Crime

13. National and regional security/ Policing the nation /defense / training, chieftaincy disputes, peacekeeping conflict resolution...
13. Non-violent Crime, bribery, theft, drug dealing, fraud, corruption (including political
14. corruption/malpractices), smuggling, peddling of fake products, child/ human trafficking. Contempt of court
15. Violent crime, murder, abduction, kidnapping, vehicle snatching, assault, drug related violence.
16. Gender-based violence, harassment, domestic violence, rape, defilement, incest, trafficking, genitalmutilation, forced marriages...
17. War, civil war, tribal animosity/ ethnic violence, terrorism state- based violence
18. Riots, demonstrations, public, disorder, institutional indiscipline.
19. Disaster, accident, famine, earth tremor, flood , fire outbreaks, collapse of buildings, plane crash, car crash, disaster management
20. Other related issues

4. Power and Energy

21. Mining, oil drilling and exploration, oil refinery, petroleum products, bi fuel generation, premix fuel energy generation, gas production
22. Hydro power, thermal plant, solar energy, power distribution
23. Load shedding and management
24. Other related issues

5. Legal and social

25. Development issues, sustainability, community development...

26. Family relations, intergenerational conflicts, parenting
27. Humana rights and associated violations, women's rights children's rights and welfare, gay andlesbian right, rights of minorities, people with disabilities.
28. Religion, culture tradition, celebrations, durbars, practices, controversies, teachings, ethnic diversity, funerals,
29. Migrations, refugee asylum seekers, ethnic conflict integration...
30. Women's movement, activism, events, demonstrations, gender and equality advocacy, affirmative action, women empowerment...
31. Changing gender relations, roles and relationships of women and men outside the home...
32. Family Law, Family codes, property law, inheritance law and rights.
33. Legal system, judicial system, legislation (Apart from family, property and inheritance law), prosecution...
34. Other related issues

6. Healthand science

35. Science, technology / infrastructure, research, funding discoveries, developments, policies...
36. Health, hygiene, healthcare services, healthy eating, modern / Traditional medicine, drugs/ narcotics, drug use/ abuse, safety, disability, disease control...
37. Medical research, Policy, funding (apart from HIV/ AIDS)
38. HIV-AIDs, Incidence, policy, treatment, and people affected, training of healthcare providers...
39. Other epidemics (e.g. Avian Influenza), contagiousviruses ...
40. Malaria, Water / air-borne diseases like Guinea worm and TB, cancers, associated control...
41. Mother/ Child mortality, six childhood killer diseases, safe motherhood,
42. Birth control/ family planning, fertility, sterilization, termination of pregnancies, reproductive health...
43. Environment, water, nature, pollution, sanitation, waste, management, global warming ecology, land degradation./deforestation/ afforestation, erosion, land

management weather monitoring

44. Other related issues.

7. Education

45. Education nursery to tertiary and associated facilities training and funding, child care girl child education,

46. Informal education, vocational training, adult literacy, distance learning literacy, students activism

47. Educational seminars, workshops and conferences

48. Other related issues

8. Media and Arts

49. Media including computer and internet, information/telecommunications, ICTs, postal services, mobile telephony, portrayal of women and / or men, pornography...

50. Media, performance, ethics/ policy, press freedom and related issues.

51. Media training /conference / workshop

52. Beauty / Music/ talent contest, fashion beauty enhancement, award ceremony...

53. Sports and related issues like facilities, events, participants, training, policies, funding...

54. Other related issues.

Type of personality- based story: this refers to a concentration on the candidates at the expense of party's political issue. Also, a concentration on personal qualities with no obvious political dimensions such as appearance, in contrast to qualities with an obvious political dimension such as competence (Wilke and Reinemann, 2001 p 4). Type of personality-based story was categorised into: character, work experience, competence, physical attributes, reference to family, partly reference to family, achievements, and an 'other' to cater for stories that did not fall within the listed categories.

Placement of story: this looks at the page the story was published whether as front page lead story, front page non-lead story, and centre spread story, back or placed on any other page. The page on

which a story is placed has an influence on the prominence of the story of the story and the importance readers may attach to it. Stories on front pages obviously gain more attention.

Subject story: personalities who are the source or subject of the news item. These are male or female politicians and male or female parliamentary candidates in 2012 election.

Political affiliation of subject: this refers to the type of political party the subject in the news belongs to. This is categorised into: NDC, NPP, CPP, PPP, PNC, Independent candidate, NDP and ‘others’ to cater for stories that did not fall within the listed categories.

Source of story: the person or organisation whose name is written at the beginning or end of the story as writing or providing the information for the story. These can be staff reporter, press release, news agency or other stories that may not fall under any of these categories.

Gender of reporter: the sex of the reporter whose name is written at the beginning or end of the story as writer or provider of the information for the story. This can be either male or female.

Context of story: the situation in which the event being reported or written about takes place. These were listed as political rally, campaign event, speech events, and interview with journalist or press statement or conference, donation of items or inauguration or launch or commissioning or inspection of project, expert source and other stories that do not fall under any of these contexts.

Enhancement: this has to do whether the story is accompanied by a picture or not. The categories under this were: story with photo or visual, story without a visual or cartoon.

Tone of Story: this refers to a description given to a source, story subject or context and how such a description reflected on the party or candidate involved. This was coded as favourable, unfavourable and neutral. The tone of a story was coded as positive if it portrayed a candidate in a good light. A story was coded negative if it portrayed a candidate or subject matter bad light. Other stories that do not fall into any of the two categories were coded as neutral.

APPENDIX C

Guidelines on using SPSS for calculating Kappa inter-coder reliability**Cohen's Kappa Test**

The Cohen's Kappa Calculation of inter-coder reliability on SPSS involves first creating a data set as follows:

Unit	Var1Coder1	Var1Coder2	Var2Coder1	Vars2Coder2	Var3Coder1	.	.
Case 1							
Case 2							
Case 3							
.							

Once the data set has been created, the researcher selects “Analyze”, “Descriptive Statistics” and “Crosstabs...” in the menus, then clicks on “Statistics” to bring up a dialogue screen and then click on the checkbox for “Kappa”. The output appears in an “output” file on screen and it is here that one clicks to view programme output.

*Cohen's kappa test details were extracted from <http://astro.temple.edu/~lombard/reliability> on July 18, 2015

