

PRIVATE NEWSPAPERS AND BIASED NEWS COVERAGE IN GHANA: A
COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE *DAILY GUIDE*, *THE ENQUIRER*, *THE
CHRONICLE* AND *THE DAILY DISPATCH* NEWSPAPERS.

BY

ALEXANDER NYARKO YEBOAH

10508834

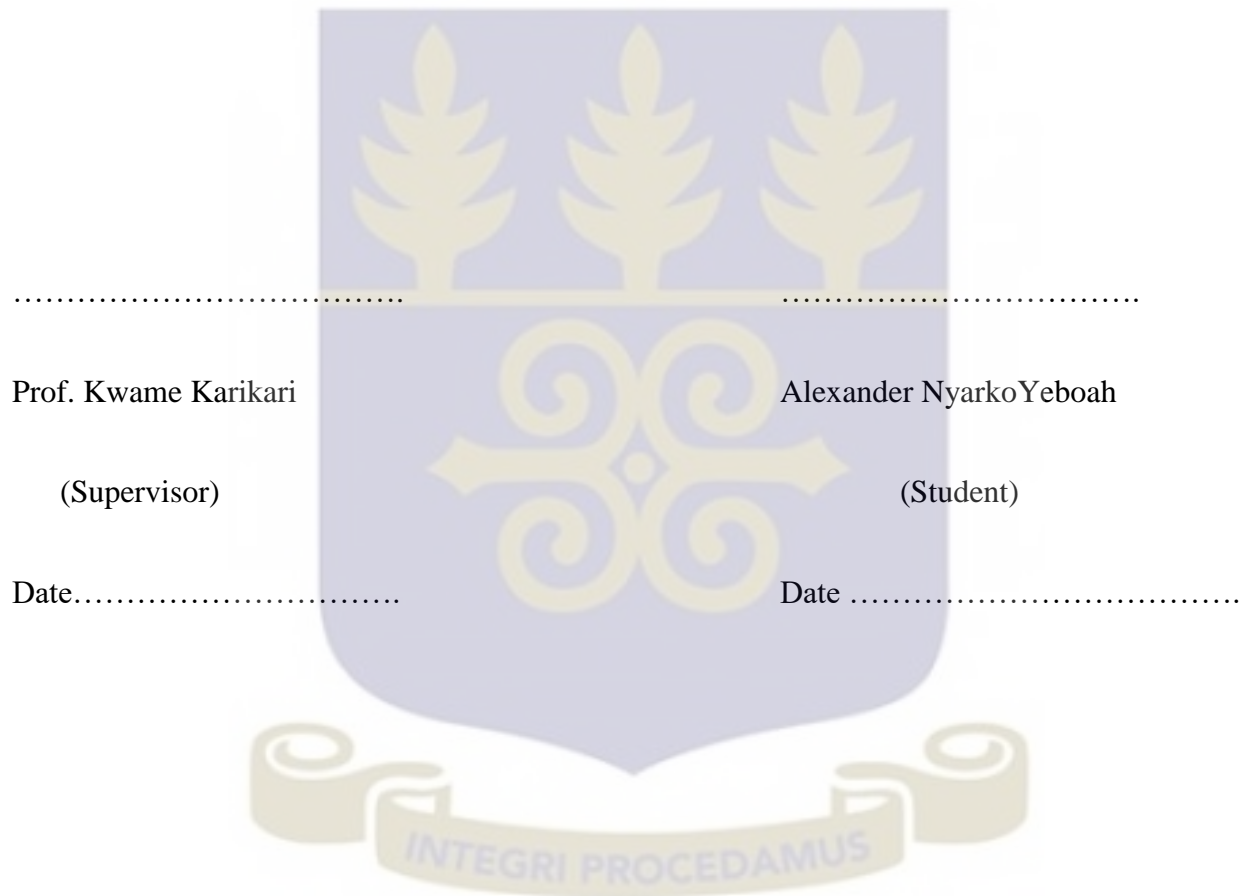
THIS LONG ESSAY IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF MA
COMMUNICATION STUDIES DEGREE

INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS

JUNE, 2016

DECLARATION

I declare that, except for references to other people's work which have been duly acknowledged, this long essay is a result of my own research conducted at the Department of Communication Studies, University of Ghana, Legon. The work was supervised by Professor Kwame Karikari.



DEDICATION

I dedicate this piece of study to the glory of God who has made it possible for me to reach this far, and to my two lovely kids, Ekyia NyarkoYeboah and Nana Opuni Yeboah.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This piece of work has reached this level through the grace of the Almighty God, and I remain grateful for his wisdom and strength that took me through the hectic but refreshing moments of undertaking this research. I am very indebted to my brother WOII F. Asante Yeboah whose assistance was of great help during the trying moments.

This work wouldn't have shaped out the way it did without the wonderful and expert guidance of my supervisor, Professor Kwame Karikari. Prof., I would forever be grateful for your insight and time you spent on this work. I am equally grateful to all other lecturers of the Department of Communication Studies for the knowledge imparted to me during my stay in the school. I would also want to appreciate the assistance of the Heads of Libraries of the Ghana News Agency, the Padmore Library, The library of the Department of Communication Studies and the Editors of the four Newspapers who gave me audience.

Finally, I am very grateful for the wonderful contribution from my class mates during the hectic moments of our study in the department, particularly Rev. Father Jonas Atarah. May God bless and reward you all.

1.8.3	Profile of <i>The Chronicle</i>	12
1.8.4	Profile of <i>The Daily Dispatch</i>	13
1.9	Operational Definition of Concepts.....	13
1.10	Organization of the study.....	14
1.11	Summary.....	15

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1	Introduction.....	16
2.2	Theoretical framework.....	16
2.2.1	The Concept of News Framing.....	17
2.2.2	How framing was used in this work.....	18
2.2.3	Critique of Framing Theory.....	19
2.3	Related Literature.....	21
2.4	Summary	32

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1	Introduction.....	33
3.2	Content Analysis Design.....	33
3.3	Universe and Sample Size.....	34
3.3.1	Sampling Technique and Procedure.....	34
3.4	Data Collection.....	36
3.4.1	Data Collection Technique.....	37
3.4.2	Data Collection Instrument.....	37
3.4.3	Data Collection Procedure.....	38
3.5	Units of Analysis.....	41

3.6	Data Analysis	41
3.7	Inter-Coder Reliability.....	42
3.8	Summary.....	43

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.1	Introduction.....	44
4.2	The nature of news coverage by the four newspapers.....	44
4.3	Testing of hypothesis	52
4.4	Summary.....	54

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS

5.1	Introduction.....	55
5.2	Number of Stories Published by the Four Newspapers.....	55
5.3	Extent of Bias found in News coverage	55
5.3.1	Categories of Stories.....	56
5.3.2	Placement of story	59
5.3.3	Headline.....	60
5.3.4	Word Choice and Tone.....	62
5.3.5	Photo, Caption, Camera Angle.....	66
5.4	Hypothesis	67
5.5	Summary of Findings	67
5.6	Conclusions	68
5.7	Limitations of Study	69
5.8	Recommendations.....	69
	Appendixes	70

Bibliography 89



LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	TITLE	PAGE
1.	Newspaper ID.....	44
2.	Placement of Story.....	47
3.	Word Choice and Tone	49
4.	Direction of bias	53



LIST OF CHARTS

CHARTS	TITLE	PAGE
A.	Category of story	45
B.	Headline	48
C.	Photo, Caption, Camera Angle	51



ABSTRACT

This research was undertaken with the aim of determining whether bias occurred in news coverage by private newspapers in Ghana. The study focused on the year 2014 which was the period just after the 2013 presidential election petition at the Supreme Court. This period was chosen because it was the era immediately after a major election dispute in Ghana and rivalry between the feuding parties, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) was perceived to be high and the researcher thought that was a good time to test the level of sympathy of the chosen newspapers towards either of the two parties. Contents of 336 issues of the *Daily Guide*, *The Enquirer*, *The Chronicle*, and *The Daily Dispatch* newspapers, which were published from January to December 2014, were analyzed. It was discovered that the four newspapers published stories that were clearly biased towards one political party or the other when same editions of stories published by the newspapers were content analyzed. The assumption that the more sympathetic a newspaper is towards a particular political party the less likely it would be negative towards that party was supported by the data. The news articles demonstrated bias with respect to the various variables (Headline, word choice and tone, Photos, captions and camera angles) that were tested. No bias was shown in the placement of stories as all important stories were placed at the front pages of all four newspapers.

Key words: Bias, Private newspapers, Partisan, News coverage.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This research essentially provides analysis on news coverage by the *Daily Guide*, *The Enquirer*, *The Chronicle*, and *The Daily Dispatch* newspapers. It is a comparative content analysis that addresses the issue of political polarization of Ghana between the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and its influence on the dissemination of news by private newspapers in Ghana. The introductory chapter discusses the nature of bias that is associated with private news coverage in Ghana. The statement of the problem, objectives, hypothesis, scope and significance of the study are addressed. In addition, the chapter gives an overview of the newspapers analyzed, operational definition of concepts, organization of the study and summary of the chapter.

1.1 Background to the study

Gadzekpo (2007) observes that “Ghana’s media history, much like its political history, has been chequered and marred by decades of political as well as economic instability.” By this Gadzekpo attests to the struggle the Ghanaian media, particularly private news media has gone through over the years in trying to establish itself as the fourth estate of the realm. And in doing so it has acquired a particular nature that is worth studying.

Private newspapers, since their onset in Ghana in the 1800s, have been primarily papers established to fight for the interest of the indigenes of the Gold Coast. With the dawn of the 1900s, the nationalist struggles gave birth to newspapers that were purely for the projection of the agenda of independence. And so Ghana has a history of newspapers that were set up for

propaganda purposes as a way of inspiring the people of the colony to rise against colonial rule. This fact is attested to by Karikari (2000) when he claims that “it is well known that colonial rule was ousted with the decisive involvement, indeed quite often the mobilizing role, of the newspaper in the nationalist movement almost from the introduction of that medium of mass communication into the colonies.” As such a paper like the Evening News, established by Kwame Nkrumah, was used to mobilize support for his campaign for independence as the literal drive for the Convention Peoples Party (CPP). The Ashanti Pioneer, also a partisan paper, championed the interests of the UGCC during that era, Ekwelie (1971), *The Press in Gold Coast Nationalism*.

With the attainment of independence, the press came under the censorship of Dr. K. Nkrumah, (Ansah, 1991:93). Nkrumah knew the partisan nature of these newspapers and therefore sought to control their work. He therefore established the *Ghanaian Times*, and later bought the *Daily Graphic*, cutting off any competition whatsoever. Private papers were also banned with the passage of the Newspaper Licensing Act, 1963 (Act 189).

The overthrow of the Nkrumah government saw another dimension of the press in the political history of the nation. According to Gadzekpo (2007), it gave birth to prolonged years of mostly military regimes which equally had a check on the press.

The dawn of the Fourth Republic saw the liberalization of the airwaves which brought with it the birth of tens of private newspapers. The private press resumed its political involvement with the freedom to publish stories in a pluralistic media atmosphere. A trend, therefore, started in our media-political marriage in which newspapers emerged for both opposition and government parties.

This freedom of the press became pronounced with the repeal of the criminal libel law by the Kufuor administration.

It can now be said that there are private newspapers which might have succumbed to the political polarization of Ghana between the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). This would mean that there may be a split in the allegiance of the private media along these two major political parties. This may create a certain bias in the reporting of stories as the political affiliation of a newspaper may have influence on the kind of angles stories take in this paper.

The study is situated in the post Atta-Mills era because by then Ghana had long gone past the culture of silence, Jerry Rawlings had opened up the airwaves and John Kufuor had repealed the criminal libel law. The year 2014 was chosen because that was the era immediately after a major election dispute in Ghana and rivalry between the feuding parties, the NDC and NPP was perceived to be high and the researcher thought that was a good time to test the level of sympathy of the chosen newspapers towards either of the two parties.

Certain categories of stories were chosen for this analysis. These were issues of national importance which made news in the said dispensation. News stories on each category reported by the four newspapers were content analyzed to bring out their similarities and differences as a way of showing bias or otherwise in dissemination of news. The news stories were categorized under *Economy, Election Issues, Governance, Corruption, Health, Legal and Energy*.

1.1.1 Bias in the Private Media

News and information are cultural products. i.e. they are products designed for the common good by informing citizens as to issues of national importance, etc., Mosco (2009). However this common product is packaged and sold on the market with the aim of making profit. This commodification of news and information according to Mosco, comes with it the tendency to bias news stories. This is because the owners of these media houses are only mindful of the profit considerations and therefore would present news in a way that would serve their market interests.

The issue of ownership therefore serves to limit the tendency of plurality of the media. In this regard it becomes obvious that reporters and editors are mindful of the demands of owners of their news media in the way they package and present news, Mosco (2009).

This situation becomes worse with the concentration of media ownership in the hands of few entrepreneurs who invest in these enterprises and expect financial returns.

In relation to the polarized nature of the Ghanaian political landscape owners of media houses have the tendency to present news and information that serve the interest of one political party or the other. This is in response to the perceived market for information that seems to favor or denigrate one party or the other in relation to the political ideology of the newspaper. This fact is supported by Bitheryst, et. al. (2011), in which they observed the role audience plays in news dissemination. According to them news media tend to respond to the demands of certain groups of people whose tastes must be satisfied in order for the newspaper to stay in business. And in doing so the news media tends to bias the stories in that regard.

Bias in news media report occurs because a news media, in responding to pressure to tilt news to favor a political party, frames news in a certain way. This is because the way news is framed has the tendency to bias the news item or otherwise. This makes framing analysis an essential part of this work.

A frame is “a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue,” (Gamson,1989:157). This means that facts are neutral until they are framed. In this vein, the way the press frames an issue will determine the extent of appreciation of that issue by the audience. On this point Gamson argues that facts “take on their meaning by being embedded in frames or story lines that organize them and give them coherence, selecting certain ones to emphasize while ignoring others” (p. 157). What framing thus, therefore, is to project some facts above others.

In this work, biases were detected by studying how the four newspapers framed stories on the same issue. For instance if there is a news item carried by all four newspapers, the researcher looked at how each story framed the news to determine what was stressed by what paper, where the story was placed in the newspaper, the kind of picturesque enhancement that came with the story, the nature of the headline, etc., to determine bias or otherwise by the newspaper. In doing this the researcher was able to determine how each paper treated each news item.

Looking at it in terms of the two political parties, one could see clearly the direction of bias by a newspaper. This is done because the main variable (tone and choice of words) was used to determine direction of bias by detecting whether a paper was consistently negative towards one party or the other.

This research work is basically looking out for partisan bias, i.e., “the real or imagined tendency for news media and journalists to give positive coverage to parties, candidates or policies with which they agree, and negative coverage to those with which they disagree,” Stromback and Aalberg (2008). With this bias would be clearly established when a paper consistently give negative coverage about issues in relation to a particular political party on issues of national importance.

1.2 Problem Statement

Karikari (2000) observes that “The split of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) and the emergence of the Convention People’s Party (CPP) militancy in 1949 polarized the anti-colonial political forces. The press was also divided along these lines.” In the same vein, the nation is currently split politically between the NDC and NPP.

As Mosco (2009) observed that the ownership of a news media has an influence over the direction of editorial, such that it is possible to bias news stories in the light of political polarization because of the owner’s political ideology. To this end it is worth studying to find out whether private newspapers in Ghana which are clearly established by private individuals have the ability to resist political influence by the two most dominant political parties in Ghana today which have so much control over the news market due to the perceived polarization of the citizens along the lines of these two parties.

To this end, the research wants to solve the problem of whether the polarization of the nation between these two major political parties in Ghana has indeed polarized the media landscape, particularly the private media. This would help establish whether political sympathy of a

newspaper could be linked to the direction in which stories take in relations to the two foremost political parties in the nation.

The researcher is embarking on this work primarily because he wants to determine the contribution private newspapers are making to the enhancement of media plurality in Ghana, i.e. whether they are using their media as platforms to project divergent views on issues or are rather limiting it through their political affiliations and influence of ownership.

The researcher focused on bias in news reporting because he believes that the bid to inform the Ghanaian society can be affected when bias affects media outlets in the discharge of their duties. This is because it would prevent society from being well informed and that could disturb the democratic practice which dwells on information.

This research would be relevant to academia because it would expose the state of our private media with regards to biased reporting which could bring modification in curricula to include courses on ‘biased reporting’ as a way of equipping students .

Industry on the other hand would benefit from this study because it would be informed of the consequences of biasing news stories as it would make them know how less credible they would be in the eyes of right thinking members of society.

The following are some research works that have been done in Ghana about bias in news coverage:

Sarfo, Amponsah and Addo-Danquah (2015) researched into biased reporting by *The Herald*, *The Democrat*, *The Ghanaian Times* and *Daily Guide* newspapers during the 2012 Presidential

Petition at the Supreme Court. The limitation of this work has to do with the fact that a presidential petition is already a political issue and therefore it is obvious the newspapers would take sides on the issues. This was corrected in this presented research because it didn't limit the work to only one issue but had a cross section of national issues that would help to determine how the newspapers reported on issues other than political. The current research looked at issues under Economy, Health, Elections, etc.

Amponsah (2012) looked at coverage of presidential campaigns in Ghana by content analyzing the *Daily Graphic Newspaper*. He observed the tone of language used by the two leading political parties, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and realized that they were always negative and positive towards their rivals and themselves respectively.

The void this current research wants to fill is that Amponsah used one newspaper which is also a state owned paper. His work was also limited to only elections. The current research wants to find out how private newspapers, which are more prone to partisan influence, would report bias on a variety of issues of national importance.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The objectives of the study were:

1. To determine whether bias occurred in the reportage of news stories by the *Daily Guide*, *The Enquirer*, *The Chronicle*, and *The Daily Dispatch* newspapers.
2. To determine the direction of bias that occurred in relation to the NDC and NPP.

1.4 Research Questions

The research was guided by the following questions:

RQ1: To what extent did the *Daily Guide*, *The Enquirer*, *The Chronicle* and *The Daily Dispatch* newspapers reflect bias in their news reportage?

RQ 2: To what extent did the stories show negativity or positivity towards either of the two political parties?

1.5 Research Hypothesis

Wimmer and Dominick (2003: 24) explain hypothesis as “a formal statement regarding the relationship between variables and is tested directly. The predicted relationship between the variables is either true or false.” In view of the problem under study, and the theory of framing analysis within which this study was contextualized, the research set out to address this hypothesis:

H1: The more sympathetic a newspaper is towards a particular political party, the less likely it would be negative towards that party.

1.5.1 Reason for the Hypothesis

The hypothesis which states that the more sympathetic a newspaper is towards a particular political party the less likely it would be negative towards that party was derived from Baron (2003). Newspapers often frame news with either a negative or positive tone. The reason being that certain news stories suit a perceived political agenda compared to others, as such a paper is likely to be negative towards issues of its perceived political rivals. Negative or positive news serves to reinforce perceptions of the audience about the position on an issue as such the media house would be prepared to publish in that manner in order to maintain their audiences. It is also geared towards projecting the interest and aspirations of a particular political party over the other. And so in testing this hypothesis, the researcher is seeking to establish the occurrence of bias through the tone of stories covered. The researcher therefore wants to test whether the *Daily Guide*, *The Enquirer*, *The Chronicle* and *The Daily Dispatch* newspapers were positive or negative towards the NDC or NPP.

1.6 Scope of the study

This study analyzed the extent of biased reportage by private newspapers in Ghana. There are several private newspapers in Ghana that report on national issues. For the purpose of this study, only the *Daily Guide*, *The Enquirer*, *The Chronicle* and *The Daily Dispatch* newspapers were content analyzed. The study was, however, limited to coverage of news stories during 2014. The year 2014 was chosen because it was the year immediately after the presidential election petition held in Ghana and the researcher wanted to see how the private newspapers have been affected by the rivalry of the NDC and the NPP after the hot legal battle.

1.7 Significance of the study

A lot of studies have been done in the area of bias in news coverage by private newspapers across the world. This research however is to fill the gap of research work in the area of bias in news reportage by the *Daily Guide*, *The Enquirer*, *The Chronicle* and *The Daily Dispatch* newspapers. It would therefore help to determine the state of the private press in Ghana in relation to political polarization.

1.8 Newspapers under the study

The newspapers selected for the content analysis were the *Daily Guide*, *The Enquirer*, *The Chronicle* and *The Daily Dispatch*. These newspapers were selected basically because they are private newspapers with daily issues. Their selection is also because, unlike other private newspapers such as the *Democrat*, *The Statesman*, *The Informer*, etc., they are consistent on the market and have a wider circulation in the nation. (Their circulation figures are quoted under *profile of newspaper*)

Again, the choice of the print media was partly because Moemeka (1991) noted that the print media have a permanent attribute which neither radio nor television has. He added that the newspaper could be read over and over again to enhance better understanding.

1.8.1 Profile of the *Daily Guide*

The *Daily Guide* is the most widely-read private newspaper in Ghana (Press Reference, 2011). It is owned by Honorable Freddie Blay, former First Deputy Speaker of the Parliament of Ghana and the current Acting Chair of the NPP. It was registered in January, 1988, but actually started

publication in 1991. It started as a four-page weekly paper and later changed to a bi-weekly paper until 2005 when it became a 16-page daily newspaper. According to Press Reference (2011) it circulates about 60, 000 copies daily to all 10 regions of Ghana. It is published by Western Publications Limited.

1.8.2 Profile of *The Enquirer*

The Enquirer started its publication on the 17th of March, 2005. It is owned by Raymond Archer, a leading member of the National Democratic Congress. Currently, its circulation stands at about 3000 copies a day, as indicated by the editor. Due to economic reasons only its Monday edition is 16 pages with the rest being 12, the editor said this in an interview with the researcher on the 19th of October, 2015. The paper is published by Focal Media Limited. According to the Editor, Kojo Omaboe, the paper's ideology "is to defend the current government," which is the NDC.

1.8.3 Profile of *The Chronicle*

The Chronicle is one of the leading private newspapers in Ghana. It was established in September 1990, and was one of the most widely read private newspapers from 1992 to 1993, at the dawn of the Fourth Republic of Ghana. It is owned by General Portfolio and Chronicle Media Limited. It publishes from Monday to Friday with 16 pages. There is a 12-page weekend edition which carries soft news and human right stories. *The Chronicle* was voted the best investigative newspaper of the year in 2003. According to Press Reference (2010), Maja-Pierce quoted the total daily circulation figures for *The Chronicle* at 40,000 for the year 2009/10.

1.8.4 Profile of *The Daily Dispatch*

The Daily Dispatch was established in February 1998. It is owned by Allied News Limited which is the publisher. It is a daily issue which brings out editions from Monday to Friday. There are no weekend editions. It is made up of 12 to 16 pages and specializes in political and economic research work. The paper is noted for conducting opinion polls during elections in Ghana. The last such event was the 2012 General Elections in Ghana in which it predicted a win of 52.2% for the incumbent John Dramani Mahama. The results came out 50.7%, which was quite close.

1.9 Operational Definition of Concepts

According to Wimmer and Dominick (2003), operational definition gives specification on the procedures one needs to follow in order to measure a variable. They believed observations are all essential part of research and that one should get a clear picture of what is to be observed before one carries out an observation.

The following concepts and variables were used in this study and have been operationally defined:

Bias: Any attempt to present information by ensuring that the facts are slanted in order to favor one side of an issue over the other in an attempt to influence audience perception of what the issue is.

News coverage: Reportage of newsworthy events published by the newspapers.

Partisan: Projecting the interest of one political party or interest over the other in news reportage.

Audience: Readers of a newspaper who have influence on the direction of news a media outlet may take.

Protocol: Official source of news that is seen to be authentic and credible. They include state institutions, civil organizations, academic institutions, etc.

Sensational: Statements or pictures that impact on the emotions of audience with the aim of influencing them to toll a certain line of thinking in relations to a news article.

Neutral: The word used here denotes an attempt by a newspaper not to be negative or positive on issues raised under the categories under study.

Political party sympathy: Having the urge to favor a particular political party mostly because a newspaper may share similar political ideology with the party or simply because it favors the paper's share of the news market.

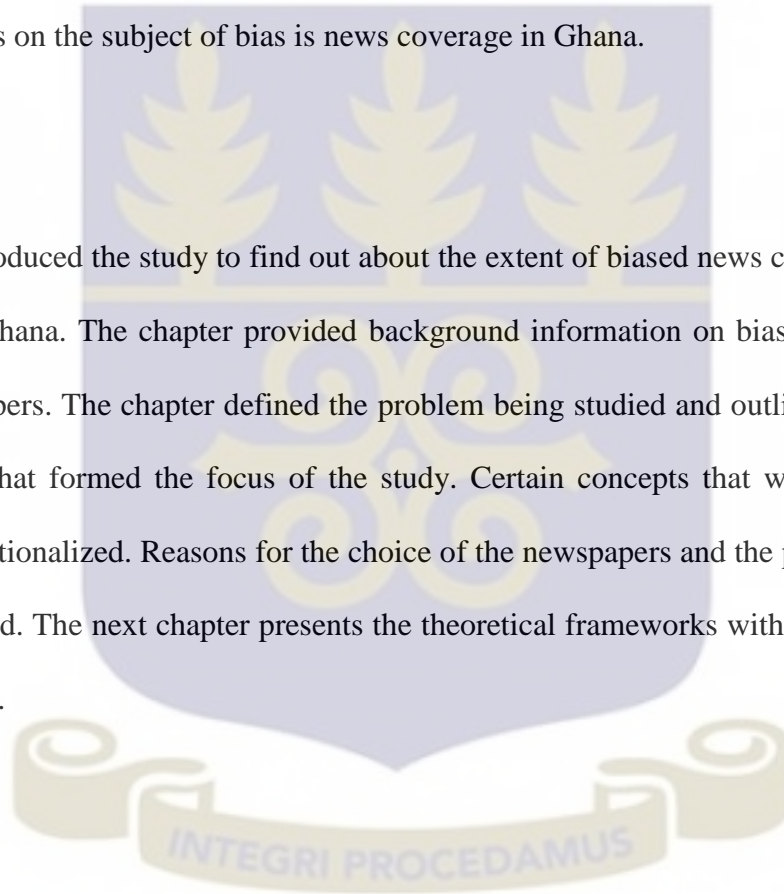
1.10 Organization of the study

This study provides analysis on how the *Daily Guide*, *The Enquirer*, *The Chronicle*, and *The Daily Dispatch* newspapers covered stories in Ghana. The long essay consists of five chapters. The introductory chapter looked at biased news coverage by private newspapers in Ghana. The chapter argued for the responsible role the media could play in ensuring it stuck to objective reportage in order to reduce political tension in the nation. Chapter two of the study provided a discussion on the theoretical frameworks that underpinned the study. The study was set within 'framing analysis.' It also reviewed studies that were carried out by other researchers that were related to the current study.

Chapter three discussed the systematic methods followed in sampling the newspaper editions, and in gathering and analyzing data. Chapter four is devoted to the presentation and analysis of the findings using frequency tables, pie and bar charts, to make meaning out of the data obtained. Chapter five discussed the findings of the study in relation to the relevant theoretical frameworks and related studies. It also drew conclusions on the research and made recommendations on the subject of bias in news coverage in Ghana.

1.11 Summary

This chapter introduced the study to find out about the extent of biased news coverage by private newspapers in Ghana. The chapter provided background information on biased news reporting by these newspapers. The chapter defined the problem being studied and outlined the objectives and hypothesis that formed the focus of the study. Certain concepts that were applied in the study were operationalized. Reasons for the choice of the newspapers and the period of the study were also outlined. The next chapter presents the theoretical frameworks within which the study has been situated.



Chapter Two

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The focus of this study is to determine the nature of news coverage by the *Daily Guide*, *The Enquirer*, *The Chronicle*, and *The Daily Dispatch* Newspapers. The choice of the topic was informed by the nature of our political landscape which is polarized between the NDC and the NPP, and with it comes a plethora of private newspapers which have the tendency of being sympathetic to either of the two political parties in response to the polarized nature of the Ghanaian politics. And so there is the need to determine whether this allegiance to political entities by the newspapers has made them tilt news in favor of these political parties. This chapter discusses framing theory which forms the context within which the study has been situated. It begins with an overview of the meaning of theory and the usefulness of theories in mass communication. After that, framing theory is examined and critiqued with the objective of developing a framework for the study.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Severin and Tankard (2001) describe theories as “universal statements that define people’s perceptions of how the world functions.” These researchers observed that mass communication theories help in providing explanations about the process through which people learn from the media, the uses to which people put mass communication, the role of mass media in influencing people’s values and views, and the effect of mass communication on the public. In accordance

with the topic, the objectives and the use of content analysis in the systematic collection of empirical data, the study was situated within the theoretical framework of ‘framing analysis.’

2.2.1 The Concept of News Framing

Framing theory “has become one of the most accepted theories within research in mass communication and political communication, from 2000” (Bryant & Miron 2004). However the recent antecedents of the theory can be traced back to Goffman (1974), who wrote about ‘frame analysis.’

Framing theory in communication research deals with the organization of media texts, and the roots of media framing and their effects (De Vreese, 2003). At the core of the theory, framing looks at how events, issues or social players are organized in communicative texts and in the minds of individual audiences. Tankard (2001, 100) offers a more specific definition within the context of media framing. He says that “A frame is a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration.”

Entman (1993; 2004, 5) also offers a more significant definition by saying that framing concerns “selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation and/or solution.” It is therefore obvious that framing takes place whenever one chooses what to include or exclude as well as what to stress or un-stress in a communicative message.

This makes framing an inevitable tool in news production whether it is done consciously or unconsciously. Framing is important also because the audience member makes use of news to form opinions about issues not within their own domain of experiences. It can therefore be said that the way the media frame politics has great influence on the way people value what is reported to them by the news media (Iyengar 1991). According to Entman (2004, 14) “The most inherently powerful frames are those fully congruent with the schemas habitually used by most members of society.”

In this regard, the *effects of framing* are modified by the socio-cultural context of the media reporting and the audiences who are exposed to the news frames (Stromback and Aalberg, 2008). This means that in a way *framing* can also be traced back to particular socio-cultural settings. This is because journalists are generally part of the same socio-cultural context as their audiences. But there are other important variables apart from socio-culture. These are the political and the media systems, the context of an issue, the conditions of news production, among others. These are the major variables in relation to the concept of ‘structural bias.’

2.2.2 How framing was used in this work

In this research framing was used to detect bias in the sense that it helped the researcher to determine the negativity or positivity of stories published by the newspapers as a way of determining whether a newspaper favored one political party or the other. This was done by the researcher categorizing stories published by the newspapers under seven umbrellas which included Economics, Governance, Corruption, Electoral issues, Health, Legal, and Energy.

The variables of Headline, Placement of stories, Tone and Photos were tested on each story under these categories.

With respect to the tone and headline of a story, the researcher looked out for words that suggest negativity or positivity towards either the NDC or the NPP. This would be done by attempting to analyze words used denotatively and connotatively. Denotative analysis of words would help bring out their root and literal meanings as used in the English language. Connotative on the other hand would help establish figurative meaning that serves to bring out the intentions and motives for a piece of writing. In doing so the researcher would be looking out for sarcastic and satiric words, innuendos, as well as any other literary device that serves to give away the agenda of the writer either as being negative or positive towards a particular political party.

In this work bias would also be detected by the placement of a story. This could be detected when important issues are placed somewhere in the inside pages whereas other newspapers made those stories their front page stories. This could be an attempt to prevent it from being picked easily by the reader. Again bias would have been served if stories are accompanied by photos and captions that denigrate or exalt the characters involved. And so facial expressions of smiles, sadness, etc., as well as gestures captured by the camera could all help to make a story look negative or positive.

2.2.3 Critique of framing theory

The theory of framing has, however, received a lot of criticisms from some scholars. Reese, Gandy, and Grant (2003) believe framing studies are sometimes difficult to quantify. Entman

(1993) also pointed out that framing research is a divided and feeble concept, which has little collective learning and relatively little theory building. Again, framing analyses are done without previous preparedness and are based on definitions of frames that are used in only single studies (Entman, 1993).

Baran and Davis (2003) indicated that framing is highly flexible and open-ended, as such wanting specificity. These researchers believed framing doesn't address the issue of the presence or absence of effects. This is seen to obstruct causal explanations due to qualitative research methods. Framing has the tendency to devalue the abilities of individuals by assuming that individuals make frequent framing errors (Baran and Davis, 2003). A major setback was identified by D'Angelo (2002) in the framing assumption. He claims that only the constant and persistent patterns get the most attention, disregarding the understated and developing changes that are within and outside the structures.

In spite of the limitations outlined, analyses of the content of the *Daily Guide*, *The Enquirer*, *The Chronicle* and *The Daily Dispatch* were carried out to help determine how framing featured in biased coverage of news stories in response to the political sympathy of these newspapers. The tendency for media to influence the minds of the public as a way of generating support for certain political parties informed the choice of framing for this study. How issues were framed in terms of tone, headline, placement, etc, in creating bias were all relevant areas this study explored.

The issue of specificity was addressed because this research was limited to finding out how news was framed without majoring on its agenda setting tendencies. As such it would not make assumptions as to the fact that the audience member makes error in his or her judgment of what

the issues are as critiqued by Baran and Davis (2003). Finally, the research ensured that it also took into consideration other less dominant features that could affect the results instead of concentrating only on the constant and persistent patterns as defined by D'Angelo. As such the creation of the '*other*' column in the categories of the variables helps to identify other issues that could impact the results instead of the constant and persistent categories. (Please see coding guide at the appendix)

2.3 Related Literature

Stromback and Aalberg (2008) wanted to fill the void of lack of comparative research with regard to news coverage of national elections based on most similar systems design. As such they conducted a research in which they compared election news coverage in Sweden and Norway in 2002 and 2005 respectively. They chose the two countries because they have similar media and political systems. "Both countries belong to the democratic corporatist model of media and politics," (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Their media are commercial and tied to organized social and political organizations with the state's role relatively active but legally limited. Their political systems are also similar as both countries practice parliamentary democracies.

Their hypothesis was that similar political and media systems will produce similar news coverage by the various newspapers. They content analyzed three newspapers each from Norway and Sweden during the two elections. They used framing theory to assess the extent of similarity that existed in the news coverage of the newspapers in response to their similar political and media systems. They found out that even though coverage of the elections by the newspapers

were similar, differences occurred. They discussed the results of the research using the concepts of structural and contextual biases. This looks at bias not in terms of partisan consideration but in terms of the medium itself or the processes of news production.

The limitation of this research lies in the fact that it failed to take into consideration other inherent factors that could have impacted on the general outcome of the results. As part of the limitations of the framing theory D'Angelo (2002) observes that only the constant and persistent patterns get the most attention, disregarding the understated and developing changes that are within and outside the structures. To this end the researchers should have broadened their work to look at peculiarities in both the media and political systems which are not so obvious. Stromback and Aalberg's work, however, differs from the current research because whilst their work is seeking to establish that bias occurs when news reportage come from newspapers with similar political and media systems, the current work is looking at bias due to differences in ideological considerations by newspapers.

Durante and Knight (2010) assert that with the introduction of the newspaper there has been concern about partisan control over news coverage. According to them this is because ideological media may influence voters who may be impressed by certain ideologies. This they observed could lead to electoral advantage resulting in electing low quality leaders and the formulating of poor policies. Their research was on the assumption that, first of all, ideological control over news media will lead to biased content of news. This assumption is however contrasted by the fact that profit considerations for private channels may outdo ideological influences (but the case may not be so for the public channels). The second assumption is that viewers would not respond to ideological control by switching to channels that agree with their

ideologies. The third assumption is that voters must respond to media content when choosing between candidates.

The research is set in Italy where Silvio Berlusconi, a politician whose political ideology is known, owns the main private television network; the main public television network is traditionally controlled by the ruling political coalition. The research examined the news content and viewership of the six top national television channels before and after the 2001 elections in Italy. After the election control of public television was shifted from the centre-left to the centre-right as a result of the switch in power to Berlusconi's political coalition.

Their research sought to establish whether or not partisan control of the media affects news content. This they did by developing a measure of station ideology, i.e. they tried to determine the ideological leanings of the media houses. They found out that more speaking time was given to the right when the right was in power than the left when the left was in power. They concluded that Berlusconi's private network is biased towards the right.

The limitation of this work has to do with Durante and Knight's inability to capture the percentage of persons who would otherwise stick to their old stations after the switch in power. By this they could have compared their number to that of those who changed station to see if that could have substantially affected the poll. The relevance of Durante and Knight's work to this research is that perceived interest of the public influences news media houses to channel news that would be accepted by the people. News publication, therefore, tends to be skewed in such a way that it responds to what is the expectation of their audience. In the same vein, these private newspapers under this research know the expectations of their partisan audiences, as such may

skew the news in order to perpetually get their loyalty as determined by Durante and Knight (2010).

Atkeson and Krebs (2008) examined whether bias exists in the press's treatment of male and female candidates. They used mayoral elections in the United States of America for their analysis. Firstly, approximately three out of four of all cities used nonpartisan ballots meaning that the influence of partisanship is a bit subdued in local politics. In the same vein they observed that, urban populations are largely Democratic, therefore local polls often array intraparty candidates against each other, which makes party identification an irrelevant sign for voter decision making. This background allowed the researchers to control the confusing effects of party affiliations.

They focused on open-seat races, where incumbency was not an issue. They wanted to find out whether media coverage of inter-gender mayoral candidates was different or biased, and to determine whether a female candidature would change the scope of issues discussed in the campaigns. They wanted to see if there would be differences in how male and female mayoral campaigns are covered by the news media. This they did by analyzing the coverage of six recent mayoral races. The chosen races represented a combination of inter-gender and intra-gender races so that comparisons both within and between contexts can be examined. Specifically, they chose recent, nonpartisan, open-seat, and competitive elections in large cities with a major newspaper.

They found no difference in candidate coverage within each type of race in terms of the general attention given to each candidate. With regards to candidate electability, there was no evidence

to show that the reporters focused more on women. The third hypothesis observed that issue and trait coverage may be different for females than males, and that there may be differences in consideration given to male and female issues across race perspectives. This is likely because gender stereotypes bias journalists' attention to female candidates due to compassion.

The limitation of this work has to do with the assumption that partisanship in mayoral elections is subdued in the United States. This assumption could affect the results because partisan influence could be the reason for a particular outcome in the mayoral elections instead of gender or the absence of incumbency. In this current research work, however, the researcher was keen on using partisanship to determine bias because it may have a strong influence on how a newspaper informs the general public.

Kuypers, Stephen & Cooper (2005) explored the assertion that the US media is politically biased. To do this they conducted a research code named *One war, two frames*, with which they looked for differences in war reporting between journalists embedded with combat troops and journalists based behind-the-lines. They defined embedded journalists as those who travelled with combat troops and lived with a unit in a field. Behind-the-lines reporters, however, were positioned away from the combat or even in the U.S. The units of analysis for their research were stories appearing in the New York Times and the Washington Post. The advantage in the choice of the two papers was because both papers were papers of record. They also have the needed resources to continue covering the war such that the difference in their frames may not be as a result of lack of staff or resources.

They observed that the difference between the two frames is only typical of the two newspapers under this study of Kuypers, et.al. They matched stories by dates of publication. So differences in frames will not be because of changes in combat conditions but as a result of journalistic environment. Practically one day's difference in date was still considered a match. Their units of analysis are hard news stories and featured commentaries on a day's event. Not every story about the war was analyzed; only stories by both embedded and behind-the-lines journalists were analyzed in looking for differences.

They examined 66 stories between March 21 and April 10, 2003. Twenty six (26) stories were for embedded reporters and 40 stories for Behind-the-lines. They found two themes: the strength of the Iraqi army resistance and the resistance of the Iraqi civilian population to the Allied incursion.

In the case of the strength of the Iraqi army resistance, the embedded reporters described the Iraqi soldiers surrendering, whilst behind-the-lines journalists reported casualties of the Allied forces and the loss of their equipment. In the case of the resistance of the Iraqi civilian population, the behind-the-lines reporters presented the collateral damage caused to the Iraqis by the war, whilst the embedded reporters portrayed a positive interaction between the Allied forces and the Iraqi civilians.

This research agrees with the current work in the sense that just as reporters at different locations with respect to the war reported differently on the same issues, stories from the four private newspapers showed differences in the presentations of facts because of their perceived political affiliations.

Larcinese, Puglisi and Snyder Jr. (2007) measured the extent of agenda bias on economic issues for a large number of U.S newspapers over the period of 1996-2005. The work was extended to 1988 for newspapers belonging to groups with large circulations. Monthly and quarterly data on a number of articles that each newspaper reported on some relevant economic issues were reported. The data were matched with the true economic figures to assess whether the outlets consistently over-reported or under-reported on the categorized issues. They dwelled on the political association of the sitting president since the state of the economy under him was a strong determinant of his vote in the next presidential polls. Their research didn't consider any claim about political bias of U.S newspapers; rather it focused on the political position of the newspapers in relation to each other. Their strategy was to detect agenda-setting approach by taking advantage of previous knowledge on the political persuasion of the newspapers.

They examined whether there was a cross-sectional correlation between the difference in coverage of economic issues as a function of the political association of the sitting president and more clear measures of political orientation. Their research looked at four variables which included the unemployment rate, the inflation rate, the federal deficit, and the trade deficit. Because they felt the incumbent president might be blamed for high values, or rewarded for low values, they examined whether newspapers that have a higher tendency to approve Democratic candidates give little exposure to a given economic issue when the sitting president is a Democrat and the matching economic pointer is high and/or rising, compared to the coverage of newspapers that have a propensity to endorse Republicans.

They found moderately strong evidence of political partisanship in the coverage of the unemployment rate. They established that newspapers with a pro-Democratic support pattern thoroughly published fewer stories about unemployment when the national unemployment rate is high and the president is Democratic than when the national unemployment is equally high and the president is a Republican. The size of the predictable effects is not insignificant. When the unemployment rate was one percentage point above the average, newspapers with a strong propensity to endorse Republican candidates reacted with 15% per month more articles under Clinton than under Bush. For the same one percent increase, newspapers with a strong pro-Democratic endorsement policy have 9% less news on unemployment under Clinton than under Bush. They found instead no evidence of partisan bias in the coverage on any of the other economic variables considered.

The work of Larcinese, Puglisi and Snyder Jr. (2007) agrees with the current research in the sense that it considers partisanship to have influence over how a newspaper does its work. To that effect this research wants to determine the extent to which political party affiliation of the four newspapers may have influence on the way they reported stories in relations to the NDC and NPP.

Chiang (2007) puts the measurement of bias further by investigating the effect of rivalry in news reportage. He observed that the media provides background information during a presidential campaign, yet the media can show bias in the reportage. He therefore set out to investigate the source of media bias by examining the effect of electioneering rivalry on news reportage.

He observed that in the case of creation of media bias to cater to main choices in an election, there is the likelihood to see more coverage of Republican candidate in a pro-Republican market. However, if the creation of the media bias is to affect election results one would see more media bias where election was more competitive. Chiang (2007) constructed a simple model to explain how election competition affects media bias in order to affect the results. In his empirical analysis, he measured media bias by the relative length of presidential candidate sound bites in local TV news stories preceding the 2000 presidential polls in the United States of America. The data showed that media bias was greater in media markets where the election was more competitive. This means that media bias was as a result of the desire to affect results of the polls.

The limitations of Chiang's work, however, are in his limiting measurement of media bias by the relative length of presidential candidate sound bites in local TV news stories preceding the 2000 elections. This is because other factors, such as the frequency of the ad on television, etc., could be of a deciding factor as well.

Chiang's work agrees with the current research as it gives insight into the measurement of media bias which was also the focus of this research work. Whilst Chiang (2007) looked at length of sound bite of TV, the current research looks at a variable like the placement of a story in a newspaper which determines the importance of the story in the eyes of the readership of the newspaper.

In order to explore bias further, Anand, Di Tella & Galetovic (2007) came up with two aspects of media bias empirically. They looked at persistent bias which is bias of news items even when

there are outright criticisms of the media house. Then they looked at contradictory bias which talks about a situation in which different people see bias in a news media differently.

They constructed a model which observes empirical characteristics of bias in equilibrium. Their work was on the assumption that news facts about events are not always fully verifiable, and that consumers have differing prior views about the news item. They hypothesized that news reports by media houses are without bias when the facts of the information are fully verifiable. However, according to them, when the facts of a news item are not fully verifiable, the audience expects opinion and editorial from the media houses. This could give rise to manipulation of the news by a media outlet.

In this regard, “the news market is a differential product market,” Anand, Di Tella & Galetovic (2007). They therefore theorized that bias occurs because some facts of the news information are not fully verifiable in a news item. Their research addresses several questions. They include the impact of competition on bias, the incentive to report unpopular news items, and the impact of owner ideology on news reportage. Their work impacted greatly on the current research because it informed it of the influence the ideology of the owner of a newspaper can have on the reports published by the newspaper.

Chiang & Knight (2008) investigated the relationship between media bias and its influence on voting outcomes, taking into consideration the endorsement of newspapers. In other words, they wanted to know the extent to which newspaper endorsements of a particular candidate in an election could affect his or her chances at the polls.

To do this they developed an econometric model. This model ensures that a voter chooses a candidate under doubt relying on the approval of an informed source, in this case a newspaper. In doing that the voter trusts that the newspaper's bias towards one candidate is supposed to promote the good of the voter and so the voter may favor that candidate. They hypothesized that voters were more likely to support the recommended candidate after the publication of the endorsement by the newspaper. However, voters would trust the endorsement only when it is seen to be credible. In this regard, an endorsement becomes less credible depending on the angle one sees it from. For instance, as they observed, a left leaning newspaper's endorsement of a Democratic candidate will be less influential as compared to neutral or right leaning newspapers endorsement of the same candidate. This would also be true for right leaning newspapers and their endorsement of a Republican candidate.

They found out that voters indeed rely on the endorsement of newspapers after they have published approval for a particular candidate in an election. As such, they observed that the degree of trust depends on the degree and direction of the bias.

The limitation of the research has to do with the assumption that voters are completely naïve about issues of their candidates, which is not always true in a democratic society like the United States. However, voters rely on the media, or expert sources, to reaffirm viewpoints they already hold as right-thinking members of the society.

2.4 Summary

This chapter focused basically on the theoretical background from which this study was situated. As has been expressed already, this study was grounded in ‘framing theory’ which looks at the media’s potential to influence social perception by determining what people think and how they think about them. Although some weaknesses were identified with these theoretical perspectives, they helped in explaining most of the findings arrived at in this study.

This chapter also reviewed some studies that related the media and biased news coverage in various countries across the world. None of the studies was carried out in Ghana. The works which were reviewed broadly under partisan and structural biases largely revealed that the media, mostly newspapers, presented stories with some kind of bias. As such they fell short of informing readers of the true situation of issues as they occurred. Whilst some of the studies identified ideological reasons for the occurrence of bias, others saw bias as coming from structural reasons which have to do with the processes of news creation. Again, whilst some of the studies observed that similar media and political systems will produce similar news coverage, others found out that the media could influence voting outcomes by projecting some candidates in a better light. Some of the studies observed that bias in news reportage could be the reason why some US citizens carry false impressions about national issues, whilst other studies realized that the U.S media was politically biased. Other research found that the endorsement of a candidate in an election by a newspaper has the tendency of affecting the results of the election.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the method used in obtaining appropriate data in relation to media bias in news coverage by private newspapers. In broad terms, it would discuss strategies employed in collecting, analyzing and in reporting the research findings. In specific terms the chapter gives a picture of the research design, sampling technique, data collection, various content categorizations, units of analysis, and the data analytical tools employed in this study.

3.2 Content Analysis Design

Content analysis may be performed quantitatively or qualitatively or by a combination of both. Quantitative content analysis was used in collecting relevant data for this study. According to Stemler (2001) content analysis is “a systematic and replicable method of compressing many texts into fewer content categories based on clear rules of coding.”

Wimmer and Dominick (2003) indicated that content analysis can be “useful in describing communication content, testing of hypotheses of message characteristics, comparing media content to the real world, assessing the image of particular groups in society, and in establishing a starting point for studies of media effects.”

Considering the fact that content analysis is suitable in describing communication content, comparing media content to the real world, and in testing hypotheses of message features, the approach was chosen for this study. It was, thus, expected to serve as a useful tool in analyzing

bias in stories covered on specific issues by the *Daily Guide*, *The Enquirer*, *The Chronicle*, and *The Daily Dispatch* newspapers. The purpose and methodical analysis of the stories is to show the extent of bias that exists among the newspapers in reporting stories on the same category of issues.

3.3 Universe and Sample Size

Editions of the *Daily Guide*, *The Enquirer*, *The Chronicle*, and *The Daily Dispatch* which were published from January to December 2014 formed the universe of this study. In total, the universe was made up of 960 editions, out of which 480 editions were selected to be analyzed. Out of the 480 editions analyzed only 336 of the editions had stories relating to the categories of stories the researcher was working with. This was because there were quite a number of editions that didn't have stories on the categories. As was observed, most of the papers focused on party issues like presidential/parliamentary primaries, etc., which were outside the categories. Equal numbers of editions were selected and used for the analysis because all were daily newspapers. Every edition that fell within the sample was found and analyzed. The procedures followed in determining the sample size are discussed below.

3.3.1 Sampling Technique and Procedure

Sampling involves the selection of a segment of a population to represent the entire population (Amendahe, 2005). Sampling allows a researcher to study a relatively small number of units in lieu of the target population and to obtain data that are representative of the whole target population (Amendahe, 2005). In this study, since analysis of the entire newspaper universe was not likely and might not give significant advantage over a sampled universe, some published

newspaper editions were selected and analyzed from the universe. This was, therefore, expected to produce similar and equally valid results within a limited time frame.

The edition dates analyzed in this study were selected by constructing a composite week for each month within the study period. The study, for example, sampled two Mondays (drawn at random from the four or five possible Mondays in the month of January), and two Tuesdays (drawn from the available Tuesdays in January). The process was repeated for Wednesday through to Friday from the month of January and then for all other months within the research period.

For the random selection process, all the dates of Mondays in January 2014 (6th, 13th, 20th, 27th) were written on slips of paper. The slips were folded and dropped into a container. After the slips were mixed up, two of them were picked, one at a time. Record was kept of the date on each selected slip and the slip thrown back into the container before the next one was picked. Each time an already drawn date was selected for a second or third time, it was ignored and thrown back into the container until the required number of two was selected. The process was repeated for the rest of the days in January and for all other months within the study period. For each type of newspaper, 10 edition dates were selected for each month within the study period. For the 12 month-period of 2014 each newspaper had 120 editions selected for analysis. A total of 480 editions studied formed about 50% of the total 960 universe.

Wimmer and Dominick (2003) believe that “the number of edition dates to be studied should be a function of the incidence of the phenomenon in question and that the lower the incidence, the more dates must be sampled.” This means that the event one is studying should determine the number of edition dates to select for the analysis, and that when the event does not occur often, one must sample more edition dates for the analysis. Considering the fact that there were lots of

stories on the categories from Monday to Friday, 10 issues were analyzed per month for each newspaper.

There was a peculiar problem of getting all the relevant newspapers to analyze. This was because the libraries the researcher used for the research had some editions of the said newspapers missing. This was due to the inconsistencies in the delivery of those newspapers to the said libraries as observed by the librarians in question. As such, in the event of the missing of a particular edition, the researcher chose the next edition, etc.

Again most of the stories were issues that made news throughout the year. As such it was possible to find a story on an issue in January and find another story on the same issue in April. In that regard, all stories that were relevant to the categories were matched irrespective of the dates of publication so long as it talked about the same issue on a particular category. This was considered because most of the newspapers repeated the stories and the issues were on for months.

3.4 Data collection

According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (2011), data collection is the process of gathering data through observing, measuring, collection or questioning respondents to obtain relevant information for a study. Data collection forms a fundamental part of any research study. Inaccurate collection of data can affect the results of a study and ultimately lead to invalid results. Below is a discussion on the techniques, procedures, and instruments used in obtaining the appropriate data for the study.

3.4.1 Data Collection Technique

The data collection technique used in this study was content analysis. Data collection from the four newspapers basically focused on the extent of bias (measured as placement of story, headline, tone, photo enhancement) in stories published under the various categories of issues. With regard to ‘frame analysis’, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) identified two possible approaches to content analyzing frames in news stories. These were the deductive and inductive techniques. The deductive approach was used in this study. The deductive approach according to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000:94) involves “predefining certain frames as content analytical variables to verify the extent to which these frames occurred in the news.” Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) noted that the deductive approach makes it necessary for a researcher to have a clear idea of the kinds of frames that could possibly be in the news. The choice of the deductive approach for this study was informed by the fact that “it is easier to replicate, it can be used with large samples, and can easily detect differences in framing between media and within media,” (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). The only disadvantage with the deductive approach, compared to the inductive approach to content analyzing frames, was that “frames that were not defined a priori might be overlooked,” (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

3.4.2 Data Collection Instrument

Data collection for the content analysis was undertaken using a coding guide developed based on the research objectives and hypothesis. Items on the coding schema were adapted from Johnson (2012). Matthew Johnson constructed a model in which he taught how to detect bias in news sources. In his model students are expected to consider the meaning of the word “bias” and “prejudice” and how bias may be found even at the level of individual words due to

connotations. The coding guide contained four variables which were applied to the various stories based on certain instructions. The coding guide was useful in classifying the data on the coding sheet by simply reading and placing the categories in their designated spaces based on the numbers assigned to them. For instance, for the variable of tone, the number one was assigned to positive, two to negative and three to neutral, and so the coder ticked two if he or she thought the story being coded had a negative tone, etc.

3.4.3 Data Collection Procedure

The stories would be searched for by going through all the pages of the sampled editions of the *Daily Guide*, *The Enquirer*, *The Chronicle*, and *The Daily Dispatch* newspapers. Locating the stories involved going through the newspaper texts manually and searching for all articles falling under the categories.

The following categories of stories would be analyzed:

Economics—IMF bailout, National Economic Forum, Cedi fall, Eurobond cash.

Electoral issues—District Assembly Elections, Dr. Afari Gyan, Voter Reforms, Voters Register.

Corruption—National Service Scandal, Black Stars World Cup Mess, Merchant Bank Sale, judgment debt, GYEEDA, SADA, Bui dam, CHRAJ Boss, Cocaine Saga.

Energy—Crude Oil Extraction, Power Outages, TOR, Petrol Shortages.

Governance—Labor Unrest, Government Policy, National Security, Ministerial Reshuffles, DCE Issues, Mahama's Doctored Voice, London Demonstration, Private Jet.

Health—NHIS, Ebola, Missing Babies, Korlebu Senior Staff Car Buying Saga.

Legal—Woyome Trial, Judgment Debt Commission, Attorney General.

The data gathering procedure involved reading every identified story fully and looking out for the appropriate categorization of each item. Code for each observation of a category was then

entered into the appropriate cell on the coding sheet. Prior to the actual coding, there was a pilot coding using the coding guide and coding sheet. This was to check and adjust the categorizations to make them relevant to the context in which they were used. The collection of data for the entire study lasted for one week. This was possible because coding was done by two independent coders, and the coding exercise took place from morning till evening for the seven days. Twenty five percent of the coding, which was used to determine inter-coder reliability had already been done before the one week period. For instance in the case of the story of the Merchant Bank which featured prominently in the said dispensation, the issue of tone comes in when the coder could detect that the writer used words that intended to make the government appear implicated or exonerated as the case may be.

The following are the major variables used in the research and how they were used to measure bias:

Bias through placement: “Front page stories are normally seen to be more prominent than the ones inside the pages,” Johnson (2012). As such where the story is placed influences the reader’s perception about a story’s importance. How the story is written also adds to the bias because most stories use the pyramid style which ensures that the most important issues come first and the latter part contains what readers may not read and therefore can be cut out if necessary.

In measuring this variable, the researcher ensured that in a particular news item that was published by all four papers, coders looked for where each paper placed the story. Stories that were placed on the front page would therefore have been given more prominence over same stories placed somewhere in the inside pages of other newspapers.

Bias by headline: Most people only read headlines by scanning through entire newspapers. What it means is that the headline can carry a bias that could affect the perception of the individual without him or her reading the story (Johnson, 2012).

In this research bias is said to have occurred if the newspaper gives a headline that is sensational. Sensation here can be defined to be words that are sarcastic, ironic, satirical, demeaning, disgusting, disdainful, or any other impression that seeks to destroy the plain fact by playing on the emotions of the reader.

Bias by word choice or tone: The use of words with a positive or negative connotation can influence the reader's perception of the story. Therefore the reporter can bias the story by being negative on issues that he or she is clearly not in favor of (Johnson, 2012).

This bias could be detected when the journalist employs words that seek to abuse, attack, blackmail, disregard, or praise, exalt, etc. As such, the coder is trained to determine when a word is used purposely to present the characters in a story or the issues raised in a bad or good light.

Bias by photos, captions and camera angles: "Some pictures are flattery whilst others are unpleasant. A paper can choose photos to influence perception about a person," Johnson (2012). Therefore the nature of the picture together with its caption can serve to bias an issue.

This variable could be detected by looking at photos that seek to dramatize the headline either in a positive or negative light. This dramatization of the headline can come in the form of photos of the characters to the story captured off guard with either facial expressions portraying sadness etc. Sometimes the gestures captured by the camera could also serve to bias the story as it seeks to stir up emotions about the given subject.

3.5 Unit of Analysis

Wimmer and Dominick (2003) point out that a unit of analysis in a written content could be a single word or symbol, a theme or an entire story or article. These writers maintained that the unit of analysis should be defined in a way that would make it clear as to what should or should not be included in the study. The units or content coded for this study consisted of every *straight news story* which is part of the stated categories of stories, i.e. Economics, Electoral issues, Corruption, Energy, Governance, Health and Legal.

3.6 Data Analysis

After completing all the coding activities, the data was entered into the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software. The coded content was quantitatively analyzed for trends, patterns, relationships, similarities, and differences. This was carried out through the formation of various frequency distribution tables, bar charts, and pie charts based on the objectives and hypothesis for easy analysis and interpretation. Whereas the pie charts provided uni-variate analysis in response to certain objectives of the study, the frequency tables and the bar charts provided a mix of both uni-variate and bi-variate (cross-tabulation) analysis. Statistics differences and analysis were described beneath each of the tables, bars, and charts, in simple percentages and sometimes in frequency counts.

Discussion on the findings was related to scholarly works and theories within which the study was situated. Pearson chi-square statistical coefficient test was used in testing the prediction that was made about the possible outcome of the study. This was to help determine whether there was any significant relationship between the variables of interest. In testing the hypothesis, 0.05 (five out of 100 times) was set as the probability level since that is 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 decision about rejecting the null hypothesis or accepting the research hypothesis,” (Wimmer and Dominick, 2003:269).

3.7 Inter-Coder Reliability

Wimmer and Dominick (2003:156) explain inter-coder reliability as the “levels of agreement among independent coders who code the same content using the same coding instrument. A study is reliable when repeated measurement of the same material results in similar decisions or conclusions.”

In this study, two independent coders carried out an inter-coder reliability test. Reliability checks on a sample of content across stories were conducted following several training sessions. The independent coders were introduced to the codes being studied in the stories and the coding guide with which to identify them. They were then given the coding sheet that was developed for the study and were assigned samples of the two newspapers to be coded. For the sake of checking reliability, samples of the same issues, constituting about 25% each of the four newspapers were offered to the independent coders. Agreement between the two coders was assessed with Holsti’s formula as cited in Wimmer and Dominick (2003) which specified that

$$\text{reliability} = \frac{2M}{N1 + N2}$$

$$N1 + N2$$

In the formula, M represents the number of coding decisions on which the two coders agreed and N1 and N2 represent the total number of coding decisions by the first and second coders respectively.

The first check resulted in an inter-rater reliability coefficient of 0.79, while the second check resulted in a coefficient of 0.91. These produced margins of error of 0.21 and 0.09 in the first and second instances respectively. Before the second round of the coding, the coders discussed points of disagreement and arrived at a consensus. That resulted in the 0.91 reliability coefficient for the second check. This result is an indication of a good inter-coder agreement.

3.8 Summary

The focus of this chapter was the systematic procedures used in collecting data for this study. The most relevant data gathering approach used for the study was content analysis, since the study primarily examined contents of newspaper publications that are biased.

The chapter threw light on the systematic steps used in selecting the newspaper editions to ensure that every edition had an equal chance of being selected for the analysis. The instrument used in collecting the data, how the actual data was collected, and the tools used in analyzing the data were discussed in detail. The objective was to allow for easy replication of the study by others.

The next chapter presents an analysis of the findings of the study. The presentation takes the form of frequency tables, pie charts and bar charts to aid in analyzing the findings. Text of a hypothesis is also undertaken.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data and the interpretations of the findings in response to the stated objectives and hypothesis formulated for the study. Data were collected using the quantitative content analysis approach. Both uni-variate and bi-variate analyses of the findings are presented in the form of tables, bar charts and pie charts.

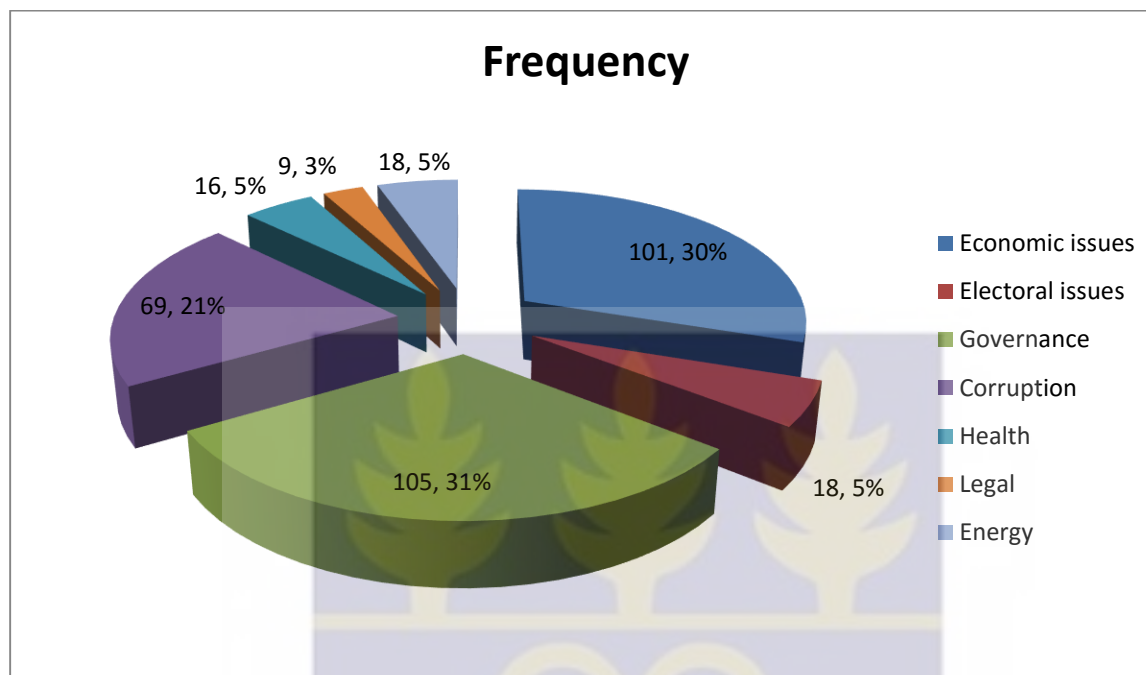
4.2 The nature of news coverage by four newspapers

Table 1: Newspaper ID

Newspaper ID	Frequency	Percent
DAILY GUIDE	85	25.3
THE ENQUIRER	71	21.1
THE CHRONICLE	102	30.4
THE DAILY DISPATCH	78	23.2
Total	336	100.0

As shown in Table 1, a total of 336 stories were analyzed from the four newspapers for the year 2014. *The Chronicle* recorded the highest number of stories with 103 (30.4%) stories. This was followed by the *Daily Guide* with 85 (25.3%) stories. *The Daily Dispatch* and *The Enquirer* recorded 78 (23.2%) and 70 (21.1%) stories respectively.

Chart A: Category of story



The stories analyzed were categorized under broader umbrellas to make them easy for assessment. Governance recorded the highest number of stories, i.e. 105 stories making up a total of 31.2% of the total number of stories analyzed. The next category that drew attention was that of Economic issues recording 101 stories making up 30.1% of the total number of stories. Corruption stories again were important areas to detect bias in reportage, and that accounted for 69 stories making up 20.5% of total number of stories. Electoral issues and Energy recorded 18 stories each representing 5.4% each of total number of stories. Stories on Health recorded 16 making up 4.8% of total stories. Legal issues recorded the least with nine stories making up just 2.7% of total number of stories published.

Economic issues looked at the need to go for IMF bailout by the Mahama government, the National Economic Forum that was boycotted by the opposition NPP, the rampant fall of the Cedi as well as issues of the Eurobond cash.

Electoral issues looked at the voter register and the need to revise it, and the delay of the District Assembly elections. There was also the attack on Dr. Afari Gyan in Kumasi by an NPP member during a conference held by the Electoral Commission.

Governance looked at the frequent strike actions and labor agitations. It also looked at government policies in general. Then there was the Legon toll booth saga in which Colonel Gbevlo Lartey tore down the toll booth erected by the authorities to collect tolls from users of the Legon roads. It also looked at ministerial reshuffles by the president, and DCE issues. Other stories under governance include Mahama's doctored voice, London demonstration, and the purchasing of a presidential private jet by the Mahama administration.

Corruption looked at stories on the National Service scandal in which the director of the service was implicated in a corruption case that robbed the country of many Cedis. It also looked at the Black Stars world cup mess in which some players and management were accused of many ill doings that spoil the reputation of the country and misappropriated the resources of the state. There was also the Merchant Bank sale which had issues of the involvement of Ibrahim Mahama, brother to the president. There were also GYEEDA, SADA, Bui dam, CHRAJ boss, and the cocaine saga.

Health looked at the Ebola scare that had taken hold of many in Ghana and West Africa in general. There were also the missing babies at Komfo Anokye Teaching Hospital, Kumasi and issues arising, and the buying of expensive cars by management of Koforidua Teaching Hospital.

Legal issues looked at Woyome's legal battle with the state over his acquisition of judgment debt money from the state. It also looked at the sitting of the Judgment Debt Commission.

Finally Energy covered Ghana's oil extraction, Tema Oil Refinery's inability to refine oil, power outages, and petrol shortages.

Table 2: Placement of story

		PLACEMENT				Total
		Front	Inside pages	Back	Other	
NEWSPAPER ID	DAILY GUIDE	57 67.1%	28 32.9%	0 .0%	0 .0%	85 100.0%
	THE ENQUIRER	62 87.3%	9 12.7%	0 .0%	0 .0%	71 100.0%
	THE CHRONICLE	77 75.5%	25 24.5%	0 .0%	0 .0%	102 100.0%
	THE DAILY DISPATCH	65 83.3%	11 14.1%	1 1.3%	1 1.3%	78 100.0%
Total	261 77.7%	73 21.7%	1 .3%	1 .3%	336 100.0%	

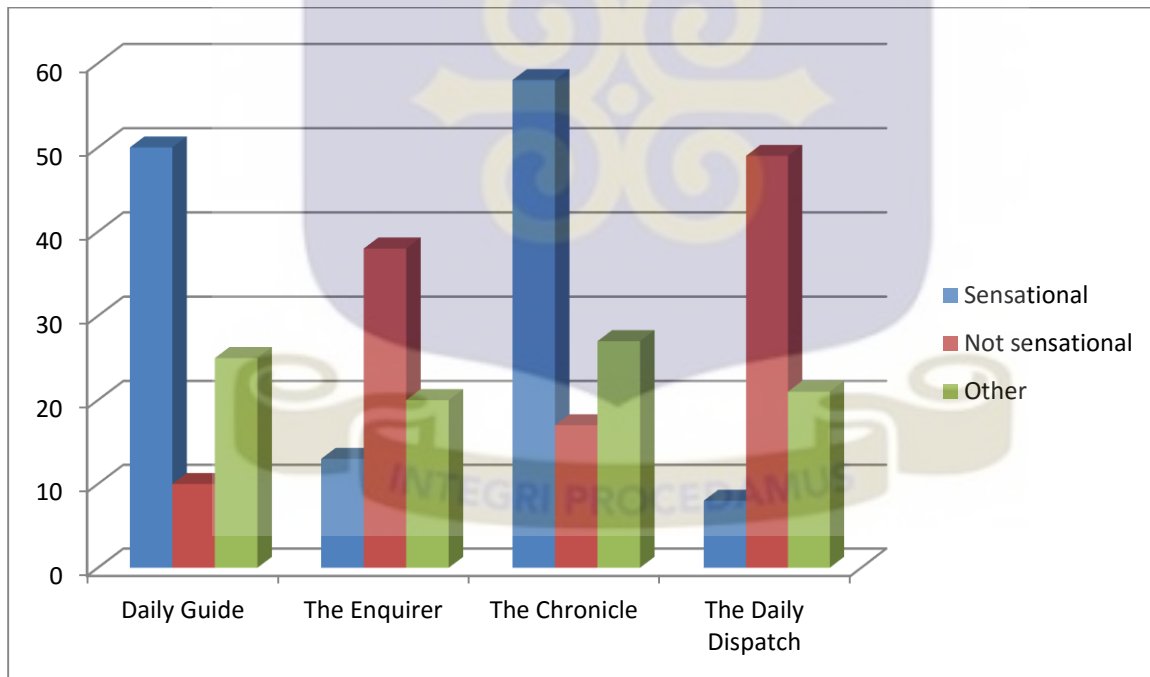
Where a story is placed in a newspaper shows the importance the paper places on the story. This means that stories placed on the front pages are given some level of importance. This is because it gives the story a certain prominence above stories placed elsewhere in the paper. A newspaper therefore shows bias when it places some stories in the front page whilst others of equal importance are kept in the middle pages.

From table 2, stories on the front pages of the papers on the stated categories were the numerous accounting for 261 (77.7%) of the total number of stories. This means that the categories of

stories were such that all four newspapers saw them as necessary to merit the front page. Seventy three (73, 21.7%) of the stories were placed in the inside pages of the papers. Only one story each representing 0.3% of the total number of stories was on the back page and ‘Other’ respectively. In this variable, the research showed that all four newspapers were fair and showed no bias in the presentation of the stories as most important stories were found on front pages of all four newspapers.

(Please find attached pictures of some examples at the appendix).

.Chart B: Headline



Headlines are very important component in determining the biasness of a story. This is because it sets the tone for a particular story even before one reads it. To this end one can judge a story’s biasness by looking at how sensational or otherwise the headline is. The data showed that 129

(38.4%) of the headlines were sensational. One hundred and fourteen (114, 33.9%) of the stories were not sensational. 93(27.7%) stories fell under ‘Other’. From Chart B one could say that the *Daily Guide* and *The Chronicle* newspapers had most of their stories with sensational headlines such as *Daily Guide*—February 17, 2014: “Greedy Thieves.” *The Chronicle*—November 6, 2014: “Ministers Greedy and Lazy... Azorka Charges on Mahama’s Men.”

The Enquirer and *The Daily Dispatch* newspapers were quiet minimal on sensational headlines such as *The Enquirer*—April 30, 2014: “Impending Reshuffle—Ministers Sit On Tenterhooks,” and *The Daily Dispatch*—October 7, 2014: “Trouble ‘Day’ Come As Dismissed Ministers Refuse To Vacate Bungalows.” (See appendix for more examples of such stories.)

Table 3: Word Choice and Tone

		Word choice and tone			Total
		Positive	negative	Neutral	
NEWSPAPER ID	DAILY GUIDE	0 0.0%	55 64.7%	30 35.3%	85 100.0%
	THE ENQUIRER	27 38.0%	16 22.5%	28 39.4%	71 100.0%
	THE CHRONICLE	10 9.8%	62 60.8%	30 29.4%	102 100.0%
	THE DAILY DISPATCH	39 50.0%	27 34.6%	12 15.4%	78 100.0%
Total		76 22.6%	160 47.6%	100 29.8%	336 100.0%

One of the most convincing means of determining bias in news coverage is in the area of tone and choice of words. This is because the negativity or positivity of the tone shows the newspaper's resolve to address the issues at stake in a certain direction in order to bias the story. From Table 3 one sees that 76 stories representing 22.6% of the total number of stories had a positive tone. One hundred and sixty (160, 47.6%) of the stories had a negative tone and 100 (29.8%) of stories were neutral. The *Daily Guide* and *The Chronicle* newspapers had very few stories with positive tone with a large number of their stories coming with a negative tone. *The Enquirer* and *The Daily Dispatch* newspapers on the other had a fairly large number of stories with a positive tone and quite some number with a negative tone.

Below are some examples:

The Daily Dispatch, January 6, 2014: "Mahama Has A Fair Chance of Keeping Economy Afloat." Extract: *Ghana is still West Africa's biggest economic and political success...*

The Chronicle, March 31, 2014: "Investors Lose Faith In Economy." Extract: *Despite an improvement in public financial management, consistent negative fiscal surprises have eroded investors' faith in Ghana's economy...*

The Enquirer, October 22, 2014: "Anti-Corruption Crusader Hails Mahama." Extract: *"This administration is doing a lot to prove to the Ghanaian public that it is serious about stemming the tide of corruption in the country," ...*

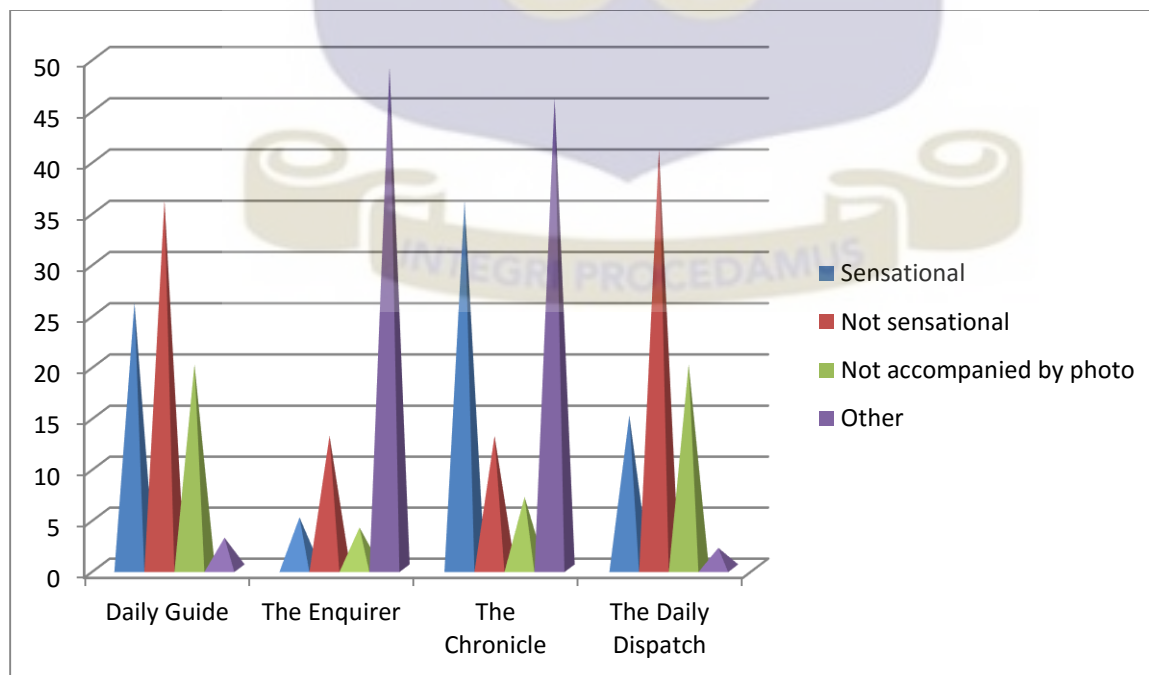
Daily Guide, October 23, 2014: "Mahama Has Failed." Extract: *Key findings from the Afro-barometer Round 6 Survey conducted locally by the Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) on the economic conditions in the country point out that a lot of Ghanaians are pissed off with government's management of the economy...*

The Enquirer, March 28, 2014: “Gov’t On Track.” Extract: *Opponents and detractors of the Mahama administration who were happy with the blocking of the remainder of the \$ 3bn Chinese Development Bank (CDB) must bow their heads in shame.*

The Chronicle, July 17, 2014: “\$3bn Chinese Fiasco...As Gov’t Fails To Pay Commitment Fees.” Extract: *After three years of unsuccessful access to the much publicized US\$3billion Chinese loan, the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) government is now asking Parliament to review the facility downward to US\$1.5bn.*

The Enquirer, January 14, 2014: “NPP Diverts Attention.” Extract: *Opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP), well noted for mischief and mercenary politics is now diverting attention on the Merchant Bank happenings...” (Please see appendix for more examples.)*

Chart C: Photo, caption and camera angle



Biasness or otherwise of a story is also determined by photos that come with the stories. These photos could either sensationalize the story or enhance it. The research showed that 82 (24.4%) of the photos were sensational, and 103 (30.7%) of the photos were not sensational. Fifty one (15.2%) of the stories fell under 'other'. Chart C shows that the *Daily Guide* and *The Chronicle* newspapers had the highest number of stories with sensational photos. *The Enquirer* had the least number of sensational photos. *The Daily Dispatch* came next with quite a number of sensational photos. In all it could be observed that the extent of bias by photos was relatively lower than other variables such as tone and headline. (*Please see appendix for examples of such photos.*)

4.3 Testing of hypothesis

Hypothesis testing involved the use of statistics in determining the likelihood that a given hypothesis was true (Mathworld, 2011). Since this study was a quantitative content analysis, one research hypothesis was tested using Pearson chi-square statistical coefficient. Analysis of outcome of the tested hypothesis is presented below.

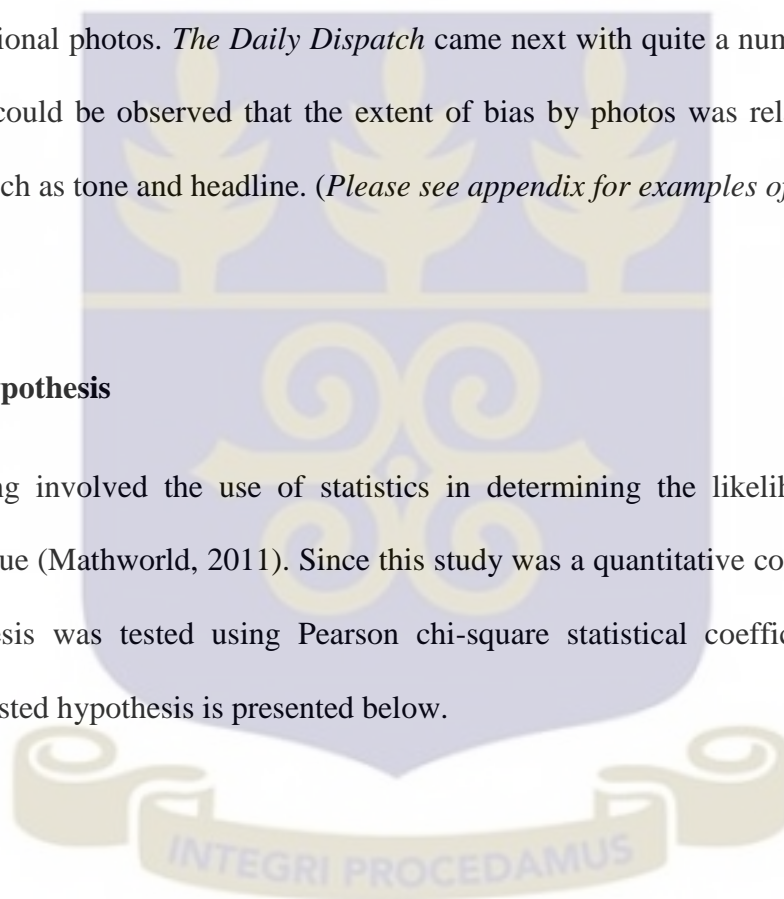


Table 4: Direction of Bias by Newspaper

		DIRECTION OF BIAS BY NEWSPAPER			Total
		Positive	negative	Neutral	
NEWSPAPER ID	DAILY GUIDE	0 .0%	55 64.7%	30 35.3%	85 100.0%
	THE ENQUIRER	27 38.0%	16 22.5%	28 39.4%	71 100.0%
	THE CHRONICLE	10 9.8%	62 60.8%	30 29.4%	102 100.0%
	THE DAILY DISPATCH	39 50.0%	27 34.6%	12 15.4%	78 100.0%
Total		76 22.6%	160 47.6%	100 29.8%	336 100.0%

$$X^2=89.542$$

$$df=6$$

$$p=0.000$$

Table 6 was developed to help in testing the assumption that:

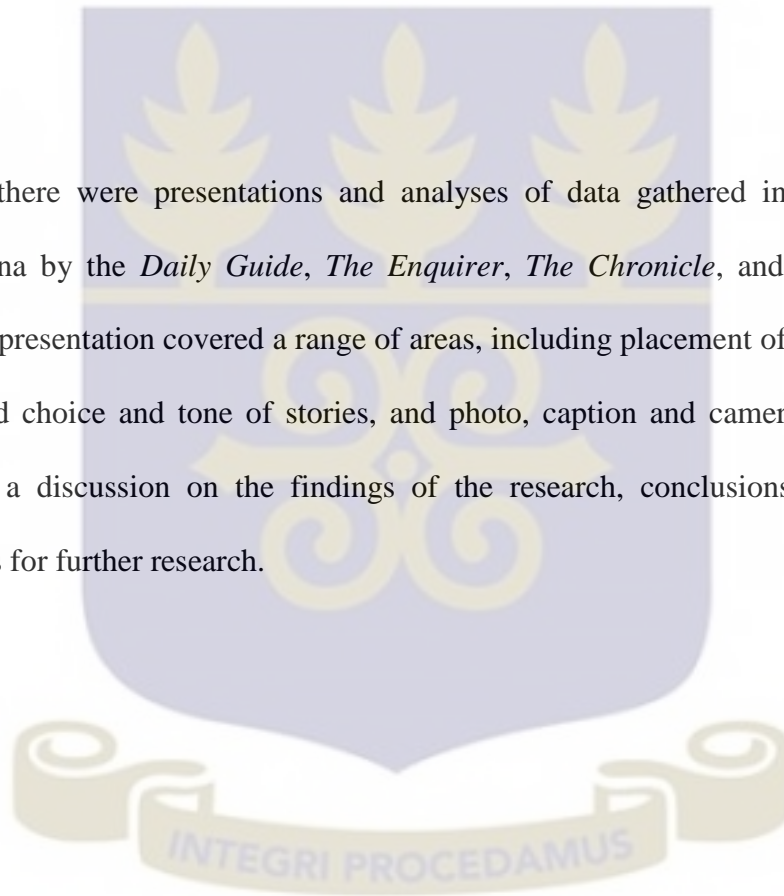
H₁: The more sympathetic a newspaper is towards a particular political party, the less likely it would be negative towards that party.

The data in Table 4 partially suggest the existence of a relationship since the *Daily Guide* reported 0 percent of stories with positive tone and 64.7 percent of stories with negative tone. *The Enquirer* reported stories with 38.0 percent positive stories and 22.5 percent negative stories. *The Chronicle* had 9.8 percent of stories with a positive tone and 60.8 percent of stories with a negative tone, and *The Daily Dispatch* had 50 percent of stories with a positive tone and 34.6 percent of stories with a negative tone. When the data was subjected to a statistical test, a chi-

square value of 89.542, degree of freedom of 6, and a probability of 0.000 were produced. This means a rejection of the null hypothesis since the level of significance was less than the generally accepted level of 0.05 for samples of 500 or less. The research hypothesis that *the more sympathetic a newspaper is towards a particular political party the less likely it would be negative towards that party* was supported by the data collected in this study.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, there were presentations and analyses of data gathered in relation to news coverage in Ghana by the *Daily Guide*, *The Enquirer*, *The Chronicle*, and *The Daily Guide* newspapers. The presentation covered a range of areas, including placement of stories, the nature of headline, word choice and tone of stories, and photo, caption and camera angle. The next chapter presents a discussion on the findings of the research, conclusions, limitations, and recommendations for further research.



CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the summary of findings made in this research and their implications. To make the findings meaningful, the chapter discusses, draws inferences, and relates the findings to empirical studies and theoretical frameworks in which the study had been situated. The chapter also looked at the conclusion and recommendations for further research in the area of bias in news coverage.

5.2 Number of stories published by the four newspapers

The researcher found out that out of the 336 stories analyzed, *The Chronicle* published the most stories with 102 articles. The *Daily Guide* was next with 85 stories. *The Daily Dispatch* and *The Enquirer* had 78 and 71 stories respectively. This means that some of the newspapers concerned published more stories on the said categories than other newspapers.

5.3 Extent of bias in news coverage

Analysis in this study looked at the extent of bias recorded by the four newspapers in publishing the stated stories. Therefore, issues of categories of stories, placement of story, headline, word choice and tone, and photo, caption and camera angle, were discussed.

5.3.1. Categories of Stories

The stories analyzed were categorized under broader umbrellas to make them easy for assessment. Governance formed the largest number of stories, recording 105 stories making up a total of 31.2% of the total number of stories analyzed. The next category that drew attention was that of Economic issues recording 101 stories making up 30.1% of the total number of stories. Corruption stories again were important areas to detect bias in reportage, and that accounted for 69 stories making up 20.5% of total number of stories. Electoral issues and Energy recorded 18 stories each representing 5.4% each of total number of stories. Stories on Health recorded 16 making up 4.8% of total stories. Legal issues recorded the least with nine stories making up just 2.7% of total number of stories published.

From the analysis, it was found out that the four newspapers showed more interest in reporting issues that fell under Governance, Economics, Corruption whilst stories on Electoral issues, Health, Legal and energy were relatively fewer.

Again bias in news coverage by these newspapers were seen more under the categories of Governance, Economics and Corruption, with Electoral issues, Health, Legal and Energy having their tone and headings more neutral.

The following are some of the examples:

Governance:

The Chronicle, August 22 2014. "...and Ankrah wept."

The Daily Dispatch, Nov 4, 2014: "All you need to know about: The Pension Reforms Wahala."

The Enquirer, Nov 6, 2014: “Strikes Are Being Fuelled By People Due For Retirement Next Year, says Imani Ghana.”

The Daily Guide, Nov. 7, 2014: “Missing Tier 2 Pension Fund.”

The Chronicle, Dec. 10, 2014: “Hands off Pension Till—Nana Addo tells Mahama.”

Economic:

The Enquirer, August 29, 2014: “Bawumia Deflated On Cocoa Politics.”

Daily Guide, August 1, 2014: “Confusion Over IMF Bailout.”

The Chronicle, January 9 (2014). “NDC On Borrowing Spree...Increases Ghana’s Debt From \$8bn To \$23bn. Government Blames It On Election Petition.”

The Chronicle, 11th September, 2014: “IMF Bailout Can’t Solve Ghana’s Economic Woes.”—Moseys.

The Daily Dispatch, 30 September, 2014: “Ghana’s Best Bet Is with The IMF.”

The Enquirer, 24th September, 2014: “Mahama Explains IMF.”

Daily Guide, Friday 9th may, 2014: “Government Sacks Workers For IMF Bailout.”

Corruption:

Daily Guide, October 7, 2014: “Corruption Hits Roof Top.”

Daily Guide, October 30, 2014: “Rot At National Service: NSS Director Grabs Five Mansions in Four Years.”

The Enquirer, October 31, 2014: “NSS Won’t Collapse Under Mahama.”

The Daily Dispatch, wed. January 8, 2014: “How Secret Gov’t Accounts Were used To Pay For Baby Items.

The Chronicle, January 23, 2014: “Woyome’s Claim Rubbished In Court.”

There is a general departure from the harshness that came with the headings and tone of the stories under Energy, Health, Elections and legal. Again some of the papers had practically no or very few stories of these categories.

Energy:

The Chronicle, January 21, 2014: Ghana to produce fuel from plastics”

Chronicle, August 12, 2014: Power Play Over Ghana Gas”

Daily Guide, April 3, 2014: “Petrol Price Hikes: No End In Sight.”

Health:

The Daily Dispatch, August 1, 2014: “National Health Insurance Authority Suspends 3 Health Facilities.”

The Enquirer, October 1, 2014: “Moves To Hang NHIS Boss Flops.”

The Chronicle, July 29, 2014: “Cash For Ebola Locked Up.”

Legal:

The Chronicle, October 9, 2014: “Government Lawyers On Strike.”

The Daily Dispatch, August 1, 2014: “Betty Ordered Payments To Woyome.”

The Enquirer, July 31, 2014: “Jail Awaits Woyome.”

Electoral Issues:

The Daily Dispatch, January 13, 2014: “EC’s Voters Register Correct.”

The Daily Dispatch, November 25, 2014: “Over 45,000 Cannot Vote In 2016.”

The Daily Dispatch, November 28, 2014: “Afari-Gyan Threatened By NPP Guru.”

5.3.2. Concept of placement of story

Johnson (2012) observed that where a news item is placed in a newspaper spells the story’s importance to the media house. As such stories that are placed on the front pages may supposedly be more relevant than stories placed somewhere in the newspaper.

The study found out that 261 (77.7%) of the articles appeared on the front page. Seventy three (21.7%) of the news articles appeared in the middle pages of the newspapers and one (.3%) article each appeared at the back and “other”. It can therefore be said that most of the stories prioritized the categories of stories that were selected for this study by placing them on the front pages. Stromback and Aalberg (2008), in their attempt to compare news coverage of two nations with similar media and political systems, chose only stories that appeared on the front page. This was because they felt that those were stories that were given priority and therefore all papers under study would surely publish. This goes to show why 77.7% of the stories by the four newspapers all appeared on the front pages of the papers because they believed that the audience is more inclined to consider stories appearing on the front pages of these newspapers and to downplay the importance of stories appearing on the inside pages of the four papers.

5.3.3 Headline

Again Johnson (2012) observed that the headline of every story has a hand in biasing the story because it sets the tone for the analysis on the issue before the reader gets to read the story. By this if the headline is sensational or otherwise it goes to affect the reader's interpretation and understanding of the issues at stake.

From the study it was found out that 129 (38.4%) of the stories had headlines that were sensational. One hundred and fourteen (114, 33.9%) of the stories published by the newspapers were not sensational, and 93 (27.7%) of the stories were categorized as 'other'. From this data, one could say that the newspapers biased quite a large number of the stories by sensationalizing their headlines.

However there was also substantial prove to say that there were also effort on the part of the media houses to present some headlines that were not sensational. Again, the data shows that most of the stories with headline bias were attributed to *Daily Guide* and *The Chronicle*. This could be because they were sympathetic towards the course of the NPP as most of the bias was in stories critical of the government. *The Enquirer* and *The Daily Dispatch* also biased the headlines and were less sensational in stories that were critical of the government.

Here are some examples from the research:

The Chronicle, April 2, 2014: "Looting Brigade Strikes Again... 'AG Does Not Care About Government Cases'."

In this context the Attorney General had lost a case and *The Chronicle* newspaper was trying to create the impression that the AG deliberately lost the case so they could pay judgment debt to

the parties concerned. By using the word ‘Looting’ the paper creates the impression of an attempt to milk the coffers dry. Using the word ‘again’ in this context creates the impression that they have done it before and are on the loose again, probably referring to the Woyome case.

Daily Guide, May 5, 2014: “Let’s Chop...\$120m Oil Cash—NDC.

The word ‘chop’ is used to depict how one eats without closing his or her mouth such that it makes the sound of the chopping of wood. In a broader context it depicts somebody who is eating without observing any etiquette because he or she is consumed in the pleasure of the meal. In this regard the *Daily Guide* is creating the impression that the NDC is desperately misappropriating the resources of the state.

The Enquirer, April 9, 2014: “Minority Jabs Gov’t Over The State Of The Economy.”

To ‘jab’ means to give a quick, sharp blow, especially with the fist. For *The Enquirer* to refer to the scrutiny of the Minority group in parliament about the state of Ghana’s economy as jabbing is to say that the minority is not actually interested in offering alternatives for the resolution of Ghana’s economic problems. What it seeks to do is to let opposition be seen as hitting hard at the government so its criticism may not be taken seriously by the audience.

The Daily Dispatch, January 6, 2014: “Mahama has a fair chance of keeping economy afloat.”

This headline shows a clear resolve by the newspaper to paint the government in a good light in the wake of economic challenges Ghana was facing in the year 2014. For the economy to be kept ‘afloat’ means it has survived all tendencies that could have sunk it into the bottom of the ‘economic ocean’. By this one could say that the newspaper is mindful of giving the government a bright picture in the eyes of the audience.

5.3.4 Word choice and tone

Johnson (2012) agrees that word choice and tone is one key area of showing particularly partisan bias in news coverage. To this end the newspaper deliberately chooses the negative or the positive tone in reporting stories that are of interest to it. In this regard it may present a negative tone for stories that are contrary to its interest whilst giving a positive tone to stories that favor its partisan interest.

From the study it was found out that 160 (47.6%) of the articles were presented with a negative tone. Forty seven (47.6, 22.6%) of the articles were presented with a positive tone and 100 (29.8%) of the articles were presented with a neutral tone. What it means, therefore, is that most of the articles were written with the tendency to bias the stories they present. This is because more than three quarters of the stories were presented either positively or negatively underscoring the attempt by these stories to either favor the issues or downplay them. However there was some effort to also present some stories in a neutral tone.

As has been indicated by the cross tabulation, *Daily Guide* and *The Chronicle* were more negative in their reportage towards the NDC, whilst *The Enquirer* and *The Daily Dispatch* were quite positive towards the NDC.

The following are some more examples:

The Daily Dispatch, January 6, 2014: “Mahama Has A Fair Chance of Keeping Economy Afloat.” Extract: *Ghana is still West Africa’s biggest economic and political success...*

This headline shows a clear resolve by the newspaper to paint the government in a good light in the wake of economic challenges Ghana was going through in the year 2014. For the economy to

be kept 'afloat' means it has survived all tendencies that could have sunk it under the bottom of the 'economic ocean'. By this one could say that the newspaper is mindful of giving the government a bright picture in the eyes of the audience.

Again by the use of the word 'still' shows that despite what critics might say about Ghana's economy it hasn't lost its position as the best in West Africa. By this the newspaper is helping to keep favorites of the government calm by ensuring that it gives them the confidence they need in their government.

The Chronicle, March 31, 2014: "Investors Lose Faith In Economy." Extract: *Despite an improvement in public financial management, consistent negative fiscal surprises have eroded investors' faith in Ghana's economy...*

To claim that investors have lost faith in the economy is to create the impression that the economy is no more viable. For the newspaper to use the word 'eroded' to describe the loss of interest by the investors is an attempt by the paper to create an impression of the washing away of the faith of the investors. This means that bad economic rain is falling on Ghana such that it has succeeded in wiping off the topmost soil of the land such that the land is now exposed to the elements of nature to the utmost destruction of the land (economy).

The Enquirer, October 22, 2014: "Anti-Corruption Crusader Hails Mahama." Extract: *"This administration is doing a lot to prove to the Ghanaian public that it is serious about stemming the tide of corruption in the country," ...*

To stem the tide means to be able to control the waves of the sea as it promises to wreck a sailing boat. To this end the newspaper creates the impression of the success of the government in controlling corruption within its ranks in such a way that it has calmed all traces of it in the government.

Daily Guide, October 23, 2014: “Mahama Has Failed.” Extract: *Key findings from the Afro-barometer Round 6 Survey conducted locally by the Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) on the economic conditions in the country point out that a lot of Ghanaians are pissed off with government’s management of the economy...*

In reporting findings of the Afro-barometer findings, the *Daily Guide* used the phrase ‘pissed off’ to describe how Ghanaians see the government’s effort to manage the economy. By the use of this phrase it is clear that the paper intends to portray Ghanaians as having got fed up by what it believes to be unyielding results on the part of the government. This goes to show how the paper intends to make the government look bad in the eyes of general audience.

The Enquirer, March 28, 2014: “Gov’t On Track.” Extract: *Opponents and detractors of the Mahama administration who were happy with the blocking of the remainder of the \$ 3bn Chinese Development Bank (CDB) must bow their heads in shame.*

By using the phrase ‘bow heads in shame’ *The Enquirer* appears to be at war with a certain perception that the government has failed in securing the much talked about Chinese loan. Clearly *The Enquirer* wants to make the government look good in the eyes of Ghanaians as it seeks to create the impression that in spite of difficulties in securing the loan the nation is still on course.

The Chronicle, July 17, 2014: “\$3bn Chinese Fiasco...As Gov’t Fails To Pay Commitment Fees.” Extract: *After three years of unsuccessful access to the much publicized US\$3billion Chinese loan, the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) government is now asking Parliament to review the facility downward to US\$1.5bn.*

By the use of the word ‘Fiasco’ *The Chronicle* by implication is seeking to establish the failure of the government with respect to the Chinese loan. This is further buttressed by the use of the phrase ‘much publicized’. This shows that the failure of the government in securing the loan is made more frustrating by the many years it used in the loan negotiation process with the Chinese government.

The Enquirer, January 14, 2014: “NPP Diverts Attention.” Extract: *Opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP), well noted for mischief and mercenary politics is now diverting attention on the Merchant Bank happenings...*”

By the saying that the NPP is well noted for mischief and mercenary politics is to attack the personality of the party instead of the issues under discussion. This clearly shows a tone of negativity towards the opposition party by *The Enquirer* clearly showing its bid to defend the government as it claims that the NPP is seeking to divert attention from the real issues.

These analyses show that *The Chronicle and Daily Guide* newspapers presented mostly a negative picture about issues relating to the government in mostly issues relating to Governance, Economics and Corruption. In the same vein, *The Daily Dispatch and The Enquirer* newspapers presented stories with a positive tone towards the government under the categories listed above. *The Enquirer* was also quite negative towards the NPP. According to Baron (2003), biased

reports influence the public because reports by the news media cannot be verified. He, therefore, claimed that media report influences interest groups to project their concerns by publishing positive information and omitting negative information about them. Because news media influences the public and private, according to Baron, it inspires news sources to provide information strategically.

5.3.5 Photo, caption, camera angle

Stories can be biased when they are enhanced by photos, captions and camera angle. What they do to stories is that they either sensational or enhance the message presented (Johnson 2012). To this end a newspaper house may choose to bias stories by presenting pictures that serve to present a message that twist the story being told in a certain regard.

The study found out that 103 (30.7%) of the stories did not have sensational photos, caption and camera angle. Eighty two (82, 24.4%) of the stories had sensational photos, captions and camera angles, whilst 82 (24.4%) of the stories did not come with photos. This shows that there was attempt to bias the stories by the newspapers as about one out of three stories had photos that were sensationalized. There was however some effort to presents pictures that did not bias the story. The *Daily Guide* and *The Chronicle* newspapers had quite a number of stories with sensational headlines even though a lot more of the stories had photos that were neutral. *The Enquirer* and *The Daily Dispatch* newspapers were quite minimal on sensational photos. (Please check appendix for examples of such photos).

Brooks et. al. (1992) observed that photos have a way of enhancing the message one puts across, such that, in the context of this research, it has the potential to bias the story by sensationalizing

the message carried in the story. From the study, it was found out that about a third of the stories had photos that could be said to be sensational which underscore the attempt by the newspapers to bias their stories by the use of photos and camera angles.

5.4 Hypothesis

The hypothesis formulated was statistically supported. The assumption that the more sympathetic a newspaper was towards a particular political party the less likely it would be negative towards that party was supported statistically, leading to the rejection of the null hypothesis.

5.5 Summary of findings

The research found out that most of the stories were placed at the front pages with quite a number in the middle pages with only one each at the back page and 'other'. Quite a number of stories were published with sensational headlines, and the tone of the reportage was either negative towards one political party or positive towards the other. Not an appreciable number of stories were published with sensational photos, captions and camera angles.

5.6 Conclusion

This study established that the *Daily Guide*, *The Enquirer*, *The Chronicle* and *The Daily Dispatch* newspapers published stories that were quite biased towards one political party or the other.

As per the findings of this research, one could say that each of the four newspapers was biased towards the ruling government or the opposition parties. This is because most of the stories were published with one slant or the other. *The Enquirer* and *The Daily Dispatch* were seen to be more sympathetic towards the incumbent on stories that fell under Governance, Economics and Corruption, whilst the *Daily Guide* and *The Chronicle* were a bit harsh on the government on the same categories of issues.

Statistically the hypothesis confirmed the differences in the tones of reportage of *The Enquirer* and *The Daily Dispatch* on one hand and *Daily Guide* and *The Chronicle* on the other hand.

Issues regarding Health, Elections, Legal and Energy didn't lend themselves to much attention as most of the newspapers did less stories under these categories. It was only *The Daily Dispatch* that did more stories on Election Issues.

From the ongoing it is right to argue that the four newspapers, *Daily Guide*, *The Enquirer*, *The Chronicle* and *The Daily Dispatch* newspapers were quite biased in response to the polarized nature of our politics along the two major political parties, the NDC and the NPP. This can be said because it was clear some of the newspapers were clearly positive in their tone towards one of the parties and negative towards the other as seen from the examples.

5.7 Limitations of the study

Findings of this study should be considered while bearing in mind some limitations. One such shortcoming was in missing newspaper editions. Most of these private newspapers are not doing well, as such there are days they don't publish at all (holidays, for example), or they don't keep proper records of their editions. So occasionally some of the editions were missing and had to be replaced by other dates as provided for by this research method. This slightly affected the data collection process.

Another limitation was in getting related studies that were undertaken in underdeveloped countries. The study had to largely rely on works from the developed nations whose socio-cultural backgrounds differ from what pertains in Ghana. This resulted in comparisons of findings from two contrasting rather than similar socio-cultural settings.

5.8 Recommendations

Although this research has proved that the private press has a role to play in tilting the news in Ghana, it is equally important to research into how much media personnel understand the term bias in news coverage and to what extent they bias or present the truth in their work as journalists. This would help schools and colleges as well as industry to focus on producing journalists who understand the negative consequences of producing biased news.

To this end the researcher would recommend that Bias In News Coverage be added to the curricula of Media training institutions so they inform media students before they are confronted with it in practice.

APPENDIX 1**CODING GUIDE**

Q 1. Newspaper ID

NUMBER ASSIGNED	CATEGORY
1	Daily Guide
2	The Enquirer
3	The Chronicles
4	The Daily Dispatch

Q 2. Categories of Story

NUMBER ASSIGNED	CATEGORY
1	The Economy
2	Electoral issues
3	Governance
4	Corruption
5	Health
6	Legal
7	Energy

Q 3. Month

NUMBER ASSIGNED	CATEGORY
1	January
2	February
3	March
4	April
5	May
6	June
7	July
8	August
9	September
10	October
11	November
12	December

Q 4. Placement of story

NUMBER ASSIGNED	CATEGORY
1	Front page
2	Inside pages
3	Back page
4	Other

Q 5. Headline

NUMBER ASSIGNED	CATEGORY
1	Sensational
2	Not sensational
3	Neutral

Q 6. Word Choice and Tone

NUMBER ASSIGNED	CATEGORY
1	Positive
2	Negative
3	Neutral

Q 7. Photos, caption and camera angle

NUMBER ASSIGNED	CATEGORY
1	Photo sensational
2	Photo not sensational
3	Not accompanied by photo

APPENDIX 2

CODING SHEET

S/N		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	Newspaper ID												
2	Category of story												
3	Month												
4	Placement of story												
5	Headline												
6	Word choice and tone												
7	Photos, caption, camera angle												

APPENDIX 3

NEWSPAPER EDITIONS TO BE ANALYSED

Edition dates to be analyzed in 2014

Month	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.
January	13, 20	7, 14	8, 15	2, 23	17, 24
February	3, 24	4, 11	5, 26	6, 27	7, 21
March	3, 31	11, 25	5, 19	20, 27	14, 28
April	7, 21	22, 29	9, 30	10, 24	4, 11
May	5, 19	6, 13	14, 28	8, 22	9, 16
June	2, 16	3, 10	11, 25	19, 26	6, 20
July	21, 28	15, 29	2, 23	17, 24	4, 11
August	11, 25	19, 26	6, 20	14, 28	15, 22
September	15, 29	9, 16	17, 24	18, 25	5, 19
October	20, 27	14, 21	8, 15	2, 30	17, 24
November	10, 17	4, 18	12, 26	13, 20	14, 28
December	1, 29	16, 30	3, 24	18, 25	5, 19

CATALOG OF STORIES

Daily Guide, 13 November, 2014: “AFAG Demo Hits Mahama.”

The Chronicle, 29th October: “AAGBE W)!...AFAG Alleges IMF Has Recommended VAT On

Daily Guide, 2nd August, 2014: “We Are In Crisis—Bawumia.”

The Daily Dispatch, 14 July, 2014: “Ghana Is Not In Crisis—Government.”

The Enquirer, 3rd July, 2014: “Ghana Is Not A Failed State.”

The Enquirer, 8 Jan. 2014: “My Brother Must Pay His Debt.”

Daily Guide, 8 Jan. 2014: “Pay Your Debt, Mahama Tells Brother.”

The Enquirer, November 20, 2014: “Nations Future Bright—Finance Minister Assures.”

The Chronicle, November 7, 2014: “Looting Gang Left Off The Hook...As Millions Go Down The Drain At STMA.”

The Chronicle—January 9, 2014: “NDC On Borrowing Spree...Increases Ghana’s Debt From \$8bn To \$23bn. Government Blames It On Election Petition.”

Daily Guide, February 19, 2014: “Rambo Gbevlo On Rampage.”

Daily Guide, March 19, 2014: “Mahama, Ministers Are Liars.”

Daily Guide, January 31: “Bishop Blasts Mahama.”

The Chronicle, February 13: “NDC Has Failed Ghanaians—Ambassador Designate.”

The Enquirer, March 14, 2014: “Pure Evil Plan Against Mahama.”

The Chronicle, July 2, 2014: “Economy Now Bankrupt.”

The Enquirer, April 29, 2014: “Mahama Throws Challenge...As He Calls On Political And Social Groupings To Play Their Roles Effectively To Eliminate Socio-Economic Inequalities.”

Achimota bus terminal and Amasaman, and are expected to be completed by December 2014, while minor stations along the entire route would also be constructed.

The BRT Project, he added, would witness the creation of dedicated routes for buses from

by December, it would be ready and I must say this is a Christmas gift from government to the people of Ghana, especially those in Accra," he said.

The Accra Mayor however dismissed critics' assertion that, the BRT would create unemployment as some commercial bus drivers would

Anti-Corruption Crusader Hails Mahama

Cont'd from Front Page

"This administration is doing a lot to prove to the Ghanaian public that it is serious about stemming the tide of corruption in the country," Alhaji Ibrahim said in an interview in Accra.

He said corruption had become very topical these days because President Mahama is exposing it to the day light of public opinion.

This state of affair, he said, is very different to what pertained in past administrations when political leadership connived with other state actors to cover up corruption.

The erstwhile New Patriotic Party regime, for instance, resigned itself to fate in the matter of public sector corruption, with President John Agyekum Kufuor, who had breezed into office on the campaign that there will be zero tolerance for corruption, declaring that corruption started from Adam.

Again, President Kufuor at a point had declared that he would not investigate ministers alleged to be corrupt because if he did that, his administration would lose face.

The foregoing is sharp contrast to what is happening under President Mahama, who is prosecuting Abuga Pele, a member of his party, for instance, for his alleged complicity in the GYEDA scandal.

Last year, President Mahama bound his cabinet ministers to performance contracts that form the

Mahama regime has also brought about a lot of novelty in the matter of corruption and its fight.

Increasingly, public sector corruption is being exposed by a collaboration of state actors.

In the ghost names scandal at the National Service Scheme for instance, its busting was done by collaboration between Flagstaff House and the BNI.

The news was broken by national broadsheet, Graphic.

This is a marked difference from what happened in the past where most corrupt deals under the Kufuor regime were exposed by private media, while the state apparatus did everything to cover up.

Under the current Mahama regime too, the trial of corruption at the hand of the state is very commonplace, with the President either ordering the state to prosecute or setting up commissions of enquiry to investigate.

When former Deputy Communications Minister, Victoria Hammah, was heard whispering in private that she was in politics with the aim to make a million dollars before she gets out, she was sacked immediately by President Mahama.

The opposite of this is the situation in Kufuor regime, in which Dr. Richard Anane, Kufuor's Minister of Health, attended an HIV/AIDS conference abroad and sowed an old guy's wild oats, getting



The Chronicle

THE TRUE DEMOCRACY

Ushanta We Sisa - The Spear Of The Nation

VOL: 24 NO. 146 FRIDAY AUGUST 1, 2014 GHS 2.50 UK £ 0.75

Petroleum Price Indicators (As at July 30, 2014)

	PMI Effective August 1, 2014	Estimated for PMI Effective August 18, 2014	% Change
FX Rate (USD/GHS)	0.2593	0.2593	
Crude Oil (BBL/USD)	105.40	106.11	0.67%
Petrol (GHS/L)	10.9140	10.9220	0.07%
Diesel (GHS/L)	10.0100	10.0100	0.00%
LPG (GHS/W)	859.20	859.20	0.00%
Crude Oil (BBL/USD)	105.40	106.11	0.67%
Petrol (GHS/L)	10.9140	10.9220	0.07%
Diesel (GHS/L)	10.0100	10.0100	0.00%
LPG (GHS/W)	859.20	859.20	0.00%

Fallout from SC verdict on Woyome

PROSECUTE THEM ALL

... AFAG demands

Goldfields manager arrested for abetting robbery

See centre page

Customs intercepts 18 containers of ferrous scraps



Story on Pg. 3

Created • Designed • Antidisclosure • Chokorikwa

25 JULY - 1 AUGUST

Greater Works

Venue: ICGC, Christ Temple, Abossey Okai



2 Peter 2:19 - While they promise them liberty, they themselves are the servants of corruption

5NA INFORM / DOCUMENT DIT



The Chronicle

THE TRUE INDEPENDENT

Umkhonto We Sizwe - The Spear Of The Nation

VOL: 24 NO. 009 THURSDAY, JANUARY 16, 2014 GH¢ 2.00 UK £ 0.75

NDC ON BORROWING SPREE

Increases Ghana's debt from \$8bn to \$23bn



President John Mahama

... But Gov blames it on Election Petition

ADB modernizes corporate identity

Stories on page **3,7**

Seth Terkper, Finance Minister

PHONE: 0855 3149

The Daily Dispatch

EST. 1998

FACTUALLY RELIABLE, RELIABLY FACTUAL

VOLUME 35 NO:02

THURSDAY EDITION

6TH FEBRUARY, 2014

www.facebook.com/thedailydispatchgh

Join/like us on Facebook
www.facebook.com/thedaily

ALSO INSIDE:

2010 Census In Brong Ahafo Region - Pa

SENDING SUPPORTERS TO

BRAZIL - WHO IN GOVT IS INFLATING THE COST?



FIFA WORLD CUP
BRASIL

SEE STORY ON BACK PAGE

2010 CENSUS IN CENTRAL REGION

SEE STORY ON PAGE 2

(((IN
NEW PAT
N.P.P. DEVELO
N.
WIL
21
FLAG
GET
CAN
TEA

Unfortun
able Ste
Boateng
the begi
available
tend me
see the c
give idea
that my
always b
candidat
be in ou
we had
ing him.
he was
therefor
time in
and thi
tributed
availabi

Turn to

Petroleum Price Indicators (As at February 4

	PBU Effective Feb 1, 2014	Estimated for PBU Effective Feb 10, 2014
FX Rate (GHS/USD)	2.3010	2.3
Crude Oil (USD/BBL)	108.82	107
Petrol (USD/MT)	840.02	832
Gasoil (USD/MT)	811.73	803
LPG (USD/MT)	893.25	885
Crude Oil (GHS/BBL)	240.38	234
Petrol (GHS/MT)	2,163.02	2,128
Gasoil (GHS/MT)	2,097.84	2,124
LPG (GHS/MT)	2,050.33	2,081

**PBU - Price Build-Up



GNA INFORM/DOCUMENT DEPT.
Daily Guide
Friday, August, 22, 2014 | Issue 196/14
Ghana's Favourite Newspaper | Price GH¢2.50

Inflation Figures Cooked - Bawumia



MINISTER WEEPS

>>> Stories on pages 2&3

Over World Cup 'Chop Chop'

Elvis Afriyie-Ankrah wiping off his tears at the Commission hearing yesterday

Blows At NADMO

Let the National Petroleum Authority, (NPA), know your consumer concerns such as:

- » Cheating at the pumps
- » Bad Customer Service
- » Safety Issues
- » Suspected Poor Quality of Fuel, Etc

For Complaints, Call the NPA on Vodafone Toll free line 080012300, or 0302-766195/6

GNA INFORM/DOCUMENT DEPT,

Member of PRINPAG & GJA

The Daily Dispatch

EST. 1998

FACTUALLY RELIABLE, RELIABLY FACTUAL

ALSO INSIDE:

The Changing Face Of Prostitution

-See Page 6

VOLUME 36 NO:031 MONDAY EDITION

18TH AUGUST, 2014

www.facebook.com/thedailydispatchgh

GHC2.50

BALANCE OF WORLD CUP CASH

WHO ARE THOSE 'CHOPPING' THE CASH?



Alhaji Abdullahi Yakubu



Mr Prosper Apasa



Justice Senyo Dedeke, Chairman of Commission

(((IN BRIEF



HAJIA TAIMAKO'S ADVICE TO SADA

Renowned environmentalist Hajia Dr. Sala Ibrahim Taimako is a member of the Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA), in its quest for the forested north, to be partnering with citizens who have track record in plantations and support them to establish more. She said if SADA wants to realise its vision much earlier than the current management of the Board of the Authority to give adequate financial and logistical support to individuals to establish mango, cashew, teak and cassia plantations.

Turn to page 2 for full story



COMMANEX INVESTMENT LTD.
Has Serviced Plot of Land for Sale @
KATAPOR NEAR POKUASE

Call: 0302900880 / 0205797979

100ft x 70ft

Pay 17,000
within 3 months
50% Deposit

15,000
Outright
Payment

ANA INFORM / DOCUMENT DEPT
DailyGuide
Wednesday, April 30, 2014 | Issue 098/14
Ghana's Favourite Newspaper | Price GH¢2.50



GONE! Lt Col
Larry Gbevlo
Larley (rtd)

Drama Over Minister's Signature



Charles Andoh aka Arafat

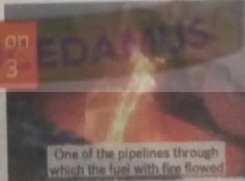


Emmanuel Kofi-Buah

GBEVLO SACKED After Legon Prayers

Man Dies In TOR Explosion

>>> Stories on
pages 2 & 3



One of the pipelines through
which the fuel with fire flowed



The charred remains of the
victim at the scene of fire

Let the National Petroleum Authority (NPA) know your consumer concerns such as:

- Cheating at the pumps
- Bad Customer Service
- Safety Issues
- Suspected Poor Quality of Fuel, Etc

For Complaints, Call the NPA on Vodafone Toll free line **080012300**, or **0302-766195/6**

DIAMOND CEMENT (GH) LTD

Higher the grade, better the quality
Why buy 52.5 when **42.5R** grade diamond cement is available of the same price
Diamond cement, the only company rated **Green** (very good) by E.P.A (Green) for the Arabian Rating for three consecutive years since 2010

Buy Diamond Cement for the best in quality and lowest price.
Diamond Cement, Strong Cement
Diamond Cement, the Builder's Choice

Factory (at Tema) Tel Number: 0664 20311
Toll Free Tel Number: 0800 123000
Email: info@diamondgh.com
www.diamondgh.com



The Chronicle

THE TRUE INDEPENDENT

Umkhonto We Sizwe - The Spear Of The Nation

VOL: 24 NO. 062 WEDNESDAY, APRIL 2, 2014 GHc 2.50 UK £ 0.75



Marietta Brew Appiah Opong

LOOTING BRIGADE STRIKES AGAIN

... 'AG does not care about government cases'

Stories on page 3

Ailing economy recovers marginally - Terkper

Bangladeshi nationals arrested for human trafficking

Let the National Petroleum Authority, (NPA), know your consumer concerns such as:

- Cheating at the pumps
- Bad Customer Service
- Safety Issues
- Suspected Poor Quality of Fuel, Etc

For Complaints, Call the NPA on Vodafone Toll free line 080012300, or 0302-746195/6

GNA INFORM / DOCUMENT DEPT.

Daily Guide

Friday, October 10, 2014 | Issue 238/14

www.dailyguideghana.com | Ghana's Favourite Newspaper | Price GH¢2.50



JJ Rawlings



Prof Kwaku Danso Boako

No Show At Rawlings Trial

>>> See pages
2, 3 & 11



Kofi Humado

Humado Approved GH¢835m GYEEDA Payment

Mahama

HOT

BoG Cooked Figures -IMF



President John Mahama

€180m For Sanitation, Water

Why God
Made Thumbs
for Liking & Sharing



#KeepDoingYou

ticô

EDITORIAL

We Are Miffed

IT IS important that members of the public appreciate the nuances of law enforcement and relate to them accordingly for the good of society. The status quo in areas where residents need more law enforcement because of the rampancy of crime leaves much to be desired.

It is only when this critical mass of Ghanaians understand this that law enforcement can register appreciable successes and by and large crime reduced to the barest minimum in especially such downtrodden portions of our urban centres.

We have been constrained to pitch camp on this subject because of a worrying development at Sabon Zongo, Accra recently.

The story which is graphically presented elsewhere in this edition is typical of slums and areas housing largely the poor and where access to education is highly limited due to varied factors. Sociologists can educate us better on this subject.

Five young men, the story goes, decided to lure a young lady to a hideout where after gang-raping her, videoed the action and threatened to circulate it if she did not turn up for a repeat.

It was not surprising that the victim, now on admission at the Korle Bu Teaching Hospital, threatened to commit suicide, but for providence.

Sadly, none of the suspects is behind bars because of lack of cooperation from residents in the suburb who it would appear, do not find anything unusual about the boys' conduct. We have learnt about how under the circumstances the police are unable to apprehend the suspects, having attempted earlier to no avail.

With no cooperation likely, we are miffed that what would eventually happen is that the suspected rapists would be let off the hook as they appear to be already - walking about freely even as their victim is traumatized and scared that her aggressors could make good their threat of disseminating the bad video.

There can be no limit to what these boys can do, given the delusion they seem to be basking in about their smartness and beyond arrest. After all, they are adequately covered by the shanties of the slum in the sprawling suburb and above all, the support of naive residents who would brook no movement of the police in their neighbourhoods.

For how long shall we allow such nonsense to prevail in our societies which we love to present as civilized?

By this editorial we entreat the police to explore alternatives of apprehending the suspects lest they serve as dangerous models to the youth in their area and even beyond.

We must bring a closure to this infantile impunity by idle youth.

<<< Continued From Page 3

The report cited, for example, that the former director claimed that a soldier friend had asked him to build the mansion near the Trade Fair Site in Accra for him.

It said in building all those houses, he used the Borehole Unit staff and equipment to drill boreholes for water without paying for the services.

The report said in addition to the already mentioned fraud, the former executive director paid a whopping GH25,000 cash to his wife, bought a flat for her at Adenta and a car to compensate her after he was caught in marital crisis.

The NSS is currently embroiled in financial scandal of gargantuan dimension as the immediate executive director, Alhaji Alhassan Imoro, is facing charges of stealing to the tune of about GH86.9 million belonging to the Government of Ghana.

The alleged systematic stealing had been institutionalised with the immediate past management allegedly continuing where others had left off.

Financial Malpractices

According to the documentary report, copies of which have been made available to DAILY GUIDE, during the reign of the former executive director in question, names of non-existent service personnel were allegedly generated and inserted in the payment vouchers of some regions, notably Greater Accra, Western, Central, Volta and Brong Ahafo.

Allowances paid to such "ghost" personnel were withdrawn by the Regional Directors and paid to the big man in Accra.

The report said the massive fraud and stealing of state funds were perpetrated through his errand boy, a certain Gyamfi.

The errand boy used to go round collecting the monies from the Regional Directors on a monthly basis for his master.

It said in 2012, the lid on the huge fraud was blown off and instead of dealing with the problem, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) government let the director off the hook because of strong political backing.

A committee was set up, with a report leading to the transfer of some directors and interdiction of others, but no action was taken in the case of the executive director.

Some of the implicated officials were merely made to refund the money.

The Board of Directors

NSS Director Grabs 5 Mansions In 4 Years

of the NSS called for action to be taken against the perpetrators, but these recommendations were never implemented.

The report said in another orchestrated incident, the former executive director, now walking free, in concert with an officer of the Voluntary Service, raised memos for programmes that never took place, withdrew monies from the Income Generation Account and returned the payment vouchers with forged receipts, authenticated with fake rubber stamps of some respectable hotels and guest houses in Bolgatanga, Wa, Jirapa, as well as in Walewale.

According to the report, the monies were funds provided by the Voluntary Service Organisation (VSO) to support activities of the National Voluntary Programme.

Samples of the rubber stamps are in possession of DAILY GUIDE.

Entrepreneurial Training

As if that was not enough, the former NSS boss caused deductions to be made from allowances of National Service Personnel for entrepreneurial training, which never took place, but the GH60,000 that was deducted was never accounted for.

Fishy Procurement

The report said in gross disregard of the Procurement Act, the NSS boss always resorted to sole-sourcing whenever he wanted to purchase some items.

He did so without consulting the board or seeking its approval, creating confusion among them, with reports indicating for example that he purchased Yutong buses, some agricultural equipment and some tractors, among other items, with the board's approval.

The report said he collected the tractors before applying for the sole sourcing facility.

The report also mentioned that during the tenure of the former NSS boss, the farms that were established by the scheme were badly managed, adding that they were fraught with corruption and inefficiency such that by the time the man was leaving office, the scheme was indebted to the tune of about GH79,000 from unpaid purchases of maize seed and chemicals.



Sakumono



Oyibi



Abokobi



Trade Fair Site

Bank Manager Jailed For GH4m Fraud

<<< Continued From Page 3

Cobbina, investigations revealed, established a company registered in his name as Cobbivert Ghana, which deals in civil engineering, import and export, undertakes road construction and general merchandise, trading and distribution - just to

divert the attention of his employers.

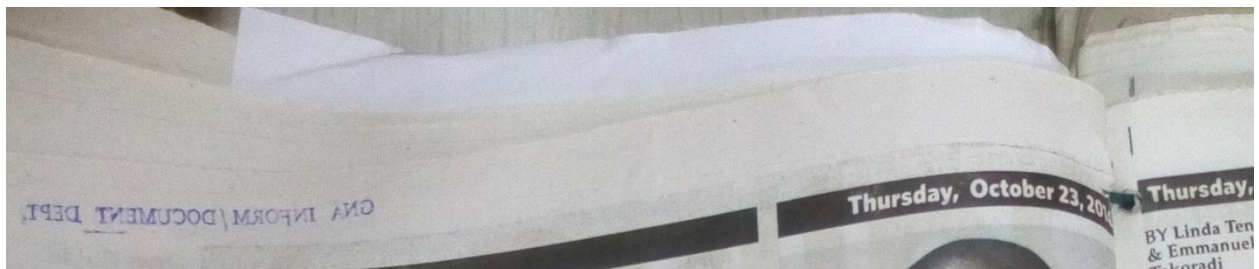
Upon the advice of the Attorney General, the two were charged with the offence of money laundering and stealing conspiracy, among others, before the high court.

The properties acquired by Cobbina were ordered by the court to be auctioned to defray the amount stolen from his former company.

COP Agblor commended the Sunyani Regional Commander and his team for the thorough investigations conducted into the case.

African News

I'm KOFO Abeiku reveals Ghana has no pocket of financial More C



Franklin Cudjoe

Striking Workers Threaten Court Action

BY Charles Takyi-Boadu
STRIKING CIVIL and public service workers are considering the option of going to court to institute legal action against the government over the controversy surrounding their second tier pension fund.

Leadership of the Forum for Public Sector Registered Pension Schemes, made up of various professional groups and government workers, including the Ghana Registered Nurses Association (GRNA), Ghana Medical Association (GMA), Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT), National Association of Graduate Teachers (NAGRAT) and a host of other interest groups, on Tuesday announced an indefinite strike to get government to release funds for the second tier pension scheme for their preferred fund managers.

Yesterday's strike action was not so effective except in public schools and hospitals where teachers and doctors as well as other health workers observed it sparingly, with anticipation that it would be more effective today.

However, Employment and Labour Relations Minister, Haruna Iddrisu, has expressed disappointment at the indefinite strike declared by the workers.

He said the strike was illegal, especially when the government and the workers were still dialoguing.

Twelve public sector groups are rejecting government's imposition of Pension Alliance Trust, believed to be owned by people close to the NDC

administration. The workers' groups said they had selected their own fund managers according to the new pension law.

About GH¢447 million of public sector workers' contributions of the 2nd Tier Pension has been locked up at the Bank of Ghana for the last four years with no serious investment, except government borrowing at less than treasury bill rate. Treasury bill now stands at over 24 percent.

On the first day of their action, Executive Secretary of the Civil and Local Government Staff Association (CLOGSAG), Isaac Bampeo Addo, served notice that the group was considering the option of going to court to press home their demands.

"We are looking at all options and there is the possibility of going to court to press home our demands in the coming days if government continues to turn a deaf ear on our call," he told DAILY GUIDE in an interview yesterday.

Reason
Under the current circumstance, workers who go on retirement risk not getting their lump sum benefits. Aside that, those who have retired since the year 2011 but have made the 5% Tier 2 contributions still cannot access their lump sum benefits based on the contributions made since January 2010—a situation Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of policy think tank, IMANI Ghana, Franklin Cudjoe, has described as "a potential crisis."

This was part of reasons Isaac Bampeo Addo

insisted "funds should be transferred to Fund Managers and Custodians of the various schemes."

Until that was done, the CLOGSAG leader said, "We are not going to work," making the strike an indefinite action.

The strike action seems to have brought government under intense pressure, with calls for it to resolve the concerns of the striking workers.

Justification
But IMANI boss fears "there may be no accountability as to what the contributions have been used for" and that "the longer the status quo remains, the direr the accountability question becomes."

Mr Cudjoe, who issued a statement justifying the workers' strike action, quoted a former CEO of NPRA who said, "It is important that serious efforts are made to reconcile contributors' data to ensure that cash and investment holdings that are under the custody of NPRA in aggregate is equal

to the total liability due to the contributors before statements are sent out to them. The caution is that Defined Contribution is fully funded and at any point in time the contributors' statement and the funds should be the same."

Since the NPRA is not a Fund Manager, Mr Cudjoe insists, "They have neither the resources nor the skill to be investing the contributions they have received since January 2011 in order to maximise returns for workers' contributions."

Demands
He therefore stressed the need for the National Pensions Regulatory Authority (NPRA) to be made to "immediately produce an investment report showing how much monies have been received, what it has been invested in return on investment over the period."

He also suggested, "The NPRA should be ordered to announce a cut-off date for taking Tier 2 contributions into the Tem-

'Mahama Has Failed'

BY Samuel Boadi

KEY FINDINGS from the Afrobarometer Round 6 Survey conducted locally by the Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) on the economic conditions in the country point out that a lot of Ghanaians are pissed off with government's management of the economy.

A large majority of Ghanaians (82 percent) believe that the country is heading in the 'wrong direction', painting a gloomy picture about the Mahama administration. In 2013, 57 percent of respondents held such a view.

"The belief that the country is heading in the wrong direction is widespread across Ghana's 10 regions," the survey said.

The report sampled the views of 2,400 Ghanaians about their economic and living conditions in the past months.

The respondents said government was performing very badly in improving their living condition.

The survey also revealed that majority of Ghanaians say their current economic conditions have worsened, compared to the same period a year ago, expressing dissatisfaction with the national economy.

Oil Revenue
Ghanaians who believe that the revenue from the oil fund should better their conditions were rather disappointed with the state of the economy.

Seventy percent of respondents expressed the belief that government had been 'ineffective' or 'very ineffective' in using oil revenues to improve

their living conditions.

Also, a lot of them (almost 4 in every 10) were pessimistic about national economic conditions in the coming year.

Daniel Armah-Attoh, a senior research officer with CDD, who presented the findings in Accra yesterday, said 42 percent of respondents stated that their living conditions had deteriorated while the percentage of those who saw their living conditions compared to others as 'worse' or 'much worse', increased by 10 percentage points between 2012 and 2014.

Economic Management

Mr Armah-Attoh said a plurality of Ghanaians identified economic management as the most important issue to address, followed by education, electricity and health.

"Some Ghanaians went without basic necessities such as food, water, medical care, fuel for cooking and cash income sometimes within the past year. Lack of cash income was the most common of the problems."

"Close to six in 10 Ghanaians (57 percent) reported lacking cash income sometimes during the past year. On average, a little over one-quarter of Ghanaians report going without food, water and medical care in the past year. About one fifth also lacked fuel for cooking."

Another issue that cropped up was shortage of cash income that increased by 7 percentage points between 2012 and 2014.

Negative Ratings

"Over time, negative ratings of government performance have increased across all five indicators

managing the economy, improving living standards and creating jobs, keeping prices stable and narrowing income gap.

In general, government received negative ratings on how it had managed economic issues. A large portion of Ghanaians said government was managing the economy very badly.

Afrobarometer is an Africa-led, non-partisan research project that measures citizens' attitudes on democracy and governance, the economy, civil society and other topics.

Survey Methodology

Using a nationally representative sample of adults, all respondents were randomly selected. The latest survey (conducted between May 24 and June 15 year), had a sample size of 2,400, led from 291 towns in 177 districts across 300 enumeration areas in Ghana's 10 regions.

Key issues in the period of the survey were the announcement of a VAT on banking services which was suspended at the last after a series of concerns by players; depreciation of the rising level of inflation and Kwesi Botchwey's speech on economic crisis facing the country.

Others were the ACGMF concerns about BoG's inability to exchange measures and encourage to stabilise the cedi and the minimum wage increase, among others.

DailyGuide is published by Western Publications Limited
Box GP 115, Accra, Tel: 0302-229576, 0302-232760
Fax: 0302-231459
Website: www.dailyguideghana.com
e-mail: dailyguidenews@yahoo.com

Direction: 2nd Turn Left, Opposite Nima Police Station, Turn Right to Keta Close, Nima Residential

EDITOR: FORTUNE ALIM: 024-2844921

Kumasi: 024-4298430, Takoradi: 03122021249
Koforidua: 054-0233222, Tema: 024-4651640,
Cape Coast: 024-4983937, Tamale: 024-6322969,
Techiman: 024-4590426, Ho: 024-4705099,
Sunyani: 024-3131144, Bolgatanga: 020-8286365

News One EDITOR-IN-CHARGE:
Halifax Ansh-Addo: 0242186444

e-mail: newsoneghana@yahoo.com
Website: www.news1ghana.com

Thursday, October 23, 2014

BY Linda Ten & Emmanuel Takoradi

POLICE OFFICER at El Regional Hospital, for allegedly being a 16-year High School... His are 24 hours a day that he has with the... now been doing HIV/AIDS... Directo Police Crition Dep COP P Agblor, w to DAILY ordered I arrest of help the investiga He d person headqu patched to the h the suspi cal of him. Dr medic Nkwa in T accus with E who kids adm the the HI

GNA (NEOP) DOCUMENT DEPT.

Daily Guide

Friday, October 31, 2014 | Issue 256/14 www.dailyguideghana.com | Ghana's Favourite Newspaper | Price GH¢2.50



Elizabeth Ofosu-Adjare receiving Joy Dadi products from Samuel Adongo

Minister Endorses Joy Dadi Bitters



The vandalised NDC Kyebi office

NDC Raids Kyebi Office

2nd Tier Pension Saga

GH¢1.6bn

GRABBED

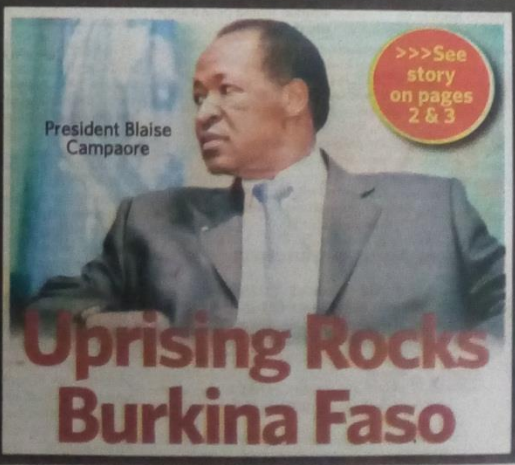
Pensions Alliance Trust Unmasked



Jihad Hijazi - Pension Trust Board Member



Rosa Kudoadzi - Pension Trust Board Member



Minority jabs gov't over the state of the economy



Mr. Kyei-Mensah Bonsu, Minority Leader

The New Patriotic Party (NPP) has attributed Ghana's energy crisis to Government inability to make concrete decisions concerning the energy sector, adding that the resolution to such challenge was within the competence and control of the Volta River Authority (VRA).

The party noted that VRA had not kept up its capacity expansion programme while Government had also not sufficiently resourced the VRA to procure crude oil to propel electric power generation.

Speaking during a press conference organised by the Minority in Parliament on the state of the economy on Monday, Mr. Kyei-Mensah Bonsu, Minority Leader, noted that on monthly basis, the country had to experience fuel price increases because of the depreciating Ghana cedi and not the world price.

He noted that due to the terrible state of disrepair of ECG transmission network, about 25% of electricity generated was lost, adding that ECG needed about \$700 million investment for it to be in good shape.

He added that the thermal plant at Takoradi, in particular the T3 plant had also run into technical problems arising out of contractual disagreement between the VRA and the Canadian contractors who were working on the project, he said.

The party also expressed worry about the amount of money which would be spent on the rehabilitation of the Ridge Hospital in Accra.

He said it was preposterous for Government to tell Ghanaians that the hospital would be rehabilitated at \$305million when Crown Agent who had been employed by the state to do due diligence, had advised that the facility could be built at a cost of \$162 million.

Crown Agent concluded that the proposed price of \$305million cannot offer value for money to the taxpayer of Ghana, he added.

He insisted that the matter be brought back to Parliament for further interrogation and reconsideration, he said.

He said since August 2013, the

inflation rate had continued to rise from 11.5% to 14.0% in January 2014 which was higher than Government's own upper band target of 11.5%.

Mr Osei-Kyei Mensah Bonsu appealed to government to find appropriate means to mend the frictions in the relationship between the members of the Ghana Medical Association.

"In the past, there have been frictions but previous Governments had always had a way of handling such frictions with the practitioners," he added.

He said the President was the Chief Executive Officer of the

country and must devise appropriate conflict resolution mechanism to deal with challenges as the posturing of its negotiators had not been the best, required to deal with such challenges within the health sector.

He also appealed to Government to go by its promise in 2013 to help 220,000 HIV/AIDS persons into the NHIS free of charge.

He intimated that the fall of the cedi had resulted in overexposure of local traders who had not been able to protect their capital adding that many Ghanaian retailers had been forced to close their shops because they were operating at a loss.

Minister calls for release of SADA funds

Major Dr. Mustapha Ahmed (Rtd), Minister of State in charge of Development Authorities, has appealed to the Ministry of Finance to release the budgetary

He, however, expressed the hope that those contracts that were abrogated were being reviewed to make them more expedient and transparent when they finally take off.

Samia named winner of



GNA INFORM/DOCUMENT DEPT.

Daily Guide

Friday, August, 29, 2014 | Issue 202/14 www.dailyguideghana.com | Ghana's Favourite Newspaper | Price GH¢2.50

Odike In Trouble Over Death Threat



Akwasi Addai Odike

Court Decides On NPP Congress



Mike Oquaye

>>>Stories on page 3

World Cup Scandal Probe COOKS GRAB \$67,000



Elvis Afriye-Ankrah

GOSPEL LIGHT INTERNATIONAL CHURCH

40 Days & Nights of FASTING PRAYERS | 1st SEPT - 10th OCT 2014 | 6^{pm} - 8:00^{pm} each night

Hosts: BISHOP MATTHEW & REV MRS NAANA ADDAE-MENSAH


Theme: GIVE GOD NO REST UNTILL... Isaiah 62:7

Venue: Phenomenal Faith Cathedral
Near to Orion Cinema - Nansuomah Circle, Accra

Guest Speakers: 

Morning Devs: 7am - 12 noon each day
Special Anointing service every Sunday

Let the National Petroleum Authority (NPA) know your consumer concerns such as:



- >>> Cheating at the pumps
- >>> Bad Customer Service
- >>> Safety Issues
- >>> Suspected Poor Quality of Fuel, Etc

For Complaints, Call the NPA on Vodafone Toll free line **080012300**, or **0302-766195/6**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, A. (2014). "Looting Brigade Strikes Again... 'AG Does Not Care About Government Cases'." *The Chronicle*, Wednesday April 2.
- Adams, A. (2014). "Looting Gang Left Off The Hook." *The Chronicle*, Friday November 7.
- Adenira, R. O. (2014). "Confusion Over IMF Bailout." *Daily Guide*, Friday August 1.
- Adeniran, O. R. (2014). "Let's Chop...\$120m Oil Cash—NDC." *Daily Guide*, Monday May 5.
- Agyei, M. A. (2014). "...and Ankrah wept." *The Chronicle*, Friday August 22.
- Amendahe, F. K. (2005). *Notes on Educational Research (Mimeo)*. Cape Coast: Unpublished.
- Amponsah P. N. (2012). *The Daily Graphic coverage of presidential campaigns in Ghana, 1992-2004*.
- Anand, B., Di Tella, R. & Galetovic, A. (2007). *Information or Opinion? Media Bias as Product Differentiation*.
- Ansah, P. A. V. (1991). 'The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah', in *Papers of a Symposium Organized by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon*.
- Assor S. (2014): "Anti-Corruption Crusader Hails Mahama." *The Enquirer*, Wednesday October 22.
- Atkeson, L. R. & Krebs, Y. B. (2008). *Press Coverage of Mayoral Candidates—University of New Mexico*.
- Awuah, J. (2014). "Greedy Thieves." *Daily Guide*, Monday February 17.
- Baran, J. S., & Davis, D. K. (2003). *Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, Ferment, and Future*. 3rd ed. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Baron, D. P. (2003). *Competing For The Public Through The News Media*.
- Bithereyst, Daniel and Meeers, Phillipe (2011). *The Political Economy of Audiences*. In

- J.Wasco, G. Murdock & Sousa, H. (Eds.). The handbook of Political Economy of Communication. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. Pp. 415-434.
- Boadi S. (2014): “Mahama Has Failed.” Daily Guide, Thursday October 23.
- Boye, M. (2014). “Bawumia Deflated On Cocoa Politics.” The Enquirer, Friday August 29.
- Brook, B. S., Kennedy, G., Moen, D. R., & Ranly, D. (1992). News Reporting and Writing. 4th ed. New York, USA: St. Martins Press.
- Bryant, J. & Miron, D. (2004). ‘Theory and Research in Mass Communication’, *Journal of Communication*, 54, 662–704.
- Chiang, C. F. (2007). Sources of Media Bias.
- Chiang C. F. & Knight B. (2008). Media Bias and Influence: Evidence from Newspaper Endorsements.
- Daily Guide (2014). “World Cup Scandal...Cooks Grab \$67,000.” Friday, August 29.
- Daily Guide (2014). “Corruption Hits Roof Top.” October 7.
- Daily Guide, 2014: “Government Sacks Workers For IMF Bailout.” Friday 9 May
- Daily Guide (2014). “We Are In Crisis—Bawumia.” August 2.
- Daily Guide* (2014): “Rot At National Service: NSS Director Grabs Five Mansions in Four Years.” Thursday, October 30
- Daily Guide (2014). “Pay Your Debt, Mahama Tells Brother.” Tuesday, January 8.
- Daily Guide (2014). “Bishop Blasts Mahama.” Friday, January 31.
- Daily Guide (2014): “Missing Tier 2 Pension Fund.” Friday, Nov. 7
- Daily Guide (2014): “Mahama Hot...BOG Cooked Figures—IMF.” Friday, October 10.
- Daily Guide (2014). “AFAG Demo Hits Mahama.” Thursday, November 13.
- Daily Guide (2014). “Petrol Price Hikes: No End In Sight. Thursday, April 3.

- D'Angelo, P. (2002). News Framing as a multi paradigmatic research program: A response to Entman. *Journal of Communication*, 52, 870-888.
- Durante R. and Knight B. (2010). Partisan Control, Media Bias, and Viewer Responses: Evidence from Berlusconi's Italy.
- De Vreese, C. H. (2003). 'Television Reporting of Second-order Elections', *Journalism Studies*, 4, 183-98.
- Ekwelie, S. (1971). *The Press and Nationalism in Ghana*. Legon: Unpublished.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). 'Framing: Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm', *Journal of Communication*, 43, 51-58.
- Entman, R. M. (2004). *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and US Foreign Policy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Entman R. M. (2006). Framing Bias: Media in the Distribution of Power.
- Gadzekpo, A. (2007). Fifty years of the media's struggle for democracy in Ghana: legacies and encumbrances.
- Gamson, W. A. (1989). "Reflections on The Strategy of Social Protest" *Sociological Forum* 4, no.3 (September 1989): 455-467. Langson Library Call Number: HM 1 S6767
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Gyebi, E. (2014). "Ministers Greedy and Lazy... Azorka Charges on Mahama's Men." *The Chronicle*, Wednesday November 6.
- Hallin, D. C. & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hofstetter, C. R. (1976). *Bias in the News: Network Television Coverage of the 1972 Election Campaign*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.
- Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Johnson, M. (2012). Bias in News Sources. www.mediasmart.ca (accessed July 14, 2015)
- Karikari, K. (2000). 'The Press and the Law on the Twilight of Colonial Rule in Ghana', in

- Karikari, K., & Kumado, K. The Law and the Media in Ghana. University of Ghana, School of Communication Studies.
- Kubi, V. (2014). "Mahama, Ministers Are Liars." Daily Guide, Wednesday March 19.
- Kuypers J. A., Stephen D. Cooper S. D. (2005). A Comparative Framing Analysis of Embedded and Behind-the-Lines Reporting on the 2003 Iraq War.
- Larcinese, V., Puglisi, R. & Snyder, J. M. (2007) *Partisan bias in economic news: evidence on the agenda-setting behavior of U.S. newspapers*. PSPE working papers, 07-2007. Department of Government, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, UK.
- Mathworld (2011). Hypothesis Testing. <http://mathworld.wolfram.com/HypothesisTesting.html> (accessed September 12, 2015)
- Moemeka, A. (1991). Local radio: Community education for development in the module on development communication. Nairobi: Africa Council for Communication Education.
- Mosco, V. (2009). Political Economy of Communication. London: SAGE.
- Nanor, D. (2014). "Rambo Gbevlo On Rampage." Daily Guide, Wednesday February 19.
- Nanor, D. & Adams, A. (2014). "Economy Now Bankrupt." The Chronicle, Wednesday, July 2.
- Odoi, S. L (2014). "\$3bn Chinese Fiasco...As Gov't Fails To Pay Commitment Fees." The Chronicle, Thursday July 17.
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (2011). Glossary of Statistical Terms. <http://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=534> (accessed July 1, 2015).
- Press Reference (2010). Ghana Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers. <http://www.pressreference.com/Fa-Gu/Ghana.html> (accessed September 11, 2015).
- Press Reference (2011). Ghana Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers. <http://www.pressreference.com/Fa-Gu/Ghana.html> (accessed September 11, 2015).
- Reese, S. D., Gandy Jr, O. H. & Grant, A. E., eds. (2001). *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Sarfo-Adu, K., Amponsah, P. F. & Addo-Danquah, R. G. (2015). Bias in Headlines: Evidence

- from Newspaper Coverage of the 2012 Ghana Presidential Election Petition.
- Stromback, J. and Aalberg, T. (2008). Election News Coverage in Democratic Corporatist Countries: A Comparative Study of Sweden and Norway.
- Stemler, S. (2001). Practical Assessment, Research and Evaluation—An overview of Content Analysis. <http://PAREonline.net/getvn.asp?v=7&n=17> (accessed August 7, 2015).
- Semetko, H. A. & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). Framing of European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News. *Journal of Communication*, 50(2):93-109.
- Severin, W. J., & Tankard, J. W. (2001). *Communications Theories: Origins, Methods, and Use in the Mass Media*. New York: Longman.
- Tankard, Jr., J. W. (2001). 'The Empirical Approach to the Study of Media Framing', in Reese, S. D., Gandy Jr, O. H. & Grant, A. E., eds, *Framing Public Life. Perspectives on Media And Our Understanding of the Social World*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- The Chronicle (2014). "NDC On Borrowing Spree...Increases Ghana's Debt From \$8bn To \$23bn. Government Blames It On Election Petition." Thursday, January 16.
- The Chronicle (2014): "AAGBE W)!...AFAG Alleges IMF Has Recommended VAT On Petrol...But Ato Forson Denies Claim." Wednesday October 29.
- The Chronicle (2014). "NDC Has Failed Ghanaians—Ambassador Designate." February 13.
- The Chronicle (2014): "Hands off Pension Till—Nana Addo tells Mahama." Wednesday, December 10.
- The Chronicle (2014). "IMF Bailout Can't Solve Ghana's Economic Woes."—Moseys. September. 11
- The Chronicle (2014). "Investors Lose Faith In Economy. Monday, March 31.
- The Chronicle (2014): "Ministers Greedy and Lazy... Azorka Charges on Mahama's Men." Wednesday, November 5.
- The Chronicle (2014): "Ghana To Produce Fuel From Plastics." Tuesday, January 21.
- The Chronicle (2014): "Power Play Over Ghana Gas." Tuesday, August 12.

The Chronicle (2014): “Cash For Ebola Locked Up.” Tuesday, July 29.

The Chronicle (2014). “Prosecute them all...AFAG Demands.” Friday, August 1.

The Chronicle (2014): “Government Lawyers On Strike.” Thursday, October 9.

The Daily Dispatch (2014) “Ghana Is Not In Crisis—Government.” Monday, 14 July.

The Daily Dispatch (2014). “Mahama Has A Fair Chance of Keeping Economy Afloat.” Monday
January 6.

The Daily Dispatch (2014). “Who Are Those ‘Chopping’ The Cash?” Monday, August 18.

The Daily Dispatch (2014). “Ghana’s Best Bet Is with The IMF.” 30 September.

The Daily Dispatch (2014): “All you need to know about: The Pension Reforms Wahala.”
Tuesday, November 4.

The Daily Dispatch (2014): “Trouble ‘Dey’ Come As Dismissed Ministers Refuse To Vacate
Bungalows.” Tuesday, October 7.

The Daily Dispatch (2014): “How Secret Gov’t Accounts Were used To Pay For Baby Items.
Wednesday, January 8.

The Daily Dispatch (2014): “Betty Ordered Payments To Woyome.” Friday, August 1.

The Daily Dispatch (2014): “National Health Insurance Authority Suspends 3 Health Facilities.”
Friday, August 1.

The Daily Dispatch (2014). “EC’s Voters Register Correct.” Monday, January 13.

The Daily Dispatch (2014). “Sending Supporters to Brazil—Who In Gov’t Is Inflating The
Cost?” Thursday, February 6.

The Enquirer (2014). “Pure Evil Plan Against Mahama.” Friday, March 14.

The Enquirer (2014). “Minority Jabs Gov’t Over The State Of The Economy.” Wednesday,
April 9.

The Enquirer (2014). “Mahama Throws Challenge...As He Calls On Political And Social Groupings To Play Their Roles Effectively To Eliminate Socio-Economic Inequalities.” April 29.

The Daily Dispatch (2014): “Over 45,000 Cannot Vote In 2016.” Tuesday, November 25.

The Daily Dispatch (2014): “Afar-Gyan Threatened By NPP Guru.” Friday, November 28.

The Enquirer (2014). “Mahama Explains IMF.” September 24.

The Enquirer (2014). “Ghana Is Not A Failed State.” Thursday, July 3.

The Enquirer (2014). “My Brother Must Pay His Debt.” January 8.

The Enquirer (2014) “Nations Future Bright—Finance Minister Assures.” November 20.

The Enquirer (2014). “Gov’t On Track.” Friday, March 28

The Enquirer (2014): “Strikes Are Being Fuelled By People Due For Retirement Next Year, says Imani Ghana.” Nov 6.

The Enquirer (2014): “NPP Diverts Attention.” January 14.

The Enquirer (2014): “NSS Won’t Collapse Under Mahama... Kpessah Whyte.” Friday, October 31.

The Enquirer (2014). “Impending Reshuffle—Ministers Sit On Tenterhooks,” Wednesday April 30.

The Enquirer (2014): “Moves To Hang NHIS Boss Flops.” Wednesday, October 1.

The Enquirer (2014): “Jail Awaits Woyome.” Thursday, July 31.

Wimmer, R. D. & Dominick, J. R. (2010). Mass Media Research: An introduction. 9thed. Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth.