

**WHAT MAKES THE FRONT PAGE NEWS IN AN ELECTION YEAR:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE *DAILY GRAPHIC* AND *DAILY
GUIDE* NEWSPAPERS, 2016.**

BY

LINDA ENYONAM GOGOVI

(10387115)

**THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF
GHANA, LEGON IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT
FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS (MA) COMMUNICATION
STUDIES DEGREE.**

OCTOBER, 2017

DECLARATION

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

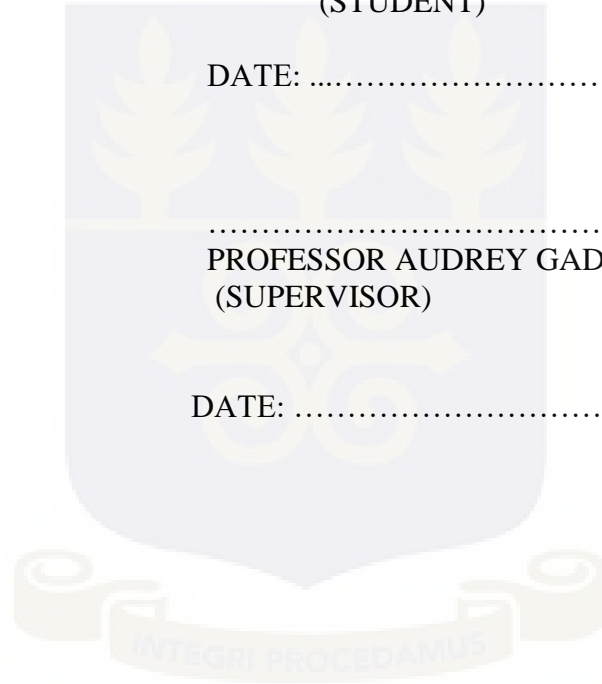
.....

LINDA ENYONAM GOGOVI
M.A COMMUNICATION STUDIES
(STUDENT)

DATE:

.....
PROFESSOR AUDREY GADZEKPO
(SUPERVISOR)

DATE:



DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my adorable mother, Ruth Ama Gogovi for being a loving and praying mother, to my late father Godwin Kwesi Gogovi for inculcating in me the value of education and also to my Prophet Bishop Dag Heward-Mills, pastor of the Firstlove Church. Thank you for all the blessings spoken over my life. You are cherished.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I give praise to Darling Jesus Christ who provided me the grace, strength and help throughout my time of study and the writing of this dissertation. Writing of this study would have been impossible without Him.

A big thank you to my supervisor Professor Audrey Gadzekpo for the time sacrificed to give valuable inputs and also to Mr. Osei Tutu, The ICT assistant at the College of Education, Your kindness is rare, be blessed and favored.

I am grateful to my Shepherds and Pastors, Erasmus Randy Mills-Thompson and Ruthie Oye Appiah-Denkyira for their love and constant communication. They kept me going even when I should have given up. God richly bless you both.

Finally I wish to thank all my friends who gave me the needed support during my time of study at the Department of Communication Studies. I appreciate you all so much.

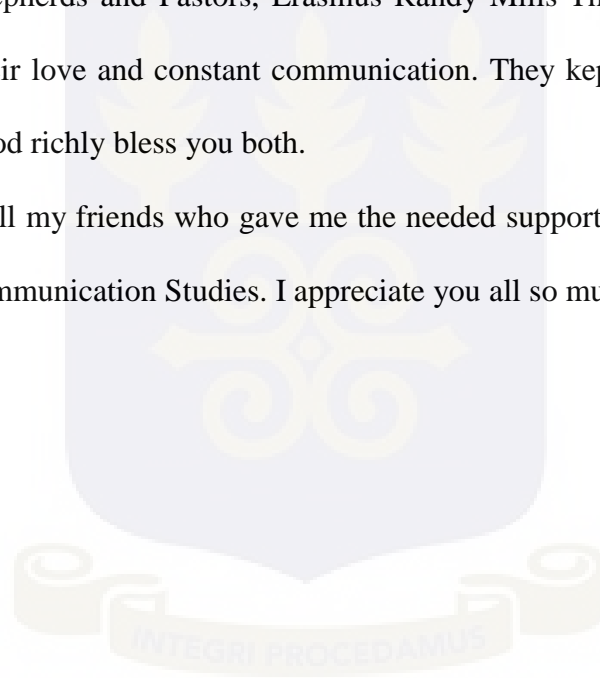


TABLE OF CONTENT

DECLARATION	i
DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
TABLE OF CONTENT	iv
ABSTRACT	viii
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background to the Study.....	1
1.1.1 Political History of Ghana	2
1.1.2 The Role of the media.....	6
1.1.3 Role of the Ghanaian Media in Past Elections.....	7
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	9
1.3 Research Objectives.....	11
1.4 Research Questions.....	12
1.5 Significance of the Study	12
1.6 Operational Definitions.....	12
CHAPTER TWO	14
LITERATURE REVIEW	14
2.1 Introduction.....	14
2.2 News Values	14
2.3 Framing Theory	15
2.4 Theory of Media Ownership.....	18

2.5 Related Works.....	18
2.5.1 Framing of Election News	19
2.5.2 Influence of News Values on News Selection.....	25
2.5.3 Media Ownership and Election Coverage	26
CHAPTER THREE	29
METHODOLOGY	29
3.1 Introduction.....	29
3.2 Research Approach	29
3.3 Population Description.....	29
The population for the study was all front page stories of the <i>Daily Graphic</i> and <i>Daily Guide</i> for 2016. The year 2016 was purposively selected because it was an election year. In all, 313 editions were published for each newspaper for year 2016 making a total of 626 issues.	29
Profiles of Newspapers	30
3.7.1 Daily Graphic.....	30
3.7.2 Daily Guide.....	31
3.4 Sampling Procedure	31
3.5 Coding Procedure.....	32
3.5.1 Operationalization of variables	32
3.6 Data Analysis	32
CHAPTER FOUR.....	34
FINDINGS	34
4.1 Introduction.....	34
4.2 Research Findings.....	34

4.3 Nature of News	35
4.4 Direction of News	40
4.5 Main Actors	44
4.6 Framing of Political Stories	44
CHAPTER FIVE	50
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	50
5.1 Introduction.....	50
5.2 Discussion.....	50
5.3 Dominant Frames.....	53
5.4 Conclusion	55
5.5 Limitations of the study	56
5.6 Recommendations.....	57
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	58
APPENDIX A.....	62
APPENDIX B	65
APPENDIX C	66
APPENDIX D.....	68

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Daily Graphic—Nature of News, First Quarter (January-April) 36

Figure 2: Daily Guide—Nature of news, First Quarter (January to April)..... 37

Figure 3: Daily Graphic—Nature of news, Second Quarter (May-August) 37

Figure 4: Daily Guide—Nature of news, Second Quarter (May to August) 38

Figure 5: Daily Graphic—Nature of news, Third Quarter (September to December) 39

Figure 6: Daily guide—Nature of News, Third Quarter (September to December) 39

Figure 7: Bar graph for First Quarter—Direction of News 41

Figure 8: Bar Graph for Second Quarter—Direction Of News (May to August) 42

Figure 9: Bar Graph for Third Quarter—Direction of news (September-December) 42

Figure 10: Daily Graphic—Framing of political stories, First Quarter (January to April)..... 45

Figure 11: Daily Guide—Framing of Political stories, First Quarter (January to April) 46

Figure 12: Daily Graphic—framing of political stories, Second Quarter (May-August)..... 46

Figure 13: Daily Guide—Framing political stories, Second Quarter (May-August) 47

Figure 14: Daily Graphic—framing of political stories, Third Quarter (September to December)
..... 48

Figure 15: Daily Guide—framing of political stories, Third Quarter (September-December) 48

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Summary Data (Nature of News for Daily Graphic and Daily Guide) 35

Table 2: Main Actors for all three quarters..... 43

ABSTRACT

This study content analyzed the front page issues of the 2016 *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* newspapers on what made the news in the 2016 election year, as regards factors influencing selection of stories, frames used in the coverage of political news as well as ownership and the influence it had on how front page news was covered in the 2016 election year.

From all 626 issues published in 2016, a total sample of 148 issues was drawn for the two newspapers. This proportion gave a fair representation of the population. A constructed week technique was used to sample front page stories by the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* on the kinds of stories published and the dominant frames used by both newspapers in the coverage of political stories. A composite week was developed to represent each month of the year.

The findings showed that both *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* gave maximum front page attention to political issues particularly in the third quarter of the year when the elections drew closer. These stories were skewed in favor of the elite who were mainly politicians. In the coverage of political news, *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* gave more prominence to electoral processes and issues compared to stories that were legal in nature, those concerned with economy and governance as well as corruption. Findings also revealed that the negative element and the element of personalization in a story increased the probability of it being published on the front page.

The pattern of stories with regards to how they were framed remained same in all three quarters of the year by both *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide*.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

One characteristic that is common among definitions of democracy is the role of elections which give citizens the power to choose their leaders and representatives. Elections are central to the very nature of contemporary democratic rule and provide a means by which governments are made answerable to the citizens (Bormann and Golder, 2013). An administration is classified as a democracy if the leader of the country is elected, if the number of parties competing are more than one, and finally if an opposition party has defeated the ruling government and has been allowed to take office (Cheibub, Gandhi & Vreeland, 2009). Dahl (1995) stated a list of eight required institutional guarantee for democracy which includes freedom of expression, right to vote and free and fair elections. Even though elections may not result in alternation of power, because they are participatory, competitive and legitimate, they still contribute to democratization by strengthening civil liberties in the society (Lindberg, 2006).

Ghana has experienced extended periods of military dictatorship since independence until 1993(Ayee,1997) and after twelve years of military rule under President John Jerry Rawlings and the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), multi-party presidential elections were held to return the country to constitutional rule in 1992. Since then, elections in Ghana have been held every four years with presidential and parliamentary elections being held at the same time generally on December 7. The only exception was 1992 when they were held on different dates (presidential held on 3rd November while parliamentary was held later on December 29).

1.1.1 Political History of Ghana

Ghana has held a number of elections since 1951 and has earned for herself the title of being a ‘beacon of African Democracy’ (Abdul-Rashid, 2017). The very first set of elections held in 1951(Ghana then Gold Coast) were held for a legislative assembly hence the right to vote was limited to only council of chiefs. Presidential elections however took place for the first time in Ghana in April, 1960 together with a referendum to create an executive presidency. Kwame Nkrumah who was then in power as the Prime Minister and leader of the Convention People’s Party and J.B Danquah were the only candidates who contested in the elections. However, in 1966, Nkrumah was overthrown by the National Liberation Council (NLC) whose chairman was Lt. Gen. Ankrah.

The 1969 parliamentary elections followed and was held in order to select for the 140 seat legislative body. Kofi Abrefa Busia, the leader of the Progressive People’s Party won 105 seats and emerged winner of the elections making him the Prime Minister of Ghana. Komla Agbeli Gbedemah of the National Alliance of Liberals secured 19 seats, thereby losing the election (Ghanaian Chronicle, 2016). Colonel Acheampong overthrew Dr. Busia in 1972 and became the Head of state after staging a coup d’état, which was devoid of murder. The 1979 June 4 coup was the next coup to be staged and was led by John Jerry Rawlings. He overthrew the administration of General Frederick Akuffo who had also unseated his forerunner, General Acheampong in a palace revolution. Rawlings staged another coup in 1981 to unseat Limann in 1981, bringing the country under military (PNDC) rule again which lasted until 1992 when the country was returned to democratic rule.

From 1996 through to 2016, elections have been organized successfully and power has been handed over from one party in power to the opposition and vice versa. According to Bigg and Kpodo (2015), the handing over of power from one party to another in a peaceful manner has strengthened Ghana's reputation as the leading country in the practice of democracy in a region that has been scarred by civil wars.

The 1992 general election was first to be held after twelve years of military regime and was won officially by Rawlings with 58.3 per cent of the votes, beating Adu Boahen who obtained 30.4 percent. Despite the declaration of International observers like the Commonwealth Observers of the 1992 elections as "free and fair", the outcome of the election was strongly contested by the four opposition parties namely the New Patriotic Party (NPP), People's National Convention (PNC), National Independence Party (NIP) and People's Heritage Party (PHP) (Jeffries and Thomas, 1993). The opposition leaders claimed that the Commonwealth Observer Group and the Carter Centre Ghana Election Mission, could not detect the many instances of electoral malpractice which eventually resulted in the election being rigged (Jeffries & Thomas, 1993).

The 1996 general election was the next to be held and this was the second set of elections in a period when the country had just began to experiment with multi-party democracy hence foreign donors became deeply involved and disbursed large amounts of money to ensure a successful election (Jeffries, 1998). Ayee (1997) established that, "The 1996 elections were extremely important in the process of consolidating the country's democracy as it was the first time since independence in 1957 that the country had a democratic election under democratic rule" (Ayee, 1997 p.1). The outcome was a win for the National Democratic Congress in both the

presidential and parliamentary elections. Rawlings of the NDC obtained 57.4 percent of the votes which was just a little less than the 58.3 per cent obtained in the 1992 elections. John Agyekum Kufour of the NPP obtained 39.6 per cent, performing a little better than his forerunner, Adu Boahen who got 30.4percent in the 1992 elections. Edward Mahama of the PNC obtained 3per cent.

The national elections of year 2000 was also important as it was the third time an election was being held under the country's fourth republic. It also marked the first time in history that a government that had been democratically elected, handed over to the opposition party (Temin&Smith, 2002). After Ghanaians went to the polls to vote in the presidential and parliamentary elections, a presidential runoff took place three weeks later with John Agyekum Kufour\ emerging as the winner and inaugurated as president on January 7, 2001. Even though some isolated cases of uproars were reported, the 2000 elections were described as exponentially freer and fairer compared to the 1992 elections.

The presidential election in 2004 was a two horse race between the incumbent John Agyekum Kufour of the NPP and John Evans Atta Mills, flagbearer of the NDC. President Kufour won 52.45 percent of the votes with 44.64 percent going to John Evans Atta Mills of the NDC, 1.92 percent went to Edward Mahama of the PNC while 1percent went to George Aggudey of the CPP. The performance of the other candidates was of little value and so did not push the election into a run-off like in the 2000 elections making the incumbent, John Agyekum Kufuor retain power. The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers made some observations and reported at a press conference that Ghana had to be proud because the voting process was

peaceful and demonstrated the ability of Ghana's institutions to function properly in a democracy (Guri, 2004).

Next was the 2008 general election in which the first round of voting for the presidential elections proved inconclusive. Although Akufo- Addo was in the lead with 49.1 percent of the votes, it wasn't enough to give him a one-touch victory (Daddieh, 2009). John Evans Atta Mills followed closely with 47.9 percent whereas the other competing candidates won less than 3 percent of the votes consequently throwing the elections into a run-off as was the case in the 2000 elections. Professor Mills emerged winner and was sworn in as president on January 7, 2009 but without much parliamentary majority. Daddieh (2009) however stated that the 2008 elections brought about Ghana's second change of power and confirmed the strength of Ghana's democracy. According to the Commonwealth Secretariat (2008), the electorates turned out in their numbers to vote in the run-off elections just like in the first round showing their desire to enhance Ghana's democratic credentials through a smooth transfer of power.

The next general election was in 2012. This election was the sixth election to be held after the country was returned to constitutional rule in 1992. Sadly, the election campaign period was overshadowed by the unexpected demise of President John Evans Atta Mills on July 24, 2012 after which Vice president John Dramani Mahama was sworn in as interim president and subsequently endorsed as flag bearer of the party during a congress. Nana Akufo-Addo of the NPP was nominated as presidential candidate for the NPP. John Dramani Mahama secured more than 50percent of the votes on the first ballot (Daddieh, 2009), cancelling the need for a second round which was the case in the 2008 elections. The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers

(CODEO) observed and reported a generally calm political and electoral environment in the various constituencies which were observed as the day of the election drew closer. However political and electoral tension increased as the Election Day approached.

The most recent election held was the 2016 general election which saw the tables turn in favour of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) as opposition leader Nana Addo Danquah Akufo-Addo defeated the incumbent, President John Dramani Mahama after ruling for one term. Akufo-Addo of the NPP got 53.8percent of the votes whereas John Mahama of the NDC had 44.4percent of the votes. Nana Addo became president and was sworn in on January 7, 2017.

1.1.2 The Role of the media

“The media play very key roles and are indispensable to the extent that democratic elections are simply unthinkable without them” (Soleil, 2010 pp.1). They play very important roles in the proper functioning of democracy and this is mostly within the electoral context where they perform watchdog roles and provide access to information about the parties, candidates and voting procedures. This ensures the making of sound choices in the voting process. According to the Centre for Democracy and Governance (1999), it is essential that citizens have enough access to information because it ensures they understand the choices they make and this is crucial to the wholeness of democracy. In playing a watchdog role, the media provide information which serve as a “checking function” by making sure that leaders who have been elected deliver on the promises they made to those who elected them. The media do this by discussing and analyzing successes and failure of candidates, government and electoral management bodies who inform the public on the achievements they have made and this makes them accountable to the people.

According to Reisner (1992), in the newspaper industry, the front page of any newspaper is most desired than any other resource, the most important page and what people who walk by will have a chance to look at, hence has been selected for the study. According to Reisner (1992), newspaper editors consider the front page stories the most important ones of the day and routinely signal front page news worthiness by elaborating and defending the choices they make. Editors rely on traditional news values in their selection of stories but according to Reisner (1992), they find ways to conceal the role their own ideology may play in selecting the news. According to him, stories are more likely to be chosen for the front page if they are part of current stories with little argument (Reisner, 1992). This study therefore sought to identify what may inform the media to place a particular story on its front page, assess the dominant frames in the coverage of front page political stories and to examine the differences in coverage of front page news between the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* in the 2016 election year.

1.1.3 Role of the Ghanaian Media in Past Elections

The roles played by both state-owned and privately-own media is crucial aspect of any election and according Temin and Smith (2002), without the media's contribution, Ghana's electoral process would not have advanced smoothly. The media acted as an opposition to the ruling government after the opposition parties refused to participate in the parliamentary elections in 1992 believing that the presidential results were 'stolen'. This opposition was seen mainly with the independent press which was used as a medium by the parties in opposition to criticize government activities and practices during the first four years of the fourth republic (Jeffries Thomas, 1993). According to Jeffries (1998), the state-owned media during the 1996 elections, were virtually used as propaganda organs for the then President Rawlings and the NDC. The

Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) radio and television operated in accordance with the provision of the constitution which required them to give equal coverage to the various political parties and give each the chance to broadcast in the lead-up to the 1996 elections. The regular news coverage of GBC radio and television did not pay attention to news which placed focus on the opposition but rather headlined President Rawlings' campaigns day after day (Jefferies, 1998). The independent press reacted in a bid to counter-balance this bias in the state-owned media. The independent newspapers, as well as radio and TV stations contributed very much to the quality of the electoral process during the 1996 elections.

There was an improvement in the media's coverage of the 1996 elections compared to the 1992 elections as the private media found their feet with FM stations, generally critical of the Rawlings' administration. This cancelled out favorable coverage of the National Democratic Congress in the state-owned print and electronic media and kept the election quite competitive and this gave some form of hope to the opposition about their chances against the incumbent (Temin and Smith, 2002). The independent newspapers during the 2000 elections were bent on running down Rawlings so much that they paid almost no attention to other issues and personalities. Before the 2000 elections, public debates by presidential candidates were broadcasted live on television and later, radio. These were organized by the Ghana Journalists Association in collaboration with an American NGO, Freedom Forum. These debates were characterized by each candidate being given at most five minutes to present an opening statement. Afterwards, the audience was also given the opportunity to ask questions (Agyeman-Duah, 2005:24).

In 2004, debates were organized once again but this time around there was some form innovation. First was a civil society-sponsored weekly televised debate for the four competing political parties as well as several programs on radio which discussed issues of relevance. This helped to improve public discourse (Frempong, 2006).

During the 2012 general elections, social media particularly Facebook gave citizens, politicians and civil society organizations the chance to engage in open discussions. This was essential to ensure that our democratic values and aspirations are deepened (Fridausu, 2012). Radio in particular gave the platform for keen political discussion among political parties and also acted as a medium to educate the public. The Coalition of Domestic Election observers (CODEO) however observed that, a few weeks leading to the elections, politicians began to cast aspersions and verbally attack their opponents.

The 2016 general election was evidenced greatly by the strategies of political parties, especially the then ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) and opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP) using social media platforms to convey campaign messages to the large number of Ghanaians who were active on social media. It was also observed that privately owned media outlets particularly those owned by candidates and political parties were used to spread polarizing messages.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The foregoing argument about the importance of the media's role in entrenching democracy and contributions during elections such as providing sufficient information about political parties,

policies, candidates and the election process to enable citizens make sound choices raises the research curiosity about finding out the way the media cover elections generally and in particular, the most recent elections in 2016.

According to Halin and Mancini (2004) and Stromback and Laid (2008), different media outlets may frame the same topic in different ways depending on the type of media, the organizational policy of the media, ownership of the media outlet and the prevailing social, politics, campaign and elections. This has an effect on the choices that people make about how to process that information. During elections, people turn to different forms of media to get their information depending on the kind of information they are looking for and how involved they are in politics. For any newspaper, Zubiaga (2013), argues that stories on the front page are the most important stories and are carefully selected to catch a large number of potential readers (Zubiaga, 2013). The front page according to Croteau, Hoynes and Milan (2011) also has an influence on which stories will be most seeable and also identifies the choice of the editor in the selection of important news of the day.

Another important factor that may affect what is covered on the front page is media ownership and according to Yeboah (2014), ownership has an influence on the nature of a media outlet in election coverage. Wang (2003) has also noted that, ownership has become a very strong force behind the media organization and therefore the coverage of news and features reflects the political beliefs and interests of owners. As a state-owned newspaper, the *Daily Graphic* is enjoined by Article 163 of the 1992 Ghanaian constitution to provide fair opportunities to people to present divergent views and dissenting opinions on all national issues (Constitution of the

Republic of Ghana, 1992). On the other hand, private newspapers such as the *Daily Guide* have no such obligations and usually give independent accounts of events outside government sources.

This study sought to content analyze how front page stories were framed, specifically political stories in the 2016 election year, using the *Daily Graphic* which is a State-owned newspaper and the *Daily Guide*, as the focus. The study also sought to answer the question; how differently did the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* cover front page news in the 2016 election year owing to the fact that both have different ownership background?

1.3 Research Objectives

The main objective of this research was to find out what made it to the front page of the *Daily Graphic* a state-owned newspaper, and the *Daily Guide* a private newspaper for 2016 which was an election year. It also sought to determine the dominant frames in the coverage of front page political stories by the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* newspapers in order to help establish whether ownership had an influence on what both newspapers gave front page prominence to. To achieve this, the study pursued the following specific objectives:

1. To find out the kind of news that was published on the front pages of the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* in the 2016 election year.
2. To assess the dominant frames used in the coverage of front page political stories of the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* newspapers in the 2016 election year.
3. To examine the differences in the coverage of front page news of the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* in the 2016 election year.

4. To examine the factors that influenced the choice of front page news of the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* newspapers for 2016.

1.4 Research Questions

The research was guided by the following research questions:

Q1. What kind of news was published on the front pages of the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* in the 2016 election year?

Q2. What dominant frames were used in the coverage of the front page political stories of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* in the 2016 election year?

Q3. What was the difference in the coverage of front page news by the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* newspaper in the 2016 election year?

Q4. What factors influenced the choice of front page news of the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* in the 2016 election year

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study will help reveal what makes the front page news in an election year especially during the 2016 general elections using the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide*. The study will also add to the existing literature on media and its contribution to the coverage of elections and the general electoral processes in Ghana.

1.6 Operational Definitions

Elections: Presidential and parliamentary elections held in the year 2016

Front Page: The front page is the first page of a newspaper, magazine or publication and usually carries the most important stories/features framing of political stories

Dominant frames: The most recurring category under which political stories fell eg. Corruption, Economy and governance.

Framing of political stories: Placing of political stories under selected categories eg. Legal issues and Electoral processes



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This section of the research discusses the theoretical framework that guided the study. The chapter reviewed the concept of News Values, Framing Theory and Theory of Media Ownership. The chapter also reviewed studies from different parts of the world that are related to the study. Contents of this chapter formed the basis for the research and for the discussion of findings of this study.

2.2 News Values

A number of events occur from day to day but only some of these eventually become news stories. News values are rules that guide media outlets such as newspapers, radio and television, in determining how much importance or attention to give to a story and are basic to understanding the choices that editors are faced with when deciding whether a story is news worthy or not (Spencer-Thomas, 2005). Galtung and Ruge (1965) came up with a list of news values by examining international news stories to find out the factors they had in common and therefore placed them at the top of news agenda in the world. They suggested that, events become news to the extent that they are defined by some event properties namely frequency, absolute intensity or intensity increase, meaningfulness, cultural proximity, unexpectedness, composition, reference to elite nations, reference to elite persons and something negative. The concept of news values is therefore important as it helps determine which information would fit in the available spaces of a newspaper (Kisuke, 2004). Even though Galtung and Ruge (1965)

conducted the research in 1965, any media analyst discussion of news values would usually refer to most of the characteristics they listed (Spencer-Thomas, 2005).

For this study therefore, it is most likely that the negative element in a story i.e. stories about political conflicts and tension in connection with the elections would be given front page prominence owing to the fact that election periods are known to be characterized by frictions arising between competing political parties. In addition, news stories that make it to the front page in an election year would be more personalized hence a high probability of political party candidates and officials as well as key members of the electoral commission receiving more prominence compared to other groups of people.

According to Shoemaker and Reese (1996), news values however are not the only factors that influence what finally becomes a news item. Other important factors are, format considerations, audience interests, resources, source considerations and the need for a mix of different kinds of news. The concept of News Values was relevant to the study because it informed the factors that may have influenced the selection of front page news stories for 2016.

2.3 Framing Theory

According to Entman (2004), framing is part of our everyday lives and is present any time a message is crafted. It is suitable to explain differences in media coverage across different countries (Chu, 2015) and also refers to the ways in which mass media arrange and come out with issues and events in terms of “patterns and presentation of selection, emphasis and exclusion”(Gitlin, 1980). The theory was first developed by Goffman in 1974. Entman (1993)

came up with a more operational definition that, “To frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation.”

Frames are defined as “largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports” (Gitlin, 1980) and as a “Central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue” (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). Stemming from these definitions, two concepts of framing have been derived which are media frames and individual frames. Entman (1993) suggested that frames that are found in news stories can be noticed by the sight of certain keywords, stock phrases, and stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing cluster of “facts or judgements”. Tankard (2001) gave a comprehensive empirical approach to identifying and measuring frames in news story with his list of 11 framing mechanism, namely: headlines, subheads, photo captions, leads, source selection, quotes selection, pull quotes, statistics, charts, concluding statements and paragraphs. Frames that have overtime emerged as dominant have significant effects on public attitudes, cultural interpretations and policy outcomes (Entman, 1991).

Framing is important in media content studies and according to Chong and Druckman (2007), the media are able to influence people’s voting procedures through the framing of issues. Framing shows as a media frame when it looks at the way in which media institutions present or report their information. Iyengar (1991) states that, in the attempt to construct and tell stories that

can be understood, journalists rely on pre-existing cultural frames or norms. Frame analysis can be done either inductively or deductively. The deductive approach is dependent on predetermined framing categories that are brought in connection with news stories while the inductive approach according to Gamson (1992) begins with 'loosely theoretically defined' frame categories which are generated through qualitative analysis in some studies, and later developed into a codebook which is applied to a larger population of texts based on the rules of quantitative content analysis (Meyer, 1995).

According to Grabler (2006), the media inform people about which issues amongst the lot deserve special attention. This is shown in cues as front page placement in newspapers. Ha (2009) also says that the number of times a story appears on the front page section indicates its salience compared to when it is placed in other sections of the newspaper. What this implies for this study is that the deductive approach to framing adopted for the study which relies on predetermined categories brought in connection with news stories would help in establishing and making comparison between the *Daily Guide* and *Daily Graphic* on which category of political stories received the highest front page attention as well as how differently they were covered by both newspapers.

Framing theory has come under some criticism by some scholars. A major setback was identified by D'Angelo (2002) in the framing assumption as he claimed that only the constant and persistent patterns get the most attention, disregarding the understated and developing changes that are within and outside the structures. The framing theory was therefore adopted for

this study because of its usefulness in explaining how political stories were framed and to help detect the dominant frames also in those political stories.

2.4 Theory of Media Ownership

The study was also guided by the theory of media ownership which was developed by Altschull (1984). Altschull (1984) argued that, “the content of the press is directly correlated with the interests of those who finance the press”. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) pointed out that, people who own media organizations have much influence on the content of the newspapers. They argued that the primary focus of a news organization owned by a publicly held corporation was to make profit, and maintaining objectivity in what was covered was seen as a way of attracting readers desired by advertisers. According to Wang (2003), ownership has become a very significant force in reflecting the political beliefs and interest of owners in editorials and columns as well as the coverage of news and feature. This theory is relevant to the study as it informed the study on how ownership can affect what stories are placed on the front page, due to the possibility of the ultimate power owners of media organizations possess, influencing the news content of the newspapers. For this study therefore, the theory would help in establishing whether ownership had an influence on what news stories made their way to the front page of the *Daily Guide* and *Daily Graphic* in the 2016 election year.

2.5 Related Works

This section reviewed studies that are related to the influence of news values on news selection, framing of election news and media ownership and coverage.

2.5.1 Framing of Election News

Katende (2010) studied how the media covered the 2011 Ugandan presidential elections and did a comparative analysis of the *New Vision* and *Daily Monitor* newspapers. The content of the two newspapers were analyzed. The *New Vision* which is state-owned and the privately-owned *Daily Monitor* were examined for how they covered the 2011 presidential elections and the results indicated that, even though eight candidates contested in the election, the incumbent Yoweri Museveni received more attention in both newspapers than other candidates while his main competitor, Kiiza Besigye followed him closely. The six other candidates however received least coverage from both newspapers. The *New Vision* was found to have given more positive coverage to the incumbent Museveni than the other contenders. Privately owned *Daily Monitor* on the other hand was found to have given more favorable coverage to the opposition parties' candidates than to Museveni. Stories were exclusively put in 15 different categories which included Electoral crime, Infrastructure, Corruption, Democracy, Governance, Security, Economy, Health, Education, Federalism and Reconciliation. The theoretical framework that guided the study was the theory of framing and it was established that both newspapers offered scarce coverage to the third-party candidates. This was probably because newspapers largely frame presidential election as a two-way contest between an incumbent and another with a higher chance of winning. The study however was limited to only the election period hence for this paper, the researcher sought to study largely how the media covered stories all through the 2016 election year, focusing on the front page which as indicated earlier is the most important resource of any newspaper.

Danso (2012) carried out a study to content analyze the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* in the 2004 and 2008 general elections in Ghana. The principal goal of the study was to determine the focus of these stories and how priorities were placed on issues or personalities of candidates involved in the elections. A constructed week was developed to sample stories by the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* on campaign activities by the political parties and presidential candidates that contested in the elections together with their running mate for each month in the second half in each year. The study utilized the framing theory as basis for analysis of the stories. Findings showed that election coverage by the two newspapers in both 2004 and 2008 predominantly focused on issues rather than personalities. Findings also showed that the Ghana Journalist Association Guidelines for the coverage of elections were followed to a large extent.

Danso (2012) stated that even though the focus of the election was predominantly on issues, the considerable attention given to personalities could not be ignored and it was therefore evident that the tendency of newspapers to focus on personalities rather than issues was eminent. With regards to campaign activities reported on by the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide*, it was established that issues such as advising people to register and encouraging them to vote, philanthropic activities, advising people to be vigilant at the polling centers, issues on choice of running mates, payment of courtesy calls on chiefs and so on were mostly reported whereas issues of provision of social amenities, health care and major economic policies which should have been prime were given little attention.

Danso (2012) like Katende (2010) focused on just stories published during the campaign and election period.

A study by Akortia (2015) on newspaper framing of electoral process leading to the 2012 general election in Ghana sought to content analyze the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* on how the media covered the framing of electoral process and training of election officials, voter education, demarcation, registration, exhibition, transfer of votes and filing of nominations in Ghana during the period leading to the 2012 general election. A total of 3,559 paragraphs were analyzed in both newspapers for the study. Through content analysis, the study showed that registration was the electoral process that received the most coverage in both newspapers. Akortia (2015) found that nine frames were used by both the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* to frame the electoral process, out of which seven were used to frame registration process alone. The study also revealed that both newspapers focused much of their attention on the registration process to neglect the other processes hereby setting the agenda for the public to see registration as the most important of all the process. Again, it was established that *Daily Graphic* took an informative stance most of the time in coverage of the electoral processes. In the conclusions of the study, it was established that the electoral process in Ghana would not have certainly advanced so smoothly during elections in 2012 without the contribution of the media. On the other hand, the media in setting the agenda and using frames in the coverage of the electoral process succeeded in informing the public and influencing public perception of which issues deserved the most attention. Akortia (2015) limited his study to solely analyzing stories concerned with the electoral process to the neglect of other issues. This work looks at all front page issues published by the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* all through the election year.

Stromback & Luengo (2014) carried out an investigation on how election news was covered in Spain and Sweden. Using the concept of framing, a comparison was made of how politics was

framed in election news coverage, in two vastly democratic countries. A quantitative content analysis was used in analyzing election news coverage in three newspapers in each country; *El Paris*, *El Mundo* and ABC in Spain as well as *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska*, *Dagbladet* and *Aftonbladet* in Sweden. The study period was three weeks to the Swedish elections in 2002 and the Spanish election in 2004. Results showed that there were several significant differences in the way newspapers in both countries covered the national election. However, the findings revealed that the possibility of framing politics as a game was high in Swedish and Spanish newspapers.

Porto (2001) in a paper looked at how the 2000 U.S presidential election was framed. A content analysis was done on *Folha De Sao Paulo* and TV Globo's newscast *Jornal Nacional*. For *Folha*, the period of analysis began from the Republican National Convention in July 31, 2000 to the day after the election in November 8, 2000. In the selection of the sample of news stories to be analyzed, effort was made to include all news stories about the 2000 U.S presidential election that were printed and broadcasted. In the case of newspapers, *Folha de Sao Paulo*, only the reports that appeared in the first page and in the international section were defined. The stories were classified according to a coding scheme that was common with the news story as the unit of analysis. Reports were later classified according to its dominant frame and other variables. A good number of reports presented by the newspaper *Folha* gave attention to the horse-race aspects of the campaign or limited itself to describing events whereas the positions and proposals constituted 15% of the news stories. Frames identified by Porto (2001) were Thematic, Horse-race and episodic frames.

Vreese et al (2006) analyzed three national newspapers and two television programmes for their news coverage of the 2004 European parliamentary election campaign in 25 member state of the European Union (EU). For newspapers, individual news stories were the unit of analysis and all front page stories, random page inside the main section of the newspaper and all news stories about elections throughout the newspaper. Each news story on the front page was coded for tone of coverage, topic and actors. News about the European elections had a range of codes designated to them and this was to help the coders identify when a story was about the elections and what specific topic of these stories they were. News were coded for being neutral, negative, positive, predominantly negative or positive or mixed. Results revealed that media attention was high for the 2004 European elections compared to the 1999 elections. European election news coverage mainly featured political actors.

O'gara (2009) investigated how the print media framed the 2008 presidential election in the U.S by examining how newspapers covered the Democratic and Republican presidential and vice presidential candidates in the 2008 U.S elections. Three major frames were highlighted namely experience, race and viability. The *New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune* and *USA Today* were content analyzed as the study aimed at bringing to the fore media frames used in the 2008 presidential elections. It was established that viability, experience and race were frames used consistently all through August-November coverage by the media and was found in each of the three newspapers examined. Results also showed that similar with previous research, the media did not give much attention to age as a subject, but rather focused more on race, gender and experience more.

In a study on how the 2005 Ethiopian national election was framed by privately owned newspapers, Abate (2013) used a quantitative content analysis in examining frames and sourcing variables that were used while covering the election. Two privately owned newspapers i.e. *Addis Adma* and *Reporter* were selected. The study sought to assess the type of media frame the private news media used and how the different political parties were treated in the news stories. Also, the difference in how front page news articles and editorial pages were framed, was looked at. The study used quantitative research methods to analyze data sets and answer the questions posed. The study also looked out for the presence of certain words, concepts, themes, phrases, characters or sentences within texts to quantify them in an objective way.

Findings indicated that issue frames were found more in both news stories and editorial pieces while covering election related news in the news media that were analyzed. The study also found out that as the day of election drew closer, there was a drop in the amount of game frames while the varying types of media frames were characterized by the use of more event-oriented style of writing with a mixture of issue frames. Recommendations were made for further investigative researches on the main reasons why the Ethiopian media focused more on issue frames than game frames as election date draws closer. This is to help scholars to see well the reason why the media in the developing world, frame election related news differently from western countries. Recommendations were also made for future researchers to focus on making a comparative analysis between the developed and the developing world as this would help the developing world better appreciate how similar or different they use frames in their coverage of election news. This study though uses the quantitative content analysis also, includes a second level of coding in order to allow for categorization of political stories published by the *Daily*

Graphic and *Daily Guide* into predetermined frames since it was an election year and there existing a high possibility of more political stories being published. The two-level coding was also to help the researcher in establishing the similarities and differences in the coverage of front page political stories by the *Daily Guide* and *Daily Graphic*.

2.5.2 Influence of News Values on News Selection

In an investigation carried out by Kisuke (2004) on the role of news values in the selection of news and sources in contemporary Third World newspaper, the results revealed that when it came to front page stories, elite sources are preferred. Kisuke (2004) did a case study on the *Daily Nation* newspaper by using content analysis to analyze the characteristics of news sources on the front page. In conclusion, she stated that though news values have acquired universal currency, different contexts may explain why news values vary from one society to another. Kisuke (2004) however limits findings of the study to just the concept of news values. An application of other theories and a comparison between two newspapers with different ownership background would have given a broader and richer perspective on what is made to appear on the front page. This study sought to fill this gap by applying the media ownership theory and theory of framing to establish a broader picture of what stories make it to the front page in an election year.

Chaudhary (2001) also analyzed the *Washington Post* and *Daily Times* of Nigeria for a period of one constructed week in November 1998. Content of the newspapers were examined based on whether the slant was negative, positive or neutral. A total of 1,858 stories were analyzed in six issues each of the *Washington Post* and the *Daily Times* of Nigeria. Findings indicated that the

newspapers in the developing nations also had a tendency to cover the developed countries of the West in a more negative than positive manner.

Peterson (1981) in examining the factors that influenced the selection of international news for publication looked out for frequency, threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness, personal and national election and negativity. The newspaper *Times* (London), was the focus of the study within a time frame of two weeks (January-February, 1975). A comparison was made between events that had been published and those that had not been published and were coded in line with the World Event International Survey event categories. Data for the study consisted of all the published and unpublished international news events gathered by The Times (London) for the time between 3-9 January and 4-10 February. Findings indicated that there was wide coverage of the region in which a paper was found. Also, the negativity in an event, increases the chance of it being published or negative news is more newsworthy.

2.5.3 Media Ownership and Election Coverage

Yeboah (2016) did a comparative content analysis of private newspapers to address the issue of political polarization between the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and its influence on the dissemination of news in Ghana. The theory of framing was used to determine whether a newspaper favored one political party or the other. This was done by categorizing stories published by the newspapers under seven umbrellas which included Economic, Governance, Corruption, and Electoral issues, Health, Legal and Energy. The variables of headline, placement of stories, tone and photos were tested on each story under these categories. In the findings, most of the stories were placed at the front page with a few in the

middle page with only one each at the back and other pages. 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, caption and camera angles. Findings showed that stories with headline bias were attributed to the *Daily Guide* and *The Chronicle* and this could have been because they were sympathetic to the New Patriotic Party (NPP) as most of the bias was found in stories critical of the government.

Wang (2003) set out to examine whether the different type of ownership affected the degree of objectivity of newspaper coverage of the 2000 U.S presidential election. A content analysis of 238 news stories and eight editorials from public-owned newspaper “the *Boston Globe*” and private-owned “the *Boston Herald*” showed that, not only does the ownership affect the objectivity of coverage of the two newspapers in the 2000 presidential election but endorsement also affect the degree of objectivity. The study extended to a more recent election to assess if media ownership still holds. Two different owners in the same market were examined by providing important new information about the role of media ownership in influencing news coverage of important national election by public-owned and private-owned newspapers.

A quantitative content analysis was carried out. Election stories carried on the news pages of the *Boston Globe* and *Boston Herald* which focus on selecting presidents of the United States in 2000 were included. All staff-written news stories appearing during the campaign period from September 5, 2000, reported official opening of the campaign until November 7, 2000 and the last full day of the campaign were coded. Findings revealed that the *Globe* endorsed Al Gore,

representative of the Democrats and the *Herald* endorsed Bush the leader of the Republicans in the 2000 presidential election. The *Herald* also endorsed Republican candidates more often than those of the Democrats in other campaigns.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research approach for the study. It discussed the study period, sample size, population description, and sampling procedure. It also presented the coding procedure and data analysis and profile of the two newspapers understudy.

3.2 Research Approach

The study is a quantitative content analysis of what made the news on the front page of the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* in 2016 which was an election year. Content analysis is defined by Reinhard,(1998,p 180) as a ‘systematic method of analyzing the content and the treatment of communication, which usually results in the development of objective and quantitative information .Quantitative content analysis refers to the examination of communication symbols which are numbered according to standard measurement, and the analysis of how they are related, involving those values using statistical methods, in order to describe the communication (Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 1998).

3.3 Population Description

The population for the study was all front page stories of the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* for 2016. The year 2016 was purposively selected because it was an election year. In all, 313 editions were published for each newspaper for year 2016 making a total of 626 issues.

Profiles of Newspapers

The following are profiles of the two newspapers that were sampled for the study:

3.7.1 Daily Graphic

The *Daily Graphic* was set up by the Daily Mirror Group, a British newspaper giant in 1952 mainly for political as well as economic reasons. The paper took an active interest in the social and political activities of the country after its establishment (Asante & Gadzekpo, 2000). In order to control the monopolistic dominance of the then British-owned *Daily Graphic*, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah established *The Ghanaian Times*, in 1958 as a parallel newspaper to the *Daily Graphic*. In spite of this, the Mirror Group was still forced by pressure from the post-colonial government of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to sell the *Daily Graphic* to the state on July 2, 1962. Subsequently it was incorporated as a statutory corporation in 1965 and has since remained a state-owned organization (Asante & Gadzekpo, 2000). It is recognized as the most dependable print media resource for information in Ghana (Amihere, 2010:8).

The paper is published six times a week (Monday to Saturday). The *Daily Graphic* was selected for the study because firstly, the front page of the *Daily Graphic* has the highest visibility among the print media industry in terms of circulation (Journalistic Policy Guide, 2008) and has the largest readership among all the newspapers. Secondly it is Ghana's oldest and largest selling National newspaper with the largest circulation of 75,000-100,000 (Amihere, 2010, Boadu-Ayebofo, 2008) pieces on a daily basis in the country while *Daily Guide* among other privately owned newspaper enjoys a wider readership. Also, it is a state-owned newspaper with the constitutional mandate to provide fair and balanced coverage and also serve the interest of the

public during election campaigns. The paper is also required under the 1992 constitution to give equal coverage to all political parties.

3.7.2 Daily Guide

The *Daily Guide* is an independent newspaper. It is the most widely read independent newspaper in Ghana (Press Reference, 2011). It is owned by Honorable Freddie Blay, former First Deputy Speaker of the Parliament of Ghana and a member of the New Patriotic Party (NPP). It was registered in January, 1988, but actually started publication in 1991. It is published by Western Publications Limited.

This newspaper was selected as it gives an independent account of events outside government sources and provides an alternative to the *Daily Graphic*. As a private newspaper, the newspaper's mission statement establishes that the agenda of *Daily Guide* is to promote democracy through freedom of speech, association and the rule of law.

3.4 Sampling Procedure

Using the dates 1st January to 31st December, a constructed week was used to form a time frame for the study and all items available on the front pages of both newspapers during the selected dates were included. A composite week was constructed for each month within the study period for the edition dates that were analyzed in this study. The researcher sampled six days in a week for each month. For the random selection process, all the dates of the days of the week for each month was written on slips of papers which were folded and dropped into the container. The researcher then selected one day each from the pool as days to represent each day in the week

constructed. This was again repeated for all the other months in the year. For each newspaper, six editions dates were selected for each month within the study period. For the 12-month-period therefore, each newspaper had 74 editions selected for analysis.

3.5 Coding Procedure

Only front page stories were coded for the study. Each story on the front page was coded for the following variables: nature of news, direction of news, main actors and type of political story.

The researcher was the sole coder.

3.5.1 Operationalization of variables

- Nature of news –Topic of news published on the front page of the newspaper.eg.Political, social, Business and Economic, Crime and cultural.
- Direction of news—Tone of news published on the front page eg. Positive, Negative and Neutral.
- Main Actors—Type of people covered on the front page eg.Elite persons and Ordinary people.
- **Type of political story**—Categories of political stories e.g. Electoral process and issues, Legal issues, Economy and Governance and Corruption.

3.6 Data Analysis

After completing all the coding activities, the data was entered into the Statistical Package for social sciences software (SPSS). The coded content was analyzed descriptively. Frequencies and

percentages were computed to allow for comparisons on variables in the research questions. In the data analysis, two levels were involved. At the first level, the researcher sought to look out for the kind of news that appeared on the front pages of the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* and at the second level, the researcher analyzed political stories to detect what frames they fell under i.e. Legal issues, Electoral processes and issues, Economy and Governance and Corruption. These frames were generated using the deductive frame analysis which allows for frames to be predefined.



CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study which focused on what made the front page news of the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* in the 2016 election year. It presents findings on the kind of stories, main actors, direction of news and the type of political story published on the front pages of *the Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* for each quarter of the year.

4.2 Research Findings

The purpose of the study was to examine and analyze what makes the front page news of the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* newspapers in 2016 which was an election year and the factors that may have influenced the choice of those front page stories. It also assessed how political stories were framed by both newspapers considering it was an election year. Finally the study examined how differently front page news was covered by the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* newspapers owing to the fact that both have different ownership background. From a total sample of 148 issues selected from a total population of 626 issues, the *Daily Graphic* published 221 stories of the 74 issues sampled for its front page, while the *Daily Guide* published 204 stories of the 74 issues sampled for its front page. The findings presented here concerns only the 221 stories of the *Daily Graphic* and 204 stories of the *Daily Guide*. Tables, pie charts and bar graphs have been used to illustrate the quantitative data.

4.3 Nature of News

The kind of news published on the front page of the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* newspapers is a very important indicator. The nature of news shows whether a story is political, economic, social, crime related or cultural in nature. The findings indicate these;

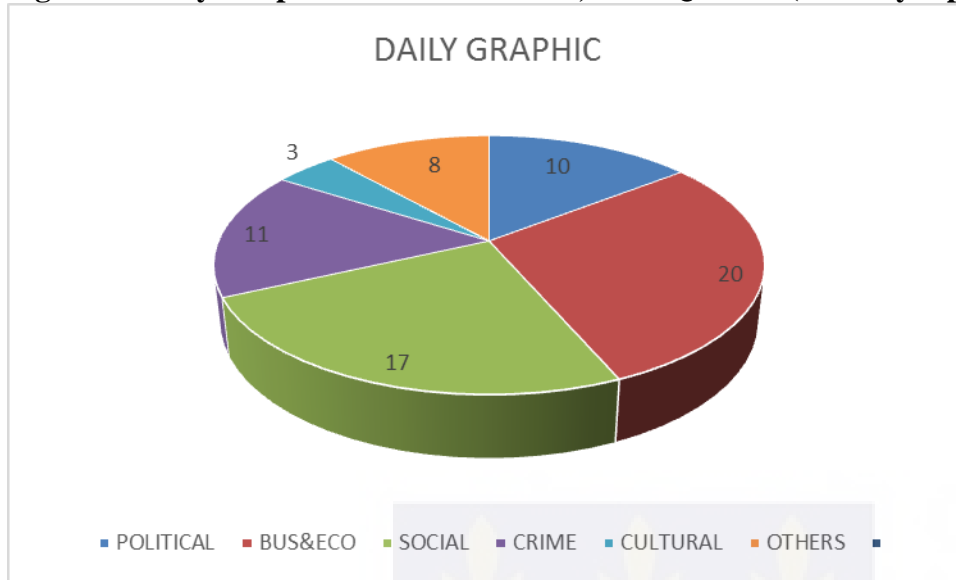
Table 1: Summary Data (Nature of News for Daily Graphic and Daily Guide)

	NATURE OF NEWS						Total
	Political	Business And Economics	Social	Crime	Cultural	Others	
Daily Graphic	72 32.6%	52 23.5%	40 18.1%	34 15.4%	4 1.8%	19 8.6%	221 100.0%
Daily Guide	102 50.0%	10 4.9%	29 14.2%	56 27.5%	2 1.0%	5 2.5%	204 100.0%
Total	174 40.9%	62 14.6%	69 16.2%	90 21.2%	6 1.4%	24 5.6%	425 100.0%

The findings indicated that the *Daily Graphic* published 72 political stories in all three quarters of 2016, 52 stories on business and economic activities, 40 stories on social issues, 34 stories on crime, and four (4) stories for cultural issues while 19 stories were recorded for stories that did not fall in any of the above mentioned categories i.e. others.

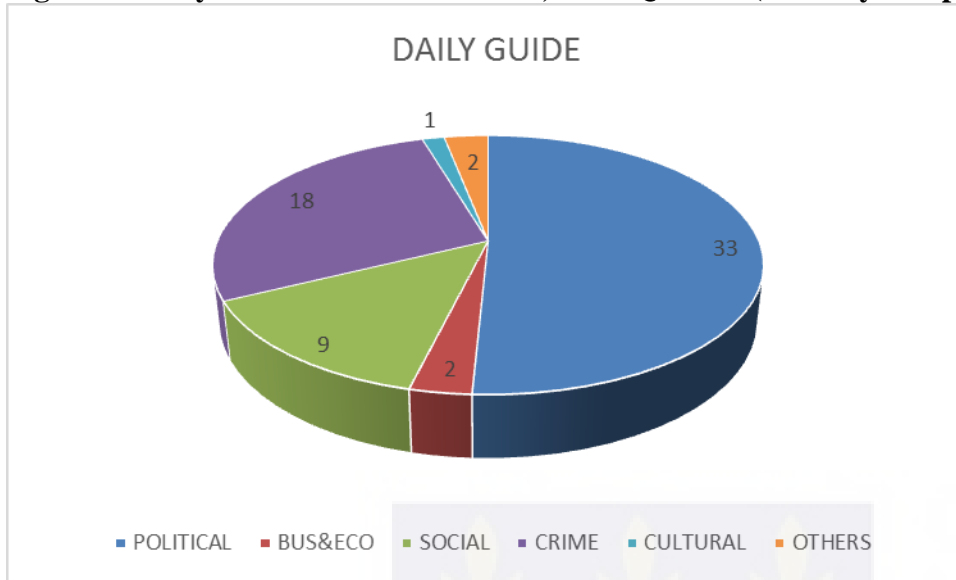
For the *Daily Guide*, findings indicated that 102 political stories were published, 10 stories on business and economic activities, 29 stories on social issues, 56 stories on crime, two (2) stories on cultural issues and five (5) stories that did not fit into any of the categories mentioned.

Figure 1: Daily Graphic—Nature of News, First Quarter (January-April)



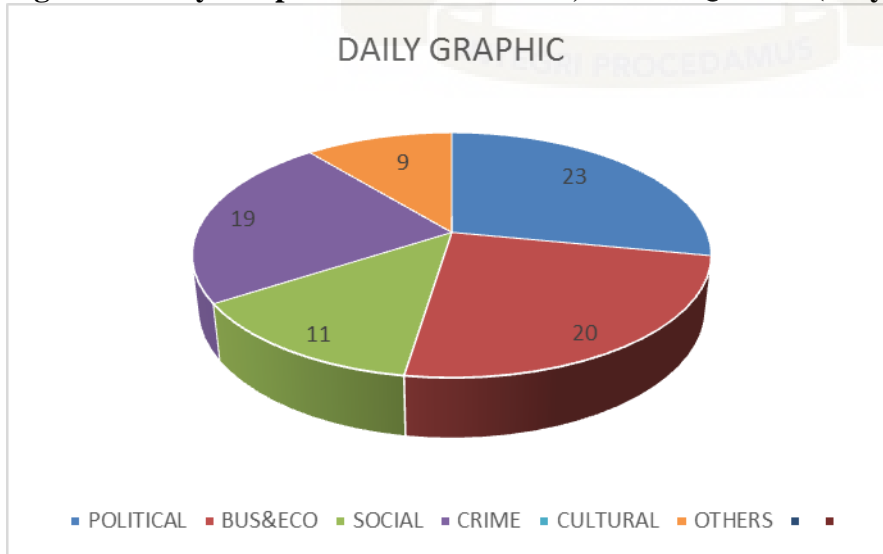
In the first quarter of 2016, findings showed that the *Daily Graphic*, recorded more stories on business and economic activities i.e. 20 (29%) stories out of 68 stories published in this quarter. Social issues followed with 17 stories out of the total number i.e. 25%. Crime-related issues recorded 11 representing 16% whereas political news recorded 10 stories representing 15%. Cultural issues received least coverage on the front page recording 3 stories. For stories that did not fall under any of the categories, eight stories representing 12% of the total number was recorded as presented in figure 1. Stories in this category (others) focused mainly on religion, court suits between persons and news that bordered on building strong bonds between the country and other nations.

Figure 2: Daily Guide—Nature of news, First Quarter (January to April)



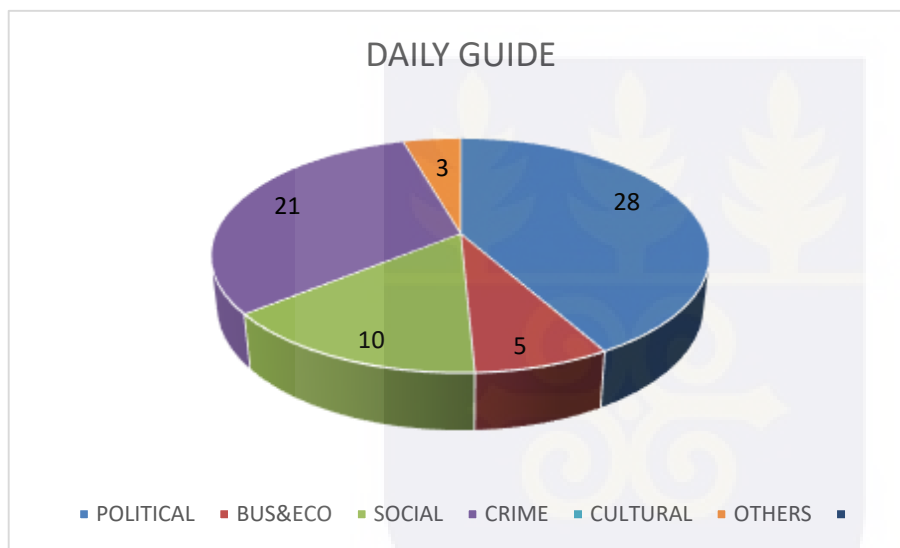
In the first quarter, The *Daily Guide* had political stories dominating the front page with 33(51%) out of 65 stories being published. Crime-related issues followed with 18 stories i.e.28% of the total number. Social issues recorded nine (9) stories, Business and Economics covered two (2) stories whereas one (1) story did not fall under any of the categories as shown figure 2 above.

Figure 3: Daily Graphic—Nature of news, Second Quarter (May-August)



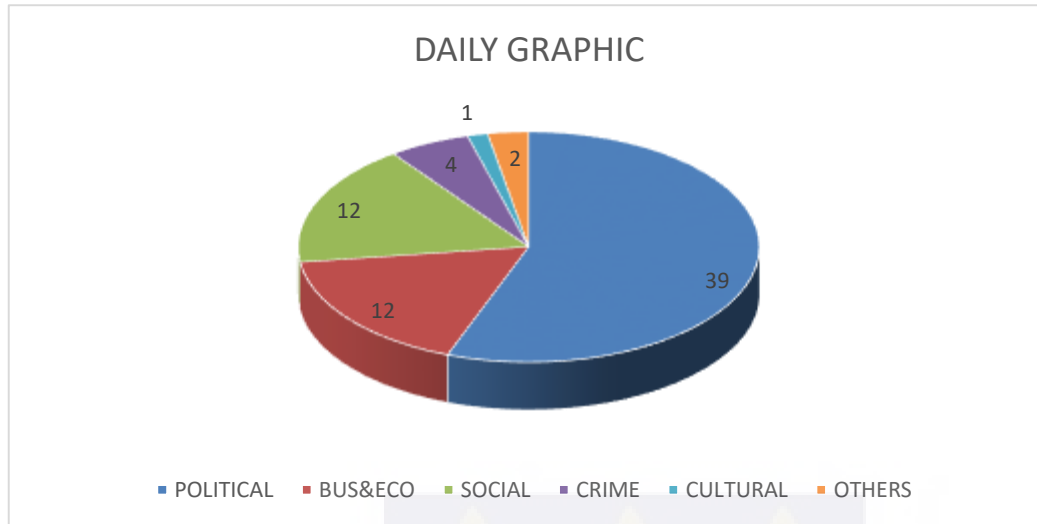
In the second quarter of 2016, *Daily Graphic* gave front page prominence to political news with 23 stories i.e. 28% of the total number of 82 stories being published. Business and Economics followed with 20 stories representing 24% of the total number. Next category to receive attention was crime-related issues recording 9 stories representing 24%. Nine (9) stories representing 11% covered did not fall into any of the categories.

Figure 4: Daily Guide—Nature of news, Second Quarter (May to August)



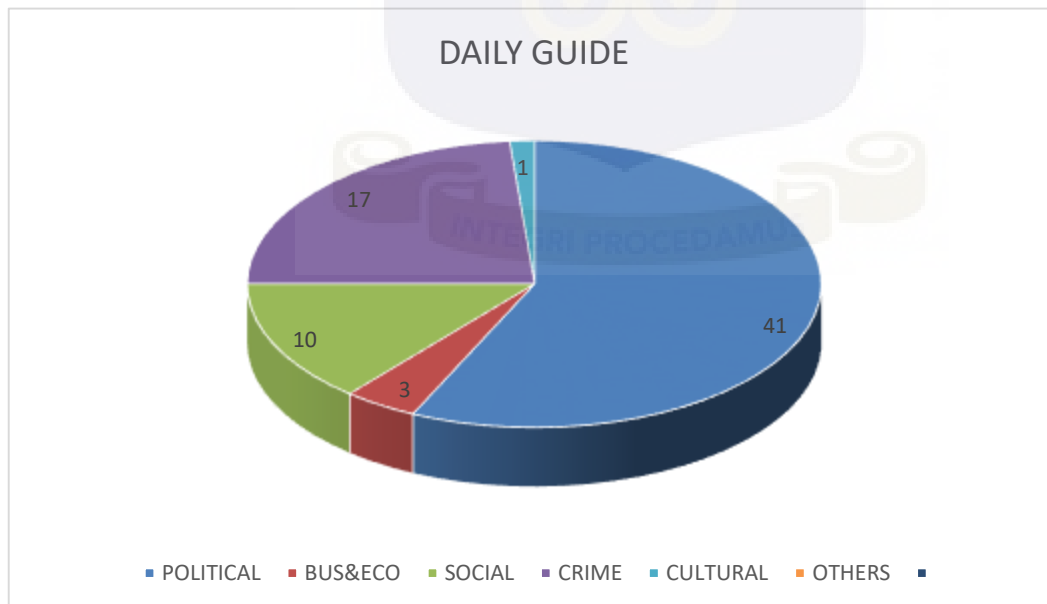
For the *Daily Guide*, political news still dominated with 28 stories i.e. 42% of a total number of 67 stories. Crime related issues followed with 21 (31%) out of the total number. Social issues, Business and Economics received relatively similar value of attention. No cultural news was published for the second quarter.

Figure 5: Daily Graphic—Nature of news, Third Quarter (September to December)



From September-December 2016, political news received high attention on the front page of the *Daily Graphic* with 39 stories i.e. 56% of a total number of 70 stories published. Business and Economics and Social issues recorded 12 stories each out of the total number representing 17.1% each. Cultural stories recorded least number of stories.

Figure 6: Daily guide—Nature of News, Third Quarter (September to December)



Daily Guide recorded 41 political stories i.e. 57% of a total number of 72 stories. Crime-related issues followed with 17 stories representing 24% of the total stories. There were no stories published that did not fit into any of the selected categories.

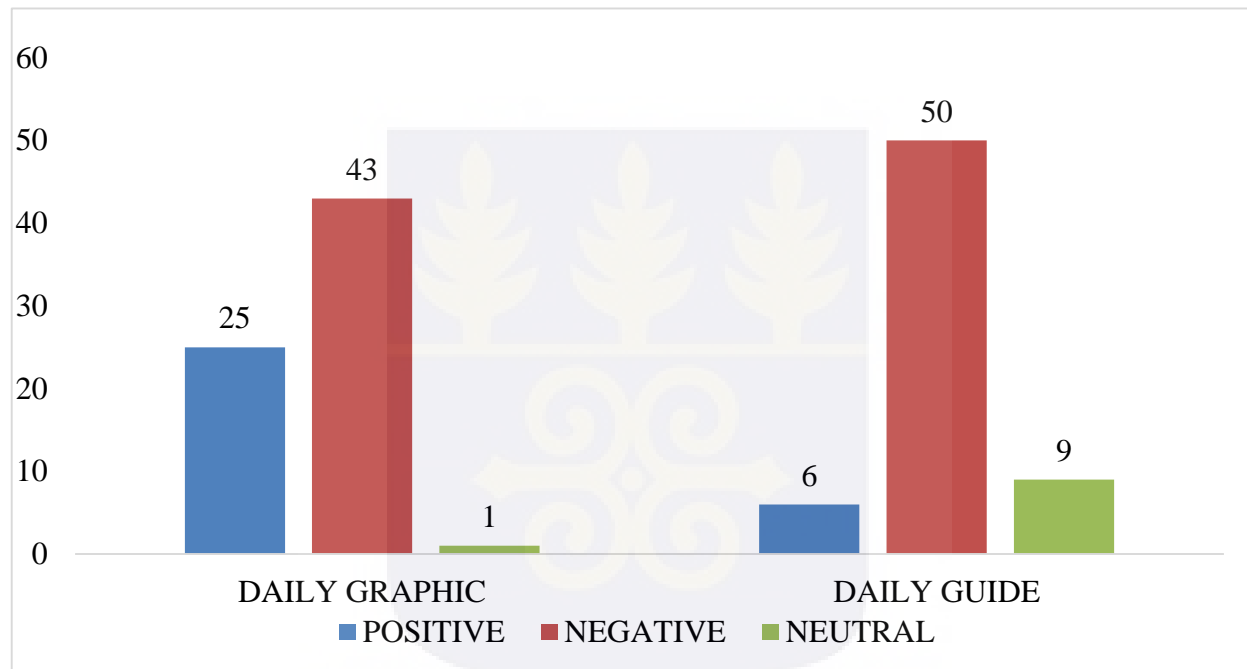
From the quarterly data presented above on the nature of news, Both *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* gave more front page prominence to political stories as the election period drew closer. For the third quarter i.e September to August for instance the *Daily Graphic* recorded 39 stories out of the 72 political stories compared to 10 in the first quarter and 23 in the second quarter while the *Daily Guide* recorded 41 political stories out of 102 political stories published compared to 33 political stories in the first quarter and 28 in the second quarter. However the number of political stories published by the *Daily Guide* was higher than that of *Daily Graphic*'s in the third quarter.

4.4 Direction of News

Another variable which was analyzed was the Direction of the news i.e. whether the story was positive, negative or neutral. The study looked at how frequently positive, negative and neutral stories appeared on the front page of the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide*. The *Daily Graphic* published a total of 96 stories that had a positive direction, 117 stories with negative direction and for neutral stories, 13 of them were recorded for all three quarters of the year. The *Daily Guide* published a total of 27 positive stories, 147 negative stories and 30 neutral stories in all three quarters of the year.

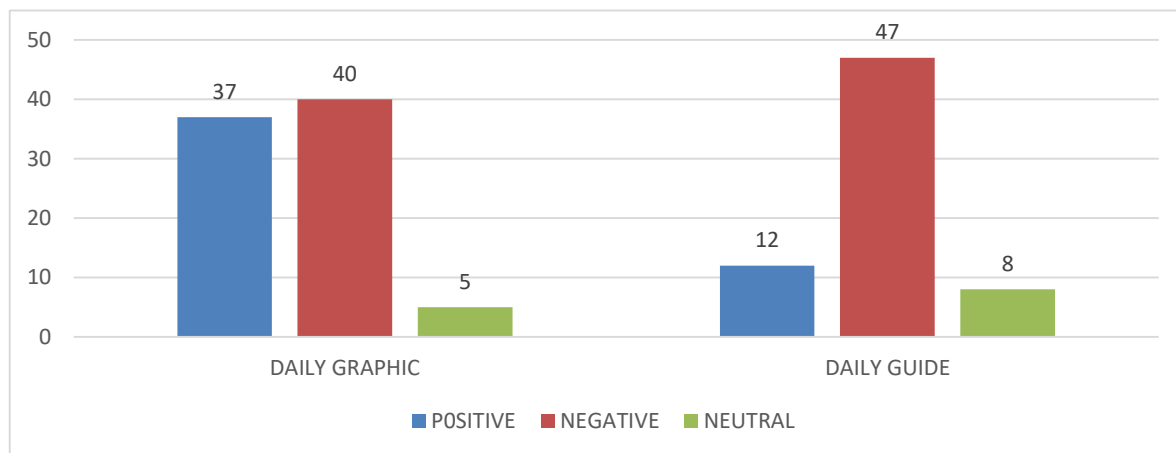
The findings showed that in 2016, the *Daily Graphic* published more positive news in all three quarters of the year with neutral receiving least attention. The *Daily Guide* on the other hand published more negative stories in all three quarters of the year. Neutral stories followed whereas positive stories received less prominence.

Figure 7: Bar graph for First Quarter—Direction of News



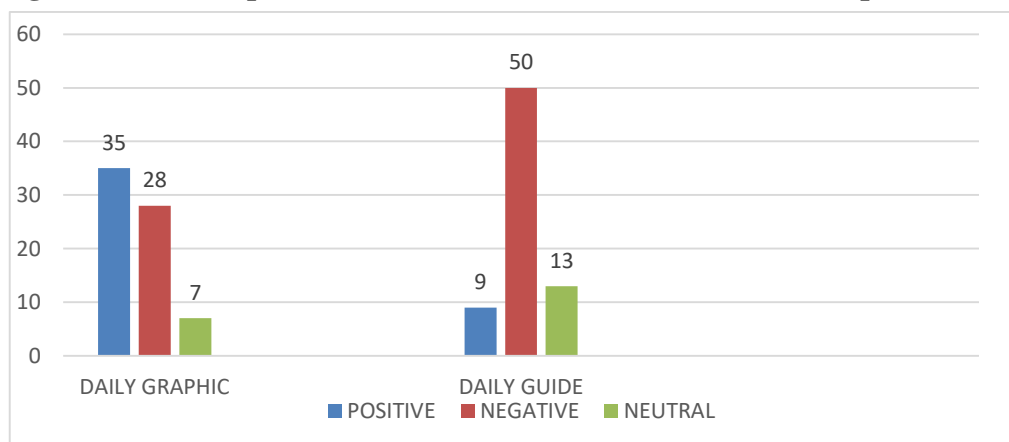
In the first quarter of 2016, the *Daily Graphic* published 36% of positive news out of a total of 69 stories while negative stories received 62 % out of the total number whereas one story was recorded as neutral representing 1% of the total number. For the *Daily Guide*, six (6) positive stories out of a total number of 65 stories were published representing 9% whereas negative news recoded 50 out of the 65 stories representing 77%of the total number. Nine (9) stories were recorded as neutral representing 14% of the total number.

Figure 8: Bar Graph for Second Quarter—Direction Of News (May to August)



In the second quarter the number of positive news published by the *Daily Graphic* increased to 36 representing 45% of the total number 80 while the number of negative stories dropped to 39 i.e. 49% out of the total number . Number of neutral stories recorded was five (5) representing 6% of the total number. There was a slight increase in the number of positive stories published by the *Daily Guide* in the second quarter. From 6 stories in the first quarter, there was a slight increase to 12 stories representing 18% of the total number of 67 whereas negative stories dropped to 47 stories out of the total number representing 70% out of the total number. Eight neutral stories were published representing 12% of the total number.

Figure 9: Bar Graph for Third Quarter—Direction of news (September-December)



In the third quarter, the number of negative stories published by the *Daily Graphic* dropped again recording 28 stories out of 70 i.e. 40% out of the total number whereas positive recorded 36 stories representing 50% of the total number. Seven (7) stories were recorded as neutral i.e. 10% of the total number. Positive stories dropped again whereas negative stories recorded the highest in the *Daily Guide* in the third quarter. Negative stories recorded numbered 50 out of 72 i.e. 69% whereas neutral stories recorded 13 stories representing 18% of the total number.

For the both first quarter and third quarter of the year (when elections drew closer), the *Daily Guide* published more negative stories on its front page compared to the *Daily Graphic*.

Table 2: Main Actors for all three quarters

Quarter		Main Actors			Total
		Elite	Ordinary People	Mixed	
First Quarter	Daily Graphic	47 68.1%	19 27.5%	3 4.3%	69 100.0%
	Daily Guide	51 78.5%	10 15.4%	4 6.2%	65 100.0%
Second Quarter	Daily Graphic	65 79.3%	13 15.9%	4 4.9%	82 100.0%
	Daily Guide	39 58.2%	21 31.3%	7 10.4%	67 100.0%
Third Quarter	Daily Graphic	61 87.1%	6 8.6%	3 4.3%	70 100.0%
	Daily Guide	58 81.7%	7 9.9%	6 8.5%	71 100.0%

4.5 Main Actors

For both newspapers, each front page story was focused on a particular person or groups of people. The table above shows what the researcher found.

The findings showed clearly that the elite in society were given preference by both newspapers in 2016. The elite-driven news dominated The *Daily Graphic* in all quarters of the year i.e. 68% in the first quarter of the year, 79.3% in the second quarter and 87.1 in the third quarter. Similarly in the *Daily Guide*, elite-driven stories were given more prominence. 78.5% in the first quarter, 58.2% in the second quarter and 87.7% in the third quarter. Ordinary persons followed.

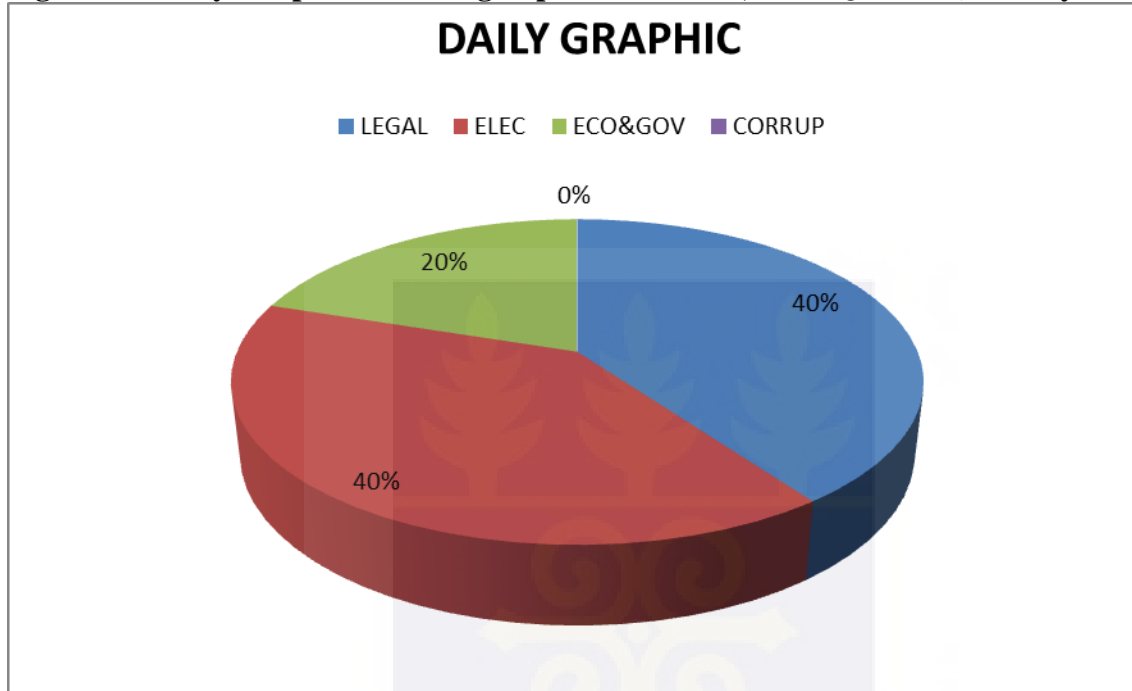
4.6 Framing of Political Stories

Political stories analyzed were categorized under four frames namely, Legal issues, Electoral process and issues, Economy and Governance, and Corruption to make them easy for assessment. In an election year, it remains a given that more political stories would be published. The researcher therefore sought to find out how frequently political stories fell under the respective frames in both the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide*. Political news recorded the highest amongst all the other categories i.e Business and Economics, social issues, crime and cultural in both newspapers. In all 174 political stories were published on the front pages of both the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* in the 2016 election year.

In all the *Daily Graphic* published 18 political stories concerning legal issues for all three quarters of the year, 46 stories on electoral processes and issues, three(3) stories on Economy and Governance and four(4) stories on Corruption. The *Daily Guide* published 23 political stories

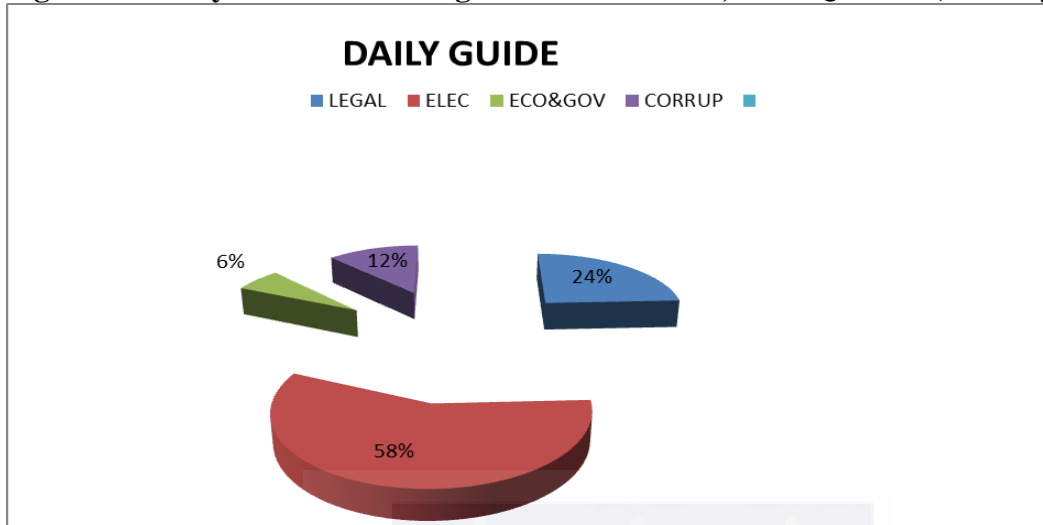
concerning legal issues, 59 on electoral process and issues, ten (10) stories on Economy and Governance and ten (10) stories on Corruption.

Figure 10: Daily Graphic—framing of political stories, First Quarter (January to April)



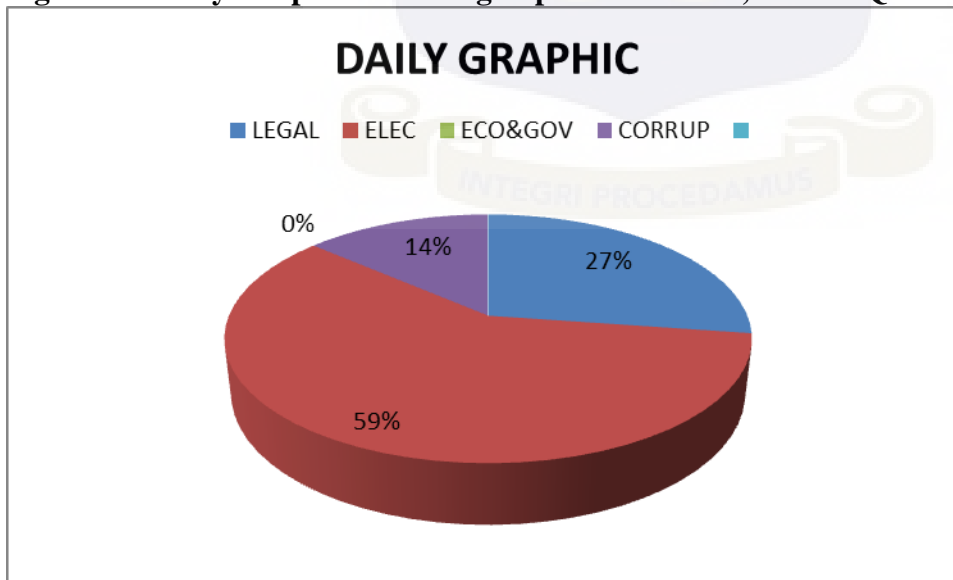
For *Daily Graphic*, out of the 10 political stories that were published, legal issues and electoral processes and issues recorded 4 stories each representing 40% each. Economy and Governance recorded the least i.e. 2 stories representing 20% in the first quarter of 2016. No issue on corruption was recorded.

Figure 11: Daily Guide—Framing of Political stories, First Quarter (January to April)



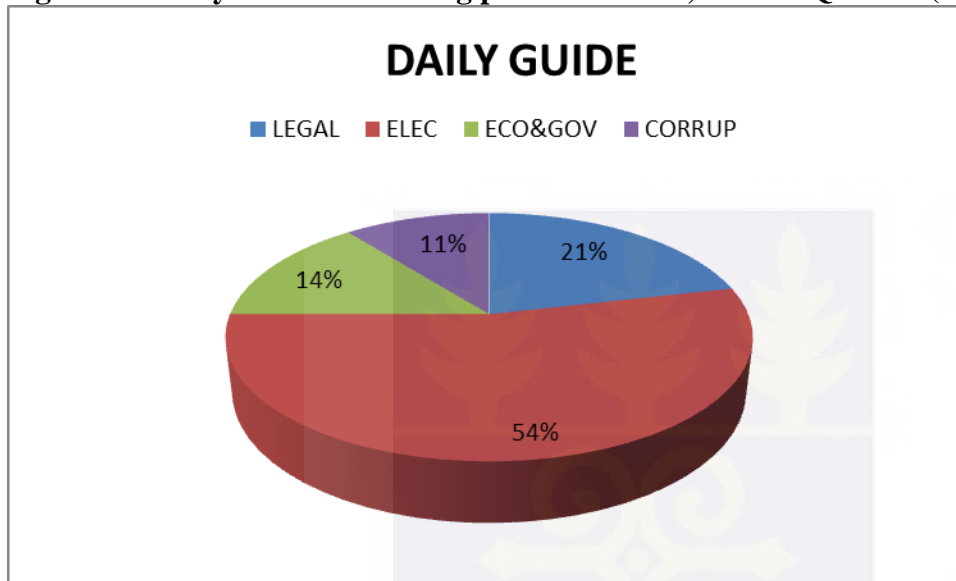
Daily Guide published 33 political stories on the front page in the first quarter of 2016. 8 stories representing 24. % were legal issues, 19 were recorded for electoral process and issues representing 58%. Corruption followed with 4 stories representing 12%. Economy and Governance recorded least with 2 stories representing 6% of the total number being recorded.

Figure 12: Daily Graphic—framing of political stories, Second Quarter (May-August)



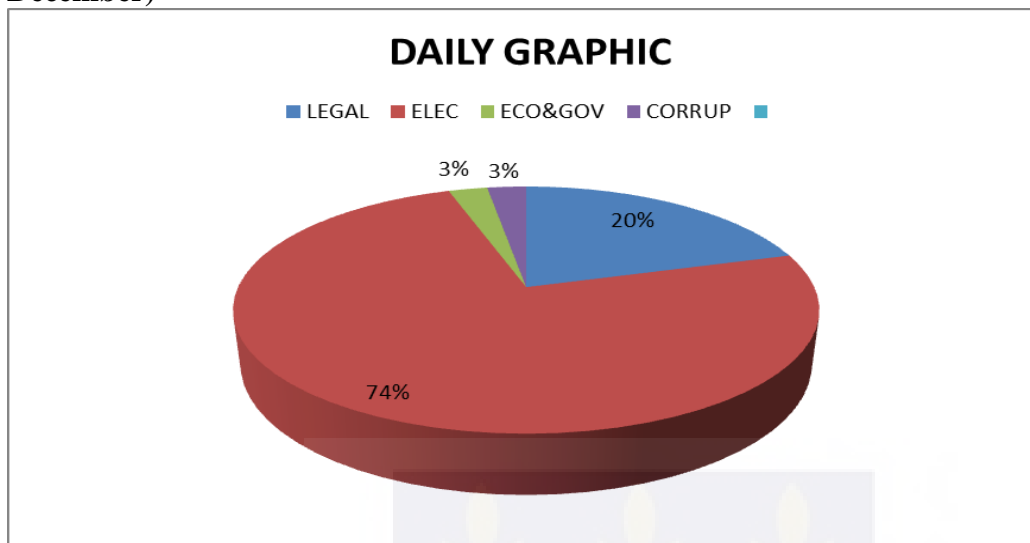
Out of the 22 political stories published in the second quarter, 6 stories were legal (27%), 13 were on electoral process and issues (59.1%).Corruption recorded least whereas no issue on Economy and Governance was recorded.

Figure 13: Daily Guide—Framing political stories, Second Quarter (May-August)



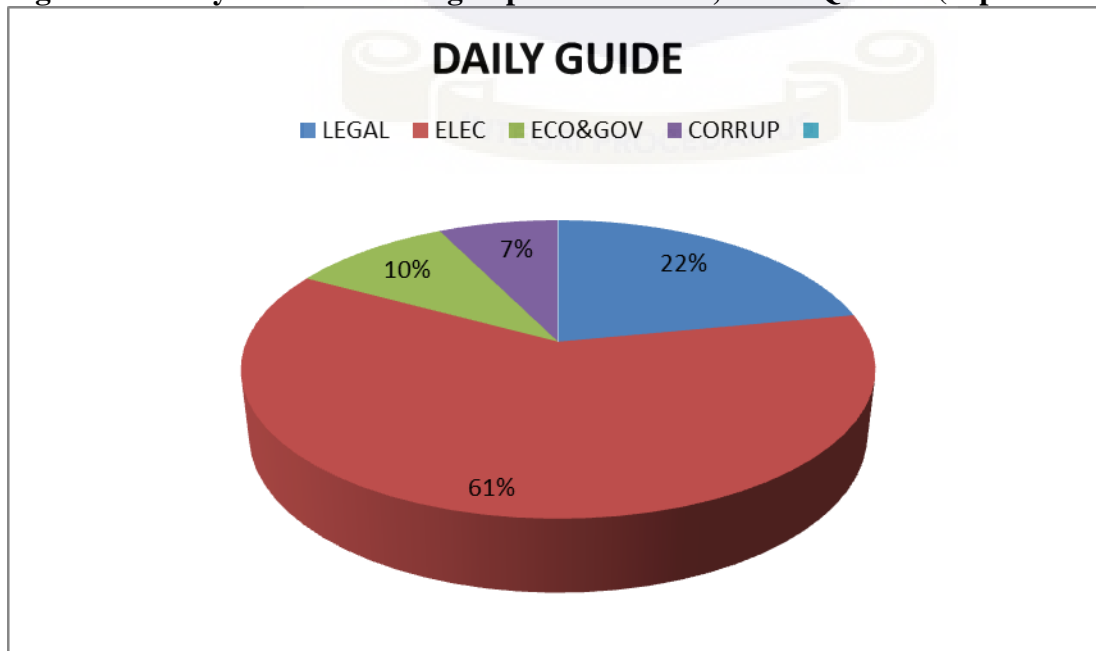
In the second quarter, a total of 28 political stories were published on the front page of the *Daily Guide*. Six (6) stories were recorded for legal issues, 15 as electoral issues whereas corruption and Economy received relatively similar values of attention.

Figure 14: Daily Graphic—framing of political stories, Third Quarter (September to December)



For the third quarter, a total of 39 political stories were published on the front page of the *Daily Graphic* and out of this, 8 were legal issues representing 20.5%. electoral process and issues recorded 29 i.e. 74.4% of the total number. Corruption and Economy and governance received least attention recording 1 story each representing 2.6%

Figure 15: Daily Guide—framing of political stories, Third Quarter (September-December)



In the third quarter, the *Daily Guide* recorded 41 political stories and out of these, 9 were recorded as legal issues, 25 as electoral processes and issues. Economy and Governance and corruption recorded least number of stories.

Drawing from the quarterly data presented above on how political stories were framed, both *Daily Guide* and *Daily Graphic* published more stories about the electoral process getting close to the time of the election i.e. in the third quarter compared to the early part of the year.



CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discussed the findings of the study within the context of relevant literature and theory. The study content analyzed what made the front page news of the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* in the 2016 election year. The study aimed at examining how both newspapers covered front page news in 2016 by finding out the kinds of news that were published, the dominant frames for political stories that were used by both newspapers, how differently each covered front page news and factors that may have influenced the choice of front page stories.

5.2 Discussion

The *Daily Graphic* was more skewed towards business and economic activities in the first quarter of the 2016 election year (i.e. from January to April) and gave less attention to political party candidates, activities of the electoral commission etc. Conversely in the second quarter, it published more political news and gave less attention to other categories. The *Daily Guide* on the other hand published more political news in all three quarters of the year than the *Daily Graphic* did and gave somewhat high prominence to crime-related issues. Both newspapers gave front page prominence to the incumbent John Dramani Mahama and opposition leader Nana Addo Danquah Akufo Addo. Other political party candidates did not receive much front page attention like the incumbent and the opposition did. Though this was the case, the *Daily Graphic* covered more positively any news that had to do with a political party's candidate even when it was centered on court suits between a candidate and the electoral commission.

The *Daily Guide* published more negative stories on its front page and most of these stories focused on the incumbent, John Dramani Mahama and other officials affiliated with the incumbent's party. Where positive news was published, most focused on the opposition party leader, Nana Addo's political activities and movements as well as any group providing some form of support to the opposition leader. This can be attributed to the fact that the *Daily Guide* is a privately-owned newspaper affiliated to the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and is therefore likely to publish positive stories about the party. This finding supported the assertion made by Yeboah (2016) that most of the stories placed on the front page and other parts of the paper had a tone of reportage that was negative towards one political party or positive towards the other in his study on political polarization of Ghana and its influence on the dissemination of news by private newspapers in Ghana. Interestingly the claims made by Katende (2010) that newspapers largely frame presidential elections as a two-way contest between an incumbent and another with a higher chance of winning with third party candidates receiving minimal coverage from both newspapers, was similar to the findings of this study.

Most of the issues published by *Daily Guide* on its front page were similar to the coverage of the 2011 Ugandan elections in the private-owned *Daily monitor* as reported by Katende (2010) which was found to have provided more favorable coverage to opposition candidates than the incumbent. On the other hand, the *Daily Graphic* appeared to be in tune with Katende (2010) study on the state-owned, *New Vision* paper which gave more favorable coverage to the incumbent. The paper gave front page attention to activities of the president that is, projects undertaken, activities carried out that bordered on strengthening ties between the country and other nations.

The *Daily Guide* in their front page coverage of activities of the incumbent president carried some elements of sarcasm suggesting that the incumbent had failed in making any notable achievements and this may be attributed to the strong affiliation between the newspaper and the opposition party. The findings confirmed the assertion made by Wang (2003) that, ownership had become such a powerful force behind the media organizations and therefore coverage of news reflected the political beliefs and interest of owners. The study also found that irrespective of the kind of story being covered, both newspapers paid more attention to the elite who were mostly politicians i.e. Flag bearers and executives of political parties, members of parliament, officials of the Electoral commission and leaders of recognized institutions.

In the third quarter (September to December 2016), front page stories of the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* covered 87.1% and 81.7% respectively on the elite most of whom were politicians. This may have been the case because the election period was close and therefore both newspapers thought it necessary to shift front page attention away from the ordinary and focus more on the elite as confirmed by Kisuke (2004) that, elite sources were preferred in front page stories in her study on the role of news values in the selection of news and sources in a contemporary Third World newspaper. Given the ownership structure of the two newspapers (the *Daily Graphic* being state-owned and the *Daily Guide* being a privately-owned newspaper and with *Daily Graphic* being charged with the responsibility of affording fair opportunities and facilities for the representation of divergent views and dissenting opinions, it was expected that the *Daily Graphic* would give more front page prominence to the ordinary despite the fact that it was an election year.

5.3 Dominant Frames

Both the State-owned *Daily Graphic* and private-owned *Daily Guide* focused mostly on electoral process and issues centered on the activities of the Electoral commission namely their change of logo, launch of manifesto of the various political parties, issues regarding picking of nomination forms, bye-elections amongst others. They also had substantial number of stories on legal issues. On matters of corruption, the *Daily Guide* covered an appreciable number of stories than the *Daily Graphic*. The findings are however in contrast with that of Akortia (2015). In her study, she found that the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* focused much of their attention on the registration process to neglect other processes.

The findings were similar to Akortia (2015) in establishing that the *Daily Graphic* took an informative stance in the front page coverage of political news that were centered on electoral processes and issues. The *Daily Guide* on the other hand in covering stories within this category was skewed in favor the New Patriotic Party and its presidential candidate, members of parliament and other political party officials. Being a state-owned newspaper with a constitutional responsibility, the *Daily Graphic* was expected to cover more stories that would focus on educating the voters, the voter registration process and providing ample information on transfer of votes and other related issues.

Finally, the study found that the *Daily Graphic* neglected news on the Economy and Governance of the nation .In the case of *Daily Guide*, the few front page stories on Economy and Governance criticized the ruling government, declaring that it had totally failed while rooting for the main opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP) and touting changes that would be made if they assumed

the reins of power. Given the fact that it was an election year and Ghana as an African country having a number of shortcomings in areas of health, agriculture, security etc., both newspapers should have given the electorates ample and objective information on these areas. The front page political stories on economy and governance covered by the *Daily Graphic* were three stories for all three quarters of the year whereas the *Daily guide* recorded ten stories for all three quarters.

Danso (2012) in his study of issues and personality in election reporting by the *Daily Guide* and *Daily Graphic* found that issues such as provision of amenities, security etc. did not receive as much attention as compared to issues on choice of running mate, paying courtesy call on chiefs and campaign activities by the various political parties, donations, admonishing voters to vote on the voting day etc. The electoral process and issues focusing mainly on misunderstandings between the Electoral commission and the Political party candidates, launch of manifesto and legal issues involving the Electoral commission and the court, Woyome-Martin Amidu Judgment debt trial and supreme court rulings in connection with elections were political stories that were high on the agenda of the press in the 2016 election year.

It can therefore be established that the negative element of a story increased the probability of it being covered on the front page. This finding was consistent with Peterson (1984) in examining the news factors influencing the selection of international news for publication. The results revealed that aside the evidence of more extensive coverage of the region in which a newspaper is located; a story which was negative or carried some element of conflict increased the probability of it being reported. Also stories which had an element of personalization made it to

the front page of both *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* hence the focus on the elites which included leaders of the various political parties.

5.4 Conclusion

Certain conclusions may be drawn based on the key findings of the study. The front pages of both the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* carried more political news than any other topic and this was evident in the third quarter of the year i.e. between September to December when the election period was close. These stories were focused on electoral processes and issues which hardly focused on educating or prepping electorates ahead of the 2016 elections especially in the third quarter of the year. The *Daily Graphic* however remained somewhat objective and informative in their coverage of front page news. The two newspapers also seemed more interested in crime-related issues involving both the elite and the ordinary people. On the whole, both the *Daily Graphic* and *Daily Guide* had preference for the elite i.e political party candidates, the incumbent, party officials , the Electoral commission Chairman and other officials within the commission.

Another set of elite were leaders of recognized institutions and companies both local and foreign. The ordinary people did not receive much attention and this may be attributed to the fact that it was an election year and for that reason it was a natural attraction for the two newspapers to make coverage of the elite particularly politicians high on their agenda. The *Daily Guide* in the coverage of negative stories was not sympathetic to other political parties especially the ruling party but was rather skewed in favor of the main opposition party and this was evident in their during and after the elections whereas the *Daily Graphic* in covering the activities of the

president maintained some level of objectivity even when other opposition parties were covered. Issues regarding the economy and governance and corruption didn't lend themselves to much front page attention.

The study therefore showed that both newspapers in their front page coverage of political news presented a fair amount of stories on electoral process and issues as well as legal issues that made wave in the 2016 national election and were mostly connected with the elections indicating the interest of both newspapers in stories that had some amount of negativity and conflict. This was evident in the substantial number of stories which were legal in nature as they carried some negative elements in them. To a large extent, the coverage of front page news of the *Daily Guide* and *Daily Graphic* in the 2016 election year did not show any huge difference even though the two newspapers have different ownership background.

5.5 Limitations of the study

Findings of this study should be considered while bearing in mind some limitations which is characteristic of all academic research. A number of editions of the *Daily Guide* for instance were missing and had to be replaced by other dates as provided for by this research method. This slightly affected the data collection process.

Secondly, there was a little difficulty in getting related studies that were undertaken in African countries and which also focused mainly on the front page. The study had to largely rely on works from the developed nations whose socio-cultural backgrounds differ from what exists in

Ghana. This resulted in the researcher comparing findings from two different rather than similar socio-cultural setting.

5.6 Recommendations

The research method chosen for this study was a quantitative content analysis of front page stories in an election year. Though this is very valuable in communications research, this only provided a description of front page coverage in an election year. The method is not able to tell for instance what made the editors allow some particular stories through their news gates for the year in question which was different from other election years. It is recommended that future research on this topic would look at another state-owned paper and other privately- owned newspapers in order for more comparisons to be made.

Also, future researchers should include in depth interviews to gain editorial perspective on what is covered on the front page in a particular election year and if possible, interview questions should be centered on specific stories that received front page coverage that year and why they did. This would help in making rich conclusions on how ownership and news values play a role in selection of stories for the front page.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abate, A. (2013). *The framing of The 2005 Ethiopian National Election by Privately Owned Print Media Outlets in Ethiopia*. Published Thesis. Mid Sweden University. Department Of Media and Communication Studies, Sweden.
- Abdul Rashid, M. (2017). *Ghana, beacon of African Democracy*: Ghana News Agency. Retrieved from www.ghananewsagency.org/features/ghana-beacon-of-african-democracy--112281.
- Agyeman-Duah, B. (2005). Elections and electoral politics in Ghana's fourth republic, critical Perspectives, Accra: Ghana Centre for Democratic Development.
- Akortia, E. (2015). *Newspaper framing of the Electoral Process Leading to the 2012 General Elections in Ghana*. Published Thesis. University of Education Winneba.
- Altschull, J.H. (1984). *Agents of Power: The Role of the News Media in Human affairs*. New York: Longman
- Amendahe, F.K. (2005). Notes on Educational Research (Mimeo) Cape Coast: Unpublished.
- Amihere, K.B. (2010). Media and Social Change, Ghana Institute of Journalism, GIJ press, 20
- Asante, C. E. & Gadzekpo, A. (2000). *Press and Politics in Ghana*. In (M'Bayo, R. T., Onwumehili, C., & Nwafo, R. (Eds). *Press and Politics in Africa* (Chapter 11). Edwin Mellen Press.
- Ayee, J. R. (1997). The December 1996 general elections in Ghana. *Electoral Studies*, 16(3), 416-427.
- Bigg, M., Kpodo, K. (2016). Ghana's Opposition leader Akufo Addo wins presidential Election: Reuters. Retrieved from <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-ghana-election/>
- Boadu-Ayebofo, Y. (2008). Interview conducted at Graphic Communication Group Limited.
- Bormann, N., Golder, M. (2013). Democratic Electoral systems Around the World, 1946-2011. *Electoral studies* 32, pp360-369.
- Centre for Democracy and Governance (1999): *The role of the Media in Democracy. A strategic approach*: Washington DC.
- Chieub, J., Ghandi, J., Vreeland, J. (2010). 'Democracy and Dictatorship revisited'. *Public choice*, vol.143 (2-1), pp.67
- Chong, D., Druckman, J.N. (2007). Framing Theory. *Annual Review of Political Science*. 10(1):103-126.

Chu, W. (2015). *A Comparative framing Analysis of Edward Snowden's Coverage in The New York Times and People's Daily*. Published Thesis. IOWA State University, United States Of America.

Constitution of the Fourth Republic of Ghana, (1992), pgs. 49,112-115

Daddieh, C. (2009). The Presidential and Parliamentary Elections in Ghana, December, 2008. *Electoral studies* 28.4:642-73

Dahl, R. (1995). Justifying democracy. *Transaction Social Science and Modern Society* 32(3):46.

Danso, B. J. (2012). *Issues And Personalities in Election Reporting: A content Analysis of the Daily Graphic and Daily Guide In 2004 and 2008*. Unpublished Thesis. University of Ghana, Legon.

D'Angelo, P. (2002). News framing as a Multi-Paradigmatic Research Programme: *A Response To Entman*. *Journal of Communication*, 52,870-888.

Entman, R. M. (1993). 'Framing: Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm', *Journal of Communication*, 43, 57-58.

Fridausu, M. (2012). Social Media Is playing a role in Ghana's election 2012. Retrieved from <https://www.modernghana.com>.

Galtung, J. & Ruge, M. (1965). 'The structure of foreign news: The presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crises in four Norwegian newspapers

Gamson, W.A. & Modigliani, A. (1989). Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: *A Constructionist Approach*. *American Journal of Sociology*, 95(1),1-37.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of Experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gitlin, T (1980). *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. London: University of California press.

Guri, B. (2004). Report on Ghana 2004 elections. <https://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas-7161-522-2-30.pdf?050928113914> (Retrieved on 22nd October, 2017).

Hallin, D.C., Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing Media systems: Three models of media and politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is Anyone Responsible: How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

- Jeffries,R.(1998).The Ghanaian Elections of 1996:*Towards the Consolidation of Democracy?.* African Affairs.
- Katende, B.R. (2012).Media Coverage of the 2011 Presidential elections in Uganda: A *Comparative analysis of New Vision and Daily Monitor newspapers.* Published Thesis Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.
- Kisuke, C.S.(2004).*An investigation of the role of news values in the selection of news sources in a contemporary third world newspaper.* Published Thesis. Rhodes University,South Africa.
- Lindberg, S. (2006). *Democracy and Elections in Africa.* Baltimore, M.D: Johns Hopkins University press.
- Meyer, D.S. (1995), 'Framing National security: Elite Public Discourse on Nuclear Weapons During the cold war.
- O'gara, E.K. (2009).Framing of the 2008 presidential election in print news. Published Master's Thesis. IOWA State University, United States of America.
- Peterson, S. (1981). "International news selection by the Elite press: A case study" *Public Opinion Quarterly* 45(2): 143-63
- Porto, M. P. (2001, May). Framing the 2000 US presidential election: The coverage by the Brazilian media. In *Annual Conference of the International Communication Association (ICA), May* (pp. 24-28).
- Press Reference
(2011).Ghana Press, MediaTV,Radio,Newspapers.<http://www./pressreference.com/Fa-Gu/Ghana.html> (accessed September 11, 2015).
- Reese, S .D.et al. (eds), 2003.Framing Public Life Respective on Media and our understanding of The social world, Mahwah (NJ) and London, Erlbaum.
- Reinhard, C. John (1998).Introduction to Communication Research (2nd Ed.). New York. McGraw Hill
- Reisner, A.E. (1992).The news conference: How daily newspaper editors construct the front Page. *Journalism Quarterly*, 69(4), 971-986.DOI:10.1177/107769909206900416.
- Riffe, D., Lacy, S. & Fico, F.G. (1998).Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research.

- Simon, A. and Xenons, M. (2000). Media framing and effective public deliberation, *Political Communication*, 17(4) pp.363-376.
- Shoemaker, P.J., Reese, S.D. (1996). *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*. London: Longman.
- Soleil, M. (2010). Elections and Media Constraints In Sub-Saharan Africa: CMI Brief. 9(4), pp.1
- Spencer-Thomas, O. (2017, July 5). News Values. Retrieved from <https://www.scribd.com/document/348005699/News-Values-Owen-Spencer-Thomas>
- Stromback, J. & Luengo, O.G. (2008). A Comparison of Election News coverage in Spain and Sweden. *International Communication Gazette* 70(6):547-562. Retrieved June 29, from <http://gaz.sagepub.com.proxy1>
- Tankard, J. (2001). The empirical approach to the study of media framing. In S. Reese, O. Gandy, & A. Grant (Eds), *Framing public life* (pp.95-106).
- Temin, J., & Smith, D. A. (2002). *The Media Matters: Evaluating the role of the media in Ghana's 2000 elections*: African Affairs 101.
- Wang, X. (2003). *Media Ownership and Objectivity*. Published Thesis. Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
- Weber, R.P (1990). *Basic Content analysis*, 2nd edn. Newbury Park, CA: Sage
- Yeboah, H. (2014). *News Ownership and Content in Ghana: content Analysis of how the Daily Guide & Daily Graphic covered the 2012 presidential campaign*. Unpublished Masters Thesis. University of Ghana, Legon.
- Yeboah, A.N. (2016). *Private Newspapers and Biased News coverage in Ghana: A Comparative Analysis of the Daily Guide, the Enquirer, the Chronicle and the Daily Dispatch Newspapers*. Published Thesis. University of Ghana, Legon.
- Zubiaga, A. (2013). 'Newspaper Editors vs. The Crowd: On the Appropriateness of Front page News selection. 'World Wide Web 2013 companion: 879-880.

APPENDIX A

NATURE OF NEWS

Political: Activities and stories related to political parties and their agents, elections and district assemblies, judicial issues and processes involving the government, others.

Business and Economics: Trade and commerce, industry and employment, investment and banking, government expenditure and public finance, loans and economic aid, business and financial information, labor affairs, trade unionism, others

Social: Stories about social welfare, health, transportation, law enforcement, pension and insurance, social security, activities of humanitarian and philanthropic organizations, civic affairs, accidents, disasters, urban and rural development, formal and informal education, others

Cultural: Sports, festivals, languages, drama, music, arts and entertainment, chieftaincy affairs, sculpture and art exhibitions

Crime: Murder, assault, inhumane treatment against persons, offences that called for court suits or were punishable by law, others

Others: Stories that do not fit into the above mentioned categories

DIRECTION OF NEWS

Positive: Stories that reflect social cohesion and co-operation, peace and harmony between individuals, groups and organizations, growth and development, news that project positive traits of political party candidates, other politicians and government officials

Negative: Stories of conflicts and misunderstanding between politicians, chieftaincy disputes, violence, crimes, offences, malpractices, accidents, calamities, energy crisis, others

Neutral: Stories that do not fit into any of the categories mentioned above

MAIN ACTORS

Elite: Top political and government or state functionaries, members of parliament, top brass in military, police, business, commerce, industry, academics, religious leaders, others

Ordinary people: Civil servants, students, unemployed, peasants, petty traders

Mixed: News about two or more of the above groups

Neutral: Stories that do not fit into any of the categories mentioned above

MAIN ACTORS

Elite: Top political and government or state functionaries, members of parliament, top brass in military, police, business, commerce, industry, academics, religious leaders, others

Ordinary people: Civil servants, students, unemployed, peasants, petty traders

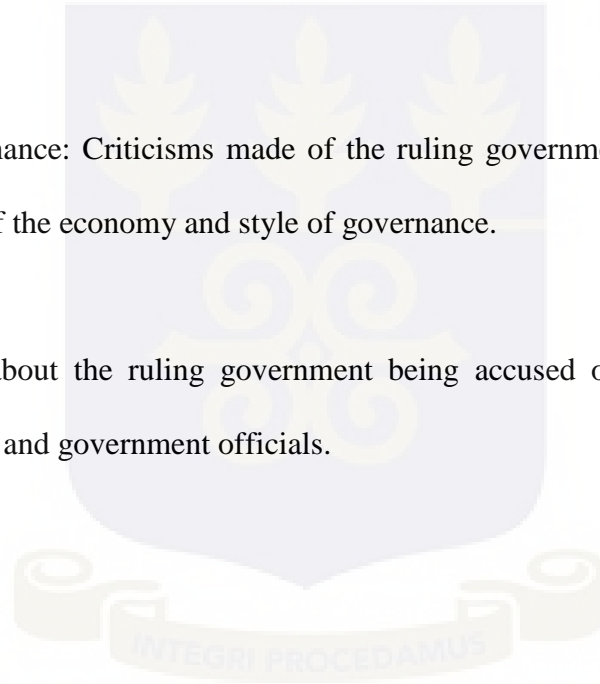
Mixed: News about two or more of the above groups



APPENDIX B

FRAMES FOR POLITICAL STORIES

1. Legal issues: Court suits between the Electoral commission and Political party candidates, Supreme Court ruling in connection with 2016 elections
2. Electoral process and issues: Stories about activities of the electoral commission, clashes between members of political parties and between political party candidates, political campaigns, release of manifesto.
3. Economy and Governance: Criticisms made of the ruling government by opposition parties with regards to growth of the economy and style of governance.
4. Corruption: Stories about the ruling government being accused of financial malfeasance, misuse of funds by party and government officials.



APPENDIX C

CODING GUIDE

1. Name of News Paper

1. Daily Graphic
2. Daily Guide

2. Date of Publication.....

3. Nature of News

1. Political
2. Business and Economics
3. Social
4. Crime
5. Cultural
6. Others

4. Direction of News

1. Positive
2. Negative
3. Neutral

5. Main Actors

1. Elite



2. Ordinary

3. Mixed

6. Type of Political story

1. Legal issues

2. Electoral process and issues

3. Economy and Governance

4. Corruption



APPENDIX D

CODING SHEET

S/N	CATEGORIES	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Name of newspaper						
2	Date of publication						
3	Nature of news						
4	Direction of News						
5	Main Actors						
6	Type of political story						

