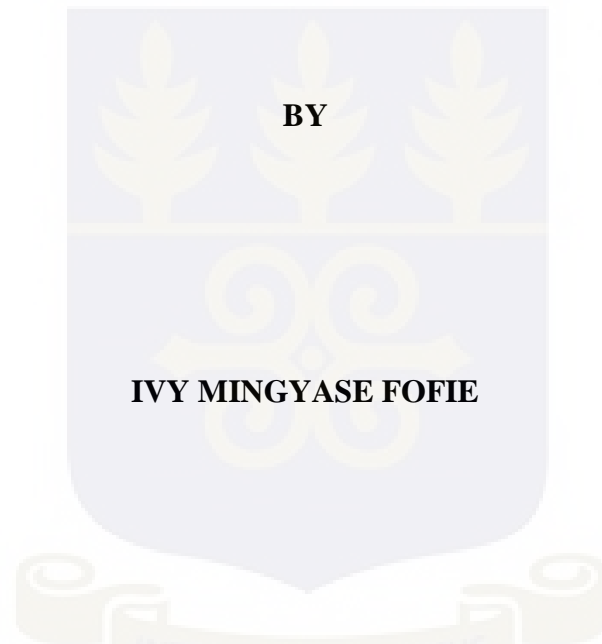


**PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF NANA KONADU AGYEMAN RAWLINGS AS A
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE IN 2011**



**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF MPhil
COMMUNICATION STUDIES DEGREE**

JULY, 2016

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that except for the references to other people's work, which have been cited this work is the result of my own original research undertaken under the supervision of Professor Audrey Gadzekpo.

.....
Ivy Mingyase Fofie
Student

.....
Professor Audrey Gadzekpo
Supervisor



DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to the memory of my angel daughter, whose loss although destabilised me, pushed me to channel my energy into academics.



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I wish to first acknowledge the provision of God Almighty without whose grace and mercy I would not have made it this far.

I would also like to express my profound gratitude to my supervisor and friend, Professor Audrey Gadzekpo whose calls, emails and constant prodding kept me on my toes until the completion of this work. In fact, without the help and patience of Prof. Gadzekpo, this work would not have seen the light of day.

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I acknowledge my little princess Doxa, who bore my absence several hours of the day and whose little fighting spirit has taught me great lessons in life. Dear daughter, like I always tell you, if you will fight, I will pray. Love you.

To Prince, I am very grateful for your financial and moral support, throughout the period of my studies

And to Fidelis, colleague and friend thank you for being my academic advisor and proof reader.

ABSTRACT

This study is a quantitative content analysis of the coverage of Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings when she contested the then sitting president, Professor John Evans Atta Mills in 2011, for the right to lead the NDC party in the 2012 elections. Using the framing theory and liberal feminists theory as the theoretical framework, the study investigated how four newspapers — the *Daily Graphic*, the *Daily Guide*, the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Chronicle*— covered Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings as compared to John Evans Atta Mills during the 2011 primaries of the NDC. The objective of the study was to see whether there was gender bias in reportage as identified in previous research from other contexts. The study was particularly interested in the quantity, quality and tone of coverage.

A census of the four newspapers published between 1st February and 31st July, 2011 was used. These marked the month in which Agyeman Rawlings announced her intention to contest and the month she lost to Atta Mills. Two data sets were used. The first data set was used to compare coverage that Agyeman Rawlings received versus that of Atta Mills during the primaries. The second data set was focused on Agyeman Rawlings and did not compare to Atta Mills. In all, 377 stories from the four newspapers were content analysed for the first data set and 246 stories for the second data set.

Findings from the study showed that in terms of quantity of coverage, Agyeman Rawlings received an almost equal amount of coverage to Atta Mills with slight differences that favoured her. The study also found that although there was not much difference in quality of coverage for both candidates, there were gender biases in favour of Atta Mills. This confirmed liberal feminists' assertion of gender bias in the news against female candidates. Not surprisingly and consistent with the literature the news media employed the use of the 'first woman' frame

significantly in presenting Agyeman Rawlings' candidacy. However, contrary to the dominant literature, the tone of coverage was neutral and not negative for Agyeman Rawlings.



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

In 2011, Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings made history when she contested Professor John Evans Atta Mills – the then sitting president – for the NDC party’s presidential candidature to lead the party in the 2012 elections. This was because it was the first time that a woman had made a serious bid for the presidency.

Prior to this, Agyeman Rawlings had been active in the political limelight for over two decades, (1979, 1982 to 1992 and from 1993 to 2000) having been First Lady in a military regime and subsequently in a democratic dispensation. Her candidature appeared not to have surprised the media. This was because even before she made an announcement that she would contest the elections, there had been speculations that she was going to contest. On February 1, 2011, the *Daily Guide* reported that Agyeman Rawlings had made her intentions known in a closed door meeting with party bigwigs and members of the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the NDC (“Nana Konadu resigns,” 2011). She however denied these speculations. Later, on April 13, 2011, Agyeman Rawlings resigned from her position of Vice Chairman of the NDC party (“Nana Konadu resigns” 2011), a party constitutionally pre-conditioned for the contesting as flagbearer or parliamentary candidate.

Through an official letter to the NEC she declared her ambitions of contesting the presidency against the sitting president, Atta Mills. In a statement signed and presented to the party to declare her ambitions, Agyeman Rawlings cited leadership style and the government’s abandonment of the core NDC values and principles as her reasons for contesting the elections

(Bob-Milliar, 2012). When the elections were held between July 8 and 10, 2011 in Sunyani, she lost to Atta Mills.

Although she lost, Agyeman Rawlings' six-month bid for the presidency was the most serious bid of a woman to contest for presidency in Ghana at the time. Only one woman after her, Akua Donkor of the Ghana Freedom Party, became a contender for the presidency during the 2012 elections. However, Akua Donkor's candidacy was not taken seriously; firstly because she was uneducated and also because she was relatively new in the political arena (Bob-Milliar, 2012). Agyeman Rawlings' bid to become flagbearer of her party and ultimately a presidential candidate provides a unique opportunity to examine the manner in which the Ghanaian press covers a bid by a woman for the nation's highest office.

1.1.1 Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings

Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings became visible in the political limelight when her husband Jerry John Rawlings became Head of State briefly in 1979. Jerry John Rawlings had seized power from the then Head of State, General Fred Akuffo of the Supreme Military Council through a coup d'état (Nyaho-Tamakloe & Odartey-Wellington, 2013). The Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) then organized an election which was won by Hilla Limann of the People's National Party (PNP). On 24th September, 1979 the AFRC handed power to the People's National Party (PNP). However, the PNP administration was short-lived because on 31st December 1981 JJ Rawlings, together with some soldiers and civilians, overthrew the Limann government (Dadzie & Ahwoi, 2010).

Thus, Rawlings returned to power in December, 1981 when he founded and installed himself as Chairman of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC). He ruled the country from December 31, 1981 to January 1993 (Riedl, 2014). This was the first phase of Rawlings being in power. During these two periods, Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings was the first lady of the country.

In 1982, Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings became the president of the 31st December Women's Movement which she founded in May of the same year with the active support of her husband (Ninson & Drah, 1993). The 31st December Women's Movement described itself as a politically neutral non-governmental organization but it was evidently clear that this disconnected image was only a shallow presentation (Cole *et al*, 2007). This was because its major purpose was to mobilize political support for the PNDC and the revolution through women (Ninson & Drah, 1993). Allah-Mensah (2005) notes that the 31st December Women's Movement (DWM) engaged in a number of economic activities and mobilization efforts that gave some women some respite from economic challenges. This they did by creating the enabling environment for them to engage in certain economic activities. Gari¹ processing machines, day care centers among others were provided to some women groups to enhance their economic status (Allah-Mensah, 2005).

According to Gyimah-Boadi (2009), after 10 years of Rawlings' 'provisional' government, domestic and international agencies forced the regime to re-democratise in the early 1990s. Thus, in 1992, Rawlings retired from the military and set up the National Democratic Congress (NDC). He legalized political parties and organized presidential and parliamentary elections.

¹ A Ghanaian staple food made from grated cassava

Rawlings and his party won that election and he became president from 1993 to 2001, after he had won a second term.

During this third period, Agyeman Rawlings was the first lady engaging in gender activities through the 31st December Women's Movement; having started about a decade earlier. Agyeman Rawlings was however not a conventional first lady, given that she engaged in political activity through activities of the 31st December Women's Movement. Allah Mensah (2005) notes that most of the women, who were appointed into positions by the government at the time, were members of the movement or were affiliated to it in a way.

In early January 2010, Agyeman Rawlings transitioned into active political activity when she was elected as one of the vice-chairpersons of the National democratic Congress, Bob-Milliar (2012). During this period, Bob-Millar (2012) observes that she and her husband intensified their criticism of President Atta Mills' leadership style. Subsequently, she contested Atta Mills for the party's presidential candidacy slot from July 8-10, 2011. In that election, Atta Mills won with 2771 votes (96.9 percent), while Agyeman Rawlings trailed with 90 (3.1 percent). Subsequently, she broke away from the National Democratic Congress to form her own party, the National Democratic Party (NDP).

Agyeman Rawlings' political history shows that for nearly two decades (1981-2001) she 'held sway in Ghanaian politics' (Gyimah-Boadi,2004) as Ghana's First Lady and president of the 31st December Women's Movement. From 1981 she was in the media limelight and therefore, the media would have been very interested in her candidacy when she launched her campaign to

contest the primaries. This is because first as wife of the then military head of state, she was visible and dominant and her activities were well covered by the media. As civilian first lady, she was also covered. In fact, her fraught relationship with the media which after democracy was able to criticize her earned her much media attention during that period. It was therefore not surprising that her bid to lead the party in the 2012 elections gained media attention because of her over two decades long presence in Ghanaian politics.

1.1.2 Women and high political engagement in Africa

Women's presence in high political office in Africa has manifested in three ways in the past; as monarchical/traditional rulers, nominated and elected heads. Africa had a few female rulers earlier in the twentieth century, but none had been elected. Empress Zauditu, for example, ruled Ethiopia from 1917 to 1930. In Switzerland queen-regents Dzeliwe Shongwe (1982-83) and Ntombi Thwala (1983-86) reigned during these periods (Tripp, 2001).

In 1975, Elizabeth Domitien of the Central African Republic was appointed as Africa's first female prime minister. The first woman nominated to become an African head of state in a non-monarchical regime was Liberia's Ruth Perry, who chaired her country's six-member collective presidency, the Council of State, in the mid 1990's. In 1994, Uganda's Wandera Speciosa Kaziwe was appointed as Africa's first female vice-president (Tripp, 2001).

Tripp (2001) notes that until the 1990's, it was unheard of for an African woman to run for the presidency of her country. However, in the early 1990s, significant numbers of African women began aspiring to high leadership political positions. For instance, in the 1990s, women contested

for the presidency in Kenya and Liberia, while others sought party nominations for the presidency in Angola, Burkina Faso, the Central African Republic, Guinea Bissau, Kenya, Nigeria, Sao Tome and Principe and Tanzania. Although all of them were unsuccessful in their bids for power, these women became pacesetters in their respective countries and made history (Tripp, 2001)

Rwanda and Burundi elected female prime ministers in the mid-1990s, and Senegal elected a woman prime minister in 2001. The millennium years also witnessed a few women rising on the political ladder. Mme Madior Boye was elected the Prime Minister of Senegal in 2001, (becoming the second woman to be elected Prime Minister in Senegal) and Luísa Dias Diogo of Mozambique in 2004. São Tomé and Príncipe also elected their first female prime ministers in 2002 and 2005 respectively. In Zimbabwe, Thokozani Khuphe, was elected Deputy Prime Minister in 2009 (Economic Commission for Africa, 2009 p. 169).

While women were in the prime minister positions, none was an executive head because those positions were not elected through general elections. It was not until the election of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf of Liberia as the first female African Executive Head of State in 2005 that a milestone in women's representation at the highest level of national decision-making was achieved (Economic for Commission for Africa, 2009).

1.1.3 Women in politics in Ghana

Ghana has a poor record of women occupying political office. The first Ghanaian woman to be elected to the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly was Mabel Dove Danquah. Dove-Danquah vied for and won the Ga Rural constituency seat in 1954. Subsequently, as part of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's — the first president of Ghana — affirmative action initiative, 10 women were elected by special ballot into parliament in 1960 by the Convention People's Party government. Later in 1969, only one woman out of 140 parliamentarians was elected into office (Manuh, 1991). In 1979, Gloria Nkoi was appointed as the first woman foreign minister by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council Government (Kusi, 2005).

In 1993, during the Fourth Republic, the first parliament had 16 women on board. By the time the Third Parliament under the Fourth Republic was sworn in, in 2001, the number had risen to 19. In the 2004 elections, 25 women were sworn in as parliamentarians in the Fourth Parliament of the forth republic. Out of this number, there were 20 female ministers. From 2008 to 2012, there were 12 female ministers then in 2012, there were 12 female ministers.

Although, Ghana has not had any female president, three women have been nominated as vice-presidential candidates in the 4th Republic by the Convention's Peoples Party (CPP), Peoples National Convention (PNC) and Peoples Popular Party (PPP), (WiLDAF 2009). However, none got into power.

In the 2012 general elections, for the first time in Ghana, however there were two female presidential flag bearers: Nana Konadu Agyemang Rawlings of the National Democratic Party

(NDP) and Akua Donkor of the Ghana Freedom Party (GFP). Both women however dropped out of the race before the final elections was held on 7th December, 2012.

1.1.4 The role of the media

In every democratic system, the mass media has the responsibility of informing citizens of the happenings around them. This includes information on politics and elections. The media determines, to a considerable extent, the kind and amount of information that reaches the public. According to Tuchman (1978), by circulating knowledge, the media can influence people's opinions about issues. In effect, aspects of reportage selected and stressed by the media over time become paramount in the eyes of the public.

The media is important to covering elections from primaries to final contests because they bring information to the public about who is ahead and who is trailing behind. While journalists strive for objectivity in their reporting, they are affected by the culture in which they live and by the ideas and stereotypes pervasive in that culture (Braden, 1996, p. 10). This is more so when it comes to coverage of women candidates. For journalists, ideas about what it means to be a 'woman' may not correspond well with expectations about what it means to be 'president' given that Ghana is a patriarchal country.

It is therefore possible that the news media could have portrayed Agyeman Rawlings through the lens of traditional female roles despite her long presence in politics by focusing on personal aspects of her life and not paying much attention to her professional competencies. Kaid and Bystrom (2003) notes that stories that focus on personal aspects of women's lives deny them the

opportunity to voice views on substantive policy issues, views that are important in informing voters and possibly garnering political support.

1.1.5 Women and Political News Coverage

At a time when there are more women presidents and prime ministers than ever before, the number of women appearing in political news has actually decreased since 2010 and is now a mere 16 percent of all subjects in the news as compared to 24 percent in 2010 (Global Media Monitoring Project, 2015).

When women do appear in the news, they raise issues of coverage and representation. Gill (2003) posits that political women do not escape from the negative patterns of representation that affect other women. Their age and marital status are routinely commented on in news reports. They are frequently referred to only by their first name, photographed in domestic, instead of professional settings and have their physical appearance excessively picked apart by journalists.

Political women who make the news are frequently presented in ways that trivializes the issues they present and focus disproportionately on their appearance. The tyranny of ‘beauty’ or ‘attractiveness’ has become worse, not better in the last decade, and women’s appearance is repeatedly commented upon and evaluated in the press, radio, television and the world-wide web in ways which have no parallel for men. Women’s images are consistently more likely to appear than their arguments or opinions. The flip side of this is that women who do not conform to the media’s requirement that they be ‘eye candy’ are subject to vilification (Gill, 2003)

It therefore comes as no surprise that gender activists all over the world focus on women's low representation in political power. For instance, during the Fourth World Conference for Women in Beijing in 1995 on the theme "Women in power and decision making" concerns were raised about the limited role women played in the power and decision making structures of countries across the globe (Mavaya, Nwukor & Dagnachew, 2001). The report on the Beijing conference noted that the main reason why women were conspicuously missing in positions of power and decision making was that they were not presented as viable candidates for such positions. In events where women were presented as candidates for decision making and power positions, evidence showed that they were more likely to be elected than their male counterparts. Also, since women were not well represented in the executive bodies of political parties, trade unions and other bodies, they were not visible enough to be put forward as candidates for positions of power such as the presidency. The goal of the Beijing Platform was to reverse the situation of women by creating strategies to ensure equal representation of women at all levels (Mavaya, Nwukor and Dagnachew, 2001). The media was therefore seen as important in addressing these issues put forth during the Beijing Conference.

The reports clearly stated that the "lack of gender sensitivity in the media is evidenced by the failure to eliminate the gender-biased stereotyping that can be found in the public and private, local, national and international media organisations" (Beijing Platform for Action, Section J, Women and the Media).

1.2 Problem Statement

This study is interested in the media's coverage of a particular group of women: women contesting for presidential elections. Around the world, there have been few studies on women presidential candidates, mainly because there have been few women presidential contenders or presidents. The studies that have been conducted have focused on the United States as they have had quite a number of women vying for the presidency (Heldman *et al*, 2005). Although there have been a few women who have been nominated into head of state positions or have contested presidential elections in Africa, literature from Africa have tended to focus only on Sirleaf Johnson. This makes literature on women presidential candidates in Africa and for that matter Ghana very negligible.

The media stands accused of showing bias towards women in their reportage and have been criticized for reinforcing socially constructed gendered roles by the way they represent gender. In fact, research on women presidential candidates has consistently revealed that when women contest elections as presidential candidates, the type of media coverage they garner focuses on all other aspects of their lives that have very little or nothing to do with their work. They also receive very little attention in terms of quality and quantity and negativity in terms of tone. (Heldman *et al*, 2005; Scharrer, 2002)

This research which focused on newspaper coverage of Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings' six month presidential candidacy provided a unique opportunity to examine the manner in which the press covered a bid by a woman for the nation's highest office. It ascertained whether observations from other contexts were similar to the Ghanaian context.

Media coverage can contribute to minimizing the political gender inequality. However, media coverage of female presidential candidates is a relatively new issue in Ghana given that only two women have ever attempted to contest the presidency in Ghana. This study will bring the issue of the importance of women aspiring to the presidency to the fore and policies may be made to build the needed structures to encourage women's interest in the presidency. In addition to this, women themselves will embrace their status in society as equals to men. Thus, this study examines how the media treats female presidential candidates in the news, using Agyeman Rawlings as a case.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The overarching objective of the study was to explore how Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings was covered by the media as a presidential candidate and to determine whether, as indicated in literature elsewhere, there were similarities or differences in coverage as compared to Atta Mills.

The specific objectives are:

- To explore the quantity of coverage that Agyeman Rawlings received as compared to Atta Mills
- To explore the quality of coverage that Agyeman Rawlings received as compared to Atta Mills
- To explore the tone of coverage for both Agyeman Rawlings and Atta Mills
- To find out if the media employed the 'first woman' frame in stories on Agyeman Rawlings.

1.4 Hypotheses

- H₁

Agyeman Rawlings is likely to receive more overall coverage than Atta Mills.

- H₂

Agyeman Rawlings is likely to receive less coverage on issues than Atta Mills

- H₃

Agyeman Rawlings is likely to receive more traits coverage than Atta Mills

- H₄

Stories on Agyeman Rawlings are likely to be negative in terms of tone as compared to Atta Mills

1.4.1 Reasons for hypotheses

H₁

Researchers have established that women are under-represented in the news in terms of the amount of coverage they receive. However previous research on women presidential candidates show that when women vie for the high office of presidency or governance, they usually receive more coverage than their male competitors, although usually negative in tone. This is because as the media attempt to increase negativity in coverage, news items on female presidential candidates also increase (Meeks 2011; Dunaway et al 2013).

H₂ and H₃

Previous research on female presidential candidates show that the media often focus more on their personality and traits than on the issues they present on the campaign platform as compared to their male contenders (Heldman et al 2005; Anderson et al 2011)

H₄

Previous research on women presidential candidates show that when women vie for the presidency, although coverage from the media increases, tone also becomes more negative (Dunaway et al 2013; Meeks 2011).

1.5 Scope of Study

This study examined newspaper coverage of Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings during the 2011 presidential primaries of the National Democratic Congress (NDC). Mendes (2011) states that newspapers have daily publication, circulates to a wide variety of audiences and are timely. This makes them a good option for content analysis for this study since it will be easy to access dated information. Newspapers also contain different styles of writing including features, news stories, editorials, letters to the editor, etc. which makes them a good resource to access different genres of news items. Even though newspapers are not as powerful and as widespread as radio, Midttun et al. (2011) noted that radio journalists depend heavily on newspapers for their news bulletins and current affairs shows. For this reason, four daily newspapers — *Daily Graphic*, the *Daily Guide*, *Ghanaian Times* and *Chronicle*— were selected for the study. These four newspapers were selected based on the fact that they are the leading newspapers in Ghana in terms of readership. Also, all four newspapers were on the newsstands in the year 2011 and all covered the 2011 presidential primaries of the NDC. The *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times* are state-owned newspapers, while the *Daily Guide* and the *Chronicle* are privately owned. For this study, distinctions were not made on the basis of the newspapers as the focus of the study was on how the media in general covered both candidates. Thus, all papers were lumped together to represent the print media.

1.6 Definition of terms

The following glossary gives the contexts in which the concepts and variables used in the study were operationalised

Quantity: This refers to the amount of coverage that each candidate receives

Quality: In this study quality of coverage referred to story placement, headline mentions, story length, and focus of story, specific mention of traits, candidate's viability and specific mention of issues for both candidates

Agyeman Rawlings: This referred to Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings

Rawlings: This referred to Jerry John Rawlings

Atta Mills: This referred to John Evans Atta Mills

Important pages of newspapers: These referred to the front page, the back page, the centre spread, page three and the politics page in all newspapers under the study.

Significant coverage: A candidate was said to have received significant coverage if they were the focus of more than half of the content of the news story.

1.7 Significance of the study

Although some research, albeit not enough, has been carried out on the way the media covers female politicians, few of these studies place emphasis on female presidential candidates in Africa and none so far has been conducted in Ghana because of the lack of opportunity. This is probably because only two women in the history of Ghana have attempted to contest the presidency. In the future, more women may enter into active politics. The way the media portray women like Agyeman Rawlings in the news could either encourage or discourage them from pursuing their political interests.

Empirical evidence from this study may also validate or not the concerns of liberal feminists on how the media portray political women in the news. This might result in the development of in-house editorial policies that will promote women's cause in the country.

The study is again significant because by addressing this question in a country not extensively analyzed in the literature, the study contributes to increasing knowledge in the field of gender, media and politics and situates coverage in a setting that has not received much scholarly attention.

This study also hopes to lay a foundation for future studies on media coverage of women presidential candidates in Ghana as the trend continues to emerge.

1.8 Organisation of the study

This study was organised into seven chapters. Chapter one introduced the study and laid the background. The chapter also presented the problem, the objectives and the significance of the study. The hypothesis the study sought to test were also presented. The newspapers used for the study were also discussed in the first chapter.

The second chapter discussed the theories on which the study was anchored – framing and the liberal feminist theory. These formed the basis for all arguments in the study.

Chapter three discussed literature related to the study. Arguments and findings of previous studies on gender, media and political coverage were reviewed and presented.

Chapter four discussed the methodology used in this study. The population, unit of analysis, content categories, data analysis and procedures were fully explained in this chapter. Chapter five presented the findings of the study, in the form of tables and figures and tested the hypotheses that were set at the beginning of the study.

The findings from the study were discussed in chapter six. The last chapter, chapter seven, concluded the study by summarizing the findings, outlining some of its limitations and providing some recommendations for future studies.

1.9 The Newspapers under the Study

Four newspapers were used for the study. These were the *Daily Graphic*, the *Daily Guide*, the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Chronicle*. These newspapers were chosen because of their wide readership and to represent two categories of newspapers in Ghana; publicly owned and privately owned. They were:

1.9.1 Daily Graphic

The newspaper market in Ghana is led by the *Daily Graphic* which claims a daily circulation of about 100,000 copies² and has an average of 72 pages, depending on the day of the week (Public Relations Department, GCGL). The *Daily Graphic*, which is a state-owned daily newspaper, appeared on the newsstand on 2nd October, 1950 as one of a chain of newspapers owned by private interest group, the Daily Mirror Group of London. The government of Ghana acquired the company by an Act of Parliament in 1962.

The *Daily Graphic* has carved out a certain niche market based on its distinctive ‘house style’ (Hasty, 2006). It has the largest nationwide readership which includes elites who influence government decisions and also make national policies. Though a state-owned newspaper, the *Daily Graphic* operates as an independent newspaper. Appointment of the board’s Chairperson

²This information was retrieved from www.nationsencyclopedia.com on 11th April, 2016

and the board members is done by the National Media Commission in consultation with the president of Ghana and in accordance with Article 168 of the 1992 Constitution and section 2(1)(e) of the National Media Commission Act, 1993 (Act 449).

The mission of the Graphic Communications Group Limited (GCGL) is to empower its readers and consumers with reliable and credible information, communication and entertainment that create the best possible customer experience (Public Relations Department, GCGL). Stories of the paper are also carried online on its website www.graphicghana.com.

1.9.2 The Ghanaian Times

The *Ghanaian Times* is a state-owned daily that is published by the New Times Corporation (NTC). The NTC, formerly known as the Guinea Press Limited, was established by the first President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, in 1957, as the printing house for his political party, the Convention Peoples Party (CPP)

After the overthrow of Dr. Nkrumah in a military coup in 1966, The Guinea Press was taken over as a state property by the National Liberation Council in 1968 and later transformed into the New Times Corporation by an instrument of Incorporation in 1971. The Guinea Press started publishing newspapers in early 1958 as the *Guinea Times*, then it changed to the *Ghana Star*, and then to the *Evening News* – as dailies. Later, the *Weekly Spectator* and the *Ghanaian* were added as monthly magazines. The first publication of the Guinea Press, the *Guinea Times*, came out on 3rd March, 1958.

In previous years, the NTC was selling not less than 120,000 copies of the *Ghanaian Times* a day however, with the proliferation of newspapers on the newsstands; its market share which stood at

45 percent has now reduced to 35 percent. Despite this the *Ghanaian Times* claims to be the second widely read state owned paper after the *Gaily Graphic*³

1.9.3 The Daily Guide

The *Daily Guide* is a privately-owned newspaper published by Western Publications Limited. *Daily Guide* is on the newsstand six days in the week (from Monday to Saturday). It covers sports, politics, social issues and international news. It was registered in January 1988, but started publication in 1991. From the *Daily Guide's* mission statement, the agenda of the newspaper is to promote democracy through freedom of speech, association and the rule of law. The *Daily Guide*, which started as a four-page weekly, changed to a bi-weekly publication until 2005 when it became a 16-page daily newspaper. The newspaper circulates around 60,000 copies daily to all the ten regions of the country. Stories of the paper are also carried online on its website: <http://www.dailyguideghana.com/>. For this study, the *Daily Guide* is a paper of choice because it is a private newspaper that boasts of a wide readership compared to other private newspapers in the country. It also provides an alternative to the *Daily Graphic*, which is a state-owned newspaper that regularly covers the government in a favourable light, detailing and boosting national unity and government policy (Hasty, 2005).

1.9.4 The Chronicle

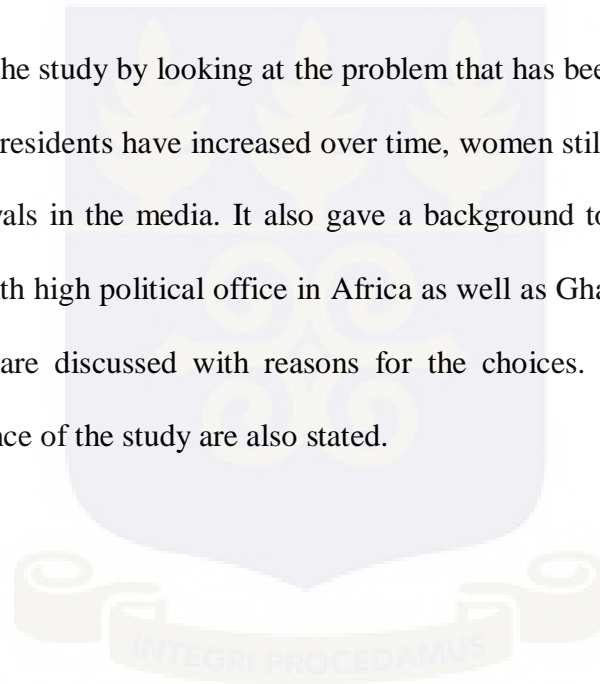
The *Ghanaian Chronicle* was started in September, 1990. It was for a while the leading newspaper after the newspaper licensing law was lifted (Laar, 2009). The company has since been making very significant contributions to Ghana's transition from dictatorship to democracy,

³This information was retrieved from www.ghanaiantimes.com on 12th April, 2016

freedom and justice. It is acknowledged as a leader in the crusader for peace and reconciliation among Ghanaians and against corruption, poverty and human abuses. The company has grown rapidly and attained international dimension over the years in terms of information dissemination, education as well as medium of entertainment to both local and international readership. Stories from the paper are also carried online at <http://thechronicle.com.gh/>

Summary

This chapter introduced the study by looking at the problem that has been presented. That though the numbers of women presidents have increased over time, women still get inadequate attention and stereotypical portrayals in the media. It also gave a background to the study by looking at women's engagement with high political office in Africa as well as Ghana. The four newspapers to be content analysed are discussed with reasons for the choices. The objectives, research hypothesis and significance of the study are also stated.



CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter sought to examine the theories underpinning this study. Most of the studies reviewed used framing, agenda setting and feminist theories to analyse how newspapers cover women in presidential and other electoral races. For this study the framing theory and the feminist theory were used. This is because these theories look at the struggles of women and the challenges women face with regards to being represented by the media.

2.2 Framing theory

The concept of framing is primarily associated with the seminal work on frame analysis by Erving Goffman (1974). Goffman (1974) believed that human beings construct a reality or sets of expectations through which they continually strive to make sense of the world and their everyday living. According to Graber (1988), these expectations form shortcuts or schemata that reduce complex thoughts into easily decipherable forms, called frames, which facilitate the formation of public opinion. Brewer et al. (2003) are of the view that because people depend heavily on the mass media for information about the world, it is therefore unsurprising that the media and newspapers in particular play an important role in the framing of issues for the public. By means of a frame, a journalist can represent events or issues as part of a coherent larger reality which readers can comprehend. Interestingly, Stromback and Luengo (2008) state that framing by journalists sometimes occurs unintentionally. They continued to assert that whether framing occurs deliberately or not, it is a phenomenon that cannot be avoided by journalists and by extension cannot be ignored in media scholarship.

Several definitions have been proffered for the concept of framing. Nonetheless, according to Robert Entman's widely cited definition, framing involves the selection of some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a text to promote a particular problem definition, interpretation, or evaluation (Entman, 1993). Thus, as per the theory of framing, it was expected that the media will select some aspects of either candidate and promote that aspect which may influence the way the delegates evaluate them.

Since its introduction, framing has been widely used theoretically in mass media and communication analysis to examine media content and the relationship between media content and audiences. In the analysis of media content, Tankard (2001) comprehensively identifies headlines, subheads, photo captions, leads, source selection, quotes selection, pull quotes, statistics and charts and concluding statements and paragraphs as important ways for identifying and measuring frames in the news media. Some of these categories were adopted in measuring frames in this study

2.2.1 Framing of Political Issues

Framing has been helpful in the analysis of media coverage of political issues (Bryant & Miron, 2004; Shih, et al., 2008). This is because through framing, the media is capable of blowing large numbers of people from one side of a political issue to the other side of the issue (Saris & Sniderman, 2004). Entman (2004) argues that the media influence people's political decisions mainly because of their ability to frame the news in ways that tend to favour one side of the political divide over the other. This study, which sought to understand how two different political candidates— Agyemang Rawlings and Atta Mills — struggled for the right to lead their party in

presidential elections, benefitted from an analysis of how the media framed issues to benefit one over the other.

Griffin (2005) states that reporters in framing political stories and public figures in particular, resort to giving or withholding emphasis on their personal attributes. For example, it was expected that the unique personal attributes or traits of the two presidential candidates might play a major role in their coverage.

Importantly, Iyengar and Kinder (1987) posits that, to make stories intelligible, journalists draw on pre-existing cultural frames to construct their narratives. This means that decisions about what to cover and how to cover (frame) Agyeman Rawlings' presidential candidacy, are likely to be done within the context of pre-existing cultural norms and frames. In a patriarchal society like Ghana, stereotypical gender roles may form part of the pre-existing cultural norms within which journalists make in framing decisions. According to White (1950) media organisations may believe or may conclude that their audiences believe that female politicians (in this case, Agyeman Rawlings) should conform to stereotypical roles. The tone of stories might be negatively affected if and when Agyeman Rawlings diverges from stereotypical gender roles.

2.3 Feminist Theory

It is close to impossible to discuss media coverage of women without grounding them in theories of feminism which focus on the role of women in society and the different struggles they face. Feminists theories focus on how women are spoken for in the media and what is spoken about

them (Gallagher, 2003: 25). It is also the way women are portrayed and the prominence and allowance they are given to speak for themselves in these public platforms.

Feminism is however not a single body of work and over the years has taken several forms with different streams of feminism taking different approaches to the theory. The most common ones have been liberal feminism, Marxist feminism, socialist feminism and radical feminism.

2.3.1 Liberal Feminist Theory

In order to fully understand the contexts within which the framing of Agyeman Rawlings's presidential candidacy bid occurred in the media, it is necessary to situate it within the backdrop of liberal feminists' challenge of expressions of hegemonic patriarchy in societies. Betty Friedan (1963), popularly credited with the liberal feminist theory, explored the idea of women finding fulfillment beyond traditional roles by focusing on how legal, political, economic, and social rights can be fully extended to women within contemporary society. Friedan argued that the area of concern for liberal feminists is those rights which would ensure mental and economic freedom and independence for women such as those in politics. Hutchinson (2011) similarly asserts that liberal feminists are characterised by a desire to integrate women into pre-existing public institutions and guarantee them the same rights that men enjoy.

Liberal feminist theorists like Marger (2005) and Strinati (2004) argue that the media is an important tool which has unfortunately been used as a tool to project and perpetuate unfavourable portrayals of women and sexual divisions of labour. The media therefore has an important role to play if women are to fully enjoy their liberties and utilize opportunities to achieve their full potentials.

The theory postulates that women's major problems in the media revolve around too few women in upper-level media employments, insufficient representations, and demeaning stereotypical representations. Of particular relevance to this study are the latter two issues. Firstly, in the media's coverage of Agyeman Rawlings bid for presidential candidacy, did she indeed receive little representation when compared to her male opponent? If this study finds this to be so, it might be construed as a threat to liberal feminists call for a level playing field for both men and women, one that will ensure that women infiltrate the public sphere from which they have been traditionally excluded.

In Tuchman's seminal work on framing, she identifies sex role stereotypes, prescriptions of sex appropriate behaviour, appearance, interest and skills as being means through which the media perpetuate unfavourable portrayals of women (Tuchman, 1978 cited in Van Zoonen, 1997). The question again arises as to whether the media resorted to such means when covering Agyeman Rawlings' bid. Though this study does not concern itself with audience analyses, liberal feminists believe that when gender role stereotypes in the mass media are constantly repeated to audiences, it results in further reinforcements of gender inequalities in the broader society.

2.3.2. Marxist Feminism

Social theorist Karl Marx is the main proponent of the Marxist Feminist theory. The main argument of the theory is that power belongs to those who own the means of production which in this case referred to men (Karam, 2008: 309). This begs the question as to whether the media in their coverage of Agyeman Rawlings made it look like power belonged to her male contender. Marx greatly criticised the capitalist society through his work stating that it advantaged the few wealthy women at the expense of the poor majority. Therefore, in the view of Marxist feminist

theorists, the oppression and lessening of the value of women is linked to the capitalist state system (Parry & Karam, 2006: 389). This theory, therefore, was a direct alternative to liberal feminist theory which it criticized for focusing on the challenges of wealthy women to the detriment of the plight of the working class women.

2.3.3. Socialist Feminism

Social feminists argue that class and gender are equal areas of struggle for women (Parry & Karam, 2006:390). In addition to these social feminists believe that women are oppressed in other areas such as race, culture and language and therefore these areas should also be included when addressing the holistic liberation of women (Karam 2008:310). This raises the question of whether Agyeman Rawlings' gender and the culture within which she was covered played a role in how the media covered her bid for presidency. The weakness that is not addressed in this type of feminism is that it does not place emphasis on the oppression of women by men. The focus of Marxist feminism on the class inequalities is that it downplays the gender struggle.

2.3.4 Radical Feminism

Radical feminism is the most extreme of all the types of feminisms mentioned above. It is concerned with how the two genders co-exist in the same society. Parry and Karam (2006: 394) states that radical feminist sees doing away with gender and social status as the solution to patriarchy and male control. This theory views women as the first group of people in human history to suffer domination by another (Parry & Karam, 2006: 395).

At the heart of radical feminism is the call for manhood and womanhood to be done away with as oppression is the symptom of this societal disorder. The conviction of radical feminists goes as far as believing that the ultimate solution is for men and women to live in separate societies, with different languages and unique cultures (Parry & Karam, 2006: 395).

2.3.5 Criticisms of feminism

Feminist theorists have been greatly criticized especially for taking the one fits all approach. Although feminists assert that women had the ability to do what men could do and are not inferior to men in any way they do not consider the society within which the women exist.

It would seem the main preoccupation of feminism is to highlight the patriarchal nature of the world and how women everywhere suffer under the oppression of men.

From this focal point came the concept of essentialism. Alison Stone (2007: 18), who writes on the origins of feminism critiques, defines essentialism as a similar concept to universalism.

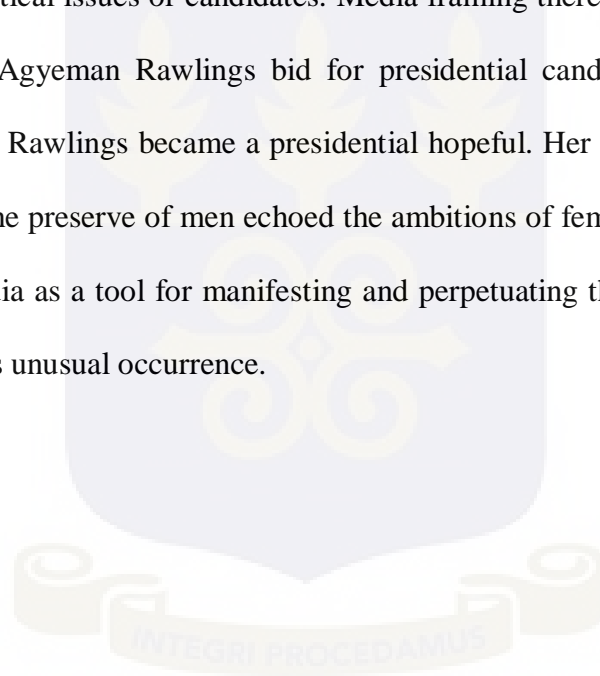
With regards to feminism, it is the argument that all women possess similar elements that make them women. The main critique of essentialism is that it suggests that all women are the same, and face the exact same struggles (Stone, 2007:108). The implication however is that these elements or the criteria used to identify these elements is created by a certain group of women and therefore cannot claim to be speaking for all women. This is because this approach denies the reality of the struggles of women who are usually not Western women, such as Africans. Women in Africa face the added struggle of racial discrimination based on their skin colour in addition to sexism and their discrimination can sometimes be cultural specific.

Cross (1996: 200-204) goes on to summarise the three critiques against mainstream feminism as: suggesting the only oppression all women face is patriarchy, the tendency of feminist theorists to generalize to cover third world women and creating a negative and undifferentiated image of black women (Cross, 1996: 200-204). A great number of feminist theories as they are known today originated and were developed in the Western world. They are the creation of women who mostly do not have the experience of what it is like to be born, bred and raised in the “Third World”. Therefore their perspective of the challenges that women in these parts of the world face is narrow-minded and they only see a limited and sometimes skewed towards their own versions

of reality. For a long time it has been the cry of women to not have men speak on their behalf as they do not have the lived experience of the reality. A similar outcry is made against Western women to not claim to speak on behalf of all the women of the world

Summary

The media has been identified as a powerful tool for influencing political public opinion. They do this through the process of media framing, where media texts give or withhold emphasis on specific attributes of political issues or candidates. Media framing therefore emerges as a helpful framework to examine Agyeman Rawlings bid for presidential candidacy. Again, this study examines how Agyeman Rawlings became a presidential hopeful. Her sojourn into an exclusive arena that was hitherto the preserve of men echoed the ambitions of feminists. The question then arises as to how the media as a tool for manifesting and perpetuating the cultural representation of women negotiated this unusual occurrence.



CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

Many academic studies have been carried out on women contesting elections in different parts of the world (Dunaway *et al*, 2013; Carlin & Winfrey, 2009; Ross *et al* (2013). However, a few of these studies are on women contesting for top political positions such as presidents, prime ministers, etc (Adey and Devitt, 2001; Heldman *et al*, 2005). This is because few women have contested elections in top positions and fewer still have become presidents or prime ministers. Thus, literature on women in presidential races is rather limited. That notwithstanding, other studies on women in other political races other than the presidency suggest the manner in which the media betrays biases in covering female presidential candidates.

Given the scarcity of research material on the subject, this section reviewed studies on coverage of women as presidential candidates as well as studies on women in other political races such as vice presidential, parliamentary, ministerial, and mayoral. Also, studies on the nature of coverage of females in elections such as stereotypical portrayal and under-representation of women political candidates were reviewed. This is because findings from these studies fit into the larger domain of how women politicians are covered by the media. The chapter first looked at coverage of women political candidates in general and then zoomed into nature of coverage and then specifically at how women presidential candidates have been covered by the media in the past.

3.2 Coverage of women political candidates

Many studies have examined the portrayal of political women in the news, arguing that they are portrayed as less viable candidates. They are usually discriminated on in news coverage, in terms of visibility, quality and quantity of coverage.

Ross *et al* (2013) studied gender disparities in the 2010 British General Election. The main objective of the study was to explore any differences in the news coverage of women and men candidates, looking at both frequency and content. Thus articles published on members of parliament seeking re-election and parliamentary candidates in the four weeks leading up to election day were monitored across 12 newspapers, made up of dailies, weekend editions, broadsheets and midmarket, and tabloids.

Findings showed that women were quoted more frequently in feature articles that focused explicitly on gender issues because of their sex and physical appearance rather than their political abilities and experience as serious political actors (Ross *et al*, 2013).

Similarly, Scharrer (2002) studied Hillary Clinton's transition from first lady to senate candidate. The author employed a quantitative content analysis of 342 newspaper stories to determine how the press responded to Hillary Clinton's transition in terms of tone. A qualitative analysis of negative statements appearing in news stories added depth and dimension to the discussion of critical tone.

Also, 96 stories about former New York City mayor Rudy Giuliani were also analysed and used for comparison. The research offered three hypotheses. First, that the more Clinton was framed as politically active, the more likely the tone of the story was to be negative. Second, stories about Clinton that focused on the senate race were more likely to be negative than reports which focused on other topics. Third, the greater the degree of certainty that Clinton will run for office, the more negative the newspaper coverage would be. Results showed that Clinton encountered more negative press as compared to Giuliani in all aspects studied (Scharer, 2002).

Using the framing theory (verbal and visual framing analyses), Dan and Iorgoveanu (2013) explored gender bias in the news coverage of four prominent male and female Romanian candidates — Elena Băsescu, George Becali, Adrian Severin, and Monica Macovei—vying for the European Parliament. To achieve this, news content from the websites four newspapers in Romania (*Cancan*, *Evenimentul Zilei (EvZ)*, *Gândul*, and *Libertatea*) were content analysed in the four weeks leading up to the June 2009 elections in Europe.

The study analysed the balance between issue-related coverage and gendered coverage during the elections. A total of 249 news stories were analysed. Results showed that women parliamentary candidates received more personality coverage than issues coverage as compared to the male presidential candidates (Dan & Iorgoveanu, 2013).

3.3 Changing portrayals of women political candidates

Research on women in politics has constantly showed that women are given less attention in terms of content and space. The concern is whether these patterns continue even though the number of women in the political arena has increased over the years. To examine this, Jalalzai

(2006) studied women candidates and the media from 1992-2000 United States elections. The aim of the study was to find out if press coverage have become more neutral with the increase of women in gubernatorial and senatorial races. To answer this question, content analyses were conducted on coverage of men and women senatorial and gubernatorial candidates running between 1992 and 2000 from 20 newspapers.

Major findings from this study suggested that, in general, newspaper coverage of candidates has become increasingly gender-balanced with some differences now actually favouring women candidates although certain disparities still existed (Jalalzai, 2006).

Trimble *et al* (2013) studied how women candidates of Canadian national political parties were covered in the news. The study analysed the ‘Globe and Mail’ newspaper reporting of 13 party leadership races held between 1975 and 2012 which included 11 women candidates, four of whom won the leadership contest.

The study conducted a content analysis of 2,463 newspaper articles published over the course of a thirty-seven-year period to find out the trend of quantity of coverage on female candidates over time and whether there were gendered differences in reporting.

Major findings revealed that the amount of coverage did not increase over time, however reports on female candidates were more skewed towards their personal traits (sexuality, looks, and marital situation) rather than the issues they presented (Trimble *et al* 2013).

Hooghe *et al* (2015) examined the allotted speaking time to members of parliament from 2003 until 2011 in the two main television news broadcasts in the Dutch-speaking region of Belgium.

This was to find out whether gender bias in media reporting had reduced based on the increase of representation of women in the Belgian parliament using data from six thousand full news broadcasts over a nine year period (2003 to 2011). This study used the media bias theory together with the theory of framing.

Major findings showed that the news media persist in a biased treatment of female MPs in that female MPs are allotted less speaking time than their male colleagues. The study concluded that gender bias in the media still persists, even when the political system has evolved toward equal representation (Hooghe *et al*, 2015).

3.4 Gendered and Stereotypical portrayal of women in politics

Some studies have shown gendered and stereotypical portrayal of political women in the media. According to Allan (1999), stereotypes are typically defined as consisting of standardized mental pictures which provide sexist judgement about women such that their subordinate status within male-dominated society is symbolically reinforced. In effect, journalists' use of such stereotypes contributes to the reproduction of patriarchal social relations.

Some scholars therefore conducted studies on the way the media represents women in politics. In South-Africa, Many (2013) conducted a study on representation of black, young, women politicians using a case study of Lindiwe Mazibuko; South Africa's main opposition party's (Democratic Alliance) female parliamentary leader from May, 2009 to May, 2014. The author sought to find out how Mazibuko was represented in four leading news websites: *Timeslive Online*, *City Press Online*, *Mail & Guardian Online* and *Independent Online*. The theories that underpinned this study were the feminist's theory, media and gender theory and the media

representations theory. The author conducted a content analysis of 101 articles published from the announcement of her nomination to the run up to the party's elections, her election and a month after her election. Findings showed that Mazibuko's age was mentioned in 62 percent of the articles, her gender in 28% and her race in 21% of the articles.

The author concluded that the media's focus on these attributes was irrelevant to her candidature and to her ability to perform as a viable candidate. The author also maintained that, the empowerment of young black women and their rise to positions of leadership remains an important priority if the gains of freedom in South Africa are to be fully attained (Manyá, 2013).

Another study on stereotypical portrayal of women in politics was by Anderson *et al* (2011). The authors investigated how gender biases are reflected in news reports that emanate from Africa. The study was a textual analysis of 23 news articles that were retrieved from 12 online portals made up of eight international news media (*BBC, CNN, The New York Times, The Washington Post, ABC News, The New Zealand Herald, PBS News Hour, Extra, BNet*) and four African news media (*Daily Observer, The Daily Graphic, The Ghanaian Times, AllAfrica.com*).

The study examined the African and international media coverage of the Liberian elections which brought to power Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, the first female president of Liberia. In this election, her main opponent was George Opong Weah. The purpose of the study was to see if there were any similarities or differences in how the media present female and male presidential candidates.

Findings showed that the media made explicit mention of Johnson-Sirleaf's appearance in their reportage. The media also emphasized her feminism, marital status and maternal role. On the other hand, no mention was made of Weah's paternal status. Findings also showed massive links

to her personal relationships and traditional roles. The study concluded that news reporting is biased and subjective when female, African political figures venture into the traditionally 'masculine' world of politics by so doing undermining the political capabilities of the candidate in question (Anderson *et al*, 2011).

3.5 Under-representation of women in politics

In view of the powerful nature of the media, it is expected that they give equal attention to women and men in politics. However, despite about five decades of activism, women are still under represented in the media.

To establish the low coverage given to women in the media, Thuo (2012) examined how 22 women parliamentarians were covered during Kenya's 2011 general elections. The objective of the study was to examine the amount of media coverage and level of prominence given to stories on women politicians; and also to identify the dominant gender frames used in newspaper content. This was a qualitative study which utilized the daily publications of the *Nation Media Group* and *Tile Standard Group* over a six months period. Using the framing theory, the researcher carried out a content analysis of all the newspaper articles that mentioned any of the 22 women aspirants and interviewed 10 senior editors and writers working for the two media organisations.

Findings showed that the print media coverage of women in politics was low, with their stories placed in the inside pages and hardly on the headlines thus making them invisible. The study concluded that hidden influences such as cultural backgrounds of the media professionals, principles of what makes news and commercial interest contributed to the low coverage of women (Thuo, 2012).

Oyesomi and Oyero (2012) studied newspaper coverage of women parliamentarians in the 2011 general elections in Nigeria. The study used the agenda setting theory to analyse 288 editions of two leading Nigerian newspaper publications, *The Guardian* and *The Punch*, over an eight-month period during the run-up to the Nigerian 2011 elections.

Findings revealed that a few stories represented issues of women. Also, the few stories that were covered about women were not given in-depth coverage or prominence because most of the stories appeared in the inner pages while the front pages captured only 10 percent of all stories. They study concluded that the media did not cover the Nigerian general elections adequately, although they admitted that the reports were of high quality and suggested that the media needed to be re-oriented and re-positioned (Oyesomi & Oyero, 2012).

Another study on under-representation of women in politics was by Dzeble (2006). The researcher studied the role played by the media in projecting female parliamentary candidates in the 2004 elections. The study sought to examine the amount of coverage given to women politicians and to find out media policies and practices that influence selection of news subjects and stories for publication. To achieve this, the study conducted a quantitative content analysis of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* newspapers and complemented it with in-depth interview on three groups of respondents; journalists and editors of the two newspapers, female parliamentarians and officials of female advocacy groups. The study used the Althusserian and Gramscian theories of ideology and hegemony, the concept of the public sphere and the theories of representation and framing.

Findings showed that the media gave disproportionately more coverage to male politicians in the country than their female counterparts. Also, privately-owned media gave slightly more coverage

to female politicians than the state-owned media. The study concluded that, the media gave some level of unfair coverage to female politicians than their male counterparts (Dzeble, 2006).

3.6 Office sought versus nature of coverage

Some researchers have established that the office sought by a female candidate, determines the type of coverage the candidate is likely to receive from the media. For example, Dunaway *et al* (2013) studied women candidates in the United States for various offices. The purpose of the study was to understand how the level and type of office women sought influenced the degree of candidate trait coverage in the news. The framing theory underpinned this study.

This was a large-scale study of elections in 2006 and 2008. The sample included 15 Senate and gubernatorial contests across 11 different states in 2006, and 15 contests across 13 states in 2008. Approximately 9725 newspaper articles were analysed.

Findings showed that when women run for governorship, the focus of coverage was mainly on traits than on issues (Dunaway *et al*, 2013).

Meeks (2011) studied news coverage of four female political candidates; Elizabeth Dole, Claire McCaskill, Hillary Clinton, and Sarah Palin compared to their male competitors. Each candidate competed in two elections between 1999 and 2008 as president, senator, vice president and governor. This was a content analysis of 706 articles across eight elections from eight U.S. newspapers between 1999 and 2008.

Analysis focused on novelty labeling (first woman frame), and ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine’ political issues and character traits to determine whether the coverage of women and men differed in general, and across the offices of Senator, Governor, Vice President, or President.

Findings showed that overall, women received more news coverage albeit negative in terms of tone. However, women who sought the high office of president received even more negative coverage than women who sought other offices. Also women such as Elizabeth Dole and Hillary Clinton were ascribed feminine issues as compared to their male contenders who were ascribed masculine issues. Other findings also showed that women who were new in the type of office they sought were labeled with the 'first woman' frame which may have hindered their candidacy (Meeks, 2011).

3.7 Coverage of women presidential candidates

A few studies have been conducted on women presidential candidates. Two of such studies were on US presidential contender, Elizabeth Dole, who ran for the Republican nomination in the 2000 United States presidential elections, but pulled out of the race in October 1999 before any of the primaries. Her withdrawal was largely due to inadequate fundraising even though a Gallup poll showed she placed second in the presidential race at 11 percent behind George W. Bush at 60 percent as late as October 1999⁴. Although she pulled out, she became the first viable female candidate from a major political party⁵. In that race, her contenders were George W. Bush, John McCain, Alan Keyes, Gary Bauer and Steve Forbes.

Aday and Devitt (2001) compared coverage of Elizabeth Dole's presidential bid to her three main rivals – George Bush, John McCain and Steve Forbes, for the Republican nomination in the United States. The study used the framing theory to test the hypothesis that Dole will receive more coverage on her physical appearance and personality than on issues she presented on the

⁴ This information was retrieved from, "[Cain Surges, Nearly Ties Romney for Lead in GOP Preferences](#)". *Gallup.com*. on July 2, 2016.

⁵ This information was retrieved from <http://www.elizabethdolefoundation.org/about-senator-elizabeth-dole/> on 4th July, 2016

campaign platform. The study also predicted that Dole will be paraphrased more, than directly quoted in news stories as compared to her contenders.

The researchers examined three months of coverage in five widely read newspapers– the *Des Moines Register*, the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *USA Today* and the *Washington Post*, for a period of three months.

The findings of that study showed that women are still discriminated upon in terms of quantity and quality of coverage. This is because while Dole trailed behind only George W. Bush, she received less issue coverage and more reporting on her personal background than Bush, McCain, and Forbes. Also, as compared to her male counterparts, she was directly quoted at a lower rate as her speech was more paraphrased (Aday and Devitt, 2001).

Similarly, Heldman *et al* (2005) analysed differences in print media coverage of Elizabeth Dole and five other Republican contenders for the presidential nomination in 1999; George W. Bush, John McCain, Alan Keyes, Gary Bauer, and Steve Forbes.

To achieve this, two data sets were used for content analysis. For both data sets, articles were selected from about 70 daily newspapers across the United States. In all 576 news stories were analysed.

The first data set was used for comparison of coverage for all candidates while the second data set was used to give an in-depth coverage of Dole.

Findings indicated that Dole received an amount and type of coverage that was gendered and may have hindered her candidacy. Also, the press paid more attention to Dole's personality traits, her gender and appearance than to the traits, gender and appearance of the other candidates (Heldman *et al*, 2005).

Some studies have examined how the media treats female presidential candidates and vice presidential candidates in the news. One such study is on Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin. Clinton announced on her website on January 20, 2007, that she was going to contest in the United States presidential election of 2008, stating "I'm in, and I'm in to win" (Gerth and Van Natta 2007, p. 5). On the other hand, on August 29, 2008, John McCain⁶ announced he had chosen Palin as his running mate making her the first Alaskan and the second woman to run on a major U.S. party ticket⁷

Thus, Carlin & Winfrey (2009) analysed randomly selected articles on Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin during the 2008 campaign for United States presidency using common stereotypes of women in corporations, language theories, and media framing as the theoretical framework underpinning the study. Clinton contested as president, while Palin was nominated as vice presidential candidate on the Republican ticket. The findings from that study showed that sexism towards women candidates is still present in media coverage (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009). This was because there was a considerable amount of negative coverage of both candidates which had the potential of casting doubts on the minds of the electorate on a woman's ability to be president or vice president (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009).

3.8 Women's political achievements as 'special'

Some researchers have found that gendered news frames are usually employed in the coverage of women in politics who have made a ground breaking appearance in their field of politics. For

⁶ John McCain was one of the presidential contenders on the Republican Ticket during the 2008 presidential elections of the United States

⁷ "[McCain taps Alaska Gov. Palin as vice president pick](#)". *ElectionCenter2008 (CNN)*. August 29, 2008. Retrieved June 20, 2016

example, in her study of news coverage of women heads of states from different countries, Norris (1997) found that gendered news frames were frequently used.

One of such frames, which recurred in most news stories from different countries about women heads of states, was the ‘first woman’ frame, emphasizing the pacesetting nature and novelty nature of the candidate’s political achievements. Heldman et al (2005) also found that, in the coverage of Elizabeth Dole’s bid for republican presidential nomination in 1999, the media employed the ‘first woman’ frame to a large extent. The authors concluded that this might have hindered Dole’s candidacy. In effect, scholars argue that although the use of frames is an essential part of news reporting practices (Gitlin, 1980; Entman, 1991, 1993), the use of a gendered news frame, such as the ‘first woman’ frame, can have negative consequences for a presidential candidate. Braden (1996:2) asserts that when the news media imply that women are anomalies in high politics, the public is likely to regard them as bench warmers rather than as an integral part of government.

It is clear that there have been quite a number of studies on gender, media and politics with a few focusing on women presidential candidates. From the literature reviewed, it is also clear that not much has been explored in Africa and for that matter Ghana although there have been a few women that have contested the presidency. It would therefore be interesting to know whether findings in the United States and other European countries are culture specific or similar findings can be recorded in Ghana. Nana Konadu Agyemang Rawling’s bid for presidency, offers an opportunity to explore this possibility.

Summary

This chapter reviewed literature on gender, media and politics. It specifically looked at studies on women presidential candidates and studies that have been carried out women in other fields of

politics. The chapter also looked at how women politicians are portrayed, framed and represented in the news. The studies reviewed showed that women have been discriminated upon in the news in several ways in the past: through under-representation, portrayals of their achievements as special, as well as general stereotypical portrayals, among others.



CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This study sought to examine how the *Daily Graphic*, the *Daily Guide*, the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Chronicle* newspapers covered Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings' bid for presidency during the 2011 presidential primaries of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) (refer to chapter one). This chapter described and explained the strategies that were used for data collection, analysis and reporting of findings. Specifically, it includes an outline of the research design, unit of analysis, the content categories and data analysis employed in the study.

4.2 Research design

Previous studies (Adey and Devit, 2001; Heldman et al; 2005, Anderson et al 2011) that examined coverage of women presidential candidates adopted the content analysis approach as a research method. Content analysis has been defined by Wimmer and Dominic (2011, p.159) as any systematic procedure devised to examine the content of recorded information. Krippendorff (2004, cited in Wimmer and Dominic, 2011, p.159) defines it as a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context whereas Kerlinger (2000) views it as a method of studying and analysing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables. These definitions point out the quantifying focus of quantitative research methods and the objectiveness of the findings because the procedures followed in a study are clearly spelt out. In addressing the research objectives and hypothesis raised in this study, a quantitative content analysis method was used. However in discussing the findings of the study, the researcher relied on some examples from newspapers that were noted during coding.

4.3 Population and sample

Population is any set of persons or objects that possess at least one common characteristic (Busha & Harter, 1980). According to Fraenkel and Wallen (2000) a sampling population is the larger group to which one hopes to apply results of their findings. Wimmer and Dominick (2011) refer to sample as a subset of a population that is representative of the entire population.

For this study, the population was all newspaper publications of the *Daily Graphic*, the *Daily Guide*, the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Chronicle* for the period, 1st February to 31st July, 2011. This period was chosen because it was the period when Agyeman Rawlings first made her intention known to contest the presidency and the month she lost to Atta Mills. However, in line with the study objectives and the research hypothesis set for the study, two data sets were used. Data for the first set was collected from 1st February, 2011 (when Agyeman Rawlings made her intentions known about contesting the primaries) to 11th July, 2011⁸ (when newspapers published her loss to Atta Mills). The first data set enabled the researcher to make a comparison between coverage that Atta Mills received and coverage that Agyeman Rawlings received.

The second data set, which sought to establish the presence of the ‘first woman’ frame in the coverage of Agyeman Rawlings — considering the ground breaking nature of her candidacy, extended data collection to the 31st of July, 2011. This was because an initial analysis of the newspapers under the study showed that coverage on Agyeman Rawlings continued till the end of the month of July (and even peaked), hence the extension of data gathering to the end of July, 2011. This data set however did not compare to Atta Mills.

⁸ Although the congress ended on 10th July, 2011, it was a Sunday, so newspapers published results of the polls on 11th July which was a Monday

There was no sampling conducted for this study as all editions of newspapers in the population were analysed. From February to July of 2011, the *Daily Graphic*, the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Daily Guide* each published 155 editions of newspapers. The *Chronicle* also published 130 editions. This made the size of the population 595 publications.

4.4 Unit of Analysis

A unit of analysis is the smallest element of a phenomenon of interest in a content analysis. Wimmer and Dominick (2011) posit that a unit of analysis in a written content might be a single word or symbol, a theme or an entire article or story. The unit of analysis for this study was straight news items, editorials, features, letters to the editor, and opinions, in which Agyeman Rawlings and Atta Mills were mentioned from 1st February to 11th July, 2011 for the 1st data set and from 1st February to 31st July, 2011 for the second data set.

4.5 Data Collection Instrument

Data was collected with a coding guide, adopted and adapted from categories identified in some of the related studies conducted and reviewed in chapter two. The main categories used in the coding guide included the name of the newspaper, name of candidate, length of story, placement of story, appearance of candidate's name in headline, tone of headline, focus of story, tone of story, type of issue, type of trait, candidate's viability and presence of 'first woman' frame.

4.6 Content Categories

According to Barbie (1992) content analysis is essentially a coding operation which involves the logic of conceptualisation and operationalisation. According to Keyton (2006), such content categories were important distinctions that the researcher makes. The aim is to reduce a wide variety of peculiar items of information to a more limited set of attributes. The categories for the

coding of differences between female and male candidates were adopted from previous research investigating gender and political news coverage (Adey and Devit, 2001; Manya2013; Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991; Heldman *et al*, 2005).

The categories often included by these researchers to determine how the media covers female politicians are:

- Quantity of coverage: This refers to the number of stories that give significant coverage to either candidate.
- Quality of Coverage: This refers to story placement, headline mentions, story length, and focus of story, specific mention of traits, candidate's viability and specific mention of issues.
- Frame: This refers to the use of the term 'first woman' in coverage of Agyeman Rawlings.
- Tone: This refers to the overall tenor or quality of the headline and story.

The categories were operationalised as follows:

Total number of stories: This is the total number of stories on both candidates

Placement of story: This refers to the page and position on which a story is placed to indicate the prominence attached to the story. There is a correlation between the page on which a newspaper story is placed and the prominence given to it by editors and the importance readers attach to it (Danso, 2012). Stories on front pages obviously gain more attention than those in the inside pages. Other important stories are also found on page three, back page, or center spread.

Appearance of candidate's name in the headline: This shows which candidate's name is mentioned in the headline. Headlines are significant because they not only draw the attention of the reader to the story but are sometimes the only part of a story that is read.

Length of story: this is the space apportioned to the particular story on Agyeman Rawlings and Atta Mills to show the prominence and attention attached to the story. A longer story can be considered more prominent than a relatively short one. In this study, coding was done for full page, half a page, one quarter of a page and any other space which doesn't fall within the above named significant sizes.

Focus of story: The focus of each news story is coded based on the five common patterns of election news coverage: issue coverage, horse race coverage, coverage of candidate traits, reporting of candidate strategies and activities and ad watch stories. The researcher excluded ad watch stories⁹ because those did not add to the purpose of the research. Horse race stories and strategy stories were combined because the horse race stories were narrowly coded as poll result stories, and both types fit within the overarching category of strategy or horse race coverage. The literature on women political candidates in news coverage does not distinguish among these theoretically (Heldman *et al*, 2005)

- **Issues coverage:** This refers to the media's specific mention of issues such as education, health, foreign policy and defense, unemployment, corruption, in news stories.
- **Trait coverage:** This refers to specific mentions of personal appearance, gender, background, attitude or character of the presidential candidate in news stories.

⁹ Ad watch stories are stories that focus on political advertisements. These were excluded because a pilot study showed that there was not even one ad watch story and this was evidenced after the entire data was collected.

- **Horse race coverage:** This was coded as poll results stories and candidate's strategies and activities.
- **Mixed:** This was coded as stories that had a mixture of all three categories; issues, traits and horserace.

Type of trait: This refers to the specific candidate trait that appears in the story. Coding is for:

- candidate's marital status or spouse
- candidate's character
- candidate's personal appearance
- candidate's children
- candidate's gender

Viability: This refers whether the candidate's candidature is portrayed as viable or otherwise.

Coding is done for

- yes or
- no

Type of issue: This refers to the type of issue associated with the candidate. Coding is done for;

- Taxes
- Budget
- Crime
- Defense
- Healthcare
- Education
- Poverty

- Infrastructure/environment
- Unemployment¹⁰
- Corruption¹⁰
- Other, if any other issues apart from the ones coded for are mentioned.

First woman frame: This category captures how frequently stories mentioned the fact that Agyeman Rawlings was the first woman to compete for the presidency. Coding was for ‘Yes’ if the story used such words as ‘first’, ‘pioneer’, ‘novel’ in a news story and ‘No’ if none existed.

Tone of headline: This shows whether the candidate mentioned in the headline was mentioned negatively, positively or neutrally. Positive tone is when adjectives used to describe the candidate were favourable. Negative tone is coded for when adjectives in the headline were insulting or mocking in nature. Neutral tone is when the headline did not give implicit indication of tone.

Tone of story: Tone refers to the overall tenor or quality of the story on either candidate. The tone was coded as positive when the story portrayed the candidate in a positive light and stuck to issues without making allusions to candidate’s gender and traits. Negative tone on the other hand, refers to those stories that did not stick to issues but made allusions to traits, personality, and physical appearance and trivialized issues that the candidate discussed on the campaign platform. The tone of stories was also determined by the use of certain adjectives or words that the researcher grouped as positive, negative or neutral. Stories that do not fall in any of these categories and did not make explicit indications of tone are coded as neutral (see Appendix A).

4.7 Data collection Technique

¹⁰ The categories of unemployment and corruption were added when a pilot study showed that those two issues were prominent in the news for both candidates. Literature on gender and political news coverage, however do not include those two issues.

The newspaper editions were collected from the Institute of Statistical Social and Economic Research (ISSER) library, the Balme Library and the Institute of African Studies Library, all at the University of Ghana as well as the *Daily Guide* Library at Nima. Generally for a story to qualify for coding, they had to mention ‘Nana Konadu’ ‘Rawlings’ ‘Agyeman Rawlings’ Atta Mills’, or ‘President’ (Atta Mills was the president at the time) in the headline or the first paragraph. For the first data set, stories that mentioned either candidate were identified and coded. Most stories focused entirely on one candidate so they were coded as stories on that candidate. For stories that had the names of both candidates in the headlines or in the story, the researcher read the story to determine the primary subject of the story and coded as such. The primary subject of the story was determined by the candidate who had more than half of coverage in the story. For the second data set, stories that focused entirely on Agyeman Rawlings and her candidacy were identified and coded.

To ensure that coding was consistent for both candidates, stories that had no connection with the primaries were not coded. Thus, the researcher also looked out for the mention of ‘primaries’ or ‘congress’ in the headline or in the substance of the story. This is because being the president during the period of study; Atta Mills was likely to garner coverage that had nothing to do with the NDC congress or primaries. Likewise, Agyeman Rawlings could also garner coverage that had nothing to do with the party’s primaries given her position as a former first lady and president of the 31st December Women’s Movement.

4.8 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher undertook coding with one independent coder from the newspapers from the various libraries as stated above. Upon visiting the libraries where the newspapers were kept, the editions were located. After this, relevant articles in the editions were identified. The coding

guide was then used to code the individual articles by determining the appropriate category to be selected for each of the variables being examined. The categories on the coding guide which were represented by numbers were then entered into a spreadsheet template.

4.8.1 Inter-Coder reliability

As already stated, coding was carried out by the researcher and one independent coder. The coder was trained on the unit of analysis and content categories by going through the coding sheet with the researcher. This was to ensure that the independent coder thoroughly understood the coding process so as to obtain reliable data for the study. The training session also enabled the researcher to revise the definitions and clarify the coding boundaries, until the coder fully understood what each category meant.

4.8.2 Test for inter-coder reliability

The researcher considered it important that an inter-coder reliability test be performed to ensure that both the researcher and coder were on the same page in terms of coding. Thus a trial coding was performed by the researcher and the independent coder on the same story from one newspaper. The story was randomly selected from the newspaper and coded by both the researcher and the coder.

The coded data presented was then entered into the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) and Cohen's Kappa inter-coder reliability test was carried out. According to Landis and Koch (1997), values for Cohen's Kappa inter-coder reliability test ranges from -1.0 to 1.0 where large numbers mean better reliability. Values near zero suggest that agreement is attributable to chance and values less than zero suggest that agreement is less than what can be attributed to chance. Landis and Koch (1977), assert that as a rule of thumb, Cohen's Kappa inter-coder reliability test

values that range from 0.40 to 0.59 are considered moderate. Those from 0.60 to 0.79 are considered substantial while those above 0.80 are considered to be outstanding.

The Kappa test performed on the data from the two independent coders yielded a value of 0.83. From the categorization of Landis and Koch (1997), the level of agreement between the researcher and the independent coder was outstanding. This means that the guidelines for coding were reliable enough for coding of content for the study (see appendix C for steps used in testing Cohen's Kappa inter-coder reliability).

4.9 Data Analysis

The coded information was entered into the computer and processed using the SPSS in the analysis of the study. The analysed data was then presented in the form of frequency tables, charts and percentages.

Summary

This chapter discussed the systematic procedures undertaken in collecting reliable data for this study. The content analysis method, sampling and coding procedures, the coding guide and data analysis techniques as applied in this study were some of the issues discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study. This study primarily aimed at examining the manner in which the *Daily Graphic*, the *Daily Guide*, the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Chronicle*, covered Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings as a presidential candidate in 2011. The overarching objective of the study was to explore how Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings was covered by the media as a presidential candidate and to determine whether, as indicated in literature elsewhere, there were similarities or differences in coverage as compared to Atta Mills

The method of data analysis included entering the data from the manual coding sheets into the SPSS data variable format and then running frequency distributions, cross tabulations and respective statistical tests. Findings are presented in line with the objectives of the study.

5.2 Quantity of coverage

Quantity of coverage was determined by the number of stories that had either candidate as the main subject of the story. That is the proportions of news stories providing significant coverage of each candidate or stories in which either candidate was the focus of more than half of the content.

5.2.1 Amount of coverage

The study examined the coverage of Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings from January to July 2011 in four newspapers — *Daily Graphic*, *Daily Guide*, *Ghanaian Times* and *Chronicle*— compared to Atta Mills. For this period a total number of 595 stories were identified. Out of this number, a total of 377 stories focused on Agyeman Rawlings' and Atta-Mills' candidacy and

therefore these were the only stories identified and coded for the study. Analysis of general coverage received by both candidates showed that Agyeman Rawlings garnered more coverage than Atta Mills. More than 50 percent of the total stories 202 out of 377 (53.6 %) were significantly on Agyeman Rawlings while 175 stories representing 46.4 percent focused on Atta Mills. Findings are presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Total amount of coverage

	Frequency	Percent
Agyeman Rawlings	202	52.5
Atta Mills	175	45.5
Total	377	100.0

$$X^2=1.934 \text{ df}=1 \text{ p}= 0.17$$

5.3 Quality of coverage

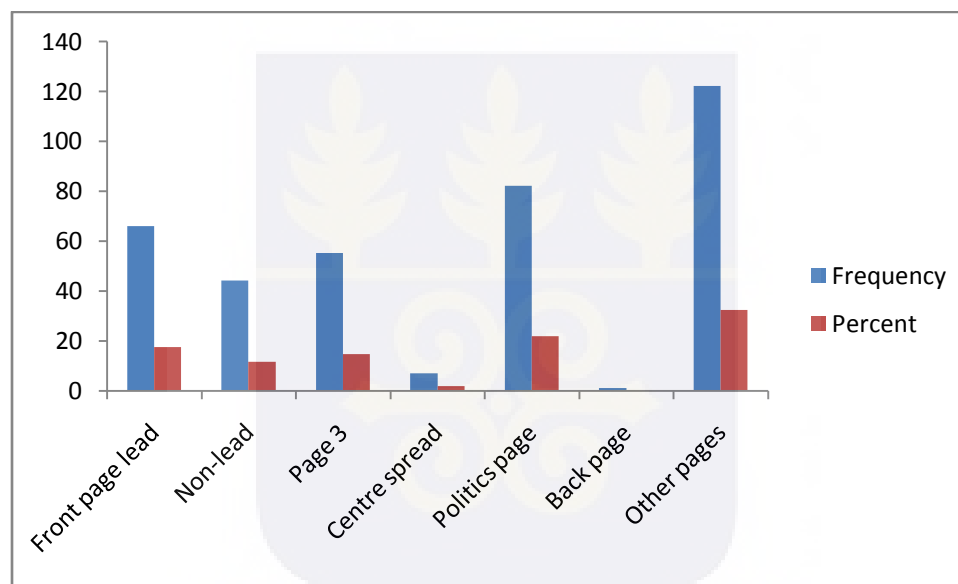
Quality of coverage referred to how newspapers treated both candidates in terms of story placement, candidate's headline mentions, story length, story focus, specific mention of issues, specific mention of traits and candidate's viability.

5.3.1 Placement of stories

The prominence editors and journalists attach to newspaper stories is analysed in terms placement of stories, headline size and use of visuals for stories. In terms of placement, it is widely argued that the page on which a story is placed largely determines the prominence given to it by news editors and the importance readers attach to the story. For example, stories placed on the front page of newspapers are considered more important than stories on other pages. Also

even stories on the front page that are not the lead stories of the newspapers are considered less important than the lead stories. It is therefore believed that editors will put stories they consider important on the front page, page three, centre spread and the back page while others they consider less important are placed in the inside pages. The study categorised story placement into front page lead, front page non-lead, page three, politics page, back page and other pages. Figure 1 illustrates the pages on which stories on both candidates were placed.

Figure 1: Placement of Stories



Given the notion that there is a correlation between the page on which a story is placed and the prominence attached to the story, it can be concluded that in general, newspapers attached much prominence to their stories, given that there were more than double (255 representing 66%) of stories placed on the important pages of the newspapers. There were 110 (26.3%) stories placed on the front page of newspapers as leads and non leads. The back page had one story (0.26%), page three had 55 (14.6 %) stories and the centre spread had seven stories (1.86%) whilst the politics page had 82 (21.8%) stories.

As indicated in Table 2, a little over 30 percent of stories (122 stories) on the primary race between Agyeman Rawlings and Atta Mills were placed in other pages of the newspapers. This made stories on important pages of the newspapers, the majority (66%).

Table 2: Placement of story by candidate

Placement of story	Name of Candidate		Total
	Agyeman Rawlings	Atta Mills	
Front page lead	41 (20.3%)	25 (14.3%)	66
Back page	1 (0.5%)	0 (0%)	1
Page 3	27 (13.3%)	28 (16%)	55
Centre spread	4 (2.0%)	3 (1.7%)	7
Politics page	49 (24.3%)	33 (18.9%)	82
Other pages	57 (28.2%)	65 (37.1%)	122
Front page non-lead	23 (11.4%)	21 (12%)	44
Total	202 (100%)	175 (100%)	377

Stories that were fully or significantly on one candidate were coded as a story about that particular candidate. For example if a story was fully on Agyeman Rawlings or she was the subject in more than half of the story, it was coded as a story about her. Thus, for placement of story by candidate, Table 2 above reveals that, both candidates had a considerable amount of their stories placed on the front page either as lead story or non-lead story. However, stories that

mentioned Agyeman Rawlings significantly was placed more frequently on the front page (31.7%) than stories that mentioned Atta Mills significantly (26.3%) There was one story for Agyeman Rawlings placed on the back page and none for Atta Mills. Although there were an appreciable number of stories placed on other pages for Agyeman Rawlings and Atta Mills (57 and 65 respectively), both candidates had more stories in important pages than the other pages. It is also evident from the table that Atta Mills had more stories on other pages (65 stories) than Agyeman Rawlings (57 stories) even though the latter had more stories overall; 202 stories compared to 175 stories for Atta Mills.

5.3.2 Appearance of candidates name in the headlines

The researcher examined the appearance of a candidate's name in the headlines of stories. A headline not only establishes the prominence of the candidate in the story that follows, but is also sometimes the only part of the article that is actually read. The name in the headline is also a good indication of the focus of attention of the story.

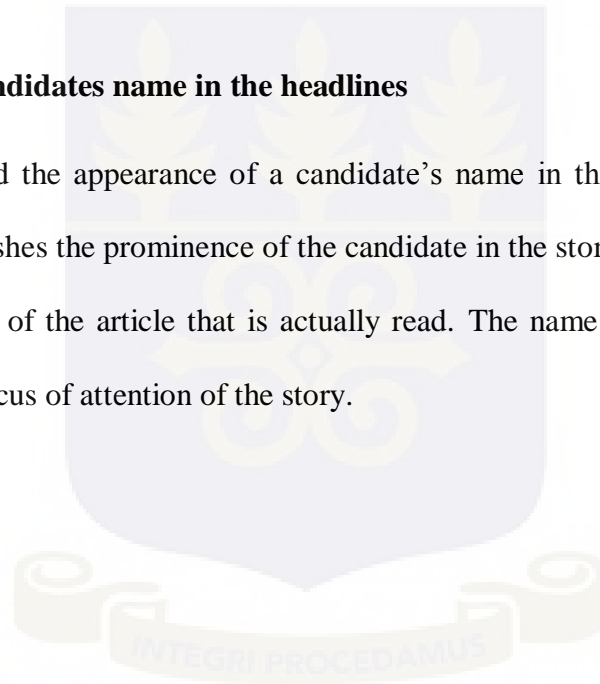


Table 3: Appearance of candidate's name in headlines

		Name of Candidate		Total
		Agyeman Rawlings	Atta Mills	
Appearance of candidate's name in headlines	Yes	153 75.7%	134 76.6%	287 76.1%
	No	49 24.3%	41 23.4%	90 23.9%
Total		202 100.0%	175 100.0%	377 100.0%

Table 3 shows that Atta Mills' name appeared in the headline of 76.6 percent of all stories while Agyeman Rawlings' name appeared in headlines almost in the same proportion though a little less at 75.7 percent.¹¹

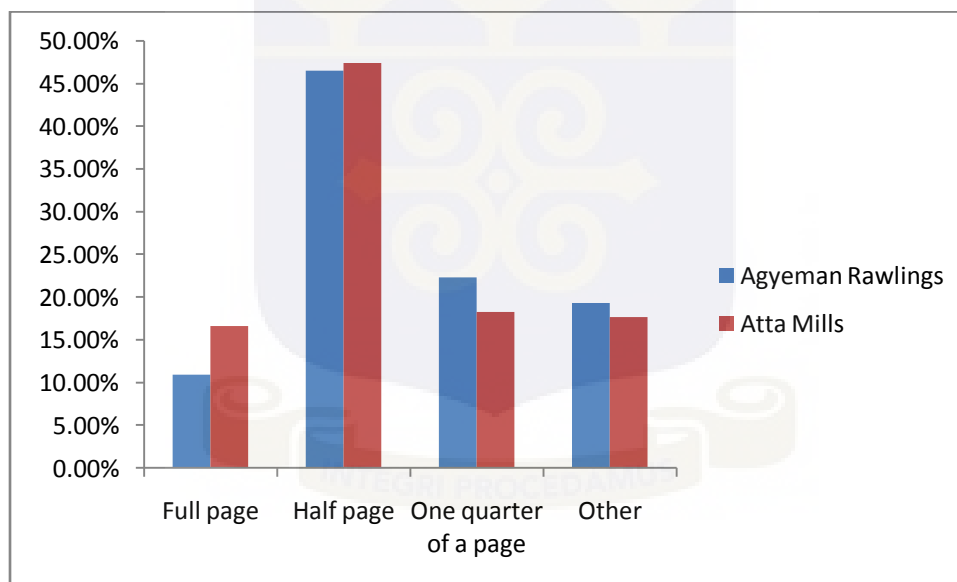
5.3.3 Length of story

The amount of space allotted to a story can suggest how important the story is and the prominence accorded to it. The study categorized the length of stories on Atta-Mills and Agyeman Rawlings into full page, half of a page, one quarter of a page and other.

¹¹ Most of the time, both candidates' name appeared separately in the headlines. In the few instances that both candidates' name appeared jointly, they were each coded for as 'yes'

Findings showed that almost half of all stories for both candidates were half-page stories. There was however a slight difference in favour of Atta Mills. This is because Atta Mills had 47.4 percent of stories placed on half pages as compared to 46.5 percent for Agyeman Rawlings placed on half pages. For full page stories, Agyeman Rawlings had 10.9 percent of stories while Atta Mills had 16.6 percent. On the other hand Agyemang Rawlings had more stories on one quarter of a page than Atta Mills. This is because a little over one out of five (22.3%) of stories on Agyeman Rawlings were placed on one quarter of a page while a little less than one out of five stories(18.3 percent) of stories were given one quarter space for Atta Mills. Figure 2 below illustrates the findings.

Figure 2: Length of Story



5.3.4 Focus of story

Another way in which gender differences might surface in candidate news coverage is the focus of the coverage that refers specifically to the candidate. The study categorized coverage of the

candidates within stories according to their primary focus – candidate traits or background, issues, horse race or other subjects. See Table 4 below:

Table 4: Focus of story

Focus of story	Name of Candidate		Total
	Agyeman Rawlings	Atta Mills	
Issues	134 66.3%	127 72.6%	261 69.2%
Traits	10 5.0%	8 4.6%	18 4.8%
Horse race	39 19.3%	35 20.0%	74 19.6%
Mixed	19 9.4%	5 2.9%	24 6.4%
Total	202 100.0%	175 100.0%	377 100.0%

$\chi^2 = 6.89$ $df = 3$ $p = 0.075$

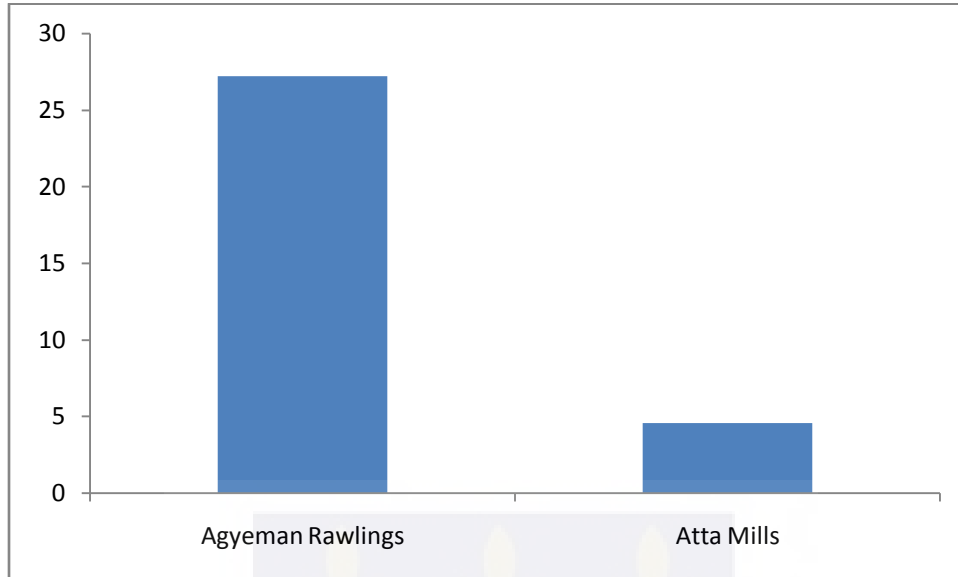
Majority of the stories were on issues (69%) rather than traits (4.8%) or horserace (19.6%). Stories that had a mixture of both issues and traits were 6.4 percent. Table 4 shows that in general, stories in the sample highlighted issues of both candidates. One out of every seven

stories highlighted Atta Mills' issues (72.6%) as compared to about one out of every six stories which highlighted Agyeman Rawlings' issues (66.3%). Few stories highlighted traits of both candidates. Only about five percent of stories highlighted traits of Agyeman Rawlings as compared to about 4.6 percent of stories that highlighted Atta Mills' traits. About 19 percent of stories on Agyeman Rawlings were horserace stories whilst 20 percent of stories were horserace for Atta Mills. A little over nine percent (9.4%) of stories were a mixture of traits, issues and horserace on Agyeman Rawlings whilst almost three percent of stories on Atta Mills were a mixture of all three categories.

5.3.5 Marital status/ spouse, Appearance, Personality, Personal Life and gender.

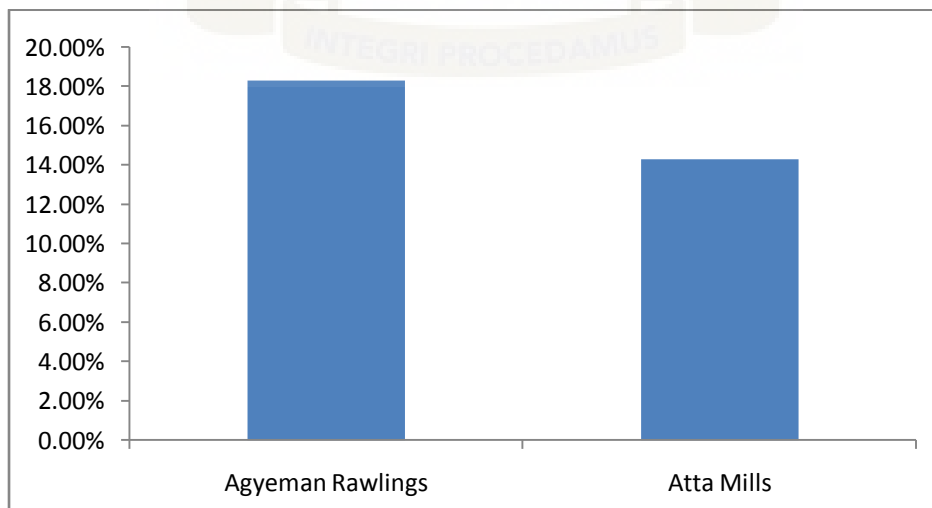
This category looked at specific mentions of candidate's spouse, appearance, personality, personal life and gender. A few stories mentioned the marital status of both candidates (31.8%). Out of the 31.8 percent that mentioned the marital status of candidates, 27.2 percent made reference to Agyeman Rawlings' marital status or spouse whilst only 4.6 percent made reference to Atta Mill's marital status or spouse. This means that a little over a quarter of stories in the sample mentioned Agyeman Rawlings' marital status and husband. However, this finding is to be expected given the fact that Agyeman Rawlings' spouse is a former president – and therefore his personal news attention capacity would partially account for this finding. Figure 3 illustrates this finding below:

Figure 3: Specific mention of candidate's marital status



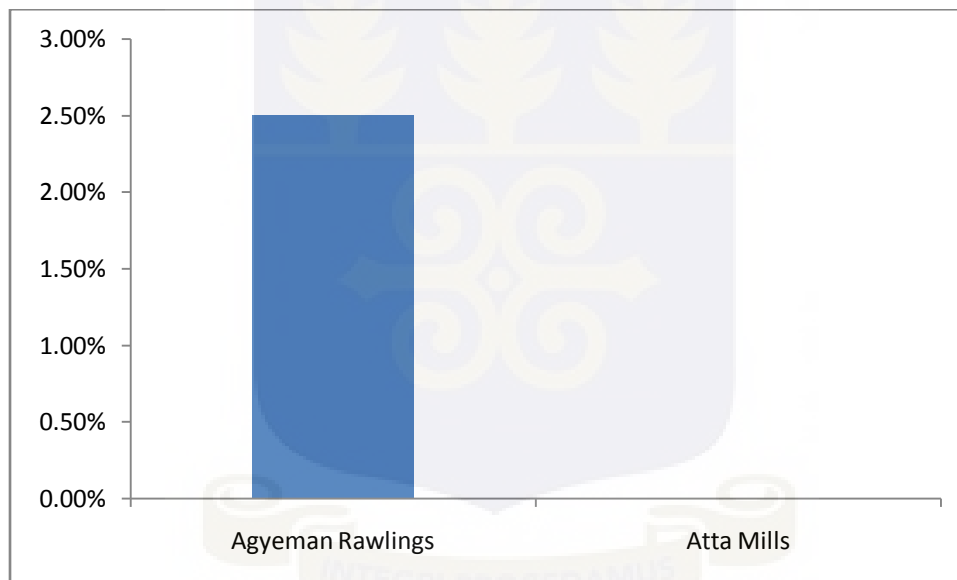
Newspapers also paid considerable attention to the personality of both candidates. About 32 percent (32.6%) of stories highlighted the personality or character trait of both candidates. Almost one out of five stories (18.3 percent) made reference to at least one character trait of Agyeman Rawlings. On the other hand, 14.3 percent of stories also made reference to Atta Mills' personality. See Figure 4 below:

Figure 4: Specific mention of candidate's character

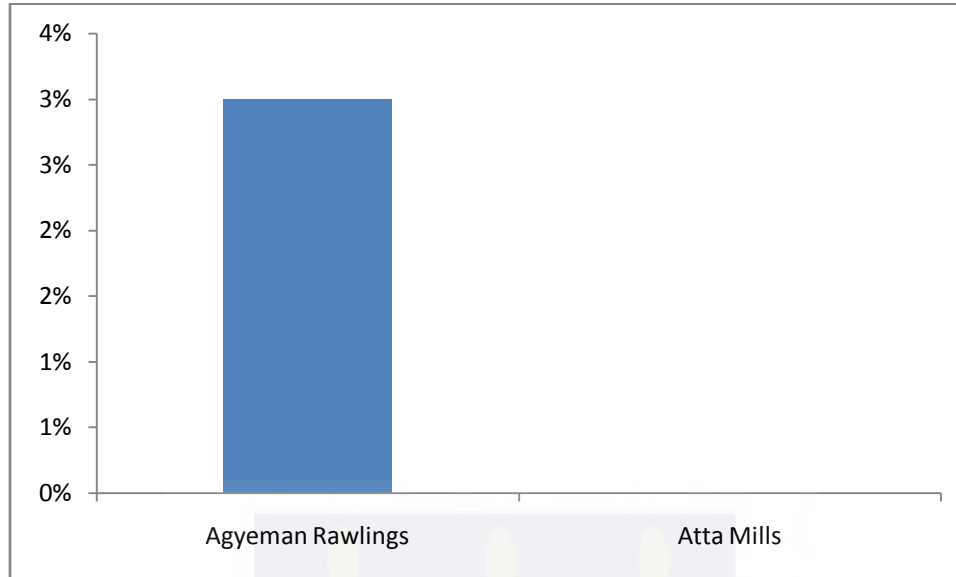


Political women often complain that the media focus too much on their physical appearance (Gill, 2003). Few stories dwelt on the physical appearance of both candidates. However, the few that did only mentioned it in relation to Agyeman Rawlings and not to Atta Mills. This is because only 2.5 percent of articles mentioned Agyeman Rawlings' physical appearance. On the other hand, there was no mention of Atta Mills' physical appearance in any of the stories in the sample. Figure 5 illustrates this finding

Figure 5: Specific mention of candidate's physical appearance



Again, a few stories mentioned the children of candidates (3%). The mention of candidate's children in news stories were however in relation to Agyeman Rawlings (3%) and not to Atta Mills. This is because, no story in the sample made reference to Atta-Mills' children. This is also a finding that can be linked to the fact that their parents long stay in office could have given them some visibility in the media while on the other hand, Atta Mills had a son who was not visible until his demise.(see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Specific mention of candidate's children

Majority of stories made references to gender (76.4%). However, every reference to gender in stories was on Agyeman Rawlings' gender. In fact three out of four stories made reference to Agyeman Rawlings' gender (76.4 %). On the other hand, no story made reference or mentioned Atta Mills' gender. The most commonly used reference was the word 'woman' (26.8 %). Almost all the time, it was preceded by the word 'first'. The other term that was used was 'female' (19.1%). Most of the time, these words were used to refer to the fact that she would be the first woman to win a bid for presidency should she emerge victorious over Atta Mills. However the word lady was used in 18.6 percent of these stories, and this time it was not preceded by first¹², but by the word 'iron'. This word was usually used to describe her unflinching nature. Also, six percent of stories used the word 'Mrs.' as a prefix while 5.9% used 'wife' to represent her gender. Figure 7 shows the percentage of stories that made reference to her gender and Figure 8 shows the type of gender indicator.

¹² Since Agyeman Rawlings is a former first lady, it was common to find the media refer to her as first lady.

Figure 7: Reference to gender

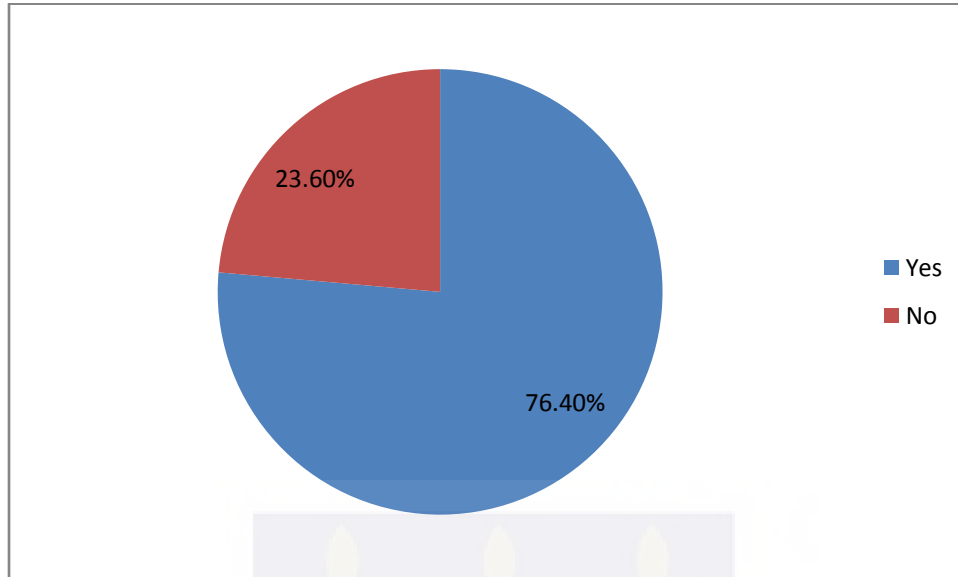
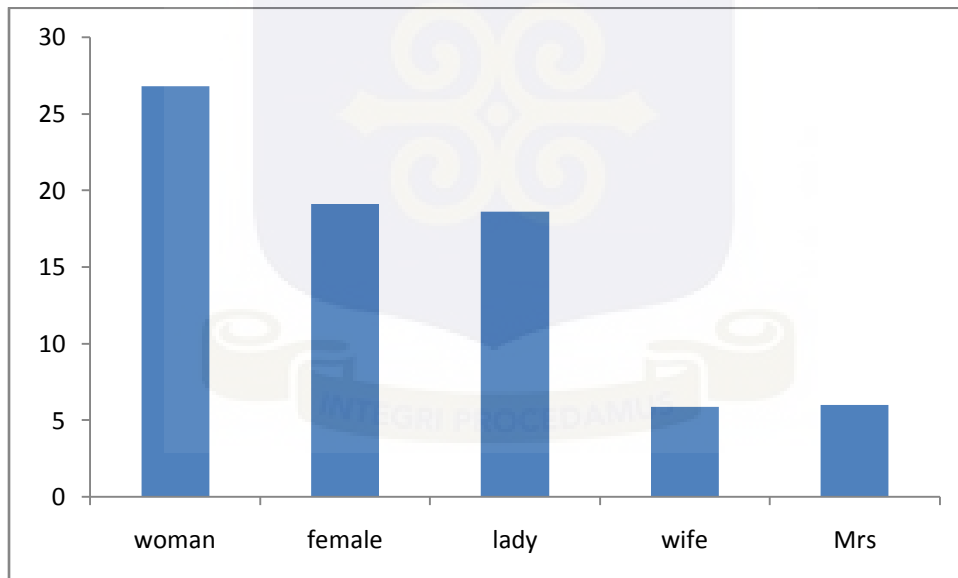


Figure 8: Type of Gender indicator

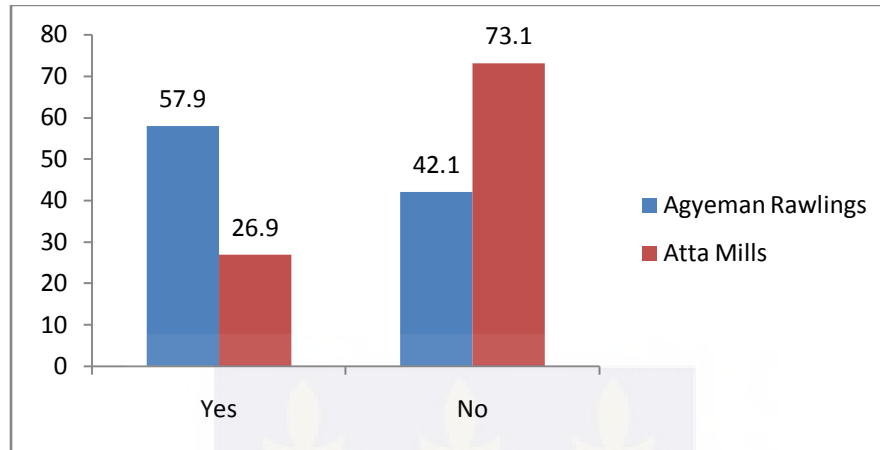


5.3.7 Candidate viability

Large proportions of the stories raised concerns about Agyeman Rawlings' viability as a presidential candidate. More than half of the stories (57 %) mentioned that Agyeman Rawlings was not a viable candidate and could not win the elections. On the contrary, two thirds of all

stories 73.1 percent presented Atta Mills as a viable candidate capable of standing and winning an election. See Figure 9

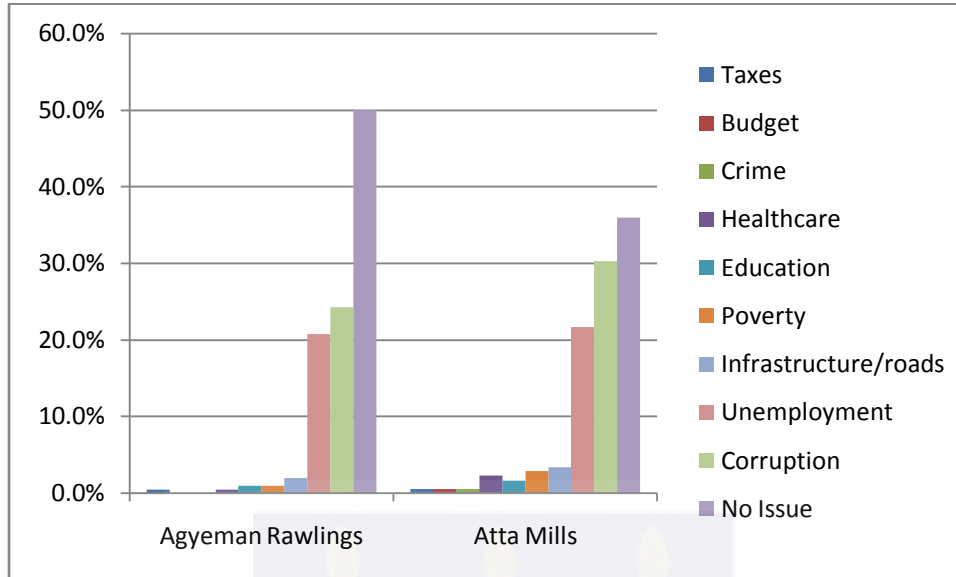
Figure 9: Viability



5.3.8 Specific mention of issues

A variety of issues were discussed for both candidates in stories; taxes, budget, crime, healthcare, education, poverty, infrastructure, unemployment and corruption. However, the most dominant issue discussed for both candidates were unemployment and corruption. This is evident from Figure 10. For Agyeman Rawlings, 24.3 percent of all stories mentioned unemployment and 20.8 percent mentioned corruption. These were issues that Agyeman Rawlings chose to speak about during her campaign. A similar pattern was found for Atta-Mills. The issues most frequently discussed in association with Atta-Mills were corruption (30.3 percent), followed by unemployment (21.7 percent). Half of the stories on Agyeman Rawlings discussed no issues 101 (50 percent).

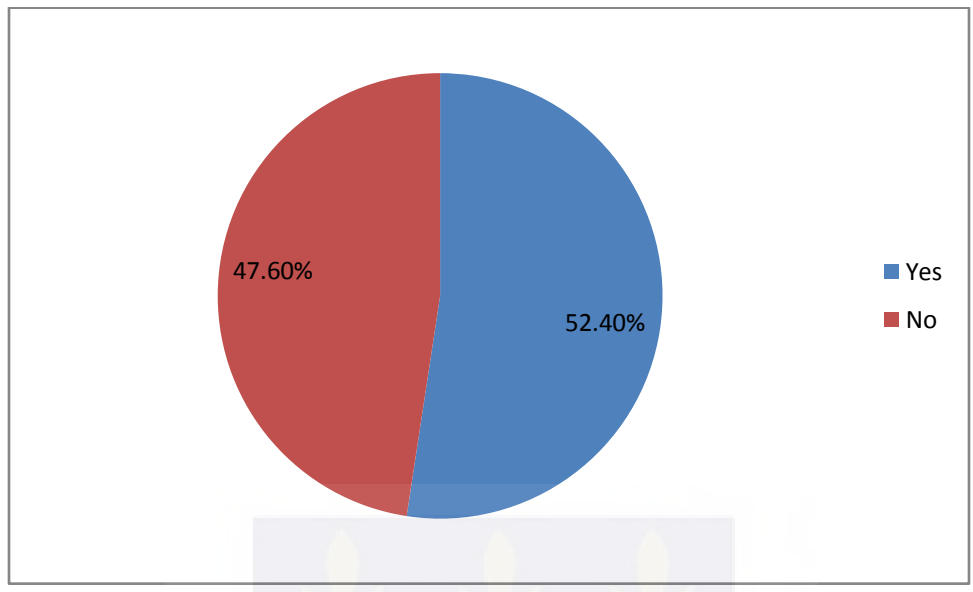
Figure 10: Type of issue



5.4 Novelty labeling/ First woman frame

As earlier discussed, the frequent use of the ‘first woman’ frame, even when it was used to describe the ground-breaking nature of Agyeman Rawling’s candidacy in a way reinforced the idea that Agyeman Rawlings was a novelty and an anomaly rather than a serious contender for the presidency. This analysis was arrived at using the Agyeman Rawlings specific data set, which extended data collection to the 31st of July, 2011. From this data set a total of 246 stories were identified. Out of this number, a total of 129 stories representing 52.4 percent of all stories employed the ‘first woman frame’ Figure 11 illustrates this finding

Figure 11: First woman frame



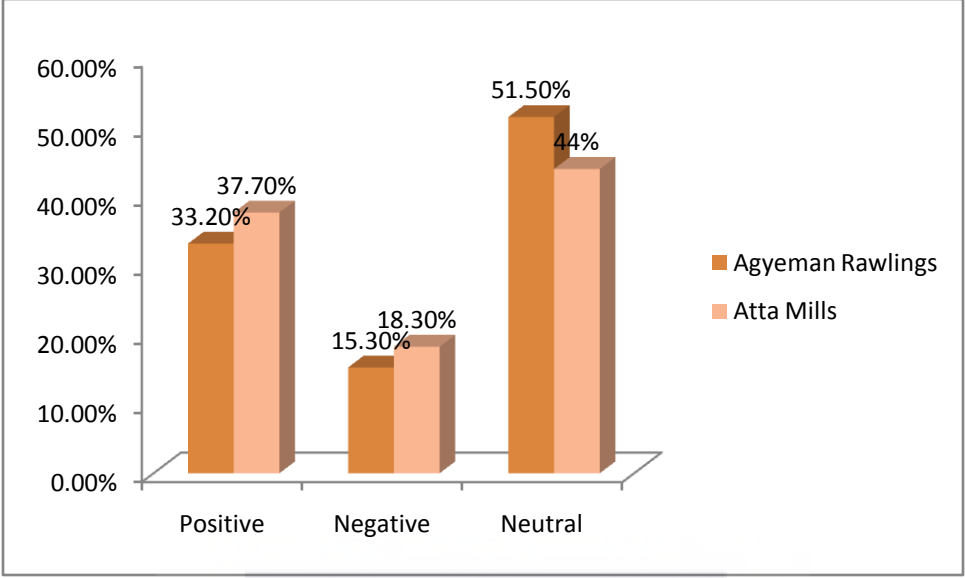
5.5 Tone

Tone was measured the tone of headlines and the general tone of stories.

5.5.1 Tone of headline

This study measured the tone of stories in two ways; the tone of candidate mentions in headlines and the general tone of stories that focused on either candidate. First, the study looked at the headline of each story that mentioned either candidate to see if it generally conveyed a negative, neutral, or positive image. A large proportion of stories that mentioned Agyeman Rawlings in the headlines was neutral in tone (51.5 %) followed by about 33 percent positive in tone with negative headlines only 15.3 percent. Tone of headlines for Atta Mills followed a similar pattern. The highest number of headlines that mentioned Atta Mills was neutral in tone (44%), followed by 37.7 percent positive headlines and 18.3 percent negative headlines (See Figure 12)

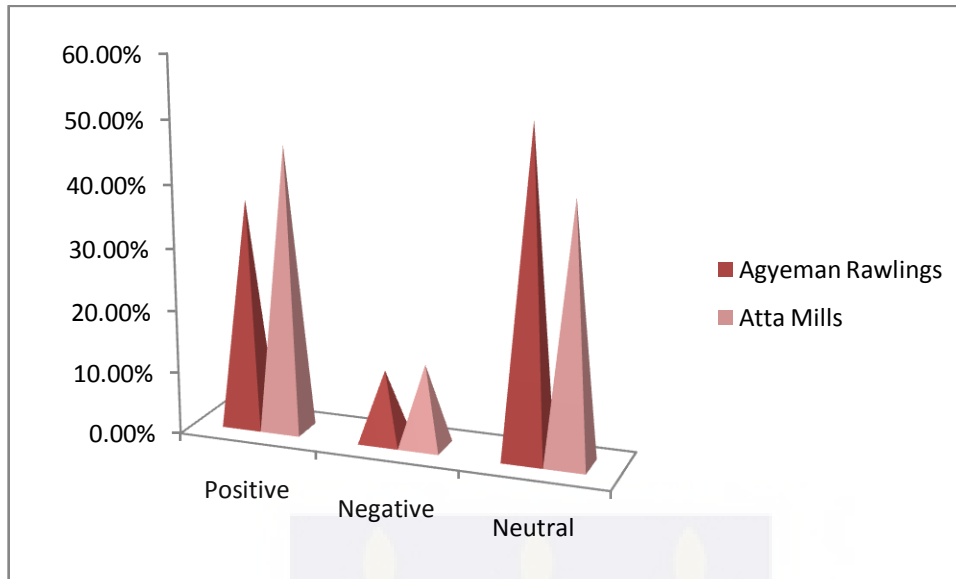
Figure 12: Tone of Headline



5.5.2 Tone of story

Aside from headline the study was also interested in the tone of the actual stories that focused significantly on either candidate. More than half of all stories on Agyeman Rawlings were neutral (52.0%). There were also a considerable amount of positive stories (36.6 percent) with only about 11.4 percent of stories neutral in tone.

However for tone of stories that focused on Atta Mills, majority were positive (45.7%), followed by neutral stories (41.1%) and negative stories (13.1%). Figure 13 illustrates this finding.

Figure 13: Tone of stories

5.6 Testing of hypotheses

Hypotheses are predictive statements made about the expected relationships among variables (Creswell, 2009) and they, according to Wimmer and Dominic (2011) are useful for eliminating trial and error in research. They are also beneficial in providing direction for a study in that they assist the researcher to focus on a specific area of study and further allow for quantification of variables. Hypothesis testing involves the use of statistical procedures in determining the likelihood that a given hypothesis is supported or not by the data collected (Creswell, 2009) as inferences are drawn about the population from a study sample to either accept or reject a null hypothesis. Given that this study is a quantitative content analysis, four research hypotheses were tested using the Chi-square test. The tests were conducted at a 0.05 level of significance. The results of the hypothesis testing are discussed below:

5.6.1 H₁: Agyeman Rawlings was likely to receive more overall coverage than her contender.

The first hypothesis H₁ suggested that Agyeman Rawlings was likely to receive more overall coverage than Atta Mills. The rationale for this hypothesis was derived from the assertion that when women vie for the presidency, they receive high coverage from the media (Heldman et al, 2005; Anderson et al, 2011; Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991). The null hypothesis that accompanied this assumption was: **H₀: Agyeman Rawlings was not likely to receive more overall coverage than Atta Mills.**

The data shown in Table 1 suggests that Agyeman Rawlings received more overall coverage than Atta Mills during her bid for presidency in 2011. She garnered 53.6 percent of stories as compared to 46.4 percent of stories on Atta Mills. From the table, it looked like Agyeman Rawlings received a significant amount of coverage more than Atta Mills. However, when the data was subjected to a statistical test, the chi-square test produced a Chi square value of 1.934, degrees of freedom of one and a probability value of 0.17. The probability value was greater than the level of significance of 0.05 set for the study, which meant an acceptance of the null hypothesis that, Agyeman Rawlings did not receive more overall coverage than Atta Mills during her bid for the presidency in 2011. The research hypothesis that Agyeman Rawlings is likely to receive more overall coverage than Atta Mills was therefore not supported by the data gathered.

5.6.2 H₂: Agyeman Rawlings was likely to receive less coverage on issues than Atta-Mills

The second hypothesis H₂, anticipated that Agyeman Rawlings was likely to receive less issues coverage than Atta Mills on the grounds that female presidential candidates often receive less issue coverage than males, but more coverage on appearance, personality, traits and family (Adey and Devitt, 2001; Heldman *et al.*, 2005). The null hypothesis that accompanied this

research assumption was: **H₀ Agyeman Rawlings was not likely to receive less issues coverage than Atta Mills.**

The data presented in Table 4 clearly shows that, although the differences in both candidates' issues coverage was not much, Agyeman Rawlings received less issues coverage than Atta Mills. 66.3 percent of her coverage focused on issues while 72.6 percent of Atta Mills' coverage focused on issues. When the data was subjected to a statistical test, the chi-square test produced a chi square value of 6.89, degrees of freedom of three and a probability of 0.075. The level of significance was greater than 0.05 set for the study. This meant an acceptance of the null hypothesis, meaning any difference occurred simple by chance since the difference was not statistically significant. The research hypothesis that Agyeman Rawlings was likely to receive less issues coverage than Atta Mills was therefore not supported by the data gathered.

5.6.3 H₃:Agyeman Rawlings was likely to receive more traits coverage than Atta-Mills

The third hypothesis (H₃) anticipated that Agyeman Rawlings was likely to receive more trait coverage than Atta-Mills. The rationale for this hypothesis was that the media focuses more on the personality traits of female presidential candidates than their male counterparts (Heldman *et al*, 2005; Adey and Devitt, 2001). The null hypothesis that accompanied this assumption was:

H₀: Agyeman Rawlings was not likely to receive more trait coverage than Atta Mills.

The data presented in Table 4 shows that Agyemang Rawlings received slightly more trait coverage than Atta Mills (5% trait coverage as compared to Atta-Mills 4.6%). When the data was subjected to a statistical test, the chi-square test produced a chi-square value of 6.89, degrees of freedom of three and a probability of 0.075. The level of significance was greater than the

0.05 set for the study, which meant an acceptance of the null hypothesis. The research hypothesis that Agyeman Rawlings was likely to receive more trait coverage than Atta Mills was therefore not supported by the data gathered.

5.6.4 H₄: Stories on Agyeman Rawlings were likely to be negative in terms of tone as compared to Atta-Mills

The fourth hypothesis H₄ assumed that stories on Agyeman Rawlings were likely to be more negative as compared to Atta Mills. The rationale for this hypothesis stemmed from the fact that research by Heldman *et al.* (2005) and Anderson *et al.*, (2011) showed that women presidential candidates often receive increased amount of coverage albeit negative as compared to their male contenders. The null hypothesis that accompanied this assumption was:

H₀: Stories on Agyeman Rawlings were not likely to be more negative than Atta Mills.

Figure 13 shows that, with a slight difference, Agyeman Rawlings received less negative coverage than Atta Mills with 11.4 percent as compared to Atta Mills 13.1 percent. When the data was subjected to a statistical test, it produced a chi square value of 4.476, degrees of freedom of two and a level of significance of 0.10. The level of significance was greater than the level of significance set for this study which was 0.5 hence an acceptance of the null hypothesis that Agyeman Rawlings was not likely to receive more negative coverage than Atta-Mills. Thus, the hypothesis that Agyeman Rawlings was likely to receive more negative coverage in terms of tone than Atta Mills was not supported by the data gathered.

Summary

This chapter presented the findings of the study. Findings were from both data sets: the dual candidate data set and the Agyeman Rawlings specific data set. The study also tested the hypothesis set at the beginning of the study using the chi square test.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the research presented in the previous chapter based on the objectives of the study. The overarching objective of the study was to explore how Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings was covered by the media as a presidential candidate and to determine whether, as indicated in literature elsewhere, there were similarities or differences in coverage as compared to Atta Mills. To make the findings meaningful, the chapter discusses, draws inferences and relates the findings to other studies on coverage of female presidential candidates and nature of coverage of females in other political races.

6.2 Quantity of coverage

The first objective of the study was to explore the quantity of coverage given to Agyeman Rawlings as compared to Atta Mills. This was measured by the proportions of news stories mentioning each candidate. Findings showed that Agyeman Rawlings was mentioned in 53.6 percent of the stories examined while Atta Mills was mentioned in 46.4 percent of all stories examined. In comparison, although Agyeman Rawlings was mentioned more than Atta Mills in all the stories examined, it was not statistically significant which meant any differences in coverage may have occurred by chance. This finding is in contrast with Heldman *et al.* (2005) who studied how the media covered Elizabeth Dole's bid for president in the United States. In this study, the authors found that Dole received overall significantly less coverage in comparison to Bush and McCain although she was the second most favourable candidate in the race out of the five contenders.

This finding also contradicts findings from Anderson *et al* (2011) who found in their study of media coverage of Sirleaf-Johnson as a presidential candidate that she received more coverage than Weah when she contested the presidency.

Based on the findings, it can be concluded that, contrary to claims (Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991, Heldman *et al.* 2005; Anderson *et al.* 2011) that when women vie for the presidency they receive more coverage than their male counterparts, Agyeman Rawlings received an almost equal amount of coverage with Atta Mills.

6.3 Quality of coverage

The second objective of the study was to explore the quality of coverage that Agyeman Rawlings received as compared to Atta Mills. This was measured on eight levels — candidate's headline mentions, length of story, placement of stories, focus of stories, mentions of candidate's specific traits, mentions of specific issues and candidate's viability.

The researcher examined the appearance of a candidate's name in the headlines of news stories. Findings from the study showed that although Atta Mills received more mentions in headlines than Agyeman Rawlings, it was not statistically significant ($p>0.05$). It was therefore evident that Agyeman Rawlings received almost an equal amount of headline mentions with Atta Mills. Agyeman Rawlings received almost the same amount of space in coverage as Atta Mills. There were no significant differences in stories that were given more space than others for both candidates.

The study analysed the placement of stories as another measure of quality of coverage. That is, proportion of stories appearing on the front page as leads or non-leads for both candidates. In

terms of placement of stories, the media placed prominence on Agyeman Rawlings' candidacy than Atta Mills.

Contrary to liberal feminists view that women political candidates receive insufficient representation in the news, findings from the study showed that Agyeman Rawlings received as much representation from the media as her male contender.

One major area in which gender differences usually surface in political news coverage is the focus of the coverage that refers specifically to the candidate. These are candidate traits or background, issues, horse race, or other subjects. Researchers argue that, it is difficult to say with certainty whether it is better for a candidate to appear in an article about issues, the horse race, candidates' backgrounds, or some other topic, but in most cases, stories focusing on issues are particularly beneficial to a candidate because they present her or him as substantive and serious contender (Heldman *et al.*, 2005). Findings from the study showed that stories on Atta-Mills mainly focused on issues. This was closely followed by stories that focused exclusively on horserace, then by traits or background coverage. This pattern of coverage was expected for Atta Mills as it is already established that the media usually focus on issues more when it comes to reporting on male candidates and traits the least. The surprising one was stories on Agyeman Rawlings because it was expected that coverage on her would focus mainly on her traits. Her coverage however followed a similar pattern as that of Atta Mills. Majority of Agyeman Rawlings' coverage focused on issues, followed by horse race and then a meager percentage on traits. This means that contrary to studies on women political candidates (Hooghe *et al.*, 2015; Heldman *et al.*, 2005; Kahn and Goldenburg, 1991; Adey and Devitt, 2001) that state that women receive more traits coverage than issues coverage, findings from the study refuted that assertion. However, the study found that there was a focus on personal attributes such as marital status, children and gender when it came to Rawlings but virtually not in the case of Mills.

Some previous research on women presidential candidates has shown that certain issues are described as feminine issues while others are described as masculine issues. (Meeks, 2011). Previous researchers have found that women are usually ascribed feminine issues while men are ascribed masculine issues which make them appear as more serious contenders. This study however found that the issue most frequently discussed in association with Agyeman Rawlings was corruption 24.3 percent, followed by unemployment 20.8 percent. Coverage on Atta Mills followed a similar pattern, though slightly higher; corruption 30.3 percent and unemployment 21.7 percent.

This finding is in contrast with Meeks (2011) who found in their study that Elizabeth Dole and Hillary Clinton were ascribed female political issues such as education, healthcare, poverty, and environment whilst male competitors were ascribed male political issues such as taxes, budget, crime and defense.

It can therefore be concluded that the segregation of issues was not applicable to this study as both candidates were covered on the same issues.

Despite the similarity between Agyeman Rawlings and Atta Mills in terms of the focus of stories, important differences were found in the content of their respective traits and horse race coverage. Agyeman Rawlings' horse-race coverage typically described her as a losing candidate with little chance of winning the primaries, whereas Atta Mills was almost always described as the inevitable winner. Below is an extract from a column that was published on Agyeman Rawlings in the *Daily Graphic* on 5th July, 2011

I see Nana Konadu losing heavily to President Mills... In spite of all that might be said for bold female leadership, Ghanaians are simply not ready for a lady president. When the chips are down, all the women are going to vote for the male candidate as they always do in elections (Frazier, 2011).

Similarly, with traits coverage, almost all the articles that mentioned traits of Atta Mills, focused on the positives. In fact, they all mentioned his humility as a good trait that endorsed him as the candidate of choice. For example:

Be that as it may it is believed that there are many good qualities of Atta Mills and his government; his personal disposition of being cool, calm and collected in the face of provocations. His infectious smile and enthusiasm as well as the high sense of humility and reverence and endearing to the people hence the accolade ‘asomdwoehene’ literally meaning ‘a man of peace’ (Anyima-Ackah, 2011)

While on the other hand, all stories that mentioned traits of Agyeman Rawlings were mainly on her character as unflinching as a woman who supported her husband in the ‘atrocities’ he committed as a military ruler. These obviously may have contributed in her losing the elections.

Below is an extract from stories that appeared in the newspapers:

On the opposite side stands a woman described by many in Ghanaian politics as the iron lady– Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings. Her presidential ambition has provoked a controversy with supporters acclaiming a breakthrough for women while her critics are concerned about the prospects of an emerging political dynasty (2011, July 4).

As already discussed in the literature review section of this study, the media often gives too much attention to the physical appearance, personality, and private lives of female presidential candidates and too little to the issues they present on the campaign platform.

A significant number of stories made reference to Jerry John Rawlings as Agyeman Rawlings’ husband. Whilst some of the stories made allusions to a certain kind of monarchy in the presidency, others alluded that Jerry Rawlings was very critical of the then government because he wanted to push his wife into the presidency so he could control affairs of the state through her. This may have hindered Agyeman Rawlings’ candidature in the sense that it may have

portrayed her as a woman who could not make decisions for herself and was being pushed into the presidency by her husband and at the same time being controlled by him. Below is an example that appeared in a column in the *Daily Graphic*.

Another reason why Nana Konadu's candidacy would not fly is that we see a dynasty in the making. Who could not interpret the body languages of mother, daughters and the husband on the fateful Wednesday when they chose to reduce Ghana politics to a type of bullying we used to endure as poor children (Frazier, 2011).

Others also portrayed her as a woman who was blackmailing her husband to support her candidacy with his past 'misdeeds' as a political leader. Below is an extract from a feature that was published in the *Daily Graphic*.

Women are very emotional and sentimental and can at times hold their husband's at ransom to support their cause irrespective of their husbands' viewpoints. Nana Konadu knows almost every affair the husband undertook when he managed the activities of the country for almost 20 years and wields that as bargaining power against former president Rawlings (Tsen, 2011).

Agyeman Rawlings's private life situation is however not unusual in that she is married to a colourful former president of the country. It was also noted that sometimes in their reportage, the media portrayed her as stooge that the former president was using to stage a comeback at the presidency. At other times she was portrayed as strong willed and unflinching. These contradictory portrayals of her could have however been adequately interpreted had the research being a mixed study. A qualitative approach had been able to bring to the fore why these two descriptions existed for the same person. That said, the repeated references to Jerry John Rawlings in article after article may have subtly undermined her independent stature as a presidential candidate in the minds of voters.

On physical appearance, most reporters did not give much attention to that but the few that did were often negative. The literature on women political candidates notes the media's tendency to focus on physical appearance, while this may not have been the dominant framing on Agyeman Rawlings, it was nonetheless there. For example:

Dressed in a traditional kaba with its matching head gear, the flagbearer aspirant went straight into the party's conference room where she was quizzed for almost two hours. The session was held behind closed doors (2011, June 8).

She had a well powdered face with red lipstick and blue eye shadow to match. In some of the photos she looked like a professional working woman, dressed in a designer suit and trousers while she appeared in other photos smartly dressed in traditional 'kaba and slit' the epitome of an educated African woman (Ansah-Addo, 2011).

Just as predicted based on literature on coverage of women presidential candidates as compared to their male counterparts, no story in the data gathered made mention of Atta Mills' physical appearance.

Only about three percent of stories mentioned Agyeman Rawlings' children. They were however not negative. On the other hand, no story on Atta Mills mentioned his children.

Reporters had the opportunity from which angle to choose in presenting Agyeman Rawlings' candidacy in terms of gender. They could also have totally ignored the fact that she is a woman and talk about her just as they would talk about a male contender. They could also have mentioned her gender in passing, or use it as a frame in describing her candidacy.

However, newspapers chose to comment on Agyeman Rawlings's gender; albeit positive since it was in a cultural context that reveres motherhood. For example:

He said Mrs. Rawlings will also use her motherly love to bring together all persons who due to certain unfortunate developments had resigned from the NDC (Dapatem, 2011)

On the other hand, none of the stories made reference to Agyeman Rawlings' gender.

A large proportion of the stories raised concerns about Agyeman Rawlings's viability as a presidential candidate. Almost half of all stories portrayed her as a non-viable candidate. On the other hand, about three out of four stories of stories presented Atta Mills as a viable candidate capable of winning the election.

6.4 First woman frame

The third objective of this study was to find out the extent to which the media employed the 'first woman' frame on stories on Agyeman Rawlings in the Agyeman Rawlings specific data set.

Findings showed that the media employed the 'first woman' frame to a large extent in writing about Agyeman Rawlings's candidacy. Agyeman Rawlings was repeatedly described, for example, as

...becoming the first female president come the 2012 general elections (Asmah, 2011)

But the soul mate of the founder of the NDC Nana Konadu has decided to torpedo that convention as she pits her strength against President Mills as the first female to contest the elections (Bokpe, 2011)

As mentioned earlier, the frequent use of the 'first woman' frame, even though it was often used as a label to present Agyeman Rawlings as a pioneer in the race, reinforced the idea that

Agyeman Rawlings was a novelty and an anomaly rather than a serious contender for the presidency, and likely diminished her ability to win the race.

This finding is consistent with Heldman *et al* (2005) who found out in their study of Elizabeth Dole's presidential bid that the media used the first woman frame to a large extent, which subsequently undermined her candidacy

The findings of this study are also consistent with Scharer (2010) who studied how the media covered Hillary Clinton as a senator and found that the media used the 'first woman' frame to a large extent to describe the ground breaking nature of her candidacy.

Other gendered frames identified were in reference to Agyeman Rawlings' personality. For example, she was often framed with such words as 'strong willed' and 'iron lady'

On the opposite side stands a woman described by many in Ghanaian politics as the iron lady– Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings. Her presidential ambition has provoked a controversy with supporters acclaiming a breakthrough for women while her critics are concerned about the prospects of an emerging political dynasty (Bokpe, 2011).

The few stories that mentioned Atta Mills' personality usually mentioned him as a humble candidate who deserved a second chance at the presidency. This finding reinforces liberal feminist's assertion that sex role stereotypes and prescriptions of sex appropriate behaviour are means through which the media perpetuate unfavourable portrayals of women. This is evident in that, the media reinforced gender inequalities by constantly projecting this character of Agyeman Rawlings, whilst Atta Mills was being portrayed as special. This is because men in power are expected to exude their power while women are expected to be humble.

6.5 Tone of Coverage

The fourth objective was to explore the tone of coverage for both Agyeman Rawlings and Atta Mills.

This study measured tone in two ways. First, by looking at the headline of each story to see if it generally conveyed a negative, neutral, or positive image of Agyeman Rawlings and Atta Mills. The second measure of tone looked at the entire story and tried to detect and code whether it was positive, negative or neutral. Findings on tone show that Atta Mills received more positive headlines than neutral ones and also more positive stories than neutral ones as compared to Agyeman Rawlings.

The tone of stories was very obvious in columns and features than in straight news stories because these were supposed to be written in a neutral way. However, the presence of certain adjectives made it easy to detect the tone of story in straight news stories.

On the positive side, Agyeman Rawlings was described multiple times, for example, as ‘bold’ ‘poised’, ‘experienced’ ‘daring’. On the negative side, she was described multiple times, for example, as ‘vitriolic’ ‘iron’ ‘controlled’, ‘tough’, ‘bravado’, ‘snub’ ‘steel’.

The findings on tone suggests that Agyeman Rawlings and her candidacy were presented in a clearly neutral manner, with more than half of all stories on her being neutral and also with a considerable amount of positive stories. In addition to this, the largest proportion of the headlines about Agyeman Rawlings was neutral, with quite a number of headlines positive in terms of tone.

Thus with the overall tone of the article, Agyeman Rawlings was described with positive adjectives more often than she was described with negative ones. However, the proportion of negative adjectives was quite high.

In reading through the news stories, two predominant images of Agyeman Rawlings emerged. One was the positive image of a bold and daring person that was also a pacesetter while the other was the more negative image of the snub, the woman who was being controlled by her husband to push his political agenda and the woman who wanted to create a political dynasty out of the presidency.

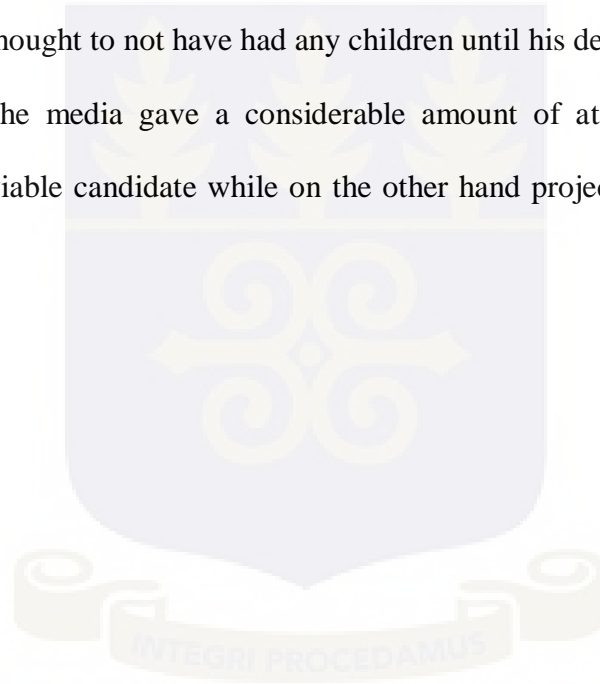
Findings on tone from this study contradict findings from other studies on women political candidates. This is because most studies showed that female political candidates receive negative coverage from the media. Empirical evidence from the study however showed that Agyeman Rawlings candidacy was presented in a clearly neutral manner.

Thus in general, findings of this study showed that Agyeman Rawlings received roughly equal coverage in terms of quantity and tone but not quality.

Summary

This chapter discussed the findings of the study by drawing examples from the data gathered as well as linking findings to findings from other studies. In general findings showed that Agyeman Rawlings received an almost equal amount of coverage with Atta Mills in terms of quantity. The media also presented her candidacy in a clearly neutral manner. In terms of quality of coverage,

although there were hardly statistically significant differences between her coverage and that of Atta Mills quantitatively, however on the surface, there were perceptible differences particularly when it came to description of personal attributes such as marital status, gender, children, and appearance. With regards to marital status and mention of children however, it must be considered that Agyeman Rawlings' spouse was a colourful former president and therefore, his news attention capacity may have influenced the way and manner in which the media made mentions of him in their reportage of his wife. Also the mentions of Agyeman Rawlings' children could also be linked to their parents long stay in office which may the not be the case for Atta Mills who was thought to not have had any children until his demise in 2012. In addition to these, the fact that the media gave a considerable amount of attention to her traits and presented her as a non-viable candidate while on the other hand projected her contender as the probable victor.



CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This study, premised on the liberal feminist theory and the framing theory, sought to carry out a content analysis of coverage of Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings as a presidential candidate in 2011 in the *Daily Graphic*, the *Daily Guide*, the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Chronicle*, four leading Ghanaian newspapers. The objectives of this research was to determine whether as indicated in literature elsewhere the media cover women's bid for the highest office of the land in a gender biased manner. The study therefore looked at issues of quantity as indicated by the overall amount of coverage; quality as indicated by the general manner of coverage and tone as indicated by the headlines and the entire story for Agyeman Rawlings and Atta Mills. The study also sought to establish whether the media employed the 'first woman' frame in coverage of Agyemang Rawlings. This chapter sums up the findings and discussions in the previous two chapters, limitations of the study and proposes recommendations for future research.

7.2 Summary of main findings

Findings from this study showed that in terms of quantity of coverage, Agyeman Rawlings received an almost equal amount of coverage to Atta Mills with slight differences that favored her. Thus, liberal feminists claim that political women are under-represented in the media does not hold true in this case. In terms of tone also, the media presented Agyeman Rawlings in a neutral manner although a considerable number of stories were negative.

The study however showed that the media gave a considerable amount of attention to her traits and presented her as a non-viable candidate while on the other hand projecting her contender as the probable victor. The study therefore found that in general, the newspapers gave Agyeman

Rawlings a fair amount of coverage although they focused on some personality traits. Also stories on Agyeman Rawlings were generally neutral in terms of tone.

Also, findings from the study showed that the media constantly framed her as the ‘first woman’ to have made a serious bid for the presidency in the country. This finding lent credence to findings from studies on women who made a ground breaking appearance into their various fields of politics. Other gendered frames that existed were ‘iron lady’ and ‘strong willed’ which have also been identified from other contexts. Though on the surface this may appear to just have described the nature of her candidacy, research shows that such gendered news frames usually present women as anomalies in the field of politics rather than serious contenders that can contest and win elections.

Thus, contrary to what literature on women political candidates predicted, the main hypotheses — that Agyeman Rawlings will receive more coverage, that the media will focus on traits and that tone of stories will be negative — did not hold true in this case. Thus it is noted that in terms of framing, this study found that some aspects of coverage on women political candidates may be cultural specific.

7.3 Limitations of the study

One limitation of this study stems from the number of newspapers used for the study. According to the National Media Commission, there are currently 1800 newspapers registered in Ghana, although some do not come out with any regularity. Due to budget constraints and accessibility of newspapers, the researcher was able to content analyse only four newspapers: two publicly

owned and two privately owned. Although this presents a fair representation for both categories of newspapers, there are still a large number of newspapers that can be studied.

Also, given the fact that in Ghana, only one woman has made a serious bid for the presidency, the research is limited in the sense that this is in essence, a case study of Agyeman Rawlings as a presidential candidate in 2011. Findings may not be generalised because of her peculiar position in the political history of the country as first a visible and active first lady who was already in the limelight for at least 30years before she made her bid. Her relationship with the media on account of her long presence in politics could have influenced the way the media covered her. An ideal research model would have allowed comparison of gender differences in media coverage in many elections and involving different female presidential candidates with different backgrounds. Perhaps such research will be possible in the future as more women run for presidency in the country.

The research employed a quantitative content analyses approach. This only provided a description of the content of the newspaper coverage. The latent content analysed could not be determined as it was quantitative (manifest) rather than (latent). A qualitative approach could have illuminated latent content. For example, in-depth interviews could have helped explained what the quantitative analysis revealed, however; again budget constraints and time lines for this study could not make that possible.

7.4 Recommendations for future studies

Based on the findings and discussions from this study, the following suggestions are made for future research.

1. This study used four newspapers to establish media bias in the reportage of a female presidential candidate by putting all the newspapers under one umbrella to represent the media. Future research can expand the scope of study to incorporate more newspapers and also segregate the newspapers into publicly owned and privately owned to ascertain whether newspaper ownership has an impact on newspaper coverage of female presidential candidates.
2. Future research can also use other media, particularly radio as this is the most dominant way in which people get news and information in Ghana
3. In collecting data for this study, the researcher found out that a lot of cartoons were used to describe Agyeman Rawlings and her candidacy in all the newspapers studied. A study that includes visual depictions of female candidates will be interesting to ascertain how the media presented her in that format.
4. Also, a qualitative aspect of this study will allow a researcher to ascertain the main patterns of coverage without necessarily using pre-defined frames.

Summary

This chapter concluded the study by giving a summary of the main findings, expressing the limitations and providing recommendations for future research.

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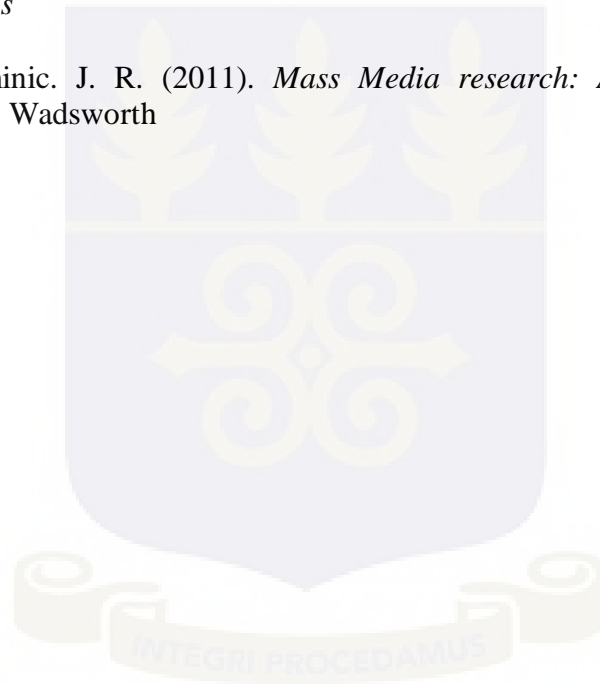
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APPENDIX A

CODING GUIDE

Q1 Name of Newspaper

1. Daily Graphic
2. Daily Guide
3. Ghanaian Times
4. Chronicle

Q2 Name of candidate

1. Agyeman Rawlings
2. Atta Mills

Q3 Placement of story

1. Front page
2. Back page
3. Page 3
4. Center spread
5. Politics page (12 and 13)
6. Other pages

Q4 length of story

1. Full page
2. Half page
3. One quarter of a page
4. Other

Q5 Appearance of candidates name in the headlines

1. Yes



2. No

Q6 Tone of headline

1. Positive
2. Negative
3. Neutral

Q7 Focus of story

1. Issues
2. Traits
3. Horse race
4. Other

Q8 Tone of story

1. Positive
2. Negative
3. Neutral

Q9 Type of issue

1. Taxes
2. Budget
3. Crime
4. Defense
5. Healthcare
6. Education
7. Poverty
8. Environment
9. Unemployment



10. Corruption

Q10 Type of Trait

- A. Specific mention of candidate's marital status/ spouse 1. Yes 2. No
- B. Specific mention of candidate's personal appearance 1. Yes 2. No
- C. Specific mention of candidate's children 1. Yes 2. No
- D. Specific mention of candidate's character
- E. Specific mention of candidates gender

Q11. Type of gender indicator

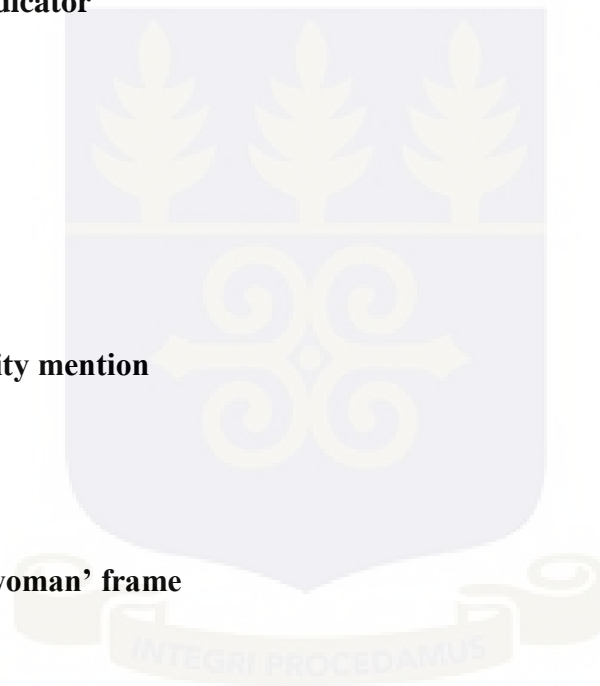
- 1. Mrs.
- 2. Woman
- 3. Female
- 4. Lady

Q12 Candidate's viability mention

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

Q13 Presence of 'first woman' frame

- 1. Yes
- 2. No



APPENDIX C

GUIDELINES FOR KAPPA INTER-CODER RELIABILITY TEST

1. Open the file KAPPA.SAV. Enter data from independent coders.
2. Specify on SPSS that the *Count* variable is a ‘weighted’ variable before conducting the analysis on the summarized data.
3. Select Data/Weight Cases...and select the ‘weight cases’ option with *Count* as the frequency variable.
4. Select Analyse, then Descriptive Statistics, the\n Crosstabs
5. Select Coder ‘A’ as Row and Coder ‘B’ as column
6. Click on the Statistics button, select ‘Kappa’ and then ‘Continue’
7. Click OK to display the results for the Kappa inter-coder reliability.

