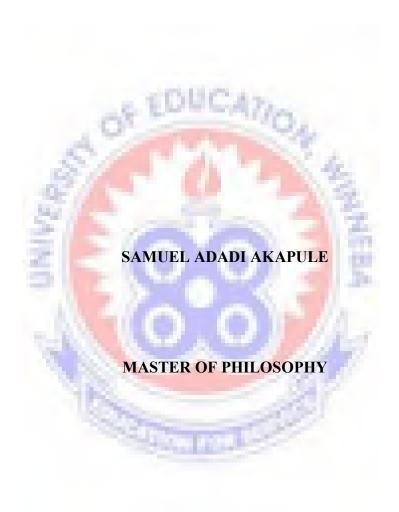
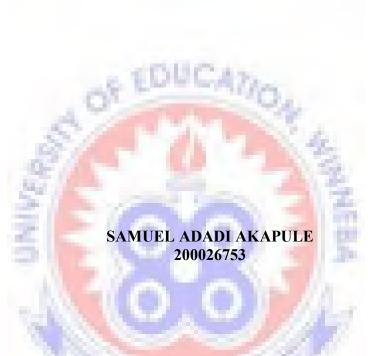
UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

MEDIA COVERAGE OF FEMALE PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES IN GHANA: CASE STUDY OF THE DAILY GRAPHIC AND THE GHANAIAN TIMES NEWSPAPERS (JULY 2016 –DECEMBER, 2016)



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A thesis in the Department of Communication and Media Studies, Faculty of Foreign Languages Education and Communication, submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy
(Communication and Media Studies)
in the University of Education, Winneba

DECLARATION

Student's Declaration

I, Samuel Adadi Akapule, declare that this thesis is my original academic work, which
has not been submitted either in part or completely to any institution anywhere for
award of any degree. All sources and quotations had been duly acknowledged.
Signature:
Date:
OF EDUCATION
Supervisor's Declaration
I hereby declare that the preparations and presentation of this work was supervised in
accordance with the guidelines for supervision of thesis as laid down by the Graduate
School, University of Education, Winneba.
Name of Supervisor: Dr. Albert Agbesi Wornyo
Signature:

DEDICATION

To my late father Mr. Anomobire Akapule, my late mother Madam Azure Anomobire ,my wife Ms. Margaret Anaih , ,my children Abigail Akapule and Empress Akapule.



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ABSTRACT

Media coverage of female politicians has been observed to portray women with gender frames that are negative. This study investigated the coverage of female parliamentary candidates in the 2016 election in Ghana. The Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times newspapers were analysed to determine the frequency of media coverage of female parliamentary candidates as well as prominence given by the media to female parliamentary candidates. The study also content analysed how the Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times Newspapers framed female parliamentary candidates in their reportage. 'In all 90 publications from both the Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times newspapers were selected for the study. The Daily Graphic newspaper was made up of 59 stories and the Ghanaian Times made up of 31, bringing the total number to 90 publications. The editions spanned from July 1, 2016 to December 7, 2016. The study found that in terms of overall distribution of frequencies of coverage of parliamentary candidates, the two newspapers gave less coverage to female parliamentary candidates. The study also revealed that the two national newspapers selected for the study within the period of July 1, to December 2016 did not fare well in the area of prominence to the coverage of female parliamentary candidates during the 2016 parliamentary election. The papers published only two female parliamentary candidates' stories on their front pages, thus one each. The findings established that both the Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times newspapers framed the female parliamentary candidates stereotypically based on the descriptions of female parliamentary candidates in their reportage. The study is underpinned by the framing theory (Goffman, 1994), the Agenda Setting theory (Walter Lippmann, 1992) and the Liberal Feminist theory (Betty Friedan, 1963). The study also recommends to Civil Society and gender based organisations to institute Award Schemes for Media houses or Journalists who cover more activities aimed at increasing the participation of women in politics.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The media have been noted to be one of the major players in democratic elections. The media play an indispensable role by educating voters on how to exercise their democratic rights, reporting on the development of an election campaign; providing a platform for the political parties and candidates to communicate their message to the electorate and debate each other (Open Society Initiative for West Africa, 2010). The media also provide a platform for the public to communicate their concerns and opinions to the parties and candidates.

The media thus play an important role by selecting issues or personalities that stand to gain prominence in election campaigns coverage. Whatever is reported in the media, presents the voting public with frames with which to make critical election decisions. Issues and personalities have become phenomena in election campaigns and are constantly competing for media attention (Kleinnijenhuis, 2001).

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

Studies on gendered coverage at both local and global levels date back in several decades with the most extensive of these studies conducted by the Global Media

Monitoring Project (GMMP 2019). Findings from the GMMP(2019) report also indicates that women make up 24% of subjects seen, heard and read about in the media. Only 16% of the stories focused on women specifically while 48% reinforce gender stereotypes and only 8% of the news stories challenged such stereotypes

Politics and media coverage of women continue to attract a lot of debate globally. Anderson, Diabah and Mensah (2011) argue that female politicians are often misrepresented in the media landscape. This calls into question the credibility of these women as leaders of their nations. According to Gadzekpo (2011), the manner in which the media trivialise women's issues in Ghana is similar to that of women in politics globally.

The media domain in Ghana has seen some significant transformation since 1991. Before the start of the fourth republican constitutional rule, the Newspaper License Law was repealed in 1991 leading to the establishment of a number of privately-owned newspapers and magazines (Hasty, 2005). The repeal of the Criminal Libel Law (Criminal Code, 1960, Act 29) in 2001 formed part of another landmark in press freedom in Ghana (Boafo-Arthur 2007). The flood gates for media pluralism and freedom were opened due to these significant transformations. Currently there are 342 authorised radio stations with 285 in operation and 57 non-operational (National Communication Authority (NCA), 2015). There is also a total of 466 newspaper publications, including 11 national daily newspapers, 67 weeklies, 23 bi-weeklies and five tri-weeklies, and 28 authorised TV operators across the country with 11 free on air and six pay per view operational (NCA, 2015). The presence of media plurality in Ghana has injected some diversity and vibrancy into news reportage with some media houses, especially the electronic media, broadcasting in various local Ghanaian languages. It is therefore, assumed that with the astronomical increase in media houses

in Ghana it will help broaden the media coverage of politicians especially female candidates during election periods.

Studies conducted on women's portrayal have reported various degrees of stereotyping when it comes to their depiction in the media (Lindner, 2004; Mann 2011 and Manya 2013).

It is very important to establish that socialisation and socio-cultural barriers are among the factors that account for the low participation of women in politics and public office. In the Ghanaian society the limited number of female representatives in positions of responsibility in government results from the unequal gender power relations. The public space, hitherto primarily reserved for men was as a result of the gender construction in society. Gender can be understood as a socially constructed relationship between males and females, which is shaped by culture, norms, customs, values and social relations (Flores, 2000).

Gender construction is, therefore, a process of nurturing and influencing individuals with the social norms, rules and values, and the allocation of gendered responsibilities or roles in society (Britwum, 2009). The social construction of gender roles and status (gender construction), patriarchal systems and structures have disadvantaged women and perpetuate gender inequality in society. These concepts in the social structures describe how gender inequality is enforced, probably because of the associations of the cultural systems (beliefs and practices). There are clear links between the socio-cultural practices and gender construction where the connection relates to the historical legacy of patriarchal forces and agents (e.g. family, marriage, cultural practices, religion, social norms and values). Subsequently, culture and cultural systems, patriarchy and

patriarchal agents are presented to surmise how they contribute to the disadvantaged position of women in Ghana particularly on the stereotypical portrayal of women.

According to the 2020 World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Report, globally political empowerment is poor. The report continues that it will take 95 years to close the gender gap in political representation, with women in 2019 holding 25.2 percent of parliamentary (lower) house seats and 21.2 percent of ministerial positions (Global Gender Gap Report,2020). This research seeks to investigate to found whether the media which is part of the society helps to perpetuate this phenomenon or help to address it.

Vander Stichele, (1998) argues that women's relationship with power, except in cases where women ruled as queens or empresses, was usually indirect and mediated by men. For decades, African women for instance, consistently fell below the world average of political representation, (IPU, 2014). As Tripp (2001) states, it was unheard of for an African woman to run for presidency of her country until the era of 1990s.

Tripp says that in 1996 Liberia's Ruth Perry became the first female African Head of State in a non-monarchical regime when she chaired her country's six-member collective Presidency's Council of State. In 1994, Uganda's Wandera Specioza Kazibwe became Africa's first female Vice-President. Burundi and Rwanda's first female Prime Ministers were elected in 1993 and 1994 respectively (ibid).

The 21st century witnessed more feats for female political leaders. Notable among these women are Liberia's Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf who was elected as the first female African Executive Head of State in 2005 (Economic Commission for Africa, 2009). In 2012, Malawian Joyce Banda the then Vice-President (2009-April 2012), became the President after the death of President Binguwa Mutarika (Ndlovu and Mutale, 2013).

In 2012, South Africa's Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma became the Chairperson of the Commission of African Union, and Catherine Samba-Panza, became the Acting Head of State of the Central African Republic in January 2014(Current Female Leaders, 2015). Globally, politics and media coverage of women continue to attract many debates among scholars. Anderson, Diabah and Mensah (2011) argue that the media misrepresentation of female politicians in the media make them to be perceived by the public and for that matter the electorates. This, scholars note often affect the credibility of women as leaders of their nations.

Manya (2013) also avers that "clothing, makeup and hairdo of female politicians are scrutinized obsessively just as their views on vital issues. But no journalist can be bothered to comment on the mismatched shirt and tie of an overweight male politician" (p 28). This the media are blamed for trivializing women and their issues

According to Gadzekpo (2011), the way the media trivialize women's issues in Ghana is similar to the disparaging of women in politics globally. She cites an instance in which a private newspaper angered women activists in an article on women in the NDC political party. The newspaper focused on their singleness in a tone that suggested that it was a punishment for their being active in politics. She concludes that such framing showed politics as an inhospitable arena for women.

To help bridge the gender gap and avoid stereotyping in the portrayal of women, a number of national and international guidelines have been suggested to ensure that women are portrayed positively beyond their stereotypical roles. Some of these protocols which states in article 6 of the code of ethics of the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) (July 27, 1994) urges journalists not to produce journalistic material that is discriminatory to ethnicity, colour, creed, gender or sexual orientation. Article

17, 35(5), (6), Article 36 of the 1992 constitution also states that person shall not be discriminated against on grounds of gender, race, colour, ethnic origin, religion, creed or social or economic status.

Furthermore, Act 936 of the Local Governance Act 2016 advocates for the appointment of 30 percent of women into the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assembles to help encourage the participation of more women in the governance and decision-making process of the country. Other guidelines are the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1952), Article 7 of the UN Convention for Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Declaration Platform for Action (BDPFA). These international protocols identified the media as critical in representing women's issues, and suggested the promotion of a balanced and non-stereotypical portrayal of women in the media and rather, present them as creative human beings, key actors and contributors to and beneficiaries of development process.

The protocols also advocated the political right of and equality in women's access to and participation in the decision making process of governance in their various countries (CEDAW, 1952). These guidelines are followed by non-governmental organisations and the National Media Policy (NMP), 2014. Section 7(2) of the National Media Commission's (NMC) media policy states that media content by the media should show high sensibility to the dignity and respect of womanhood, defend and protect women's rights and interests. This is buttressed by the Women's Manifesto for Ghana (2004), a political document put together by a coalition of women organisations.

The Women's Manifesto, a political document initiated by ABANTU for Development, an NGO founded by Africans in Europe in 1991 and seeks to empower African women in the fields of politics and the economy on the local, national, regional and

international levels through education, workshops, research, publications and consultations.

Women's political participation in Ghana predates the modern political system and their political involvement at the national level could be traced to the pre-independence era (Bawa & Sanyare, 2013). Allah-Mensah (2005) however, notes that, women's participation in politics, parliamentarians or as government ministers has traversed and fluctuated over the years. Even though, Ghana has not had any female president, the Fourth Republic under the 1992 Constitution has recorded a few women nominees as vice- presidential candidates by the Convention Peoples Party (CPP), Peoples National Convention (PNC) and Progressive Peoples Party (PPP), (Wildaf, 2009).

Between 1992, the beginning of the fourth republic and 2012, seven presidential and parliamentary elections had been held in Ghana and some women had contested and some of them had become members of parliament. In the first parliamentary election held in 1992, 16 females and 184 men respectively were elected. In the second parliament in 1996, 18 women were elected out of the 200 parliamentary seats. In the third parliament there were 19 females who won whilst in 2004, 25 Members of Parliament out of the 230 were females. In 2012, 29 out of 275 Members of Parliament elected were females (Ghana Election 2016 Report)

The last parliamentary election under the fourth republic was the 2016 parliamentary elections. There were 136 women candidates out of 1,158 candidates overall (Women and Ghana's 2016 Parliamentary Election). Out of the number 36 females were elected into Parliament. Thus, as in most elections in Ghana since 1992, women won seats in parliament roughly in proportion to their candidacies, or a little better. Of the 136 women candidates in the 2016, 36 of the women candidates won their seats. This seems

to suggest that Ghanaian voters discriminate against women candidates in the general election. This study investigates the media coverage of female parliamentary candidates in the 2016 parliamentary elections with a focus on the coverage of the female parliamentary candidates in the two state owned national daily newspapers; the Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Many civil society organizations including gender advocacy groups and human rights institutions have expressed great concerns about the low representation of women in political office. The world economic forum points out in the Gender Gap Report (2010) that the world has made great strides at meeting the United Nations development goal three—to promote gender equality and empower women—by closing the gender gap in the areas of education and health. This contrasts the United Nations' (2010) observation that probably, the world has less to celebrate on gender empowerment given the enormity of the gender gap particularly in developing countries. The UN report stresses that the representation and the participation of women in politics and public sector are still very low.

In Ghana research conducted by some Scholars show that the scenario is not different from other countries. Bawa and Sanyare (2013) indicate that for the Gold-Coast Legislative Assembly, Mabel Dove Danquah was elected as the first Ghanaian legislator in 1954, but during independence in 1957, no female was elected. The scholars indicate that in the 1st Parliament of the First Republic, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah made a special provision under the Representation of the People's Act No: 8 of 1960 in the National Assembly, where 10 women were elected by special ballot, the 2nd Parliament in 1965 had 19 women out of which nine were elected to join the 10 reserved seats.

Nkansah (2009) considers this to be very positive and progressive since Ghana was one of the first countries to introduce a quota system for women in politics and public office. Even so, 1969 saw a reversal of women representation in parliament. Thirteen of the nine candidates, only one woman were elected to Parliament but this increased to two women in 1970 after a by-election. The third Republican Parliament in 1979 witnessed a slight increment. Out of 19 women candidates, five women were elected.

Ghana returned to constitutional rule in 1992 after 11 years of military rule, under the 4thRepublic. In the1st Parliament of this era, 16 out of 23 women candidates secured seats in Parliament. The 1996 Parliament also saw 18 out of 57 women elected and in 2000, 19 out of 95 women made it to Parliament. The 2004 Parliament witnessed an increase of women elected. Out of 104 women candidates, 25 made it to Parliament but, this gain was reversed in 2008 when 20 out of 103 women won their parliamentary seats (Bawa & Sanyare, 2013).

For the 2016 parliamentary elections (7th Parliament) where this study is focus out of the overall 1,158 candidates who contested for the election, female parliamentary candidates stood at 136 (Ghana Election 2016). Out of the 136 female parliamentary candidates, 40 were from the NDC and 29 from the NPP; the remaining 67 were either from smaller parties or independent candidates. By the close of Dcember7, 2016, 36 of the 69 NPP and NDC women candidates won their seats. Of the 36 women who won, 12 are from the NDC and 24 from the NPP.

However, in the last (sixth) parliament, 16 female candidates were elected as NDC MPs and 14 as NPP MPs. Apart from females underrepresented in Ghana's legislature, the figure lacks regional representation compelling some gender activists to complain that

women's representation in the Legislature was still low and fell short of the minimum UN recommended threshold of 30 per cent requirement (Beijing Conference of 1995).

Many studies have been conducted in the area of the coverage of women in the media. For example, Gadzekpo (2011) assessed the occupational status of women in the Ghanaian media landscape and examined whether or not transformations in the media landscape really exist from re-democratisation have facilitated women's' rights in the decision-making process. Gadzekpo analysised data from the Global Report on the status of women in the news business and antecedent of female workers dating back from the colonial period. Oyesomi and Oyero (2012) ascertained how the Nigerian newspapers reported politicians in the 2011 general election in Nigeria.

Lindner (2004) examine the portrayal of women in advertisements in the general interest magazine and women fashion magazine over the last 50 years. Anderson, Diabah and Mensah (2011) investigated the validity of validity of such claims and instances of bias and negative representations of female candidates have declined significantly in the media of Ellen Johnson Sirlea. They compared the Africa and the international media report on Johnson and her major rival George Manneh Oppong Weah who contested with Ellen Johnson during the presidential election of Liberia in 2006 and lost. Bawa and Sanyare (2013) describe empirical findings on issues affecting women effective participation in politics and the public sector of Ghana. They used field study. That is extensive field studies conducted in Ghana between 2010 to 2011, Primary data was gathered through interviews.

Based on the above mentioned findings from the various studies, there is minimal studies in the use of the Ghanaian newspapers, specifically *the Daily Graphic* and *the Ghanaian Times* to study *into* the representation of women in politics and public life.

Again gap exists in the coverage of female parliamentary candidates using the Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times newspapers. Aside most of the studies reviewed above used either the framing theory, discourse analysis or the glass ceiling theory leaving a gap in the use of the framing theory and the liberal feminist theory which would be very critical in analysing female representations in the newspapers and media studies in general. This study which seeks to fill in the gaps highlighted in the above reviewed literature seeks to investigate the coverage of female parliamentary candidates in the two state owned national daily newspapers in the 2016 parliamentary elections in Ghana.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this research are:

- 1. To examine the frequency of media coverage of female parliamentary candidates in the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times* in the 2016 parliamentary election
- 2. To investigate the importance the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times*newspapers attach to the coverage of female parliamentary candidates in the

 2016 parliamentary election
- 3. To investigate the dominant gender frames used by the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* in the coverage of female parliamentary candidates in the 2016 parliamentary election

1.4 Research Questions

Research questions are:

- 1. How did the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times newspapers* cover female parliamentary candidates in terms of frequency in the 2016 parliamentary election?
- 2. How did the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times Newspapers* attach importance to the coverage of female parliamentary candidates in the last 2016 parliamentary election?
- 3. What are the dominant gender frames used by the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times newspapers* to cover parliamentary candidates in the 2016 parliamentary election?

1.5 Significance of the Study

The findings will be useful to media houses in Ghana, organizations promoting the use of media by women and the women in politics so as to educate them develop strategies on media use and to assist them understand how the media operates. The researcher also hopes that the findings can be used to lobby media to ensure balanced media coverage of both women and men in politics. This study will bring into focus the role of the media as a purveyor of information to the society especially during elections and how the media present issues of candidates to the voting public.

The study will also equally contribute knowledge to the field of communication schools to enhance teaching and learning. The study will provide empirical data, which can assist advocates of gender equality to decide whether to lobby media houses for better coverage for women's issues. This study will also contribute to the body of existing knowledge on gender coverage during elections for the academic community.

1.6 Scope of the Study

This research which covered the period of six month beginning from July 1, 2016 to December 14, 2016 focused on the media coverage of female parliamentary candidates in Ghana in the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times newspapers*. They are among the widest patronized newspapers in Ghana. As state owned media houses, they stand to inform and influence policy makers including how both women and men politicians access the media for their political campaigns.

1.7 Organisation of the Study

The entire study is organised into five chapters. Chapter one provides the background of the study and outlines the role of the media to the democratic process and election. It traces the history of women's participation in public life and politics. It also presents an overview of the 2016 parliamentary elections and states the research objectives and significance of the study. Chapter two outlines the theoretical frameworks of the study: Framing theory and the Agenda setting theory and review literature relating to the portrayal of female politicians in the media around the world, Africa and Ghana. Chapter three explains the methodology employed for data collection and analysis. Chapter four contains the findings and five discusses the data analysed, presents a conclusion of the study and advances some recommendations.

1.8 Summary

Chapter one sets the tone for this research by examining the significance of the media in election coverage and the political dispensation of a country. It analysed some literature about how the media give unfair coverage to female politicians from the global, Africa and Ghana perspective. The chapter indicates the objectives of the research; to examine the frequency of media coverage of female parliamentary candidates in the 2016 parliamentary election, the level of prominence of stories on

female parliamentary candidates and the dominant gender frames used by the Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times newspapers in the 2016 parliamentary election. Finally, the chapter outlines the significance of the study as likely to help shape programme contents in the print media to ensure that equal political programmes are designed for both male and female politicians.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of literature related to the current study. The chapter looks at the Framing theory, the Agenda –Setting theory and the Liberal Feminist's theory and review some related studies relevant to the current study.

2.1 Framing Theory

The foundation of the framing theory is based on Goffman's work on frame analysis in 1974. Brossard, Shih and Wijaya (2008) upon further studies observe that framing has become one of the most frequently used theories in mass media communication analysis, particularly when it comes to the analysis of media coverage of political issues. Although the theory has been used widely, it has not been universal defined, making different scholars to describe it in different ways (Botan and Hazleton, 2006).

Goffman further states that there are two distinctions within primary frameworks. He explains that both play the role of helping individuals interpret data so that their experiences can be understood in a wider social context. The difference between the two is functional. Natural frameworks identify events as physical occurrences taking natural quote literally and not attributing any social forces to the causation of events. Social frameworks view events as socially driven occurrences, due to the whims, goals, and manipulations on the part of other social players (people). Social frameworks are built on the natural frameworks. These frameworks and the frames that they create in our communication greatly influence how data is interpreted, processed, and communicated. Goffman's underlying assumption is that individuals are capable users of these frameworks on a daily basis.

When Goffman (1979) introduced frame analysis, he explained how the media selected certain aspects of perceived reality to highlight, interpret and communicate. According to Goffman, the identified frames were shaped by the dominant order used by advertisers to structure ways in which audiences saw women.

According to Gadzekpo (2011), the hegemonic function of media is more clearer when one examines how the media frame events. Together with news traditions and values, it is that pattern of selective emphasis and interpretation referred to as framing that makes certain representations (often derived from the dominant ideology) seem natural and acceptable. The way and manner the media frame and produce meanings contribute to the reproduction of ideology, thereby creating and sustaining the relationships of inequality and oppression.

Stromback and Luengo (2008) in their study considered the different viewpoints of other scholars on framing concluded that despite the different interpretations, there is a high degree of consensus that the theory is basically about the choice of words, emphasis, sources, placement, and use of images and other journalistic methods of treating news stories because of the media's ability to emphasize framing. Peng (2008) also indicates that the physical space dedicated to a portion of a particular story in a print news medium, frames the story in such a way that, that portion may take more space, which will be more persuasive in a reader's understanding of the story

Dewulf and Bouwen (2012) in their recent study, define framing "as the forceful portrayal and direction of meaning in ongoing interactions, which are temporal communications structures that people build around issues during discussions or debates". As found by Chong and Druckman (2007), framing is seen as very important in media content studies because the media is able to redirect the attention of a number

of people from one side of an issue to the very opposite of the issue through framing. The two concluded that framing is thus a powerful determinant in the outcomes of elections in the field of political communication. They suggest that framing is a deliberate tactic used by politicians and media personnel to co-ordinate individuals around particular interpretations. The concept of framing is related to the agenda-setting tradition but expands the research by focusing on the essence of the issues at hand rather than on a particular topic. The basis of framing theory is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning.

Frames are abstractions that work to organize or structure message meaning. The most common use of frames is in terms of the frame the news or media place on the information they convey. They are thought to influence the perception of the news by the audience, in this way it could be construed as a form of second level agenda-setting – they not only tell the audience what to think about (agenda-setting theory), but also how to think about that issue (second level agenda setting, framing theory). Framing techniques, according to Fair Hurst and Sarr (1996), include:

- Metaphor: To frame a conceptual idea through comparison to something else.
- Stories (myths, legends): To frame a topic via narrative in a vivid and memorable way.
- Tradition (rituals, ceremonies): Cultural mores that imbue significance in the mundane, closely tied to artifacts.
- **Slogan, jargon, catch phrase:** To frame an object with a catchy phrase to make it more memorable and relate-able.

- **Artifact:** Objects with intrinsic symbolic value a visual/cultural phenomenon that holds more meaning than the object itself.
- Contrast: To describe an object in terms of what it is not.
- **Spin:** to present a concept in such a way as to convey a value judgment (positive or negative) that might not be immediately apparent; to create an inherent bias by definition.

For the sake of emphasis as earlier on explained, framing is in many ways tied very closely to Agenda Setting theory. Both focus on how media draws the public's eye to specific topics – in this way they set the agenda. But Framing takes this a step further in the way in which the news is presented creates a frame for that information. This is usually a conscious choice by journalists – in this case a frame refers to the way media as gatekeepers organize and present the ideas, events, and topics they cover. Framing is the way a communication source defines and constructs of any piece of communicated information. Framing is an unavoidable part of human communication as we all bring about our own frames during the communication processes.

2.2 Agenda-Setting Theory

The beginning of agenda setting theory can be traced as far as 1922, when Walter Lippmann expresses his concern on the vital role that mass media can do in influencing the setting of certain image on the public's mind (Lippmann, 1922: 9-16). In portraying the influence of mass media, Lippmann gives an example of individuals who supposed to be enemies while their countries are at war. Instead of becoming enemies, without having access to information about the war through media, those individuals are able to live harmoniously in a secluded island. Lippmann indicates on how mass media can set a particular agenda, which can influence the opinions of the public

McCombs and Shaw (1972) wrote one of the most significant researches, which contribute to this theory. They observe the capacity of mass media in influencing the voters' opinion on the presidential campaign of 1968. From the above explanation, it could be established that the agenda –setting theory impinges on two basic assumptions:

Basic Assumptions of Agenda Setting Theory:

The first assumption is that the media filters and shapes what we see rather than just reflecting stories to the audience. An example of this is seeing a sensational or scandalous story at the top of a broadcast as opposed to a story that happened more recently or one that affects more people, such as an approaching storm or legislative tax reform.

One could also consider the second assumption as the more attention the media gives to an issue, the more likely the public will consider that issue to be important. Another way one could look at is that the mass media organizations do not telling their audience what to think or how they should feel about a story or an issue, but give audience certain stories or issues that they should think more about.

There is psychological and scientific merit to the agenda-setting theory. The more a story is publicized in the mass media, the more it is processed and stored in the individuals' mind. The implication of the Agenda Setting theory to this study is that the more the media consider female parliamentary candidates in its coverage in election periods, the more the voter population can make better and informed decisions about the candidates to vote for.

Types of Agenda Setting

There are three types of agenda setting:

- Public agenda setting: when the public determines the agenda for which stories
 are considered important
- **Media agenda setting:** when the media determines the agenda for which stories are considered important
- Policy agenda setting: when both the public and media agendas influence the decisions of public policy makers

2.3 Agenda Setting Role of the Media

According to McCombs and Bell (1996) the agenda setting role of the media remain the primary source of information about public matters. The authors continues that "the daily media reports informs us about the latest events and changes in the larger world beyond our reach ... our world is a second-hand reality created by the news organizations" (p. 93). According to the two authors the media inform the masses and thereby play an essential role in the society. They add that while playing this important role, the media set the news agenda. The agenda-setting function of the press, therefore, refers to the process by which the media determine which issues become salient thus meriting the attention of policy makers. In addition, as McCombs (1997) adds, "agenda-setting is about transmission of salience, not determination of opinions pro and con about particular issue" (p. 433).

The media achieve this role by "day-to-day selection and display of the news, [in which] the editors ...and news directors ... exert a powerful influence on public attention to the issues, problems, and opportunities that confront each community" (McCombs, 1997,

p. 433). The public view the political issues highlighted by the media as very important. Similarly, Lowery and De Fleur (1995) aptly summarize the agenda-setting role of the media: "agenda-setting implies a relationship between decisions about treatment of an issue or event in newspapers and TV and radio news, and the belief about its significance on the part of individuals who make up the news audience" (p. 401).

This does not necessarily mean that the media come up with their own stories but that the stories highlighted in the media attract more public attention. Apart from the general news, the media also play an important role in covering political campaigns. Some researchers contend that the media may introduce themes, which are separate from the events of the campaign trail, through investigative reporting and news analysis (Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991).

As many studies have revealed in many—voters rely on the media to help them determine who to vote for, it thus implies that these issues, which the media introduce, become part of the public agenda and hence the campaign agenda. The decision of using the Agenda Setting theory is to investigate whether the media has lived up to its responsibility by ensuring it provides the equal and fair opportunity for the coverage of all the political candidates without discrimination.

Many times the news organizations present to the public issues that they consider important in an election campaign and these issues become the grounds which political candidates are evaluated. The agenda-setting role of the media is crucial especially during an election period considering the media's primary role of informing the masses.

It is very paramount to stress that the major consumers of the media, and their agendasetting function, are the voters who rely on the media to provide them the information about political candidates that they may not have time to come into contact with to know them better. Yet, even as the media play a central role in this process, how they frame the political candidate may greatly affect how the voters perceive such political candidate. Importantly not only do the media determine the saliency of campaign issues, but they also determine the amount of coverage a candidate receives and the aspects about the candidate that will receive more attention by setting the agenda of a candidate's image and character.

This form of agenda setting involves, according to Weaver (1987), ranking of candidates in "terms of how much coverage they receive, and an agenda of characteristics of candidates, [where] some [are] emphasized more than others (p. 215; Golan & Wanta et al., 2001). Determining the worth of a political candidate, in terms of the amount of coverage a candidate should receive, encapsulates the overall feelings women politicians have expressed concerning how the media portray them. Actually, Weaver (1987) contends that this form of agenda setting "... probably has more influence on voters' early perception of the campaign and the final choices available at election time, than does issues agenda-setting" (p.215).

Additionally, McCombs et al. (1991) emphasized that "candidates who received the most coverage were likely to become the most well-known, and those characteristics of candidates that were most heavily emphasized on the news media were more likely to be cited in voters' description of the candidates" (p. 81). In focusing so much on the dress code and physical appearance of aspiring female parliamentarians, the media may be serving to eliminate women candidates, as voters would not be swayed to vote based on these characteristics. What this implies is that when the media set the image and interest agendas, they focus on personalities and often portray women as novices in the field of politics. Finally, the voters who depend on the media for information only get to learn about personalities making it difficult for them to make decisions based on

issues. Moreover, when image and interest agendas become the overriding factors, together with gender stereotyping, the political arena becomes murky for women. This hurdle calls for a tough stance of women politicians to enable them to increase and sustain their political chances. The image and interest agendas are even more critical in areas where there are no clearly defined campaign issue agendas.

Due to the perceived media centrality, women candidates have expressed reservations about its fairness in covering elections. For instance, according to Severin and Tankard (2001), the media play a gatekeeper role thus determining what "information is passed along the chain and how faithfully it is reproduced" (p.55). More precisely, Kahn and Gordon's (1997) research attest to the role of the media in a political situation, indicating that the "press does cover women candidates less favorably than male candidates" and that "news media spend less time talking about issues and more time talking about the viability of women candidates" (p. 73). The agenda set by the media does not seem to favor women political candidates. In contrast, other findings indicated that media bias and gender influence can be a blessing, as illustrated in the media coverage of one Pauline Hanson. (Deutchman & Ellison, 1999) in which the media were seen as having catapulted her from a backbencher to a star. The two authors explained that "the media's coverage of Hanson was shaped by her gender... she was treated differently from comparable male politicians" (p. 47), with gender being viewed as having influenced media production biases. Although this case study has stereotypic overtones as some analysts contend, Deutchman and Ellison (1999) further explains that "the contradictions that Hanson embodies as a female politician articulating what is commonly thought to be a 'masculinist' political agenda" provided the media with the opportunity to address her issues more than any other Australian politician.

Hanson's experience suggests that female politicians can also help set the agenda for the media by acting differently or embodying "masculine" issues.

From the above diverse views of some scholars on agenda setting, one could conclude that voters rely on the media in determining and electing their favorite political candidates as the media set the political agenda for them. In other words, this study is not about agenda-setting, from the above-mentioned diverse views, one could conclude that the media continue to shape the voter's perception about candidates by focusing on either issues or using personality frames. It is against this background that the agenda setting theory is very pertinent to the current study.

2.4 Political Coverage and the Newspaper Agenda

Newspapers are a more permanent source of information as they provide "readers with a source of news that is readily available for use at any time of day" (Wanta et al., 2001, p. 65). Some research indicates that "people who describe themselves as television-reliant have been seen as less able to answer factual questions about politics than those who rely instead on newspapers and magazines (Chaffee & Kanihan, 1996, p. 421).

Newspapers tend to be more informative than any other medium as they provide insightful coverage, which is limited in television news. This makes newspaper more exposure and strongly linked to agenda setting effects Chaffee and Kanihan (1996) further demonstrated that "the newspaper covers political content in greater depth, and is used more by those who are more involved in politics—including those who are temporarily stimulated to seek political information" (p. 427). For instance, in the 2016 elections, some newspapers added sections that were entirely devoted to political coverage. One of such newspaper is the *Daily Graphic* where the newspaper profiled different political candidates including the political discussions that were trending at

the different constituencies. Still, the newspaper is one medium that is readily available to the public.

For instance, one in Ghana does not even need to buy a newspaper but can access it at the workplace, the neighbor, and in many offices where subscriptions traditionally exist. Importantly, all the two major state print media, the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times newspapers* selected for the study have been hooked onto the online version hence increasing accessibility for those who use the internet. A majority of the readers, therefore, do not have to complain of not having the financial muzzle to obtain a copy of their favorite newspaper.

It also pertinent to note that not only does newspaper readers depend on the level of education but research also indicates that those who read newspapers "tend to be much more knowledgeable about public affairs than those who don't" (Strate et al., 1994, p. 184). From these studies, it is evident that majority of the electorate, in spite of the more technologically advanced media like television, still rely on the newspapers to follow politics.

2.5 Liberal Feminist Theory

The Liberal Feminist theory was propounded by Betty Friedan in 1963 in her book, *the Feminine Mystic*. The idea of women finding fulfillment beyond traditional roles by fully extending legal, political, economic, and social rights to them within contemporary society was explored by Friedan (1963). The assumption of the theory is that sex roles' stereotyping persist in the mass media and their constant repetition to audiences reinforces such stereotypes in the broader society Mann (2011).

Strinati, (2004) also in her study avers that cultural representations of women in the media support and perpetuate the prevailing sexual division of labour. She concludes

by attributing the unequal position of women in society to assigned roles such as the mother, homemaker by society, and often accepted to be the normal roles of women in a patriarchal society.

Liberal feminism conceives of freedom as personal autonomy being co-author of the conditions under which one lives. Liberal feminists hold the view that the exercise of personal autonomy depends on certain enabling conditions that are insufficiently present in women's lives, or that social arrangements often fail to respect women's personal autonomy and other elements of women's flourishing (Liberal Feminism, 2013).

The proponents of the theory also hold the belief that women's needs and interests are insufficiently reflected in the basic conditions under which they live, and that those conditions lack legitimacy because women are inadequately represented in the processes of democratic self-determination. Liberal feminists are of the view that autonomy deficits like these are due to what they term as "gender system" or the patriarchal nature of inherited traditions and institutions (Okin 1989). They advocated the need for women's movement to work towards addressing the challenge. According to the liberal feminists, the protection and promotion of citizens' autonomy is the appropriate responsibility of the state and that the state can and should be the women's movement's ally in promoting women's autonomy.

Notwithstanding this, there is however disagreement among liberal feminists about some issues. Whilst others are of the view that the role of the state in family life has dramatic effects on the personal autonomy of the individual, other are also are of the opinion that the state has the responsibility at ensuring that family life does not undermine women's personal autonomy.

2.6 Relationship between the three Theories used

The three theories examined in this chapter have so far helped to explain the concept of gender and how society come to know about it through a social institution like the media. Also, the study has been able to recognize the existence of certain forms of inequalities within societies which have led to opportunities on one hand, and lack of them on the other, for segments within the society in relation to participation in its governance all through the theories reviewed.

The significance of women's absence from the news underscores the important role played by the media in setting an agenda for public debate. In scenarios where the media prioritize certain topics and ignoring some and giving voice to certain political candidates and not others, the news agenda informs the voting public who and what is relevant. Besides, the theories suggest that with sexist portrayals, the media often end up by giving a biased view of gender and the wrong impression that the experiences of men supersede that of women and should be accepted as the norm of society.

2.7 Empirical studies on Gender and Media across the world

According to feminist theorists, it can be argued that the media do not work with other social and cultural institutions to strengthen existing ideas about how gender is and should be maintained (Enriques, 2001).

The adoption and the use of framing in the media has also been considered as important to understand the way political coverage is typically represented to the voting public especially during elections. The current study has reviewed some related studies across the globe and find below some of them. Bryans. Cunninghamm and Mavin (2010) in a study to highlight media's representation of women politicians in the United Kingdom (UK), examine how media representation discouraged and trivialized women's

suitability as political candidates, in the 2010 general elections in UK. The study which employed a qualitative study approach and collected data from TV, the worldwide web, conducted a comparative analysis of text and images of the *Daily Graphic / Ghanaian Times*. The findings revealed that the physicality of the women MPs was put in the fore by the media, though they admit the competencies and capabilities of the women MPs. The women were portrayed as being indecisive and in a double dilemma.

The media also tagged the women MPs by referring to them as "Blair Babes" who are fit to discuss only 'girlie' issues, which hold no value in national governmental policy. The two researchers concluded that the media portrayed the women MPs as aliens in the hostile environment of male-dominated political leadership. The authors were also of the view that standards in political reporting in Ghana has fallen in both quantity and quality. The authors concluded that the media focused mainly on the personal appearance of women MPs and their age at the expense of marketing their political campaign messages to the voters.

The current study also sought to find out the attention the media gave to women parliamentary candidates in the 2016 election in Ghana by content analyzing two national newspapers in Ghana, *the Ghanaian Times* and the *Daily Graphic* from the heat period of the election which begun in the third and fourth quarters of 2016 (July to December 2016). Existing literature shows that the Africa continent has its fair share of varying challenges of media treatment of female candidates in elections reportage just as it is in abroad. Akor (2014) in analyzing why media coverage of women politicians were poor in Nigeria during the 2011 general elections avers that the media is the ears and eyes of the public, which help to mould and shape perceptions.

Voters therefore rely on the media to make informed decisions especially during elections. Notwithstanding, this levels of coverage given to women politicians in the media are poor and consist of stereotypes which contribute to the poor portraying of women during election periods. Akor (2014) said this fuels the reluctance of political parties to have women as candidates thereby feeding into a vicious circle of their low political representation.

The report further revealed the widespread of the manipulations of gender perceptions particularly in the traditional media, where women were perceived and portrayed as just homemakers or objects of sexual desire during the elections. She added that women in executive positions were rarely promoted positively in the media whiles men on contrary, were portrayed as successful politicians, businesspersons, and confident decision makers, among others. Her report concluded that the media are a very effective channel for achieving increased women's political participation and affirmative action and so women right groups should work together with women politicians to encourage their increase in political representation in the next General elections in 2016.

In a study to explore how print media framed the 22 women parliamentarians in their coverage of Kenya's general elections in 2011, Thuo (2012) examined the amount of media coverage and level of prominence given to stories on women politicians; and secondly, tried to identify the dominant gender frames used in newspaper content.

The study, which employed qualitative approach focused on the daily publications of the Nation Media Group and Tile Standard Group over a six months' period from 1st January to 30th June 2011. The researcher who did a content analysis of all the newspaper articles that mentioned any of the 22 women aspirants and interviewed 10 editors and writers working for the two media groups used framing analysis. The

findings were that the print media coverage of women in politics was low, with their stories placed in the inside pages and hardly on the headlines thus making them invisible. The researcher concluded that hidden influences such as cultural backgrounds of the media professionals, principles of what makes news and commercial interest contributed to the low coverage of women. In a similar study of newspaper, coverage of 22 women parliamentarians in the 2011 General elections in Nigeria, Oyesomi and Oyero (2012) aver that the media dictate what the people think about and not what the people think, thus the agenda of the media becomes the agenda of the people.

The authors employed the agenda setting theory and analysed 288 editions of two leading Nigerian newspaper publications, the Guardian and the Punch from December 2010 to August 2011 during the run-up to the Nigerian 2011 elections. Findings revealed that out of 464 issues in both newspapers analyzed, only 64 stories represented issues of women. In addition, fewer stories that were covered about women were not given in-depth coverage or prominence because most of the stories appeared in the inner pages while the front 27 pages captured only 10 percent of all such stories.

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

The study revealed that Mr. Weah had openly issued threats to the media in Liberia. As a result, some media practitioners deliberately set an agenda to sway un-decided voters

to vote in favour of Mrs. Johnson Sirleaf by framing issues such as qualifications vs. popularity and thus, pushed Mr. Weah out of the contest for the presidency. The author concluded that by emphasising the strength of Sirleaf Johnson, the newspapers framed her positively and Weah negatively. Available literature in Ghana also indicate that similar studies have also been replicated on the phenomenon of gender and the media as conducted by other researchers in other countries.

WILDAF (2009), a women centered NGO in a study to elicit respondents' views and opinions on how Ghanaian women fared during the 2008 parliamentary elections, analysed voters' perception of 30 the idea of having a female parliamentarian or president. The study selected female candidates and interviewed them on a number of issues including media coverage by the distribution of semi-structured questionnaires across the 10 regions of Ghana.

The study adopted a stratified random sampling procedure and data was analyzed in a descriptive survey manner. Apart from the results revealing that majority of the female candidates were not happy about the discriminatory manner the media provided coverage to them, thus favouring men more than the female parliamentarians, the study also indicated that there were a lot of hidden practices that inhabit women's abilities to contest fairly with their male counterparts. The study further concluded that little was done in practice to encourage and promote women's political participation in Ghana. The study thus concluded that the phenomena of cultural and traditional barriers have been over-stressed: while legal, political and economic reasons debarring women from active participation in politics were less given attention. The study also recommended more proactive and increased coverage of women candidates in the future.

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

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

Closed to this, is a study by Benneh (2005) on challenges of media coverage of Ghanaian women parliamentarians. The study which was underpinned by the framing theory, also sought to find out whether coverage in the media of the women parliamentarians reinforced or challenged the dominant culture and thereby contributed towards the marginalization of women. She conducted an in-depth interview with eight women parliamentarians, four each from the ruling NPP and the main opposition NDC political parties. The findings revealed that the women felt they received unprecedented low level of attention from the media although most of the coverage was positive. This

notwithstanding, the NDC women parliamentarians felt the media discriminated against women and that most of their contributions in parliamentary debates were not covered. The interviewees all agreed that the state media did not cover many of their activities, especially at the constituency level. As a result, many of the respondents had to depend on the private FM stations.

2.8 The Relationship between Studies Reviewed and Current Study

From the above literature reviews and analysis, it has been established that over the years and within different contexts, women continued to be underrepresented and negatively portrayed in the media despite calls from the global and national levels to check the trend. The literature reviewed showed that there are several dimensions through which the media actors discriminate against women including parliamentary candidates and to a large extend keep them in the background where they have very little voice in decisions that directly affect them. Therefore, it is important to analyse this vital institution's reportage on women's issues during the 2016 elections in Ghana.

This current study is very critical because the Parliamentary and Presidential elections of Ghana is due for this year 2020 and as mandated by the Chapter 12 of the 1992 constitution Article 163—all state-owned media shall afford fair opportunities and facilities for presentation of divergent and views and dissenting views.

Most of the studies reviewed employed quantitative research method and different theories. The current study will employ qualitative methods involving content analysis. The current study will also leverage on some of the theories such as the framing and agenda-setting theories employed by some of the above researchers. Others also analysed online and broadcast media but this current study will focus on the print media, thus the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Daily Graphic*. From the various perspectives of the

theories discussed, the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Daily Graphic* will help to analyse (based on the coverage) whether the female parliamentary candidates were given fair representation in the Ghanaian press during the 2016 elections. The phenomenon of gender and media will also be tested in the Ghanaian context to see whether the findings are same with other countries that have carried out similar research.

2.9 Brief History of the Media in Ghana

Boafo (1988) in giving the historical perspective about the media in Ghana dates it to the colonial era when in 1822, Sir Charles MacCarthy, the first Crown Governor of the Gold Coast (as Ghana was then called), established the *Royal Gold Coast Gazette*. Journalism practice by indigenous Ghanaians, however, started some 35 years later when in 1957 Charles and Edmund Bannerman launched the Accra Herald, a manuscript newspaper.

The Accra Herald was circulated to some 300 subscribers, two-thirds of them African. As indicate by Boafo (1998) the success of Bannerman's paper stimulated a proliferation of African-owned newspapers in the late nineteenth century, among them Gold Coast Times, Western Echo, Gold Coast Assize, Gold Coast News, Gold Coast Aborigines, Gold Coast Chronicle, Gold Coast People, Gold Coast Independent, and Gold Coast Express. Ansah (1980) states that the press in colonial Ghana was employed mainly to criticize the oppressive, injustice and other evils of the colonial system and to agitate and mobilize the people for independent movement. He notes that the press in pre-independent Ghana "was an advocacy press for whose running needed commitment to the nationalist cause rather than professional skills in journalism.

Boafo (1988) indicates that journalism did not acquire the status of a profession in the Gold Coast until the early 1950s and the need for an importance of formal journalism

training were recognized only after the country had achieved its political independence in March 1957. Cecil H. Kings of the Daily Mirror Group of London in 19 50, established the first modern press in the country to publish the Daily *Graphic* and *the Sunday Mirror*. The company used its financial and technical resources to bring together editors, reporters, proofreaders, machine men, compositors and general administrative staff who felt they were in a profession.

There is no doubt that the media arena in Ghana since 1991 has been transformed. The Newspaper License Law as a prelude to the fourth republican constitutional rule, was repealed in 1991 which brought about the establishment of a number of privately-owned newspapers and magazines in Ghana (Hasty 2005). The repeal of the Criminal Libel Law (Criminal Code, 1960, Act 29) in 2001 introduced by the government of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), (Boafo, 2007) marked another landmark in press freedom in Ghana These transformations resulted to the opening of the floodgates for media pluralism in the country. As it stands now there are 342 authorized radio stations with 285 in operation and 57 non-operational (National Communication Authority, (NCA) as at 31st March 2015).

Aside that there is also a total of 466 newspaper publications, including 11 national daily newspapers, 67 weeklies, 23 bi-weeklies and five tri-weeklies, and 28, 3 authorized TV operators across the country with 11 free on air and six pay per view operational (NCA as at February 2015). The media plurality in Ghana has brought about vibrancy and diversity into news reportage given opportunities to some media houses including the electronic media, broadcasting in various local Ghanaian languages.

It is therefore assumed that with the considerable number of in media houses in the country it will pave the way for the increased coverage of politicians including the female candidates during elections.

2.10 Ghanaian Media and Women Journalists

Awall (2015) avers that the media landscape in Ghana is mainly dominated by the males. He advances his argument that Ghana has fallen below the regional percentage of 40 of women viv-a-vis 60 men who are in regular work within newsroom.

Secher (2010) also argues that as a result of the male-domination among top executives of media houses, it makes job progression a gender based promotions. She argues that even though the women journalists have the opportunity to get promoted, they will have to work harder—by distinguishing themselves professionally to enable them compete with their male counterparts for such position (p,32). Secher (2010) further expresses worry over the absence of media policy to protect and guarantee women their job after maternity. According to her it is very challenging for female journalists to start a family since journalism is a very time-consuming profession and the responsibility for domestic work is still primarily on the woman. It is against this background that many scholars including Awall (2015) calls for the need for women movements to mount pressure on owners and—managers of the various media house to consider the plight of women journalist in the media space. This agreement—confirms Gadzekpo (2011). assertion that the media profession needs many women to tell their own stories, thus from the standpoint of woman in the media landscape.

2.11 Guidelines on the Portrayal of Women in the Media

The media at both the local and global levels have attracted a lot bashing for initiating various forms of stereotyping and portrayal of women, the elderly, disabled, racial and

ethnic groups. Studies conducted by many scholars on women's portrayal have shown various degrees of stereotyping them especially when it comes to their depiction in the media (Manya 2013). To address this negative trend, scholars have proposed some guidelines to ensure that women are portrayed positively beyond their stereotypical roles.

The code of ethics of the Advertising Association of Ghana (AAG) is among some of these protocols. It emphasizes that, advertising must not exploit sex in obvious or implied context or cast a group as inferior to others. Aside, Article 6 of the code of ethics of the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) also impressed upon journalists that in composing their stories they should not produce journalistic material that is discriminatory to either by ethnicity, colour, creed, gender or sexual orientation. the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1952), Article 7 of the UN Convention for Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Declaration Platform for Action (BDPFA) among others some of the proposed guidelines to ensure that the media portrays women positively in the Journalist space.

For the purposes of this study, the above international protocols identified the media as very critical in representing women's issues, and therefore advocated for the promotion of a balanced and non-stereotypical portrayal of women in the media. The protocols also advocated for the political right of and equality in women's access to and participation in the decision making process of governance in their various countries.

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

buttressed by the Women's Manifesto for Ghana, a political document put together by a coalition of women organizations. The Women's Manifesto, a political document initiated by ABANTU for Development and Action Aid Ghana, identified the lack of women's representation in politics and also recognised the role of the media in addressing some of the gender inequalities. Research has shown that media coverage of female candidates in election both locally and internationally spans several decades ago with the most extensive of these studies been conducted by the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP). Findings of the GMMP, (2010) study revealed that women make up 24% of subjects seen, heard and read about in the media. Only 16% of the stories focused on women specifically, 48% reinforce gender stereotypes while only 8% of the news stories challenged such stereotypes.

2.12 Women and Legislative Governance

According to scholars such as Baah-Ennunh, Owusu and Kokor, (2005), historically, women did not have right to vote in any country worldwide until 1893 when New Zealand became the first country to give women the right to vote. Another example is the USA where women came to Congress in 1916 and was granted the right to exercise their franchise in 1920 and had 10% parliamentary seats in 1992. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) became the first country to reach 10% women in its national legislator in 1946 followed by Ecuador which elected its first female parliamentarian in 1956 and attained 10% parliamentary seats in 1998 (Paxton, Hughes and Painter 2010). Elsewhere in Europe, Norway became sovereign in 1905 and Finland was the first country to adopt both fundamental democratic rights for women to vote and be voted for in 1906.

In Britain for instance Bruley (2004) (as cited in Baah-Ennunh, Owusu and Kokor, 2005) posits that the Representation of the People's Act, 1918 allowed only women

aged 30 years and above to vote and to stand for parliamentary elections. Germany also attained 20% in 1950 and 30% in 1967 respectively. In Portugal, women were granted the political right to vote in 1976. For Africa, the struggle for women's rights to decision-making process has also been an uphill task against patriarchy, poverty and religion. African women have consistently fallen well below the world average in political representation (Baah-Ennunh, Owusu and Kokor 2005:3), but this has improved. Women legislators in African parliaments tripled their numbers between 1990 and 2010. In Seychelles for instance, women claimed 44%of the seats in 2011 (Hughes and Tripp 2015).

In November 1997, the South African Development Community (SADC) Heads of Government adopted the Declaration on Gender and Development, in which they committed themselves to achieving 30% representation of women in decision-making posts by 2005. Subsequently, in 2005, the SADC set another goal of 50% targeted at 2015. In 2007, Rwanda elected the world's highest ratio of women in parliament with 48.8% and in 2008 became the first country to elect women to a majority of national legislative seats. By the end of 2010, women held an average of 27% of the parliamentary seats in post-conflict African countries, compared to just 14% in remaining countries (Hughes and Tripp 2015).

The Rwandan experience as asserted by Cole (2011) has proven to be a referenced landmark not only in Africa, but for all democracies. Currently, women in Africa hold an average of 22.4% of national legislative seat; slightly higher than the world average of 21.8 %(IPU, 2014). Statistics from the IPU on the world's average for women in parliament stood at 19.8% in 2012 (Jabre, 2012). By the end of 2012, America led the regions with the highest average of women MPs at 25.2 %, followed by Africa, (24.5%), Europe (22.6%), Asia (18.4%) and trailed by the Pacific 16.2% respectively. As at June

2014, only 22.3% of the members in single or lower houses of 190 parliaments around the world are women (Stockemer and Tremblay, 2015).

In Ghana, women's political participation predates the modern political system and their political involvement at the national level could be traced to the pre-independence era, (Bawa and Sanyare, 2013). Allah-Mensah (2005) however notes that, women's participation in politics, both as parliamentarians or as government ministers has traversed and fluctuated over the years. The political life of Ghana between the overthrow of Dr. Nkrumah in 1966 and the coup d'état led by Flt. Lt. Jerry Rawlings on 31stDecember 1981, was dominated by various military regimes, although there were two civilian regimes, (1969 and 1979), albeit short lived (Prah, 2003). Tsikata, (1989) as an 'apolitical' phase described this period on the women's front.

Rah explains that, the civilian regimes of the period did not show any particular interest in raising the profile of women as Nkrumah did. However, the major landmark in policy during the period was the establishment of the National Council for Women and Development (NCWD) in 1975 to promote women's issues. The first woman appointment into a key political position was made in 1979 in the person of Mrs. Amon Nikoi as Commissioner of Foreign Affairs. The 1981 coup d'état gave birth to the Provisional National Defense Committee (PNDC) and to a new mass of political organizations which created opportunities for the establishment of a women's organization, known as the Federation of Ghanaian Women (FEGAWO) in March 1982. Nonetheless, FEGAWO was swallowed by the 31st December Women's Movement (DWM), which Hinformation obtained during a visit to the Ministry by researcher was launched in May 1982 and led by First Lady, Nana Konadu Agyemang-Rawlings, who was perceived to enjoy some support from the Chairman of PNDC (Prah, 2003). Gradually, the DWM dissolved the NCWD and replaced it with a

management committee. Using the DWM as her platform, Mrs. Rawlings rose to political prominence. She was visible in the media and campaigned actively to garner votes for her husband, Mr. Rawlings. To Allah-Mensah (2005), there is ample proof to show that many women who had some political experience to contest and even won district level elections were all politically connected to the DWM. Even though, Ghana has not had any female president, the Fourth Republic under the 1992 Constitution has recorded a few women nominees as vice- presidential candidates by the Convention Peoples Party (CPP), Peoples National Convention (PNC) and Progressive Peoples Party (PPP), (Wildaf, 2009). In 2010, Ms. Samia Yaaba Nkrumah was elected the Chairperson of the CPP. During the 2012 general elections however, for the first time, there were two female presidential flag bearers of marginal parties namely: Nana Konadu Agyemang-Rawlings of the National Democratic Party (NDP) and Akua Donkor of the Ghana Freedom Party (GFP).

2.13 Sustainable Development Goals and Gender Empowerment

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (SDGs) which was adopted by all United Nations Member States in 2015 which Ghana is a member states provides a shared blueprint for peace and prosperity for people and the planet. It should be emphasised that the heart of the member states is to work in partnership towards achieving the set target of the 17 goals of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This calls for the urgent action by all member states to actually work in partnership to achieve the set goals.

It is very imperative to state that women's equality and empowerment is not only one of the goals of the SDGs, but also integral to all dimensions of inclusive and sustainable development. In short, all the SDGs achievement depend greatly on the Goal 5 which lays more emphasis on women empowerment and promoting gender equality, ending

all forms of discrimination against women and girls. This will not only ensure a basic human right, but will also has a multiplier effect on the attainment of all the SDGs which include:

GOAL 1: No Poverty

GOAL 2: Zero Hunger

GOAL 3: Good Health and Well-being

GOAL 4: Quality Education

GOAL 6: Clean Water and Sanitation

GOAL 7: Affordable and Clean Energy

GOAL 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth

GOAL 9: Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure

GOAL 10: Reduced Inequality

GOAL 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities

GOAL 12: Responsible Consumption and Production

GOAL 13: Climate Action

GOAL 14: Life Below Water

GOAL 15: Life on Land

GOAL 16: Peace and Justice Strong Institutions

GOAL 17: Partnerships to achieve the Goal

Gender equality by 2030 requires urgent action to eliminate the many root causes of discrimination that still curtail women's rights in private and public spheres. For example, discriminatory laws need to change and legislation adopted to proactively advance equality. The Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in September 1995, called for women empowerment, full participation and equality for women and stressed that they are the very foundations for peace and sustainable development. The stakeholders at the said Conference also acknowledged that sustainable development policies that do not involve women and men alike will not be sustained at all.

Aside the above, in Rio, women were considered a "major group" whose involvement was necessary to achieve sustainable development. Today, there is a growing emphasis on "mainstreaming"- integrally incorporating women's concerns and participation in the planning, implementation and monitoring of all development and environmental management programmes to ensure that women benefit. The United Nations system has already begun the process of mainstreaming a gender-perspective in its work.

It true that in recent years more women have entered political positions mainly through the use of special quotas, they still hold a mere 23.7 per cent of parliamentary seats, far short of parity. The situation is not much better in the private sector, where women globally occupy less than a third of senior and middle management positions (UNDP report 2015).

According to the United Nations Development Programme, Sustainable development depends on an equitable distribution of resources for today and for the future (UNDP Report 2015). This cannot be achieved without gender equality. Women's empowerment is a key factor for achieving sustainable economic growth, social

development and environmental sustainability. As stated above, all the remaining 16 goals of the SDGs cannot be achieved meaningfully with the margenilisation of women in the governance process.

It is equally also very important to pinpoint some of the finding of the progress of the goal five (5) of the SDGs in the 2019 report. It states that women continue to be underrepresented at all levels of political leadership. The Report added that as at January 1, 2019, women's representation in national Parliaments ranged from 0 to 61.3 per cent, with the average standing at 24.2 per cent, an increase from 19 per cent in 2010. At the local level, data from 99 countries and areas show that women's representation in elected deliberative bodies varies from less than 1 per cent to 48 per cent, with the median of the distribution at 26 per cent.

While the Report further revealed that over the past 25 years, there has been progress in reforming laws towards improving gender equality, it mentioned that discriminatory laws and gaps in legal protection still remained a challenge in many countries. On the basis of data collected across four areas of law in 2018 from 53 countries, almost a third have legal gaps in the area of overarching legal frameworks and public life (e.g., constitutions, anti-discrimination laws, quotas, legal aid); more than a quarter have legal gaps in the area of violence against women; and 29 per cent and 24 per cent have legal gaps in the employment and economic benefits area and in the marriage and family area, respectively.

The Report concluded that despite progress in implementing gender-responsive budgeting globally, gaps remain in country efforts to establish comprehensive and transparent tracking systems. Based on 2018 data from 69 countries, 13 countries fully

met the criteria of having in place a tracking system that measures and makes publicly available gender budget data, and 41 countries met the requirements.

All these emerging issues call for radical and proactive action to be taken by all stakeholders particularly the state and the private sector including the media and Civil Society organization to redress the gender gap to pave the way for development. If Ghana and other countries want to see rapid development, then the gender gap must be broken.

2.14 Summary

The literature review section of this chapter reviewed a number of secondary literature that relates to this research. It also reviewed existing regulatory body's activities especially the National Communication Authority (NMC) and its guidelines on the operation of media coverage on issues particularly in elections. The chapter also examined the historical development of media and women in politics at both local and the global levels. Theories such as Feminist, Framing and the Agenda Setting were extensively treated since these theories relate to this research work. These theories were later synthesized at the analysis stage to give meaning to the data collected.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the approach and methods used in gathering data for the study on media coverage of female parliamentary candidates of the 2016 parliamentary election in Ghana. It describes the units of analysis and data collection procedures. The study examines media coverage of female parliamentary candidates in the 2016 employing content analysis of the two state owned print media, the Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times newspapers. Specifically, it covers the methods of data collection and instruments, data handling and analysis. Reasons for the choices made are also outlined. In addition, the chapter explains the underlying principles for the various methods and procedures for the research design. Again, the coding instruments, coding protocol and operational definitions that lend meaning to the themes, issues, categories, and frames that emerged in the analysis of data are provided. Other procedures for data collection are also provided.

3.1 Research Approach

The approach to this study is qualitative. Baxter and Jack (2008) define qualitative case study as a methodology that provides tools for researchers to study complex phenomena within their context. According to Baxter and Jack (2008), when the approach is applied correctly, it becomes a valuable method for researchers to develop theory, valuate programmes and develop interventions that may be necessary in a given situation. Qualitative case studies afford researchers opportunity to explore or describe a phenomenon in context using a variety of data sources. It allows the researcher to explore individuals or organizations from simple to complex interventions,

relationships, communities, or programmes and supports the deconstruction and subsequent reconstruction of various phenomena.

This approach is valuable because of its flexibility and rigour, (Yin, 2003 as cited in Baxter & Jack, 2008). Creswell (2012) summarises the characteristics of qualitative research approach and amongst them is; that qualitative study must be conducted in a natural setting. By this, it means the research approach collects data in a natural setting and mostly on the field where the participants are studied in their natural environment. Individuals are not sent to the laboratory to be studied nor do individuals complete an instrument. Researchers interact with their subjects face to face over a period of time. In this case, the researcher of this study who employs content analysis will also engage the newspapers under study thoroughly to enable him gather in-depth data for the analysis and interpretations.

Creswell (2012) states that the researcher is the key instrument to qualitative study. To this end, the researcher collects data by himself or herself through examining and observing documents. In this case, this study examines the *Daily Graphic* and *the Ghanaian Times Newspapers* coverage of female Parliamentary candidates by making inferences of paragraphs and headlines on female parliamentary candidates' stories published the papers. This researcher adopts this approach to study the *Daily Graphic and Ghanaian Times Newspapers* on how they provide media coverage to female Parliamentary Candidates in the 2016 Parliamentary election. This researcher investigates these newspapers through content analysis.

3.2 Research Design

The design for this study is content analysis. Content analysis is a method which is generally accepted and widely applied to texts by linguists, journalists, communication

scholars including professionals in psychology and sociology. The method is popular with mass media research because it is an efficient way to investigate the content of a medium, such as the number and types of commercials or advertisements in broadcasting or the print media (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). Content analysis has been defined in various ways.

Walizer and Wienir (1978) as cited in Wimmer and Dominick (2011) defined it as any systematic procedure devised to examine the content of recorded information. Krippendorf (2004) cited in Wimmer and Dominick (2011) defines it as a research technique for making replicable and valid references from data to their context. These ideas also match this study. The news stories under study are examined through the lenses of news frames. The method of gathering information allows the researcher to study cultural changes and track discourse over time and link media logic and formats to contents (Altheide, 2000).

Content analysis was used as early as 1891 by Ida B. Wells to test a widely held view that black men were lynched for raping white women. As a research method, she examined newspaper articles during the previous ten years (Babbie, 2005, p.329). Kirppendorf (1980) supports the assertion of the effectiveness of content analysis for the examination of recorded human communications especially when the meaning of the messages is latent. Kirpeendorf (2004) asserts that content analysis is "a research technique for making replicable and valid references from texts to the context of their use," and essential to understanding data not only as a physical event but also as symbolic phenomena warranting an unobtrusive approach to their study.

This study, therefore, examines media coverage of female parliamentary candidates in the 2016 election by employing content analysis of the two state owned newspapers, the Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times. The researcher selected newspaper articles that covered female parliamentary candidates from the two state owned Ghanaian newspapers, *the Daily Graphic* and *the Ghanaian Times* for analysis.

In particular, the frequency of media coverage of the female parliamentary candidates in the newspapers, story types, placement of stories, tone, mode of descriptions of the female parliamentary candidates in the newspapers were investigated to see how they were portrayed.

3.3 Subject of Study

The decision to choose newspapers for the study is informed by a number of factors. The print media, such as newspapers, have been found to be one of the effective medium for influencing the general public as well as shaping public opinion about policies and programes (Evans & Ulasevich, 2005).

Besides, newspapers are among the most accessible and affordable sources of information, and widely used and accepted (Wasserman, 1999). Valeda (2002) has also avers that newspapers are more practical and of substantive value to research in framing. Additionally, newspapers are found to command a central role in social discourse of ordinary people in Ghana (Hasty 2005).

Furthermore, the general public interest in newspapers has been enhanced by radio stations (Ofori-Birikorang, 2009). Morning show on radio and television on the review of newspapers has enhanced public interest in newspapers (Ofori-Birikorang, 2009). He continues that daily morning shows on radio and television carry out a review of newspapers and discuss headlines and salient issues with their audience which enables anyone who wants to follow up on an issue to do so with ease by getting a copy of the

newspapers rather than getting a radio transcript which can, sometimes be difficult to obtain.

3.4 Sampling Strategy

The study adopted a case study design by collecting data from two newspapers in the entire population of newspapers in Ghana. The selected newspapers for this study are the Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times. The decision to select these two newspapers for the study is informed by number of factors and considerations. The two Newspapers are state-owned media houses and enjoy considerable daily circulation and are of historical significance in Ghana. Aside, the Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times devote more attention to national politics, making its coverage of female parliamentary candidates and issues regarding women in general more extensive than the rest of the newspapers. They also lead in setting the agenda of other news for other media outlets to follow suit. In terms of readership, the Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times circulation cuts across the country making them classified as National Newspapers in Ghana. The study used the purposive and availability sampling method (Bertrand & Hughes 2005, p. 199) and used "the entire universe of articles" available from the period of study (Valeda, 2002, p. 147). This research uses print news items from the Daily Graphic and The Ghanaian Times newspapers to examine the context to which female parliamentary candidates in political spaces are framed.

The unit of analysis includes stories of the candidates, the placement of the stories, headlines, tone, descriptions and framing of the female parliamentary candidates by the newspapers. Paragraphs were also used as parts of units of analysis. This allow for ease of identifying and categorizing themes since entire news stories may have several themes. The stories were also selected based on the news items pertaining to the female parliamentary candidates mentioned in the newspapers. Each edition of the two

newspapers published within the study period was reviewed for stories that fit the study criteria.

News items published within July 1, 2016 to December 14, 2016 about the female parliamentary candidates fall within the period considered for the study and these news items were coded for the study. A news item is defined to include any news story that discussed these female parliamentary candidates. Photographs about the female parliamentary candidates used by the newspapers were also considered for this study. The newspapers selected for analysis in this study spans the period between July 1, 2016 and December 14, 2016. This period was selected for the study because it was within the campaign period of the parliamentary election and candidates turn to use the media extensively for their political campaigns.

In total, that is, *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times Newspapers*, 282 newspapers were published within the period between July 1, and December 14, 2016 with 141 newspapers each. Out of the newspapers reviewed, a total of 261 parliamentary candidates' news items (stories), were gotten thus, *Daily Graphic* 171 and *Ghanaian Times*, 90. Out of the total number of 261 stories published on parliamentary candidates within the period under review, a total of 90 news items or stories were on female parliamentary candidates, thus, 59 news items for *Daily Graphic* and 31 news items for *Ghanaian Times*.

3.5 Daily Graphic

The Mirror Group of London with its headquarters in the United Kingdom established the Daily Graphic in Ghana in 1953. (Asante, 1996). However, Barton (1979) and Hatchen (1971), point to the fact that Daily Graphic was sold to the government and became nationalized in 1963. The newspapers currently enjoy the highest coverage in

Ghana with a daily circulation of about 200,000 representing 45% of the daily newspaper circulation and is published six days in a week (Monday to Saturday). Distribution is mainly within regional capitals and urban centres of the country.

The *Daily Graphic* is made up of 80 pages including the Gender and Children pages (pages 8-10) World News (page 2), Inside Africa (Page 5), Editorial and Features/Opinion articles (Page 4), Education (Page 11), Politics (Pages 15-19), Regional News (Page 21), Metro News (Pages 29-31), Business (Pages 33), Classified and Funeral Announcement (Pages 42-43) and Sports (Pages 46-47). It is very significant to note that these pages may vary taking into consideration advertisements available for the day's publication.

The *Daily Graphic* has over the years has attained reputation for asserting its independence through editorial policies, a position often seen by Government as critical of their administration. As a result, several government interferences have occurred (Asante, 1996). However, the paper has continued to maintain its editorial independence and has remained economically viable.

3.6 The Ghanaian Times

The *Ghanaian Times* published its first newspaper on March 3, 1958 as the Guinea Times led by Ghana's first president, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah who did so to propagate his own political agenda and that of his Convention People's Party (CPP). Established during the period when the CPP was in power, the paper operated an editorial policy that served to ensure the protection and defense of the government (Asante, 1996; Yankah, 1994). Following the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah in 1966, the Guinea Press was transferred to the new government as state property. In 1971, an instrument of incorporation (Act 363, 1971) established the New Times Corporation to oversee the

publication of the *Ghanaian Times*. The paper receives a major portion of its budget from government, a situation that lends itself to some form of governmental control, creating a seeming 'healthy' and dependable' relations with governments in power (Ofori-Birikorang, 2009).

The Ghanaian Times comes second to the Daily Graphic in terms of circulation, which stands at 150,000 copies daily. Like the Daily Graphic, The Ghanaian Times is published from Mondays to Saturdays. The paper has a page extent of 32 including pages dedicated to editorials (page 4), Africa News (page 5), World News (Pages 6-7), Features (Pages 8-9), General News (Pages 2, 11, 14 and 21), Regional News (Pages 22-25), Business (Pages 26), Sports (Pages 28-32) and Politics (Pages 12-13) with the rest dedicated to advertisement. The paper has regional offices countrywide with regional editors and journalists who compose and transmit news from their specific regions to Accra, the headquarters of the newspaper for onwards publication for general consumption of the public.

3.7 Units of Analysis

The researcher of this study coded excerpts of paragraphs and headlines from the newspapers pertaining to female parliamentary candidates within the six months period of the study. The study also explores on how the newspapers accompany female parliamentary aspirants stories with their pictorials to enhance visibility to the voter population.

3.8 Data Collection Procedure

News items on the female parliamentary candidates published in the two newspapers were selected for the study. Data collection began from the library of the Department of Communication and Media Studies of University of Education, Winneba (UEW),

the Balme Library at the University of Ghana, the Bolgatanga Technical University to the library of the Upper East Regional Directorate of Information Service between January 1, 2020 to March, 2020. Hard copies of news articles spanning the period of July 1, 2016 to December 14, 2016 were collected. The papers that contain news items on the female parliamentary candidates were selected for the study. As stated earlier, the researcher collected data from news items covering the female parliamentary candidates mentioned in the two newspapers in terms of placement and frequency of stories, the kind of stories, and the presentation of the pictures of the candidates.

3.9 Data Analysis

A content and textual analysis of news items on the female parliamentary candidates were done. The researcher employed a close reading of the news items to identify the recurring frames in the reporting in the studied Newspapers. Inductive data analysis procedure as one of the features of qualitative data analysis was adopted to analyse the large volume of data collected from both the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times newspapers*.

Interpretation which is another feature identified by. Creswell (2012) was used to interpret the data collected such that meanings could be made of the entire research. Qualitative research adopts interpretative method of inquiry in which case researchers make an interpretation of what they see, hear and understand. Their interpretations are done in relation to their backgrounds, history, contexts and prior understandings. These procedures were informed by the researchers understanding of the subject matter under investigation as well as the social context of the Ghanaian society. The Feminist theory, the Framing and the Agenda Setting theories employed by this researcher played significant part in arriving at a particular interpretation in this research work.

Coding and thematic analysis were employed for the data analysis. News items concerning female parliamentary candidates that appeared in the two newspapers between July 1 and December 14, 2016 were included in the sample and coded for analysis. Two assistant researchers were trained to help in the coding process. Interceder reliability is an integral part of content analysis. It allows researchers to argue for the consistency and by extension the validity, of their findings (SAGE Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods, 2017). Inter-coder reliability was 89%. Each article was looked at by coding the newspaper title, headline, date of publication, type of news item, section, and number of paragraphs, story entered on female parliamentary candidates, source of quotes, nature of story, and the themes used in framing the female parliamentary candidates. Preliminary reviews of other studies, for example, the Global Media Monitoring Project, (2009/2010) found that women were framed around themes like their family status and incompetence. These are already established frames and were quite obvious from initial contact with some of the texts.

In line with Brown (2010) study, a close reading of the news articles was done and some content categories were developed based on the interpretations, themes and frames that emerged in each article or news story. In addition, the following provided a guide on the analysis of news items and coding:

Placement: The importance placed on a news story may also be determined by the positioning of the article, amount of information given and the way the information is presented. The stories were coded for placement on the front pages or inside page, centre and back page. Stories that had only headlines on the front page and the actual story appearing on another page were coded the same as those with the entire story on the front page.

Placement of stories is important as it suggests that among the other stories in the newspapers, the front-page stories are ranked first in terms of importance by the newspaper outlets. Placement also plays a role of establishing a platform to illustrate, discussion. News article centered on female parliamentary candidates: The article's centeredness on the female parliamentary candidates were coded.

Quotes of female parliamentary candidates in news article: Whether the female parliamentary candidates were quoted or not quoted. This is important because quotations play very important role as they serve as the basis for the credibility of generated stories by journalists.

Nature of story: The news articles were coded for the nature of the story to determine if they challenge or reinforce gender stereotypes or if they were neutral.

Frames and Categories: The data from the news items were coded into frames such as Stereotypes, Incompetence, Family Ties and Mischief. These frames elicit certain specific cultural consideration within which meanings (which may be multi-dimensional) are made. It implies inducement of "what will be discussed, how it will be discussed, how it will be discussed, and above all, how it will not be discussed)" (Altheidi 1996, p.31).

Briefly provided below are the frames:

- Stereotypes
- Incompetence
- Family life relationship
- Dependent personality traits

3.10 Validity

According to Yin (2003), the validity and reliability of any social science research can be substantiated from data collection. From the selection of the newspaper articles to reading the text, care was taken to ensure conformity with social science standards required for any social inquiry.

3.11 Summary

This chapter outlined the method used by the researcher to investigate the media coverage of female parliamentary candidates in Ghana in the 2016 Parliamentary election. The research uses qualitative methods. Data were collected from two main sources: The *Daily Graphic* and The *Ghanaian Times newspapers*.

In addition, the entire research design and the reasons that informed the choices made were explained. Processes used for data collection were also explained and the issue of validity is addressed. The various steps outlined under this chapter are sampling strategy, research design, subjects of study, period of study, data collection, data analysis and frames and themes identified.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0 Introduction

The findings of the research are presented in this chapter. Data have been coded and analysed into themes in line with the research questions. This chapter also discusses the findings of the study.

4.1. Coverage of Female Parliamentary Candidates Daily Graphic

From the table 1 below, the *Daily Graphic* newspaper provided 59 frequencies to the coverage of female parliamentary from the entire six months period of the study, beginning from July 1 to December 2016.

Table 1: Female Parliamentary Candidates Stories Published by Daily Graphic.

Month	Frequency (Female)	Percentage (%)	
July	9	15	
August	12	20	
September	10	17	
October	6	10	
November	14	24	
December	8	14	
Total	59	100	

Source: Fieldwork Data, 2019

Table 2: Frequencies of Female Parliamentary Candidates Stories Published by Ghanaian Times

Month	Frequency (Female)	Percentage (%)	
July	8	25	
August	2	6	
September	7	23	
October	4	13	
November	7	23	
December	- SOUCAS	10	
Total	31	100	

Source: Fieldwork Data, 2019

From Table 2, the study found that *the Ghanaian Times newspaper*, from July1, to December 14, 2016, provided 31 media frequencies to the coverage of female parliamentary candidates'.

Table 3: Total Frequency of Media Space for Female Parliamentary Candidates

Name of Publisher	Frequency (Female)	Percentage (%)
Daily Graphic	59	66
Ghanaian Times	31	44
Total	90	100

Source: Fieldwork Data, 2019

From the Table 3, the *Daily Graphic newspaper* gave media frequencies of 59 to female parliamentary candidates' campaign stories within the period considered for the study (from July-December 14, 2016). *The Ghanaian Times newspaper* on the other hand gave media frequencies of 31 news items to female parliamentary candidates' campaign stories.

The findings from the analysis showed that in terms media frequencies the two national newspapers understudy did not fare well as the two put together allotted only 90 times of media frequencies to female parliamentary candidates under the period of the study. This, therefore, buttressed the findings of the Global Media Monitoring Project (2019) study which indicates that women make up 24% of subjects seen, heard and read about in the media.

The inclination of the two newspapers of not giving more coverage to female parliamentary candidates during the period of the study confirms the agenda-setting theory which states that more the more frequent the media hype and issue, the more importance society attach to such an issue. It is therefore paramount to state that the more frequently the media give to the coverage of female parliamentary candidates, the more importance the electorate will attach to female parliament issues and vote for them. Unfortunately, the two newspapers under this study failed to meet this criteria in the coverage of female parliamentary candidates during the 2016 election.

However, the Daily Graphic newspaper gave more time of media space to female parliamentary candidates under the period of the study than that of the Ghanaian Times. This is because whilst the Daily Graphic gave media space of 59 frequencies to the coverage of female parliamentary candidates, the Ghanaian Times allotted media frequencies of only 31 to female parliamentary candidates. The Daily Graphic apart from its political page, established Constituency Watch page as one of its pages for the promoting the coverage of aspiring politicians during the 2016 general elections and that might have accounted for its more frequency coverage of female parliamentary candidates than the Ghanaian Times newspaper. Another factor that may also account for the paper giving more coverage of the female parliamentary candidates than the Ghanaian Times newspaper could also be attributed to its gender page, which was used

to promote female parliamentary candidates during the period. The *Daily Graphic* also is voluminous and has 80-pages whilst that of the *Ghanaian Times* is less voluminous and has only 32 –pages. The research concludes that this might has accounted for the *Ghanaian Times newspaper* providing less frequencies for the coverage of female parliamentary stories.

Table 4: Importance of Newspapers attachment to the coverage of female from July1, 2016 to December 14, 2016

Pages	Daily Graphic	Ghanaian Times	Total
Front	D'	1,0	2
Back	0	0	0
Centre	0	0	0
Feature Article	24	2	26
Photographs	47	6	53

Source: Fieldwork Data, 2019

Table 4, shows the level of prominence the two media houses understudy gave to female parliamentary candidates during the 2016 elections. From the table, it is clear that the two media houses gave little prominence to female parliamentary candidates as only one story of female parliamentary candidate was placed on the front page by each of the newspapers within the six month-period of the study. From the table, it could also be seen that none of the two media outlets understudy placed any news items in either the centre or back pages of the newspapers published in the period of the study. The research also showed that 26 feature articles of female parliamentary candidates were published by both media outlets, thus 24 for *Daily Graphic* and two for the Ghanaian Times.

The findings revealed that a total number of 53 pictures accompanying stories composed for female parliamentary candidates were published in both newspapers outlets. The *Daily Graphic* carried the largest with 47 and *the Ghanaian Times*, 6. The study showed that both newspapers did not give prominence to the coverage of female parliamentary candidates. This is because the two newspapers each published only one female parliamentary candidate story in their front pages.

The study also established that the publication of the two stories on the front pages of those newspapers may be due to their controversies in nature as they published same story. Even that it was only the headlines that were published on the front pages of the two newspapers but the main story was buried inside the newspapers. For instance, that of the *Ghanaian Times newspaper* with the headline "Zenator Rawlings cleared to contest Korle Klottey seat" published on the front page of the July 19 edition of the paper, the main story was buried on the bottom of page 16 of the paper.

That of the *Daily Graphic* repeated same scenario like the *Ghanaian Times* also with the headline "Zenator looks for Parliamentary ambition" on the front page of the paper whilst the main story was also buried on page 16 of the paper. Besides, the two newspapers did not give prominence to the female parliamentary candidates by failing to publish female parliamentary candidates' stories in the centre and back pages which serve as the avenues for portraying the prominence of political candidates. In fact, none of the papers published a single female parliamentary candidate story in their centre and back pages.

According to Dzeble (2006), the front page, middle page, and the back page are the most prominent pages in newspapers. Female parliamentary candidates' coverage was missing in the two newspapers selected for the study. The prominence a newspaper

attaches to a story may be determined by the front, centre and back pages on which the story is placed. It is, therefore, assumed that stories that are placed on the front pages of newspapers are considered more important, and followed by the centre-spread and back pages. This confirms Thuo's work that the print media coverage of women parliamentary candidates was low, with their stories placed in the inside pages and hardly on the headlines or prominent pages thus, making them invisible (Thuo, 2012).

Where the two newspapers seemed to have performed better was the devoting of much of their spaces for the publications of feature articles for female parliamentary candidates to market themselves for votes. In all, the two papers published 26 feature articles with the *Daily Graphic* publishing the highest number of 24 due to its voluminous nature coupled with its constituency watch and gender pages. The *Ghanaian Times* published two of such feature articles. The writing of feature articles on parliamentary candidates is able to market political candidates very well and put them on a limelight to be voted for power than the usual straight stories. This is because in the feature articles, issues about the political candidates are well contextualized and more detailed than the normal straight way stories. The candidates' prominence is more highlighted in feature stories.

Another area, the newspapers did perform satisfactorily was that they accompanied many of their stories with pictures. In all 53 female parliamentary candidates' pictures were used by the two newspapers in their publications. *The Daily Graphic* carried the largest with 47 pictures and the *Ghanaian Times*, 6 pictures. This enhances the chances of the female parliamentary candidates in winning the election as their images accompanied the stories exposed them vividly to the electorates. As established by the findings of the study, the two newspapers exhibited dominant gender frames in providing coverage for female parliamentary candidates.

4.2 Frames and their Supporting Evidence

Some of the dominant gender frames this study investigated in the newspapers are:

- Stereotyping
- Incompetence
- Family Ties
- Dependent Personality Traits

The distribution table below quantifies the number of stereotypical stories on female parliamentary candidates that were carried by the newspapers within the study period.

Table 5: Stereotypes

20/15	Daily Graphic	Ghanaian Times	Total
Stereotyping	15	7	22
Incompetence	10	6	16
Family ties	13	7	20
Dependent Personality Traits	11	7	18

Source: Fieldwork Data, 2019

From the Table 5 above, the study found that the two newspapers put together carried 22 female parliamentary stories that were considered stereotypically. Whilst *the Daily Graphic newspaper* carried 15 stereotypical stories, that of the *Ghanaian Times* carried 7. The study also found that the two newspapers portrayed female parliamentary candidates as incompetent with sixteen excerpts. Thus *Daily Graphic* 10 and the *Ghanaian Times* 6. The study also found out that instead of the newspapers focusing more on the political messages of the female parliamentary candidates, they concentrated more on their family ties. For instance, while the *Daily Graphic* 20 reports on female parliamentary aspirants' issues relates to their family relations, that of the Ghanaian Times carried 7, bringing the total number to 20.

The study further found that the newspapers employed the Dependent Personality Traits in the coverage of female parliamentary candidates during the study period. For instance, in the *Daily Graphic*, 11 extracts of news items published on female parliamentary candidates were related to the Dependent Personality Traits. The *Ghanaian Times newspaper* also used 7 extracts as Dependent Personality Traits. This brings the total number 18 Dependent Personality Traits employed by the newspapers in coverage female parliamentary within the study period. For better appreciation and understanding of the findings on the dominant gender frames employed by the newspapers in their reportage of female parliamentary candidates, the study operationalises the frames and also uses extracts gathered from the data to analysis that phenomenon.

Stereotyping is about the over generalized belief about a particular group of people. This means the society assigned roles to certain groups of people and politics is not an exception. In this study the researcher identified certain stereotypical statements made by *the Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times* newspapers primarily in their coverage of female parliamentary candidates during the 2016 elections.

For instance, the excerpt "Mrs Adu Gyemfi, a married woman with four children..." found on page 11 of the July 16, 2016 edition of the *Daily Graphic* with the caption "Female Parliamentary Candidate determined to work hard" is seen as an illustration of one of the stereotypes exhibited by the newspaper in the coverage of female parliamentary during the 2016 election in Ghana. The stereotypical manner in which the journalist of the *Daily Graphic* portrays the female parliamentary candidate to the electorates could influence the choice of the electorates. The aspirant is married; she may be perceived as somebody who cannot hold political position because of her marital roles.

To add to the report, the journalist of the *Daily Graphic* describes the female parliamentary aspirant as somebody who is married with the phrase "four children". This seemed to connote that once Mrs. Adu Gyemfi had so many responsibilities in her hand, she cannot combine that with politics. Such description by the journalists during election coverage has the tendency of dissuading many electorates from voting for female politicians.

The *Daily Graphic* journalist action is in tandem with Goffman (1979) framing theory which is used as one of the frameworks by this researcher. Goffman explained how the media selected certain aspects of perceived reality to highlight, interpret and communicate. In building upon Goffman Framing theory, Dewulf and Bouwen (2012) in their study, define framing "as the forceful portrayal and direction of meaning in ongoing interactions, which are temporal communications structures that people build around issues during discussions or debates". This study found that the *Daily Graphic* journalist who is a male in this write-up might have been influenced by the cultural settings on how the society stenotype females as being only assigned to marital roles such as domestic chores and given birth and raising children up.

In other words, society does not see women as persons who are the occupiers of political positions and that political positions are the preserved of men and not females. This corroborates Strinati,'s study which avers that cultural representations of women in the media support and perpetuate the prevailing sexual division of labour. She ended in her study by blaming the unequal position of women in society to assigned roles such as the mother, homemaker by society, and often accepted to be the normal roles of women in a patriarchal society (Strinati, 2004).

Furthermore, the *Daily Graphic newspaper* displayed another stereotypical element in its coverage of female parliamentary candidates with the headline "two iron ladies clash at Krowor" on page 26 of the September 12, 2016 edition of the *Daily Graphic*. This forms part of another typical examples of gender frames. Generally, women are often perceived as persons who exhibit masculinity in their endeavours especially when seeking for positions. Nonetheless describing them with the word "iron ladies" as done by the *Daily Graphic* could send a signal to the electorates that they (female political candidates) are violent and may dissuade the electorates from voting them into power.

Another negative diction which is used inappropriately for the two female parliamentary aspirants is the two iron ladies "clash "at Krowor. The word "clash" seems to describe the two female parliamentary candidates as combatants. This also has the potential of portraying the two female contestants in a negative manner to the electorates and may affect their chances of winning the seat. The Ghanaian Times on its part also portrayed female parliamentary aspirants stereotypically.

For instance, the paragraph, "the 49-year-old widow, Mrs. Diana Asuure Aburiya, who contested for the Bongo Central constituency in 2012 and lost, has pledged to win the seat for the New Patriotic Party on the December, 7 elections" (Aug 7,2016 *Ghanaian Times newspaper* edition, page 8). The portrayal of the female parliamentary candidates as widow had nothing to do with her political campaigns, although others may argue that she will use that to win sympathy for more votes. The journalists concluding that the female parliamentary aspirant, Mrs. Ampem has "two hurdles" (Daily *Graphic July* 9, 2016 edition) to overcome in the parliamentary election seems to stereotypically portray the female parliamentary candidates as "weaker vessels". This is an element of stereotypes and are often displayed by the media in their reportage of females aspiring for political positions.

Also, the extract, "She definitely has" herculean task "of erasing the memories of the former NPP MP for the area", (Aug 26 edition, Daily Graphic, page 26) employed by the Daily Graphic reporter in referring to Mrs Morrison Cynthia, female parliamentary aspirant for the Agona West Constituency, also depicts the dominant gender framing of stereotypes of females often exhibited by the media towards female parliamentary aspirants. A herculean task is an extremely difficult task; an almost impossible undertaking. It is therefore assumed that the *Daily Graphic* perceives female parliamentary candidate as "weaker vessels" not capable of handling difficult task such as political positions.

Again the paragraph, "Mrs. Fidelia Kudariwor, a- 48 year-old "physically challenged woman "has vowed to win the seat for Garu-Tempane District of the Upper East Region for the Progressive People's Party" in the *Ghanaian Times* edition (July 9,2016, page 7) is another example of stereotyping portrayed by the paper in its reportage. The extract "physically challenge" used by the *Ghanaian Times* to describe the female aspirant is stereotypical.

Incompetence

Women are usually framed as not capable of handling certain positions in society including political positions and the media. This study reveals the frame of incompetence used in the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times newspapers* during the coverage of female parliamentary candidates in the 2016 parliamentary election.

The portrayal of Mrs. Adu Gyemfi, the female parliamentary aspirant by the *Daily Graphic newspaper* as a "businesswoman" and hairdresser" found on page 11 of the July 16, 2016 edition of the *Daily Graphic* seems to suggest that the female parliamentary candidates lack the administrative and political skills to go into politics.

Some electorates may be influenced by these statements or forms of descriptions that once the female political candidate is a "hairdresser and businesswoman", she will lack the political capability to run any political affair when elected into government.

The excerpt "Madam Mercy Anarkwa, a 58-year-old teacher who is representing the Convention People's Party (CPP) seems to be making "some inroads" is an example of incompetence ascribed by the *Daily Graphic* to the female parliamentary candidate. This is what the journalist of the *Daily Graphic* used to describe, the female parliamentary candidate on page 20 of the November 21 edition of the paper.

The extract "seems to be making some inroads" could suggest to the electorates that the female parliamentary candidate is not competent enough to lead the people. Such portrayals could affect female parliamentary candidates' chances of winning elections. In other words, the journalist and his, newspaper, the *Daily Graphic*, seem to suggest to the electorates that they need not waste their time and energy in casting their votes for the female parliamentary aspirant—since she was not making any headway in her campaigns and might be defeated in the election.

Additionally, the excerpt "Apart from her few sunbaked dis-coloured posters seen on the walls, she has not yet made herself available for any gathering or the press" (page 20 of the November 21 edition of the Daily Graphic). The adjectives such as "sunbaked", "dis-coloured posters" used by the journalist of the Daily Graphic seems to suggest that the female parliamentary aspirant is not capable and competent of managing her own political campaign let alone to manage her constituents should the electorate give her the mandate to run the affairs of the Akropong Constituency. The story continues "Her constituency office cannot be located while the regional office which is located at Koforidua is being rehabilitated with no one on sites" (Daily

Graphic page 20 of the November 21 edition). The *Daily Graphic* seems to portray the female aspirant and her party to the electorates as not having the political muzzle and competency to run the affairs of the constituency since they cannot even manage their own campaigns and party structures.

Furthermore, the extract "Mrs. Diana Aburiya who contested for the Bongo central constituency in 2012 election and lost" by *the Ghanaian Times* seeks to portray the female parliamentary candidate as not competent of winning elections (Aug 7, 2016 edition, page 8). This has the tendency of influencing the voter population not to vote for the female parliamentary candidates.

Beside the above, the *Ghanaian Times newspaper* framed female parliamentary candidates as incompetent in its reportage during the 2016 parliamentary election. For instance, in its December 9, 2016 edition, (page 11), the paper carried a headline story "Samia falls again" in Jomoro. The journalist and the paper, the *Ghanaian Times*, seem to portray Samia as somebody who is incompetent of capturing the Jomoro seat. The frame "falls again" indicates that this is not the first time the female parliamentary candidate had contested the seat and lost. This sentence employed by the Ghanaian Times could also discourage Samia from contesting subsequent elections. In other words, she could become frustrated by the way she was described by the Ghanaian newspapers.

This negative style employed by journalists in the election coverage of female political candidates could discourage other female political candidates who want to seek for political position not to do so and may also affect the voting patterns of such candidates if they even want to stand for election for political positions. As revealed by Chong and Druckman et al (2007) study, framing is seen as very critical in media content studies

since the media is able to redirect the attention of people from one side of an issue to the very opposite of the issue through framing. The two authors, therefore, in their study agreed that framing is a powerful tool in determining the outcomes of elections in the arena of political communication. They concluded by suggesting that framing is a deliberate tactics used by politicians and media personnel to co-ordinate individuals around particular interpretations. The two authors findings collaborate with the above-stated findings of the current study.

Another clear example of this could be cited in Shaw study of how the media set an agenda during the run-off of the 2005 Liberian presidential elections between Mrs. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Mr. George Weah and how the media framed the Presidential candidates (Shaw 2007). Shaw did content analyses of newspaper stories from The Analyst and the Daily Observer and conducted in-depth interviews with the two newspapers editors. She conducted a purposeful sampling to find evidence of the agenda-setting and framing theories as employed by the media in the run-off of the elections scheduled on November 8, 2005. Her findings revealed that Mr. Weah had openly threatened the media in Liberia. Infuriated by Mr. Weah's threat, some media practitioners through the framing concept deliberately set an agenda to sway un-decided voters to vote in favour of Mrs. Johnson Sirleaf by framing issues such as qualifications versus popularity and thus, pushed Mr. Weah out of the contest for the presidency. The author concluded that by emphasising the strength of Sirleaf Johnson, the newspapers framed her positively and Weah negatively. The findings of Shaw's work confirmed the findings of the current study that the media could deliberately frame women politicians the way they want if they choose to do so or otherwise.

In addition, the excerpt "She attempted becoming the flag bearer of the party but also lost the primaries to Mr. Ivor Green street." Here again the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper

portrayed the female candidate as incompetent. The word she "attempted", used by the Ghanaian Times newspaper to describe her portrays her as incompetent.

Family Ties

Family Ties is the phenomenon where journalists and media houses in providing media coverage for political candidates during election relate the families of the political candidates to their stories. For instance, in providing media coverage for the aspiring female parliamentary candidates for the Akwati constituency, this is the way the Daily Graphic portrayed the candidate "Mrs. Adu Gyemfi, a married woman with four children ... "(page 11 of the July 16, 2016 edition of the *Daily Graphic*) This is one of the illustrations of family ties deployed by the newspapers in their election coverage of female parliamentary candidates. This has the potentials of informing the electorates that once female parliamentary aspirants are married with children, they cannot hold political positions and deliver efficiently.

The study also showed how the *Ghanaian Times newspaper* framed Samia with her family ties when the journalist of the Ghanaian Times described her in the paragraph "The only daughter of Ghana's first President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah lost the seat in 2016 on the ticket of the Convention People's Party "This demonstrated one of the dominant gender frames often employed by the media during the election coverage where they mostly link female parliamentary candidates to their family life relations. Such framing has got nothing to with Samia's political ambitions and campaigns. Manya (2013) avers that "clothing, makeup and hairdo of female politicians are scrutinized obsessively just as their views on vital issues. "But no journalist can be bothered to comment on the mismatched shirt and tie of an overweight male politician" (p. 28). This, the media are blamed for trivializing women and their issues. Again, according to Gadzekpo (2011), the way the media trivialize women's issues in Ghana

is similar to the disparaging of women in politics globally. The various forms of stereotyping and portrayal of women, the elderly, disabled, racial and ethnic groups by the media is one of the major criticisms leveled against the media both locally and internationally. Studies conducted on women's portrayal have reported various degrees of stereotyping when it comes to their depiction in the media (Lindner, 2004; Mann 2011 and Manya 2013.

The paragraph "Mrs. Mercy Adu-Gyamfi, a married woman with six children is the New Patriotic Parliamentary candidates for Akwatia" found on page 11 of the 12 Sept edition 2016 of *the Ghanaian Times* also demonstrates the family ties as one of the dominant gender frames the media often use in covering female. This frame used by the *Ghanaian Times newspaper* could also undermine the chances of Mrs. Adu-Gyamfi in winning the political election. She may be perceived as somebody who is already occupied by household responsibilities and cannot perform political roles effectively.

Dependent Personality Traits

Dependence bahaviour may be seen as "clinging" on to others because such persons fear they cannot live their lives without the help of others. Women are raised up in a context that fosters closeness and intimacy with others but the importance relationship to them and their need to engage with others are often viewed negatively as indicator of dependency. This study investigates Dependent Personality Traits in *the Daily Graphic* and *the Ghanaian Times newspapers* as one of the dominant gender frames. The research found out the Dependent Personality Traits in the newspapers understudy as:

- 1. Mrs. Benedicta Naana Ampem (July 23 edition of *the Daily Graphic newspaper*, 2016 page 11).
- 2. Mrs. Mercy Adu-Gyamfi (page 11 of the 12 Sept edition 2016 of the Ghanaian Times).
- 3. Mrs. Diana Aburiya (Ghanaian Times, Aug 7, 2016 edition, page 8).
- 4. Mrs. Fidelia Kudariwor, (*Ghanaian Times* edition July 9,2016, page 7).

The pre-fix of Mrs. to the female parliamentary candidates' names seek to portray that the female parliamentary aspirants depend on their husbands. This may also send a signal to the voter population that since the female parliamentary candidates depend on their husbands any political decision they make in their political positions might be been influenced by their husbands. This therefore may have the tendency of influencing the electorates not to vote for them in an election.

4.3 Discussions

One development that emerged from the study is that the principle of objectivity which is one of the core values of journalism was relegated to the background as the journalists viewed female parliamentary candidates in terms of their viability for a political post. In fact, most of the female parliamentary aspirants' stories were being juxtaposed with family issues rather than policy issues.

The dominant gender frames in the Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times discovered by this study corroborated the assumption of the Liberal Feminist theory employed by this researcher as one of the theoretical frameworks, which states that sex roles' stereotyping persist in the mass media and its constant repetition to audiences reinforces such stereotypes in the broader society.

Perhaps it is against this background that a number of national and international guidelines have been suggested to ensure that women are portrayed positively beyond their stereotypical roles. Article 6 of the code of ethics of the Ghana Journalists Association (2017) also urges journalists not to produce journalistic material that is discriminatory to either by ethnicity, colour, creed, gender or sexual orientation. Also, other international protocols such as the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1952), Article 7 of the UN Convention for Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Declaration Platform for Action (BDPFA) have all proposed to the media to promote a balanced and non-stereotypical portrayal of women in the media and also present them as creative human beings, key actors and contributors to and beneficiaries of development process. The protocols further advocated the political right of and equality in women's access to and participation in the decision making process of governance in their various countries. These guidelines are also followed by non-governmental organisations and the National Media Policy, (NMP). Section 7(2) of the National Media Commission's (NMC) media policy states that programming by the media should show high sensibility to the dignity and respect of womanhood, defend and protect women's rights and interests.

The Liberal Feminists are of the view that women are inadequately represented in the processes of democratic self-determination. The Liberal Feminists who attribute this autonomy deficit to the gender system or the phenomenon of patriarchal inheritance from traditions and institutions, advocate the need for stakeholders to work towards addressing the challenge. The media is one of the powerful advocacy institutions which could help in achieving this result, yet it seems to be failing in this direction as shown by the findings of this current research. The two newspapers apart from their low coverage of female parliamentary candidates as indicated by the findings, also failed to

give prominence to female parliamentary candidates. The two newspapers portray the female parliamentary candidates stereotypically in their coverage. This has the greater tendency of limiting the chances of the female politicians in winning election. The liberal feminists further stress that it is the responsibility of the state to protect and promote citizens' autonomy. While lauding the effort of some states including Ghana for championing this cause, there is still the need for states particularly, those in Africa to redouble their efforts in making sure that more women are appointed to governmental positions.

According to the 2019 World Economic Forum, countries that have set the pace and had achieved the gender parity or female majority in their cabinets include: Colombia – August 2018, Costa Rica – April 2018, Ethiopia – October 2018, Nicaragua – January 2017, Rwanda – October 2018, Seychelles – April 2018.

In 2019 South Africa for the first time in its history, appointed up to half in its government's cabinet women, following changes implemented by President Cyril Ramaphosa. A country like Ghana which has chalked a lot of democratic credentials at both the continental and international levels is still crawling at a drafting stage with the Affirmative Action Bill, though with claims that the draft has been finalized. It is very critical and crucial for Ghana at this stage to re-examine itself very well by taking a cue from Rwanda and South Africa and other countries which have passed the Affirmative Action Bill into law and giving more quotas of political leadership to women.

Affirmative action could be defined as a set of measures adopted by governments and public and private institutions to address a history of systemic discrimination and exclusion of particular social groups or to encourage the efforts of particular social groups in the interests of certain development goals. Institutions such as governments

and public and private institutions, political parties, educational establishments, corporations and companies are expected to champion Affirmative action. Affirmative action is expected to improve development indicators by reducing inequalities and facilitating the contribution of particular social groups to development. Affirmative action therefore relates to both the productive and distributive aspects of development. While affirmative action may or may not arise from the agitation of disadvantaged social groups and advocates, the state and in institutions are central to its design and implementation. Without public policy in support of affirmative action, it cannot be adopted and implemented.

Affirmative action has been used in Ghana since independence to address gender and regional imbalances in access to education, health, work and politics. It is important to note that while there had been some appreciable success, particularly in improving the male female ratios in primary education, it has been less effective for improving women's representation in politics and their public life. A reason for this is that the measures for improving the political representation of women in particular have not been commensurate with the serious nature of the inequalities being addressed. The passage of the Affirmation Action Bill into law in Ghana is long overdue and no further delay is excusable. Ghanaians, particularly Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), are not pleased with the empty promises made by successive governments and political parties.

The stated justification for affirmative action is that it helps to compensate for past discrimination, persecution or exploitation by the ruling class of a culture and to address existing discrimination. There are so many advantages that could be accrued when women are empowered. It should be emphasised that, apart from the development it brings to the women by enabling them to adequately participate in issues affecting them, it is the best means of addressing poverty, disease and hunger. A country like

Ghana, which has amassed democratic credentials to the applause of the international community, is yet to pass the affirmative bill into law. Some CSOs including the ABANTU for Development and Action Aid Ghana are continuously expressing their disappointment and frustration in diverse ways about the delay of Ghana in passing the bill into law. There is no doubt that when the Affirmative Action Bill is passed into law by Parliament and implemented, it would empower the Ghanaian woman to also participate effectively in the decision making process of the country.

Dr. James Aggrey's decades-old assertion "if you educate a man, you educate an individual; but if you educate a woman, you educate a whole nation" still hold true. Measures have to be put in place to ensure that women are fairly represented in politics to help ensure overall total development. History has it that countries that have embraced women participation in governance are far ahead in terms of development than those which have neglect this idea.

The media as fourth estate of the realm must take the lead in championing this concept and also give more space to the coverage of women politicians devoid of stereotyping them. There is the need for editors of the various media houses to realize that since the era of Ghana's independence to date, the country had not recorded any significant number of women who had won parliamentary elections. The editors as the gatekeepers of their respective media houses must therefore make it one of their policies to ensure that their reporters/journalists give fair media coverage to all during election without discrimination.

Notwithstanding the above discussions, it is also very significant to put into perspective that apart from the media given low coverage and prominence to the coverage of female politicians thereby affecting their election into office, other factors also come into play.

It very imperative to note that the parliamentary elections are often not given much national outlook as compared to the presidential races. Perhaps it is against this background that some of the stories about female parliamentary aspirants may have been overlooked over the importance place on presidential campaign stories. Aside, it is also possible that some female parliamentary aspirants might have been extensively engaged in campaigning for their party presidential candidates against their own campaigns and that might have accounted for their low coverage.

It is also equally significant to stress that Presidential candidates are often cleared to start their campaign activities before the parliamentary candidates and that might have also accounted for the insignificant coverage of female parliamentary candidates. In essence, unlike Presidential aspirants who had more months to campaign ahead of the main elections, the parliamentary candidates had only few months to campaign before the elections. All these might have been cited for the low cause of the coverage of female parliamentary candidates.

4.4 Summary

A number of issues emerged from the findings. It was revealed that the two newspapers did not give much prominence to the coverage of female parliamentary candidates as each of the paper featured only one female parliamentary candidate in its front page. Again the newspapers featured only the headline of their front pages but buried the main stories in the papers.

The newspapers did not also give much coverage to female parliamentary candidates. Out of the total number of 261 news stories on parliamentary candidates within the period under review, a total of 90 news items or stories were on female parliamentary candidates, thus, 59 news items for *Daily Graphic* and 31 news items for *Ghanaian*

Times. The Daily Graphic published more female parliamentary stories than the Ghanaian Times because of it voluminous nature. The newspapers also framed and portrayed female parliamentary candidates in stereotypically manner. The papers seemed to fare well in terms of producing enough feature articles to market the female candidates in their campaigns. The newspapers also employed good pictures of the female parliamentary candidates to project them well.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter sums up the key findings of the study. The chapter also contains the conclusion of the study, limitations of the study and recommendations for industry players including politicians. It also offers suggestions for future research.

5.1 Summary of Key Findings

In general, out of the total number of 261 stories published on parliamentary candidates within the period under review, a total of 90 news items or stories were on female parliamentary candidates, thus, 59 news items for *Daily Graphic* and 31 news items for *Ghanaian Times*. Implying that the Daily Graphic gave more media coverages to female parliamentary candidates than that of the *Ghanaian Times*. Comparatively, the study also found that the *Daily Graphic* has more pages of 80 while that of the *Ghanaian Times* has 32 pages. The findings also found that the *Daily Graphic* apart from its political page also creates Constituency Watch page in addition to its gender page. That of the *Ghanaian Times* apart from its political page does not have the rest of the pages like *the Daily Graphic*. This might have accounted for the *Daily Graphic newspaper* providing more coverage to female parliamentary candidates than that of *the Ghanaian Times newspaper*.

The study also measured prominence given to female parliamentary candidates through placement of stories on female candidates in the newspapers. Generally, the two selected newspapers for the study published only one each female parliamentary candidate their prominent pages. Even that, only the headlines featured on the front

pages while the main stories were buried in the newspapers. The newspapers further failed to feature female parliamentary stories in prominent pages like the, centre-spread and the back page of the papers. This finding is consistent with the argument of Goodyear-Grant (2013), who posits that the visibility of women candidates in newspapers is poor. In terms of feature stories and pictorials which have the power of marketing political candidates very well for them to attract more votes, the newspapers seem to have performed well in that arena. The newspapers published 26 feature articles. For photographic enhancement, the Daily Graphic dominated with many of its female parliamentary candidates' stories published with pictures.

The study which was also underpinned by the framing theory, also sought to find out whether coverage in the media of the women parliamentarians reinforced or challenged the dominant culture and thereby contributed towards the marginalisation of female politicians. The two newspapers focus on personality and references to family stereotypes were persistent in the coverage of the female parliamentary candidates. The *Ghanaian Times* states "Samia Nkrumah, the only of President Nkrumah falls again". Digging into the privacy of female parliamentary candidates by *the Daily Graphic newspaper* with adjectives such as "married woman "four children", trader", hairdresser" demonstrated how the newspaper persistently focused more on personality and references to family stereotypes.

The findings showed that the style in the election coverage of female parliamentary candidates employed by the two newspapers was not much difference as the two newspapers portrayed female parliamentary candidates as less coverage, less prominence, serotypes and less competent. Generally, female parliamentary candidates were marginally portrayed in a stereotypically by the two newspapers.

5.2 Conclusion

From the findings the study revealed that the two newspapers did not give much importance to the coverage of female parliamentary candidates as each of the paper featured only one female parliamentary candidate in its front page. Besides that the newspapers carried only the headline of their front pages and buried the main stories inside their publications.

Additionally, the newspapers did not also give much coverage to female parliamentary candidates. Out of the total number of 261 news stories on parliamentary candidates within the period under review, a total of 90 news items or stories were on female parliamentary candidates, thus, 59 news items for *Daily Graphic* and 31 news items for *Ghanaian Times*. The *Daily Graphic* published more female parliamentary stories than the *Ghanaian Times* because of it voluminous nature. The newspapers also framed and portrayed female parliamentary candidates in stereotypically manner.

However, the papers seemed to fare well in terms of producing enough feature articles to market the female candidates in their campaigns. The newspapers also used good pictorials for the coverage of the female parliamentary candidates. This help to project them well to the voter population.

5.3 Limitations of the Study

This study focused on the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times newspapers* coverage of female parliamentary candidates during the 2016 parliamentary election. There are other newspapers in the country that covered female parliamentary candidates within the period of study but the study did not include these newspapers.

5.4 Recommendations

- 1. Apart from the *Daily Graphic* newspapers having a political page, the newspaper has also created constituency watch page, gender page. There is the need for other print media houses to also be supported to create constituency watch page and gender pages in addition to the political pages particularly during campaigns period to help broaden the scope of given space to parliamentary candidates particularly female parliamentary candidates.
- 2. The management of print media houses should as a matter of urgency increase the pages of their newspapers to give more space for the coverage of election particularly parliamentary female candidates.
- 3. There is the need for media houses to design programmes to help transform socio-cultural value systems that work against women.
- 4. Civil Society and gender organisations should institute award schemes for media houses or journalists who cover more activities aimed at increasing the participation of women in politics
- 5. There is the need for the Department of Communication of the UEW to refurbish its library to accommodate more newspapers to facilitate easy access to data collections.
- 6. Political parties, civil society and non-governmental organizations should also liaise with the media when organising workshops for women, so that the women would have the opportunity to interact with media practitioners. Here contacts of media house in the forms of phone numbers including a common WhatsApp platform could be created for the journalists and the aspiring parliamentary female candidates to share ideas and communicate.

- 7. The women's wings of political parties should intensify their campaign for women's political advancement by lobbying relevant stakeholders like the Presidency, Parliament, civil society groups and the media to help formulate policies to enhance women's political participation
- 8. Capacity building and women's empowerment workshops must be organised regularly for women with political ambitions to instill confidence in them not to easily succumb to intimidation during elections.

5.5 Suggestions for Future Research

- 1. A further study should be conducted on broadcast media coverage on female parliamentary candidates. This is because broadcast media has a wide geographical coverage areas and also dominance in presence in our present times. With their wider reach and benefits of audio-visual components, they are likely to make more impact in political campaigns than the print media.
- 2. Also, in recent times, social media coupled with the influx of smart phones have become popular in Ghana and its platforms have become more interactive and very vibrant as media that deserve research.
- 3. A study on political coverage and the way political activists use the social media to champion their campaign agenda is likely to generate some more useful findings considering the innovative uses of smart phones.
- 4. A study on campaign messages should be conducted to establish whether the electorates are influenced by media content in the decision on choice of candidate for parliament.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CODING GUIDELINES

P1. NAME OF NEWSPAPER

- 1. Daily Graphic
- 2. Ghanaian Times

Editions (from July 1, 2016 to December 9, 201 6) Months, Days & Dates of

Publication

- 1. July (1----29)
- 2. August (1----29)
- 3. September (1---29)
- 4. October (1----29)
- 5. November (1----29)
- 6. December (1----14)

P2 FREQUENCIES OF STORIES

1. Total number of all published stories of female Parliamentary Candidates

P3. PLACEMENT OF STORY

- 1. Front pages
- 2. Middle pages
- 3. Back pages
- 4. Political pages
- 5. Gender pages
- 6. Constituency Watch pages

P4. DORMINANT GENDER FRAMING STORIES

- 1. Straight News Story
- 2. Feature
- 3. Photographs

APPENDIX B

OPERATIONALISATION OF VARIABLES FOR THE STUDY

Type of story: Published newspaper items such as straight news, feature, opinion, news analysis, photo story, profile were considered as part of the selected variables for the study.

Placement of story: this looks at whether the story was published as front page lead story, front page non-lead story, centre spread story, back or placed on any other page. The page on which a story is placed has an influence on the prominence of the story may has and the importance readers may attach to it. Stories on front pages obviously gain more attention.

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

Tone of Story: this refers to a description given to a source, story subject or context and how such a description reflected on the party or candidate involved.

Type of personality- based story: the concentration on the candidates at the expense of party's political issue is referred to as **the type of personality- based story**. Type of personality-based story was defined as: character, work experience, competence, reference to family, partly reference to family, achievements.

Election year: Refers to January 2016 when presidential and parliamentary elections were held in Ghana.

Parliamentary candidate: A person or politician vying for elections to represent his or her constituency in parliament.

Media portrayal: the way and manner in which the media represent a person negatively or positively.

Gender Framing: The framing of political candidates or aspirants by the media in their reportage. The framing could be positive or negative.

Marginalisation: the way a person is or a group of persons are made to feel less important or degraded.

Political Page: Specific page in newspapers devoted for the publishing of political candidates' stories or political stories.

Gender page: Specific page created by newspapers for the publication of issues relating to women. This is very common characteristic of the Daily Graphic Newspapers. The Daily Graphic mostly uses the gender page to promote female parliamentary candidates during election periods.

The Constituency Watch Page: does the Daily Graphic Newspaper establish also a page during election period to market political candidates.

Newspaper - A newspaper is a daily or weekly publication that contains news articles, editorials, and other items

Story: gives an account of events in a newspaper

Front page refers to the first page of a newspaper

Readership: The average estimated number of readers of a given publication.

Article - refers to a written piece about a topic.

Headline: The title of an article; it is set in large, bold type

Quotation: Words spoken by someone in a story.

Journalist /**Reporter** - A person who researches and writes an article for a newspaper

Caption: Headline or text accompanying a picture or illustration; also called a cutline

Circulation: The number of newspaper copies sold or distributed.

Straight news: A plain account of news facts written in standard style and structure **Space:** the amount of space that is available for publishing something such as an article or advertisement

Feature: An in-depth look at a subject that interests readers.

APPENDIX C

CODING SHEETS

Table 1: Frequencies of female Parliamentary Candidates stories published by Daily Graphic from July to December 2016.

Month	Frequency (Female)
July	9
August	12
September	10
October	6
November	14
December	8
Total	59

Table 2: Frequencies of female Parliamentary Candidates stories published by Ghanaian Times from July to December 2016.

Month	Frequency (Female)
July	8
August	2
September	7
October	4
November	7
December	3
Total	31

Table 3

Name of Publisher	Frequency (Female)
Daily Graphic	59
Ghanaian Times	31
Total	90
Total	90

Table 4: Prominence given to female Parliamentary Candidates from July to December, 1016

Pages	Daily Graphic	Ghanaian Times	Total
Front	1	11	2
Back	1	2 2 2	
Centre	Clen	(0)	
Feature Article	24	2	26
Photographs	47	6	53

APPENDIX D

SAMPLES OF CODINGS

Voters exhibition exercise begins

• But turnout low on Day One





Zanetor gets boost for parliamentary ambition



Voters exhibition exercise begins

Zanetor gets boost for parliamentary ambition

"This was unfortunate because the court had elections.

On the other hand, Nii Ashitey was of the view that Article sy Clause 1(s) took effect at the primary level of political parties and not when the LC opens nominations.

He further argued that a candidate-elect ought to be battle ready and, therefore, Dr Rawlings needed to be fully qualified.

His legal team explained that she cupht to be ready to contest the east even during by elections in the event that he passed away.

Court view.

Ghana Revenue Authority



NATIONAL COMPETITIVE TENDERING INVITATION FOR TENDER (GRA/NCT/01/2016)

- 1. PROCUREMENT OF VEHICLES (GRAINCT/01/01/2016)

		Deadline for Ten- der Submission	
Gu 4 Double Catilin Pickups	28	16" August, 2016	2% of Total Tender Price
Swoon Cara (1.0 LA/T)		16" August, 2016	2% of Total Tender Price
Motor Bixes (Din) Off Road 200CC)		10" August, 2015	2% of Total Tender Police

- Procurement Unit GRA Head Office (Off Starlet' 91 Road opposite Accra Sport Stadium, Accra), Room 505, Fifth Floor.
 Procurement Unit GRA Head Office Annex (Off Starlet' 91 Road opposite Accra Sport Stadium, Accra), Room 001, Ground Floor
- Complete tenders must be deposited in the Tender Box located on the First Floor, Conference Room 123, VAT House (Near Busy Internet, Accra) on or before 10:00am prompt on 16th August, 2016 as indicated in the table above, accompanied by a Tender Security (BANK ONLY) of not less than 2% of the total tender price.
- Tenders will be opened in the presence of Tenderers' representatives who choose to attend the opening at the GRA Conference Room, VAT House (Near Busy Internet, Accard at 10.30am prompt on 16th August, 2016 after the submission deadlines indicated in the table above.

Tel. Nos. 0302665867 and 0302675701-3 Ext. 2865/8 (for inquiring) Facsimile numbers: 233 (0)302-664936 Late tenders will be rejected.

Constituency

Baba Jamal, Ama Sey to slug it out in Akwatia

Both parliamentary candidates are confident of defeating each other considering the massive support they enjoy in the area.



'Respect different political views'

Constituency Wa

Bolgatanga Central unpredictable



SERVICE WITH HONESTY

To Design Central for granted. Policial partite well as long central feat wert must be one who is in constant touch with the people, development-oriented and would avoid playing the ethnicity card because some have played that card and still lost the electricans where the partite participation of the people service well card of the New Participation of the people service well as the people service well as the people service well as the participation of the people service well as the people s







'omen

onzele Rural Bank supports omen with micro-finance package





male parliamentary ndidates determined work hard



Nhyiaeso PPP candidate pledges to improve security

By Joseph Kvei-Boateng, KUMAS

HE 2016 Parliamentary
Candidate (PC) of the
Progressive People's Party
(PPP) for the Nhyiaeso
Constituency in the
Ashanti Region, Mr Kofi
Debrah Afrifa, has stated that security
matters were paramount to all the
useds of the neonle in the

For that reason he has adopted

situation of Nhyiaeso to augment the work of the Ghana Police Service.

He expressed the belief that unlike other constituencies where there was lack of electricity, tarred roads, access to potable water, among other amenities, Nhyiaeso had all these but security remained key to the needs of the needs

Courtesy call

paid courtesy calls on the Santasehene, Nana Amoakohene Kese; the Otumfuo Sasamohene, Nana Osei Atta II; the Anyinamhene, Nana Adu Baafi III; the

Odeneho Kwadasohemaa, Nana Abrafi Suma, and Adiemmrahene, Nana Afia Odaa.

constituency
officers, he
presented bottles of
Schnapps and
separate envelopes
as custom
demanded to the
chiefs to seek their
blessings in the runup to the 2016

Reaffirmed his decision to

The PC noted that though the constituency is located in the Kumasi Metropolis, it has encountered bad security situations and he could not afford to sit aloof and watch the people

He said he had personally begun working closely with some individual to support the police in the provision of security.

He said it had, therefore, become necessary to join hands with the assembly members for the various electoral areas in the constituency to team up with the police in providing security.

He also mentioned that forming volunteer groups to work closely with unit committees was also on the table

Education and business

of Parliament (MP), Dr Richard
Winfred Anane, had had a number of
the constituents become beneficiaries
of his share of the MP's Common Fund
in the area of education.

Mr Afrifa said when voted for as MP, he would rather reduce the quota for



Quick Read

Adehyeman Savings & Loans

The PPP's Parliamentary Candidate for the Nhylaeso Constituency has appealed to the electorate to vote for him to help revamp the security situation of the people

ducation and increase the number of eneficiaries for business.

He said it was pertinent to acknowledge that people who could not further their education needed not be relegated to the background but must be supported.

He used the opportunity to call on the electorate to give their ballots to the Presidential Candidate of the PPP, Dr Papa Kwesi Nduom (Adwumawura), during the presidential election.

Nananom, who received the PC and his team, gave him their blessings and asked him to refrain from politics of insult and try to be as tolerant as possible.



Gender

OAFLA pledges to engage stakeholders

• To end child marriage

By Mary Mensah, DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA

and the Department of African and African Afri

Ready to overcome hurdles in parliamentary election — Benedicta



News

Montie FM, panellists, directors By Castro Zangling-Tong and Edder Microsch Tabororm Convicted of contempt Convicted of contempt Commission to contest the matter or talk law. Rather, they (counsel) were. Rather, they (counsel) were. Rather, they (counsel) were. Rather, they (counsel) were.



the both Alistatir Nelson and Court for Sunan, fold been court in union they were not in court to the was not prepared before they were not in court to the was not prepared to the court where we were some supporters of the where we were well as the where we were we

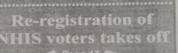




Price: GH¢ 2.50



Cop, family perish in



Police begin 2nd phase recruitment exercise

case:





- 1012 ···

Ghana can't afford to trade peace for political AVOKA IOSES TO Adongo M.R. Cletus Avoka, inKufour Administration, who polled While Mr Osman Alidiba Ayub while Mr Osman Alidiba Ayub





US gov't congratulates Ghana Samia falls again in Jomoro Ghana Samia falls again in Jomoro Siephen Awaah of the United States has congratulated Ghanal and of the United States has congratulated Ghanal and some of the United St







Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduam

Nduom picks former Miss Ghana as running mate

HE Presidential candidate of the Progressive People's Party (PPP) Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom has named former Miss Ghana Bridget Dzorgbenuku as his running mate for the 2016

Madam Dzorgbenuku was crowned Miss Ghana in 1991 and is not actively involved in Ghana politics

Dr. Nduom explained that his choice of running mate is to give meaning to his 'all inclusive' and 'Ghana first avenda' Miss Dzorgbenuku was named at a ceremony at the Asylum Down head office of the People's Progressive Party vesterday

tradition of picking a female as running mate for general elections. In 2012, he named former Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) Director General Eva Lokko as his running mate absent of that year's election.

magnate has also predicted that the 2016 elections will go into a runoff. "Absolutely, [the elections] vill go into a second round. I am ure that if we get our things right there will be three pots and we will gure out at the end which three could move up.

goodwill to win...the NPP is also not as strongly organised to be able to say we are going to go and do our one shot deal, we know we have to grow, we know we have to works o we are working so we can compete," Dr. Nduom noted.—starfmonline.com

'I will focus on addressing youth unemployment'

RS Benedicta Oyu
Quartey-Atante,
National Democratic
Congress (NDC)
Farlamentary Candidate for
Newson-Adoayfri
Constituency, said she would
focus on Technical focus on Technical
focus on Technical Training
(TVET) to Address youth
seemployment when given the
not.

She said when TVEI was given the needed attention most of the youth who could not continue their oducation would acquire skills to empower them to have decent and austainable

Mrs Quarley-Asante said when given the chance she would disabase the perception that TVET was for school dropouts by putting in measures which would make TVET an educational option to ensure that young men and women, irrespective of their backgrounds, became self-

Mrs Quartey-Asante, who was speaking in an interview under Women's Platform at Nsawam, said she was motivated to contest by the achievements of the late Mrs Vida Yeboah, the first female Member of Parliament for the constituency.

She said Mrs Yeboah's achievement in girl-child education, women empowerment and community development was unparallel and since no woman had been given the chance after the people of Nsawam should vote for her to continue with the good work.

She noted that the rate of

the municipality each year was worrying and so would work with all stakeholders to provide solutions to ensure that girls stayed in school to reduce teenage

Mrs Quartey-Assante said th Nsawam Central Market needed facelift to ensure a conducive environment for the market women and appealed to women in the constituency to look beyon party politics and rally behind he to win the seat to champion the course.

She contested the primaries with three men including Dr Godfred Twum, a former Municipal Chief Executive (MCE) and the current MCE, Mr Ben Ohene Ayeh and won overwhelmingly to represent the NDC -67M.



NPP welcomes EC's continuous registration



John Bonda - General Secretary

HE New Patriotic Party has welcomed the Electoral Commission's decision to re-open voter registration for those who have

The Electural Commission has reopened the window for reregistration from August 5 to 12, following pressure from political parties and key stakeholders for extension after the exercise ended

Speaking after an emergency Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) meeting, the NPP Acting General Secretary, John Boadu said concerns raised by his party influenced the EC's decision to reopen the re-registration exercise.

always raising the bar. Commend the NPP for being vigilant and raising the challenges on the ground,"he said.

Mr. Boadu explained that the extension is necessary since it will provide another opportunity for persons, who encountered some challenges at exhibition centres in the last registration hence could

not register.

"In our checks and rounds, we realised that, especially in the future constituency, there were people who were still in the queues, who could not reregister. There were people who had filte their names to be registered and were waiting to take their pictures. But the Electoral Commission said that because of visibility, they couldn't take their visibility, they couldn't take their

Mr. Bondu said he was thankful that the EC has allowed such persons to register to vote in the upcoming presidential and parliamentary elections on December 7

His comments follow the petition filed by the MP for the Efutu constituency in the Central Region Alex Afenyo Markin, inviting the Electoral Commission to extend the

The NPP in the Ashanti Region had also called on the Electoral Commission to extend

Pres. defends social

Bawumia for NPP UK event

Who wins Krowor NDC parliamentary primary re-run?







We want to launch our manifesto first



Sanguli to go independent

Constituency

Two 'iron' ladies clash at Krowor

Kofi Huppenbauer, also

contends that "this time the seat will be captured



NPP targets all 47 seats in Ashanti Region



"Let us vote peacefully"



Enjoy the little things, for one day you may look back and realise they were the big things."

— Robert Brault – Musical Artist



More women for next Parliament?

By Seth J. Bokpe, ACCRA



Only 31 (11.3 per cent) of the 275 MPs in Ghana's

The first female elected into the Legislative Assembly of the Gold Coast was Mabel Dove in 1954, but she was replaced by a male colleague in







Re: But NDC downplays Bawumia's influence

)tes2016 # GHANAV

'Let us vote peacefully'

Constituency

Profile of Kintampo South Constituency

By Emmanuel Adu-Gyamerah, JEMA

Fact Sheet









Parliament to summon Kennedy Agyapong over comments?



PNC Treasurer cautions against 'chopping' funds



'Parliament needs gender parity'



Nduom picks former Miss Ghana as running mate

'I will focus on addressing youth unemployment'

make TVET an educational option to ensure that young men and women, irrespective of their backgrounds, became self-dependent.

Mrs Quarrey-Asante, who was speaking in an interview under Women's Platform at hsawam, said she was moitivated to contest by the achievements of the late Mrs Vida Yebsah, the first female Member of Parliament for the constituency.

She said Mrs Yeboah's achievement in girl-child education, women empowernent and community development was unparallel and since no woman had been given the chance after her he people of Nsawam should wote for her to continue with the good work.

She noted that the rate of teenage pregnancy recorded in NDC-GM



NPP welcomes EC's continuous registration



the upcoming presidential and parliamentary elections on December?

His comments follow the petition filed by the MP for the Effut constituency in the Central Region Alex Afenyo Markin, inviting the Electoral Commission to extend the exercisely 10 days.

The NPP in the Ashanti Region had also called on the Electoral Commission to extend the exercise.—cirifmonline.com

Women

Two female contestants vow to wrest parliamentary seats

Daily Graphile, Saunday Septembe 24, 2016. White www.graphic.com.gb









Gender

OAFLA pledges to engage stakeholders

• To end child marriage

By Mary Mensah,

DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA

HE Organisation of African First Ladies Against HIV and ALDS (OATLA) has pledged to engage all stakeholders in their determination to end child marrose on the

It said child marriage, which is on the increase in Africa, was a gross violation of human rights that affected the health of millions of young girls.

The First Lady of South Africa, Mrs. Thobeks Zumah, represented OATLA members at the High Level Dialogue on the Linkages between Child Marriage and HIV and AIDS at the ongoing 21st International AIDS Conference in Durban, South Africa.

the African Union Commission and the Ford Foundation, aims to highlight and share lessons on the AU Campaign to En Child Marriage in Africa—highlighting the leadership role played by African institutions such as the AU, OAFLA and other key partners in driving the campaign to end child marriage.

Better understanding It will also gain a better

that there were between child marriage, HIV and the programme, legal and Child marriage has a

policy contestinitiating
collaboration and
collaboration and
communities with
invinietons—in
order to enhance
effective and

condemn colonialism while they
continued to accept practices that were
harmful and violated their human rights.

at the forefront of their sexual reprosentation According to a million adolescent forced to the manner.

ending child marriage campaign and were determined to bring the adolescents at the forefront of a X issues concerning their sexual reproductive health.

million adolescent guis worldwide are forced into marriage by their parents and in the developing countries one in three guis is married before the age of 18 and a giff out of nine at the age of 15.

that there were 41 countries worldwide with a prevalence

rate of child marriage by 30 per cent or more, and of this number 30 were in Africa.

Mrs Thobeka said child marriage had a devastating effect on society and a collaborative

approach in tackling the issue was crucial, marriage needed a new

"As African First Ladies, we are driven by passion to do what we are doing; we sit use this power to impact on our society

Manager Inspectment

She called on governments on the continent to invest resources to educate adolescents to enable them to contribute meaningfully to the socio-economic development of the continent.

For her part, Ms Milary Pennington, the Vice President of Ford Foundation, said the AIDS 2016 conference themed. "Access equity rights now" presents an opportunity to establish a clear path towards guaranteeing that no our was left behind in the AIDS response, including girls at risk of child marriage and those already in marriage.

She said girls who martied early were forced to drop out of school and that made them vulnerable to adolescent pregnancy and domestic violence, "as they have limited power in negotiating safe sex and are far iess likely than boys to have a comprehensive knowledge about HIV and AIDS."

She stressed that child marriage was not just a violation of human rights but also a public health issue.

she said emphasising girls enrolment in schools, employment, life-skills, sexual reproductive health and rights and family planning services to already married girls would help raise awareness of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases.

The African Union Commissioner for Social Affairs, Dr. M. S. Kaloko, said in order to provide a bright future for millions of women and girls, the AU, together with a variety of partners, including the Ford Foundation, launched the African Union campater in Africa in May 2004.

Ready to overcome hurdles in parliamentary election — Benedicta



By Bertha Badu-Agyei, GNA

THE National Democratic Congress (NDC) Parliamentary Candidate for the Lower West Akyem Constituency, Ms Benedicta Naana Ampem, has two hurdles to overcome in the parliamentary election now fixed for

Apart from the fact that the Lower Wes Alyam seat has been one of the sale constituencies for the New Patriotic Party (NPP) since 2000, Ms Ampem, who is contesting the seat for the first time, has to work hard to wrest the seat from Mr Eyial Kyei-Baffour of the NPF who won the primary against the incumbent Member of Parliamen (ADM) Ms Giffer Memory and the New Memory Aliamen

Despite this, she is sure of capturing the seat, because of what she described as President Mahama's good environmence.

She believes that the good works of President Mahama in the last three-and-hal years would encourage the electorate to vot massively for her to initiate the much-needed development in the area and to break th NPP's hold on the parliamentary seat for the past 16 years.

'Better Ghana Agenda'

According to the Ms Ampem, the NPP will be defeated in the constituency on December 7, 2016 because of the compelling record and evidence of the achievement of the 'Better Ghana Agenda' pursued by the Government of the NDC, which has resulted in massive infrastructural development.

Ms Ampern, a businesswoman and the women's organiser of the constituency, who was also a National Coordinator for "Youth for Mahama" in the 2012 general election, said the people in the area had seen the difference in the John Mahama-led administration and would support her to win the election.

would support her to win the election.

In an interview with the GNA at Asamaokese under its "Women's Platform Initiative" to project the women contesting the parliamentary seat, she mentioned the parliamentary seat, she mentioned the construction of the Suhum-Asamankes Adeiso roads as some of the projects that would speak to

She added that apart from the good works of the President, which would be the basis for her resounding victory in the election, the motherly role she plays for all women and children in the constituency will ensure her victory.

Championing issues

According to Ms Ampem, her decision t content the parliamentary seat is in line with the efforts to have a larger platform as the people's representative to be able to champion issues concerning the economic and sociempowerment of women and guids in the are

instituted a loan facility to support women in petty trading activities to improve the wellbeing of their families, and has since granted loans of an undisclosed amount to over 200 women in the area.

Ms Ampem stated: "I give the loans to all women, irrespective of their background or political affiliation, because I believe that when I am given the nod, I will represent the entire constituency and the people from my party"

Providing bursaries

she has also adopted the Osenas Orphanage which cares for over 100 orphan and other valuerable children by providin bursaries for the education of some of the children and catering for their other needs tensure that they would grow up to realise the full potential.

Ms Ampern, who beat two male contestants in the constituency primary, is married with four children and has appealed to the people in the constituency, especially women, to look beyond colours and party affiliation and vote manifold for her.

The candidate also advised all party supporters not to use violence in the electioneering to ensure peace and unity before, during and after the elections and added that 'the leading candidates from the NPF, and the NDC demonstrated this by walking for peace recently."

Independent candidate eyes Akropong seat

Mr. Offei called for support
cause he had already proven

He said party supporters and
the public would not be allowed



at the Ningo Police station collation centre indicating that tough security measures have been put in place to deal with recalcitrant people.

It could be recalled that in the 2012 general elections, some residents of Ningo who were not happy about the win of Mr. Bothey Jr. explained that party agents as those without it be inside the centre stating that the bappy about the win of Mr. Bothey Jr. explained to the collation centre, and there with the win of Mr. Bothey Jr. explained to the put in place to deal with recalcitrant people.

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Integrity. Fairness. Service. GRA



CUSTOMS DIVISION

PUBLIC AUCTION SALES OF GENERAL GOODS

The Commissioner-General of the Ghana Revenue Authority (GRA) wishes to inform the general public that the Customs Division's next Auction Sales of General Goods will come off as follows:

S/N	COLLECTION	LOCATION	OF GOODS	DATE	TIME
1.	KIA	STATE WAREHOUSE	GENERAL GOODS	12 TH DECEMBER, 2016	10:00 AM

The public is respectfully invited.

COMMISSIONER-GENERAL

JOMORO DISTRICT ASSEMBLY INVITATION FOR BIDS NATIONAL COMPETITIVE TENDERING

NAME OF PROJECT	BID SECURITY GHé	D3,K3 and above	
Construction of 2-bedroom semi - detached residential accommodation at Half Assini	5,000.00		

- - a) Valid MWRW&H Certificate
 b) Valid IRS Certificate
- Bids shall be opened in the presence of Bidders or the may choose to attend