AN ASSESSMENT OF GENDERED MEDIATION IN DAILY GRAPHIC

NEWSPAPERS:

THE CASE OF THE 2020 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN GHANA

By

Naana Frimpomaa Adofo

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Department of Political Science

September 2021

St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador

Declaration

I, Naana Frimpomaa Adofo, wish to declare that this work is my own except for works cited and duly acknowledged.

Naana Frimpomaa Adofo…………………………………………………..

(Student)

Dr. Amanda Bittner……………………..…………………………………..

(Supervisor)

Dr. Isabelle Cote………………………..……………………………........

(Second Reader)

Dr. Christina Doonan……………………..…………………………………..

(Second Reader)

Abstract

This thesis explores female political underrepresentation in Ghana via a gendered assessment of political news reporting. Firstly, the study (1) gives an overview of female political representation globally and locally; secondly, (2) it describes the role of the media in female political representation globally and locally, and thirdly, (3) it analyzes data obtained from news articles to assess how the portrayal and political coverage of men and women in politics by the Daily Graphic newspaper in Ghana.

The data reveals that women in politics in Ghana are generally underrepresented. The news articles analyzed also reveal that women in politics are generally positively covered by the Daily Graphic in terms of story tone and picture enhancement, and equally in terms of shared volume of their representation. However, elements of gendered mediation were identified. From the data, women in politics are disadvantaged in quality of coverage, that is, story size and story content. This thesis gives an in-depth assessment of the various elements of gendered coverage by the Daily Graphic.

This study contributes to the broader field of literature on female political representation and gendered mediation.

Keywords: Female political representation, gendered mediation

Dedication

This work is dedicated to all the women, past, present, and future, who have silenced or will silence themselves and let go of their dreams to try to live up to societal expectations.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Abbreviations

APC	-	ALL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS
CEDAW	-	CONVENTION ON ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN
CPP	-	CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY
EC	-	ELECTORAL COMMISSION
GA	-	GREATER ACCRA
GCPP	-	GREAT CONSOLIDATED POPULAR PARTY
GFP	-	GHANA FREEDOM PARTY
GUM	-	GHANA UNION MOVEMENT
IND	-	INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE
IWMF	-	INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S MEDIA FOUNDATION
LPG	-	LIBERAL PARTY OF GHANA
MP	-	MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
NCCE	-	NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR CIVIC EDUCATION
NDC	-	NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS
NDP	-	NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY
NPP	-	NEW PATRIOTIC PARTY
PPP	-	PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE'S PARTY
UN	-	UNITED NATIONS
UNDP	-	UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

"Bloody Widow" was the bold inscription on placards held by several members of the minority in Ghana's parliament on Tuesday, February 5, 2019. These opposition members held the placards to (un)welcome Lydia Alhassan to her first day as a Member of Parliament. Lydia Alhassan ran in the Ayawaso West Wuogon Constituency, replacing her newly deceased husband, Emmanuel Agyarko. This scenario is a snippet of the reality for female politicians in Ghana. Aside from the politics of insult, the discouragement and mistreatment of women who venture into politics in Ghana are evident in this two-word statement. The harsh treatment women face in the predominantly male-dominated sphere of politics likely discourages more women from venturing into it.

Globally, nations, governments, and individuals are actively making agendas to ensure gender parity in representation. However, gender inequality and discrimination still exist and can have long-term effects on a woman's status, aspirations, and ambitions. In Ghana, there is a significantly low percentage of female representation in parliament and other major decision-making bodies (Bawa & Sanyare, 2013) despite the long period of representative governance and implementation of affirmative action policies.

Women in Ghana have generally been marginalized, especially in politics. Even after the elective principle in 1925[1], it was not until 1954 that a woman, Mabel Dove, was elected into the Legislative Assembly on a party ticket (Frempong, 2017). Since then, women gradually came into the limelight of politics partly due to specific constitutional provisions. Even though the 1992 constitution of Ghana has non-discrimination clauses regarding all genders (Republic of Ghana, 1992, Section 17, Subsections 1 and 2, and Section 27), these provisions are generally not followed. Ghana is still a broadly patriarchal society. Though there is an increasing prominence of women politically, the inferior status of women is still evident, especially in the political sphere.

Politically, women in Ghana are underrepresented, such that only a few hold political office or participate in formal political organizations (Sossou, 2011). Most men and women in Ghana view politics as a male sphere of action, one in which women are both unwelcome and ineffective (Sossou, 2011). The underrepresentation of women is evident in politics, and this serves to discourage other women who may want to venture into the field. This thesis seeks to understand the media's messaging about women in politics in Ghana, to set the basis for future studies on how coverage of women like the "bloody widow" may act as a deterrent to women, keeping women from running from politics.

---

[1] "In 1925, the Guggisburg Constitution created a Provincial Council for paramount chiefs, representing selected colonial provinces. Although the system appeared to recognise African concerns, it continued to be dominated by British interests, which limited the amount of African representation in the government. However, the introduction of the elective principle induced radical change in the political history of Ghana. Both the Burns Constitution of 1946 and the Coussey Committee's recommendations which formed the basis for the constitution of 1951 altered the structure of government by increasing the number of African representatives. But complete representation was not achieved until 1954.4 In 1951 it was a representative government. In 1954, it was responsible government which paved the way for self-government of Dominion Status in 1957" (Friedrich Ebert-Stiftung Ghana & Human Rights Advocacy Centre, 2011)

Media has a significant effect on voter's choices and political representation. Studies have shown that by covering male and female candidates differently, the news media may influence the success of female candidates for public office (Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991). Several studies have investigated this phenomenon of gender bias by the media and taken together, this research suggests that media coverage of politics may impact women's representation in politics (Bradley-Geist et al., 2015; Goldenberg & Traugott, 1987; Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991; Magenya et al., 2010; Naylor & Motau, n.d.; Sreberny-Mohammadi & K., 1996; Tuchman, 2007; Van Der Pas & Aaldering, 2020).

Pippa Norris (UNDP) summed up three primary roles of the media: (1) acting as agenda setters, (2) serving as government watchdogs, and (3) providing a platform for inclusiveness and civil engagement (The World Bank, 2010). The media can influence people's perceptions, and as such, they can play a critical role.

The portrayal of women in Ghana by the media has drawn significant attention in recent times and is increasingly being brought to the limelight by scholars. In studying how local Ghanaian movies depict women, Ofori-Birinkorang & Donkor (2014) noted that the dominant images employed characterized them as "vituperative, dependent, domestic, diabolic, sex objects, accommodating, enduring, and gullible." Diabah (2019) showed that women are represented in stereotypical ways as "sex objects, beauty-conscious, nurturers or carers, and homemakers" in radio commercials. In newspapers, Donkor (2016) revealed an unequal gendered coverage of politicians in Ghana. These studies illustrate how media outlets generally portray women in Ghana.

Gendered mediation focuses on the stereotypically masculine narrative used in political reporting (Gidengil & Everitt, 1999). Studies about gendered mediation in the political sphere usually center on the lack of coverage given to women compared to men (Haraldsson & Wängnerud, 2019), and different types of coverage, in terms of content and tone (Gerrits et al., 2017; Trimble et al., 2013; Wagner et al., 2019). This study seeks to follow suit of such research to investigate how the media portrays female politicians in Ghana.

Women in Ghana have generally been disadvantaged in political representation. The highest number of seats won by women in parliament has been 14.5% (40 out of 275) in the 2020 elections (*Figure 1*). Prior to this, the highest seats won by women in Parliament was 13% in the 2016 elections (Bauer, 2017). This shows how underrepresented women are in the legislative body of Ghana.

The Global Gender Gap Index ranks Ghana 117th out of 156 countries (World Economic Forum, 2021) a far drop from 70th out of the 134 countries in 2011 (Hausmann et al., 2011). This statistic suggests the situation does not seem to be getting better, and the gender equality gap keeps growing. According to ABANTU (2020), approximately 50% of Ghana's labor force are women who engage in almost all kinds of economic activities. Therefore, the lack of equal political representation could mean that economic development decisions may not consider women's labor, experience, expertise, knowledge, and best practices despite the prominent economic presence (Gyesi, 2020).

Global studies on gendered mediation have used newspapers as a medium to depict how the media generally portrays women, as well as how political news in news articles are gendered (Gerrits et al., 2017; Gidengil & Everitt, 1999; Kittilson & Fridkin, 2008; Trimble et al., 2015; Wagner et al., 2019). In Ghana, however, the field of gendered mediation is understudied. The primary aim of this study is to assess how the media portray women in politics in Ghana. This study's assessment uses coverage, tone, size of article, content, and context to understand newsprint media portrayal of female politicians in Ghana. The study hopes to assist in understanding print media construction of reports of women in politics to enable the identification of sexist frames.

This research will be the first of its kind to assess media coverage of female candidates on both presidential and parliamentary elections in Ghana. This study will allow for an investigation to assess whether gendered coverage exists on both the presidential and parliamentary levels, as well as how they differ. The results of this study will add to the growing global literature on gender and politics.

This research seeks to answer the following questions:

Is newspaper coverage of women in politics in Ghana gendered? If so, in what ways?

This study reviewed articles on candidates on the presidential ticket and parliamentary candidates for the three-month period ahead of the 2020 general elections in Ghana. The analysis find that the media coverage of women candidates does indeed differ from its coverage of men candidates.

This chapter aimed at introducing the study, which is an assessment of how the Daily Graphic, a Ghanaian newspaper, portrays women in politics in Ghana.

This thesis will therefore proceed as follows:

Chapter two assesses existing studies of women's representation and media coverage, from both global and local perspectives. Chapter three lays out the methodological design of the research, explains the coding guide, and introduces the data collected. Chapter four presents the results of the data analyses and, chapter five summarizes the whole study and gives concluding statements.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses existing studies on female political representation and media coverage, to better understand the state of our knowledge about these themes and provide a base for the research questions and methodology of this thesis. The chapter first explores global studies that explain the underrepresentation of women, with a focus on media coverage, including the quantity of coverage given to women in politics and the quality of coverage regarding the portrayal of women in politics in news-telling. The second section of this chapter discusses women's political representation in Ghana and gendered mediation in Ghana.

2.2 The Global Context:
Quantity of Media Coverage of Women in Politics

Gender parity is necessary for representative governance, as it allows for inclusivity and diversity in government. Historically, the very design of democracy and representation excluded women (Tremblay, 2007) and even though the right to vote and stand for elections began as of the nineteenth century, women's political participation throughout the world still lags compared to that of their male counterparts (Ocran, 2014). Globally, only 25% of all national parliamentarians were women as of 2020 which is a slow increase from 11.3% in 1995 (UNWomen, 2020), far from the 'critical mass' of 30% of women parliamentarians

needed worldwide. Only 22 countries have women serving as Heads of State or Government, and 119 countries have never had a woman leader (UNWomen, 2020). The under-representation of women in parliament is due to a broad mixture of cultural, socio-economic, and political factors (Tremblay, 2007). Media is one of such elements that cut across all these factors.

Corrigall-Brown and Wilkes (2014) reveal that media exposure is an essential predictor of voting behavior. The analysis presented by Ceron (2017) also shows that mass media is a critical tool that significantly influences voter's choices. Goldenberg and Traugott (1987) find that voters easily recognize candidates with higher levels of media coverage at the ballot box and are therefore likely to have a higher chance of getting elected. Kahn (1994), in a study based on the belief that the news media can shape political reality, reveals the potency of media coverage during electoral campaigns where citizens rely almost solely on the media for their political information. The media coverage of a political candidate influences whether they are seen to be desirable for the position they stand for. Coverage has to do with the amount of attention given to a political candidate in terms of name-mentioning, subjects of news articles, associating stories with images, and the content of the news story. The amount and content of media coverage given to these candidates play a massive role in determining their popularity and electability amongst voters. According to Kahn, media coverage shapes electorates' political beliefs, views, and opinions (Kahn, 1994).

2.3 Qualitative Assessment of Media Coverage of Women in Politics

The literature reveals some stereotypical ways the media portray women in politics. Scholars have found that media coverage includes societal prescriptions on how women should behave (Koenig, 2018), the use and effects of sexist symbols in news reporting (Wood, 2013), as well as the objectification of women (Karsay et al., 2017). These themes reinforce the idea that politics is no place for a woman.

2.3.1 Objectification of women in the Media

Women are more likely to be evaluated on how they look compared to men (Berger, 1962). Objectification of women in politics diminishes their achievements, potentials, credibility, and electability (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2011). The media contributes to this by reporting stories based on how a woman looks or dresses instead of her political vision.

Langer (2009, p. 61) describes how the media pays attention to a politician's physical personas and intimate relationships to evaluate their leadership style and identity. In a 2013 study, out of 30 candidates who contested 13 Canadian Political Party leadership races from 1975 to 2012, women were found to be more likely to be described with personalizing references (Trimble et al., 2013). Trimble et al. (2013) observe that female politicians are more likely to have their bodies and personal lives profiled in news coverage, often in ways that de-legitimize their political ambitions. Other studies have also identified a higher tendency for the media to give more attention to the looks of a high-profile female political

contender than the attention given to their male counterparts (Trimble, 2007; Trimble et al., 2010, p. 65).

Studies have also shown that generally, the media tends to focus on physical appearance, ignoring the substantive contribution of female politicians. International research on the role of gender in political reporting by Kahn (1992) documented greater media interest in women's personal lives and physical characteristics than in their substantive qualities. For example, Wasburn & Wasburn (2011) conducted a study to examine how the media reported on Sarah Palin, the Republican candidate for Vice President of the United States in the 2008 election. The study observed the objectification of Palin throughout her campaign. Her objectification in this context means that she was projected as a sex object by referencing her beauty queen background, youthful appearance, physical attractiveness, and choice of clothes. She has been named "America's hottest governor" and depicted alongside explicit images. A study by Mcallister (2007) also revealed that the news media trivialized the political campaign of Sarah Palin by focusing on topics that highlighted her childhood, domestic life, and personality rather than her political campaign messages, ideological orientation, or policy stances. The example here shows the tendency of the media to objectify female candidates rather than emphasizing their policy ideas.

2.3.2 Social Prescription of gender roles in the Media

Societal expectations of how women should behave is another theme from the contextual coverage of women in politics by the media. Allan Bell makes known that news values and preconceptions shape media coverage about the social group from which the news actors come (Bell, 1991, p. 158). Psychological evidence suggests women are more compassionate and emotional than men (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1979), and this influences gender stereotypes formed.

The media tends to adhere to gender stereotypes in news coverage. Eagly and Carli reveal that gender stereotypes prescribe men as possessing the strength, intelligence, and experience to be leaders, but women as helpmates because of their warmth, honesty, and compassion (Eagly & Carli, 2007). These stereotypes manifest in the wording and representation of female politicians in news stories and reinforce the idea of politics not being a suitable female profession. A study investigating which leadership qualities the media emphasizes in their political coverage reveal that female candidates suffer more harmful and gendered assessments of their communication skills, intellectual substance, and political experience than male candidates (Wagner et al., 2019).

A political debate in Canada studied by Gidengil & Everitt (1999) reveal that television news coverage would overemphasize combative behaviors on the part of a female political leader. As such, women may be penalized for adopting a societally preconceived masculine style of debate. However, Norris (1997) highlights the positive effect of gender stereotypes as influencing the ability of men and women to win elections. Her study notes that women

11

who campaign on stereotypically "female" issues and men who campaign on issues that are stereotypical "male" would enjoy significant electoral advantages (p.78).

Cross-national research by Kittilson & Fridkin (2008) shows that irrespective of geographical location, women are systematically stereotyped. The study compares newspaper coverage of male and female candidates in Australia, Canada, and the United States. There were instances of gender bias in the media in each of these countries. Interestingly, in the American news media, the study noticed the media's concentration on honesty and compassion when describing women candidates. In contrast, men are associated with experience and leadership (Kittilson & Fridkin, 2008).

The double standards of the media in gendered reporting go against women and male politicians as well. On the 13th of December (2010), ABC News published a story on John Boehner, describing him as a powerful man who had an opportunity to impress Americans but failed to do so because he had an emotional moment. The media associated his tears with why he was not elected. However, this article written about a female politician may have depicted humanity, compassion, and warmth.

2.3.3 Masculine and Feminine Symbolism in the Media:

The media's use of masculine imagery and symbols also suggests that politics is predominantly a male zone. Gingras (1997) notes the use of images by the media presents

a scene of stereotypical masculinity, for example, the use of a sports arena to hold debates, rallies, etc. Blankenship (1976) also studied the media's use of metaphorical images of violence, warfare, sports, and games used in illustrating political news about male candidates which can influence reader's perceptions. Some findings suggest that men traditionally dominate the political field (Andersen & Miller, 1997; Eagly et al., 1992; Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993), and their leadership styles receive more positive critiques than female leadership styles (Andersen & Miller, 1997; Eagly et al., 1992; Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993).

It is evident from these to note that the gendered mediation problem sets and encourages unrealistic standards for both men and women, which is harmful when people who stray from these conventional standards appear in the political limelight. I anticipate that gendered media coverage is present in the Ghanaian context too, and that it has a negative impact on women's representation in politics.

2.4 Overview of Ghana's Context: Female Political Under-Representation and Gendered Mediation

Ghana is a relatively small country located in the Western part of Africa. Democratic multi-party elections are observed in Ghana every four years. Ghanaian citizens use this election to decide who governs at the parliamentary and presidential levels. An independent body,

the Electoral Commission (EC), oversees this period. Ghana has practiced an excellent form of democracy in Africa and has seen eight successful multi-party elections in its fourth republic. Ghana's fourth republic has had only two dominant parties alternating power in each election: the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC).

Women constitute about 49.3% of Ghana's total population (WorldBank, 2019), but their inclusion and representation in politics have been slow. Ghana was one of the leading African countries to introduce a gender quota in 1959[2], under the Convention People's Party (CPP) (Højlund Madsen, 2019). This initial affirmative action, the Representation of the People (Women Members) Act (Højlund Madsen, 2019), ensured the nomination and election of 10 women (9%) into parliament to represent the regions in the then legislature. Since then, the highest number of women in Parliament in Ghana has been 14.5% in 2020 *(Figure 1).*

Ghana currently has 275 seats in parliament spread across all 16 regions. Several women file to stand for parliamentary positions, but only a few are elected to represent their political parties for elections. For example, the parliamentary candidates for the Greater Accra region (administrative capital region) ahead of the 2020 elections show this trend. There are 34 constituencies in the Greater Accra region and in 2020, amongst the 123

---

[2] "When Kwame Nkrumah gained power, he acknowledged the important role the women had played in the struggle and for the party, and hence adopted a quota on ten reserved seats for women in Parliament" (Madsen, 2018).

candidates standing for parliamentary seats in these constituencies, 29.3% were women, and 70.7% were men *(Figure 2)*.

Figure 1
Female MPs in Ghana (1960-2016)
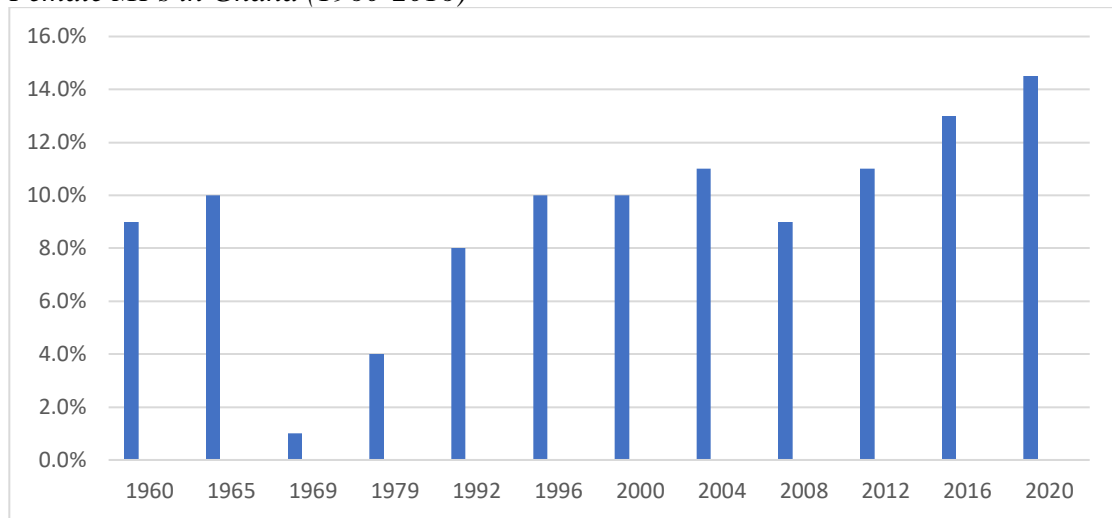
Source: Women's Political Representation and Affirmative Action in Ghana. NAI Policy Note No 1:2019

The parliamentary elections are held simultaneously with the presidential elections in Ghana. The study also samples the candidates on the presidential ticket before the 2020 general elections in Ghana. The presidential elections have also witnessed low female political participation. In October 2020, the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) published a survey to assert matters of concern to the Ghanaian voter (NCCE, 2020). The results of this survey revealed that there is a high willingness to vote for women who stand for political positions. However, there have been very few women over the years who have stood for presidential-level elections.

Figure 2
Gender Distribution of MP Candidates for Greater Accra (2020) Ahead of the 2020
Elections
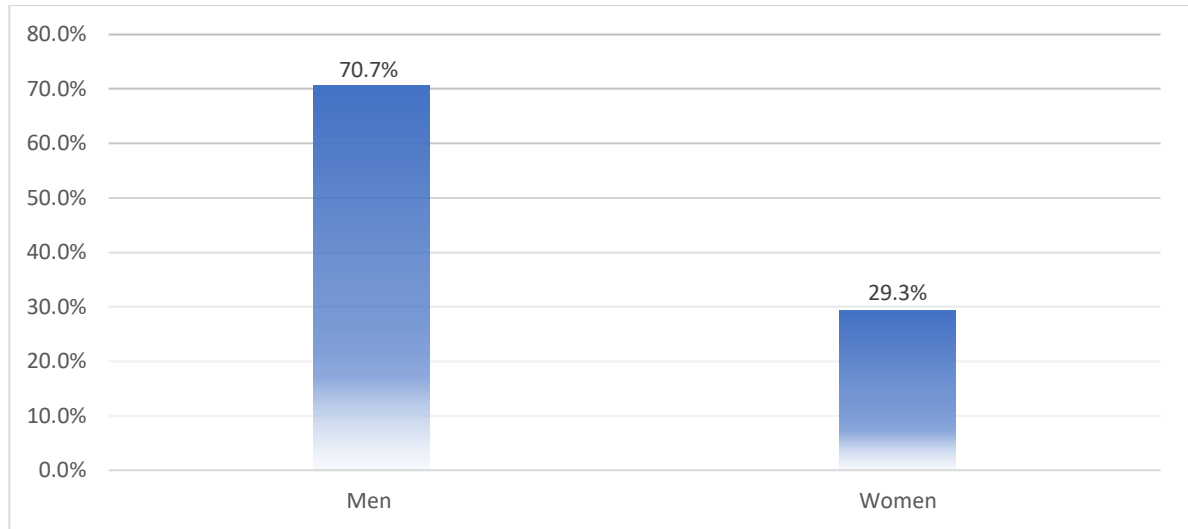
N=123

The 2016 general election in Ghana was a landmark political period for women in politics. It was the first time a woman stood as a presidential candidate and a running mate of a presidential candidate in Ghana. Even though none of the two major political parties chose a female as a running mate to the presidential candidate, it was the first time a woman stood a presidential candidate. Amongst the 14 candidates on the presidential ticket before the 2016 presidential election, only two were women.

The 2020 general elections recorded the highest number of female political candidates in the fourth republic of Ghana. It was the first time a woman stood as a running mate to the presidential candidate of a major political party (Hinson, 2020). Prof. Naana Opoku-Agyemang became the first woman selected as a running-mate of the NDC. The 2020 elections also saw two women contesting as presidential candidates: Brigitte Akosua

Dzogbenuku of the Progressive People's Party (PPP) and Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings of the National Democratic Party (NDP). Again, Margaret Obrine Sarfo was also a running mate of the Liberal Party of Ghana (LPG). Amongst the 24 candidates running on the presidential ticket in 2020, only five were women.

The participation and success of women in politics on the parliamentary and presidential levels has been a slow journey in Ghana. Several studies have emerged to explain the low participation of women in national politics in Ghana (Bawa & Sanyare, 2013; Nketia. Kwabena J. H., 2005; Odame, 2010). Despite the significant number of studies carried out in the domain of women and the media in Ghana (Amoakohene, 2004; Hindin et al., 1994; Sano et al., 2016), there have been only a few studies undertaken to investigate how the media portrays women in politics in Ghana and the effects this may have on female political representation.

According to the Nordic Africa Institute report, gendered media coverage is a barrier to the representation of women in politics in Ghana (Højlund Madsen, 2020). Donkor (2016), in her thesis, indicated that the newspaper's portrayal of women in politics is predominantly negative, and this discourages women from participating in Ghanaian politics. A possible explanation for the inadequate media coverage given to women in politics in Ghana is that men outnumbered women in media companies, governance, and top management, making major company decisions and policies (Byerly, 2011, p. 93). Findings of an IWMF report also show that women are seriously under-represented in the Ghanaian news companies surveyed in their media study report (Byerly & Stiles, 2008). This lack of representation at top-level decision-making positions in Ghana is detrimental to the country's overall

development. When making decisions and building policies, it is necessary to be gender-inclusive to put in all considerations and not draw up short-sighted solutions. The lack of equal political representation of genders can cause policies to fix square pegs in round holes. This interpretation is not only restricted to gender but representation of overlooked minorities as well.

Current literature on gendered mediation shows that globally, there is an unequal and sometimes gender-biased coverage newspapers exhibit in reporting political stories. However, the literature on gendered mediation in Ghana is scanty and it is difficult to assess to what degree newspaper coverage of political candidates is gendered. This study seeks to assess the portrayal of women in Ghanaian politics and whether there is a need for improved coverage by newspapers in Ghana.

2.5 Conclusion

In sum, the literature on gendered mediation reveals its many forms. These forms of gendered mediation are evident in the quantity and quality of the media's coverage of women in politics. Based on the literature and existing research, I will expect that women in politics in Ghana will be covered differently by the Daily Graphic. I expect this differential coverage of women to be evident in the quantity of coverage, the page placement of their news stories, the tone of writing, the inclusion of a picture enhancement, the type of issue and personality-based stories, the context of the stories and the size of the news articles.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to explain in detail the research methods and the data gathered for this study. I will describe the data collected to investigate the portrayal of women in politics by the media in Ghana. I will also describe the way that the data were coded and assessed, before moving into the analysis of the data in chapter four.

3.2 Media in Ghana (Newspapers)

Ghana has a vibrant press that plays a crucial role in political discourse, national identity, and popular culture (pressreference.com, 2002). The media in Ghana is a valuable tool in furthering democratic principles and public policymaking (Donkor, 2016). Mass media outlets, including newspapers, radio, internet publishing, and television, have been the primary sources of information for most Ghanaians. There are 575 FM Broadcasting and 146 TV stations with authorizations in Ghana (National Communications Authority, 2020). The National Media Commission authorizes over 1000 newspapers and magazines and doubles as the custodian of media freedoms (Donkor, 2016). The media in Ghana is one of the freest in Africa (Freedom House, 2020). Article 21 of the Constitution of Ghana guarantees freedom of the press and other media, freedom of speech, expression, thought, and information.

This study aims to study the portrayal of women in Ghanaian politics, using newspapers to conduct the research. In Ghana, newspapers are one of the primary sources of information people rely on amongst television and radio sources. Information in newspapers is disbursed both electronically and in fine print. It is also relatively feasible to analyze information found in newspapers compared to television and radio. Also, newspapers are relatively well archived and more easily accessible than other media sources in Ghana.

Using newspapers in this type of study is not a novel approach but instead, builds on existing research conducted in the field of gendered mediation (Gerrits et al., 2017; Gidengil & Everitt, 1999; Kittilson & Fridkin, 2008; Trimble et al., 2015; Wagner et al., 2019). The newspaper chosen for this study was the Daily Graphic for a variety of reasons. Firstly, the Daily Graphic is circulated country-wide, amongst all the 16 regions in Ghana and reaches the highest number of readers nationwide (Kuehnhenrich, 2012), which makes it appropriate for investigation. Again, the Daily Graphic newspaper writes news stories in the English-language, Ghana's official language, spoken by 67.1% of the population (GSS, 2012). Daily Graphic is widely circulated among Ghanaians, and its patronage cuts across gender, educational background, occupation, and religious affiliations (GMSIP, 2009). Yovonoo (2016) notes that the supremacy of the Daily Graphic has resulted in its name *Graphic* being synonymous with a newspaper in Ghana. Finally, the Daily Graphic is generally a trusted source of information for most Ghanaians because of its content, which is deliberate, purposeful, and detailed (Donkor, 2016).

3.3 Case Selection

The study uses the 2020 general election in Ghana because it is the most recent and unique. This election was the first election with a female as a running mate for the NDC, one of the two dominant parties in Ghana's fourth and current republic (the other party is the NPP). The 2020 election was also the next election period after 2016 that recorded the highest number of female parliamentarians in Ghana's history (13.1%) and a significant percentage of female cabinet ministers (21%). The study uses the 2020 elections due to the slow but growing presence of female political figures.

The 2020 general election was held in Ghana on December 7th. Ghana's general elections take the form of a two-round[3] presidential system and a first-past-the-post[4] parliamentary system. Ghana is a multi-party state that consistently sees candidates from different political parties standing for presidential and parliamentary positions. However, two parties dominate the political sphere: the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Progressive Party (NPP).

This study assesses newspaper articles from the three-month timeframe leading up to the 2020 general election in Ghana. Similar studies usually use the period that falls within three months before an election to determine coverage and what campaign messages influence

---

[3] Two-round voting system is where the top two candidates (if there are more than two nominees) go through to a second election and voters choose their favourite (Electoral Reform Society, 2020). If in the first round of elections no candidate attains 50% of the votes, a second ballot is held, usually two or three weeks later.

[4] Also known as single-member plurality voting and irrespective of vote share, the candidate who receives the most votes wins.

voters the most (Abney et al., 2013). The study applies this concept of the heightened period for a political campaign and uses this period to analyze the media coverage of politicians by the Daily Graphic.

3.4 The Data

I collected newspaper stories that mentioned the names of any of the candidates for the Greater Accra constituencies ahead of the 2020 general elections and the candidates for the presidential elections. The Greater Accra region is the administrative capital of Ghana and the most populated region. The study identified these stories through a word search for each candidate's name in the Daily Graphic database. I was able to obtain the database directly from the Daily Graphic for the timeframe of this study. There was a total of 315 stories[5] collected for the three months from September 1st to December 7th.

Out of these, 85.4% of the stories had a candidate on the presidential ticket as the story's main subject, while 12.4% of the stories had a parliamentary candidate/s as the story's main subject. 2.2% of the stories had both a candidate in the presidential or vice-presidential category and the parliamentary category within the article, getting equal attention as the story's subject.

---

[5] There were 315 stories collected, however, only 144 of the stories were used in this study. 131 stories were excluded because they were on the incumbent president, Nana Akufo-Addo. See page 24.

Figure 3
Distribution Of Candidates on the Presidential Ticket and Parliamentary Candidates
Stories Ahead of the 2020 Elections
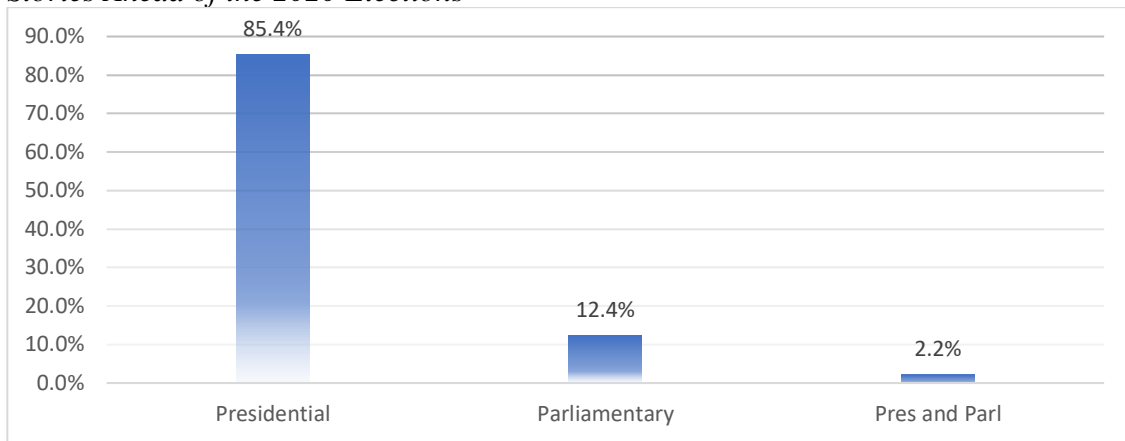
N= 315

3.4.1 Presidential Stories

There were 12 presidential candidates with their 12 running mates (*Table 1*) leading up to the 2020 Ghanaian general elections. Out of the 24 candidates, 19 were men (nine male presidential candidates and 10 male vice-presidential candidates) and five were women (three female presidential candidates and two female vice-presidential candidates). For this study, candidates running on both the presidential and vice-presidential ticket would be in the 'presidential candidates' category.

A total of 276 stories collected from September 1st to December 7th had someone on the presidential ticket as the main subject. However, 131 stories had the then incumbent president, Nana Akufo-Addo, being the subject of the story due to extensive coverage of his day-to-day presidential duties. Because this figure would cause an unfair advantage to

the category 'male presidential candidates', these stories were excluded from the study.

Table 1
List of Candidates on the Presidential Ticket ahead of the 2020 Ghanaian Elections

Party	Abbreviation	Presidential Candidate	Sex	Name Count	Running Mate	Sex	Name Count
New Patriotic Party	NPP	Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo	M	1400	Mahamudu Bawumia	M	335
National Democratic Congress	NDC	John Dramani Mahama	M	700	Jane Naana Opoku-Agyemang	F	120
Ghana Union Movement	GUM	Christian Kwabena Andrews	M	22	Abu Grant Lukeman	M	2
Convention People's Party	CPP	Ivor Kobina Greenstreet	M	90	Emmanuel Yaovi Bobobe	M	11
Ghana Freedom Party	GFP	Akua Donkor	F	33	Ernest Adakabre Frimpong Manso	M	4
Great Consolidated Popular Party	GCPP	Henry Herbert Lartey	M	57	Andy Bampoe-Sekyi	M	2
All People's Congress	APC	Hassan Ayariga	M	69	Frank Yaw Kuadey	M	1
Liberal Party of Ghana	LPG	Percival Kofi Akpaloo	M	51	Margaret Obrine Sarfo	F	2
People's National Convention	PNC	David Asibi Ayindenaba Apasera	M	88	Divine Ayivor	M	22
Progressive People's Party	PPP	Brigitte Akosua Dzogbenuku	F	97	Kofi Asamoah-Siaw	M	16
National Democratic Party	NDP	Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings	F	80	Peter Tennyson Asamoah	M	16
Independent Candidate	IND	Alfred Kwame Asiedu Walker	M	63	Jacob Osei Yeboah	M	16

This study therefore uses 144 news articles to analyze the data collected on the other

candidates on the presidential ticket. Out of this number, 28 stories had a woman as the

story's subject, and 109 had a man as the story's subject. Seven of the stories had both male and female candidates on the presidential ticket receiving equal attention. The study uses this figure (144 stories on candidates on the presidential ticket) in its analysis.

3.4.2 Parliamentary Stories

This study samples the coverage of the MP's standing for constituencies in the Greater Accra region (capital region) in Ghana, rather than across the whole country. There are a total number of 16 regions in Ghana, each having several constituencies. The study uses the Greater Accra region because it is the administrative capital of Ghana and the most developed and populated region. Limiting the analysis to this region helped to make the study more feasible.

There are 34 constituencies in the Greater Accra region. Before the 2020 general elections, women occupied 11 of the 34 seats while men occupied 24 in the Greater Accra Region. Amongst the 123 candidates standing for parliamentary seats in these constituencies, there were 36 women and 87 men spread across various political parties (NPP, NDC, PNC, CPP, APC, GUM, GFP, GCPP, NDP, LGP and nine independent candidates).

Table 2 lists candidates who had at least one article that talked about them in the three months leading up to the election in the newspaper being assessed. The table lists their constituency, name, party, sex, and number of newspaper articles they appeared in.

Table 2
List of Parliamentary Candidates for the GA Region Ahead of the 2020 Elections

Constituency	Name of Candidate	Party	Sex	Name Count
Bortianor-Ngleshie Amanfro	1. Sylvester Tetteh	NPP	M	2
	2. Alexander Ackuaku	NDC	M	2
Weija Gbawe	1. Tina Gifty Naa Ayeley Mensah	NPP	F	8
	2. Cleland Nii Ayaa Ayison	NDC	M	6
Trobu	1. Moses Anim	NPP	M	1
La Nkwantanang/ Madina	1. Abu-Bakar Saddique Boniface	NPP	M	1
	2. Francis Xavier Kojo Sosu	NDC	M	1
Ayawaso North	1. Manaf Mohammadu Osumanu Alidu	NPP	M	1
Ayawaso Central	1. Henry Quartey	NPP	M	6
	2. Abdul Rauf Tongym Tubazu	NDC	M	3
Ayawaso West Wuogon	1. Lydia Seyram Alhassan	NPP	F	6
	2. John Setror Dumelo	NDC	M	3
	3. Richard Mawuli Amegatse	IND	M	1
Okaikwei Central	1. Patrick Yaw Boamah	NPP	M	11
Okaikwei South	1. Abraham Kotei Neequaye	NDC	M	1
Ablekuma Central	1. Nartey Ebenezer Gilbert Nii Narh	NPP	M	1
Ablekuma West	1. Ursula Gifty Owusu-Ekuful	NPP	F	36
	2. Kweku Addo	NDC	M	1
	3. Daniel Osekine Noye	PNC	M	5
Odododiodoo	1.Edward Patrick Nii Lante Bannerman	NPP	M	15
Korley Klottey	1. Prince Appiah Debrah	NPP	M	4
	2. Zanetor Agyeman-Rawlings	NDC	F	8
	3. Fred Ntow Boateng	LPG	M	1
La Dadekotopon	1. Joseph Gerald Tetteh Nyanyofio	NPP	M	2
	2. Sinare Hummi	PNC	F	4
Ledzokuku	1. Bernard Okoe Boye	NPP	M	27
Krowor	1. Elizabeth Afoley Quaye	NPP	F	19
Tema East	1. Daniel Nii Kwartei Titus-Glover	NPP	M	21
	2. Isaac Ashai Odamtten	NDC	M	10
Tema West	1. Carlos Kingsley Ahenkorah	NPP	M	8
Tema Central	1. Ebi Bright	NDC	F	3
Kpone Katamanso	1. Hopeson Yaovi Adorye	NPP	M	9
	2. Joseph Akuerteh	NDC	M	4
	3. Masaudu Chief Moro	GUM	M	6
	4. Alpha Issifu	INDP	M	5
Ashaiman	1. Labaran Yakubu Barry	NPP	M	1
	2. Norgbey Ernest Henry	NDC	M	5
Adentan	1. Yaw Buaben Asamoa	NPP	M	1
Ningo Prampram	1. Samuel Nartey George	NDC	M	3
	2. Angmor Richard Nartey	IND	M	1
Ada	1. Pobee Dugbakie Sarah	NPP	F	2

As can be seen, the number varies widely, between 1 and 36. Notably, the candidate with the highest number of mentions was a woman, Ursula Gifty Owusu-Ekuful, whose name was frequently mentioned in different articles because she held two positions prior to the elections; the incumbent MP for her constituency and the Minister of Communications. The name count category (*Table 2*) does not imply these were articles that she was the subject of; it means her name appeared in articles throughout the study's time frame 36 times.

3.5 Coding Guide - Yovonoo (2016)

The coding of this study was guided by Yovonoo's (2016) coding style in her thesis "Portrayal of Women Parliamentary Candidates during the 2012 Elections by the Daily Graphic, Daily Guide, and The Enquirer" in Ghana. Yovonoo's research sought to find out whether the newspaper coverage discriminated against female presidential candidates by according prominence to men in the 2012 general elections in Ghana (Yovonoo, 2016). The coding guide was, however, modified to meet the aim of this study. *Table 1* gives an overview of how the data entry sheet looked. Two identical database sheets were created for candidates on the presidential ticket and parliamentary candidates.

The coding framework consisted of components for coding the basic information of the article, the candidates of interest, the reporters, tone, size, content of the article, and visual features on the page.

The coding guide follows Yovonoo's (2016), but with more sub-categories that expanded the findings for future studies and analysis (*Table 3*). The database consists of the stories covered on both candidates on the presidential ticket and parliamentary candidates, which or the study, a name count, and the coded stories.

Table 3
Outline of Coding Guide Used in This Study

Title of Article	Date of publication	Page Number	Type of Story	Name of Candidates of Interest	Sex of Main Candidate	Focus of story	Type of issue-based Stories	Type personality-based story	Placement of story	Size of Story on	Political affiliation	Source of story	Name of reporter/s	Sex of reporter/s	Context of story	Story enhancement	Tone of story	Visual Features on Page	Other comments

Title of Article: This is the title of the article that mentions the subject of interest.

Date of Publication: The date the article was published.

Page: The page number (or numbers) the article featured on.

Type of Story: This was classified under the following categories:

> 1. Straight News story
> 2. Editorial
> 3. Opinion Piece
> 4.Feature Story
> 5. Letter
> 7. Profile

Name of Candidates of Interest: Candidates on the presidential ticket or parliamentary candidate appearing as the news item's subject within the sample population.

Sex of Candidates of Interest: The sex of the article's subject; either male and (or) female.

Focus of Story: Whether the story was issue-based and (or) personality-based.

Type of issue-based Story: This was classified under the following categories:

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

Type of personality-based story: Type of personality-based story fell under the following

categories:

1. Character
2. Work experience
3. Competence
4. Physical attributes
5. Reference to family
6. Partly reference to family
7. Achievements

Placement of story: The story's placement fell under the following categories:

1. Frontpage -Main news story
2. Frontpage- Other news story
3. Centre spread
4. Back page
5. Politics page
6. Other

Size of Story: The size of the article was observed and rounded to the nearest .25 of a page.

News stories appearing on multiple pages had the sizes added to give a total figure.

Political affiliation of subject: The subject's party affiliation fell under the NDC, NPP, CPP, PPP, PNC, GUM, APC, LPG, NDP, GCPP, GFP, and the Independent presidential candidate (IND).

Source of the story: This fell under either staff reporter or news agency.

Name of Reporter: Included the name or names of the reporter/s who sourced the story.

Sex of reporter: The sex of the reporter, male or female.

Context of story: The situation in which the event being reported or written about takes place. The context of the story fell under the following categories:

1. Political rally
2. Campaign event
3. Speech events
4. Interview with journalist or press statement or conference
5. Donation of items
6. Inauguration or launch or commissioning or inspection of the project
7. Expert source
8. Other stories that do not fall under any of these contexts

Story Enhancement: This had to do with whether a picture accompanied the story or not.

Tone of Story: This refers to the tone that was consistent throughout an article. The tone of the story was either favorable, unfavorable, or neutral. The tone of a story was coded as positive if it portrayed a candidate in a good light. A story coded as negative presented a candidate or subject matter in a negative light. Neutral tones were other stories that did not fall into the positive or negative category.

Visual Features on Page: If there were any visual features worth noting. For example, if the story had two subjects but only a picture of one subject was featured.

Other Comments: Any further observation.

3.6 Data Analysis:

The statistics software, STATA, was used for analyzing the data. The data gathered from the Daily Graphic in the three months leading up to the 2020 general elections in Ghana were coded, entered Excel, and analyzed quantitatively using STATA. To understand trends and patterns in the data, I made use of univariate and bivariate statistics.

3.7 Hypotheses

This study makes use of a multi-faceted approach to the main research hypothesis being tested. This means that the aim of the research is generally to assess how women in politics are covered by newspapers, in terms of quantity and quality of the coverage.

H1: The Daily Graphic's coverage of women in politics in Ghana is gendered.

To achieve this, several sub-hypotheses were tested for both the presidential and vice-presidential category, and the parliamentary category.

3.7.1 Sub-hypotheses

H1a: Women candidates are the main subject of fewer newspaper articles than men.

H1b: Women from major political parties are likelier to receive more coverage in newspapers.

H1c: Women candidates are less likely to be featured on prominent newspaper pages.

H1d: Women candidates are likelier to be written about in a negative tone by newspapers.

H1e: Women in politics are less likely to have pictures with their stories in newspapers.

H1f: Women in politics are less likely to be associated with priority issues in newspapers.

H1g: Women in politics are likelier to be associated with personality-based content in newspapers.

H1h: Women in politics are less likely to have news stories about them associated with strong context.

H1i: Women in politics are less likely to have significant news story sizes.

H1j: Women in politics are less likely to be covered by female reporters in newspapers.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the study's units of analysis, as well as justifications for its choices. The chapter also revealed the form the study's methodology took, coding references, and databases. The research method aims to establish procedures that will help the study attain its goal of investigating the portrayal of women in politics by major newspapers in Ghana through its case selection and units of analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the study's findings, which aimed at assessing the media's portrayal and representation of Ghanaian women in politics. The study used news articles from the Daily Graphic three months before the 2020 general election in Ghana.

The analysis proceeds in two parts: an assessment of media coverage of candidates on the presidential ticket and an assessment of media coverage of parliamentary candidates. The research hypothesized that the media's coverage of candidates on the presidential ticket and parliamentary candidates is gendered, including a) the coverage of women in politics b) the number of women covered on the ticket of a major political party c) the story placement of articles on women d) the tone of the story, e) the presence of a picture in a story on a woman f) the association of women with stories on priority national issues g) the concentration of personality traits of women h) the association of women with stories on strong context i) the size of the story j) the number of female reporters covering stories on women. The study's overall findings revealed that coverage given to female politicians is inadequate and has significant elements of gendered mediation on both presidential and parliamentary levels.

4.2 Presidential Stories

First, I examined the coverage of candidates on the presidential ticket. In this section, I will walk through the results of the analysis of proportion of overall coverage, placement, tone, size, political party, story context, story content, story enhancement and sex of reporter.

4.2.1 Sex of the Main Candidate (Presidential)

The data collected on the candidates on the presidential ticket about their sex yielded the following results in *Figure 4*. The data ahead of the 2020 elections revealed that out of 24 candidates, there were 19 men and five women (*Table 1*). Out of the 144 presidential stories, 19.44% (28 stories) were on women, while 75.69% (109 stories) were on men. 4.86% (seven stories) had both men and women as the subject (*Figure 4*).

Figure 4
Coverage of Women and Men on the Presidential ticket in the Daily Graphic
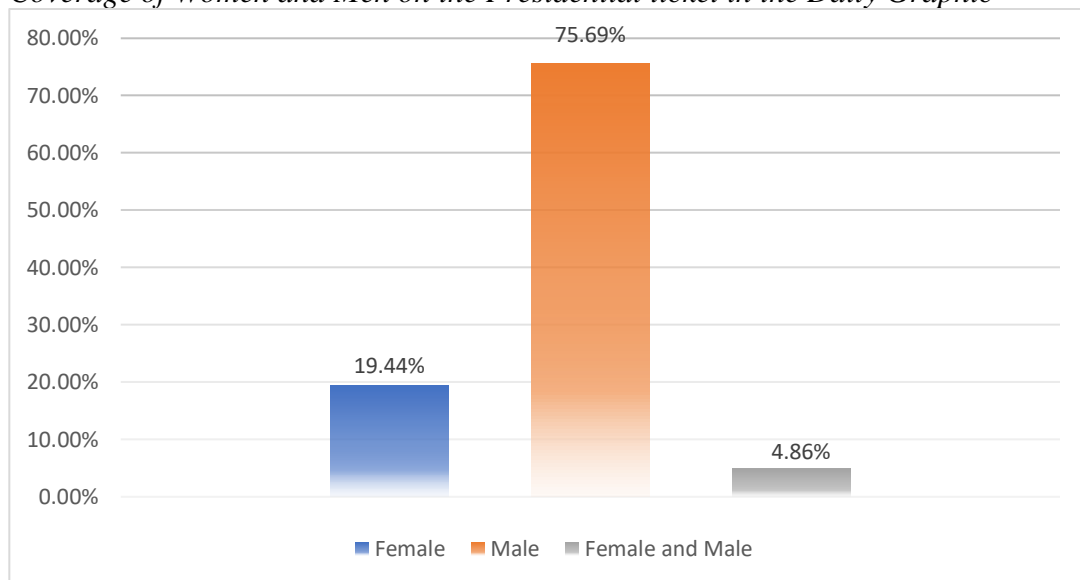
N= 144

The frequency distribution presented in *Figure 4* reflects an equal media coverage of the ratio of male to female candidates on the presidential ticket. The study expected that women candidates are the main subject of fewer newspaper articles than men (**H1a**). This is proven to be true. However, the results suggest that the Daily Graphic's presidential discussion broadly reflects the gender distribution of the candidates. This forms the basis of other findings in the presidential category. The underrepresentation of women further limits the choices of voters, and the literature reveals that media coverage plays a huge role in increasing a woman's electability (Corrigall-Brown & Wilkes, 2014).

4.2.2 Political Affiliation of Subjects (Presidential)

There were 13 political parties and one independent candidate contesting for the presidential seat ahead of the 2020 elections. The NDC and the NPP had the highest number of articles; 28.47% and 30.56%. All other parties had individual percentages below 7%.

The study hypothesized that women from major political parties are likelier to receive more coverage in newspapers (**H1b**) than women from smaller parties. From *Figure 5,* there is further proof that this is true. The NPP and NDC, which recorded the highest number of stories affiliated with candidates on the presidential ticket (*Figure 5*), are the dominant parties in Ghana. Since the onset of Ghana's fourth and current republic (1993-present), the NPP and NDC have been the only two parties voted into power on the presidential level.

Figure 5
Total Number of News Stories of the Political Parties of Candidates, Presidential
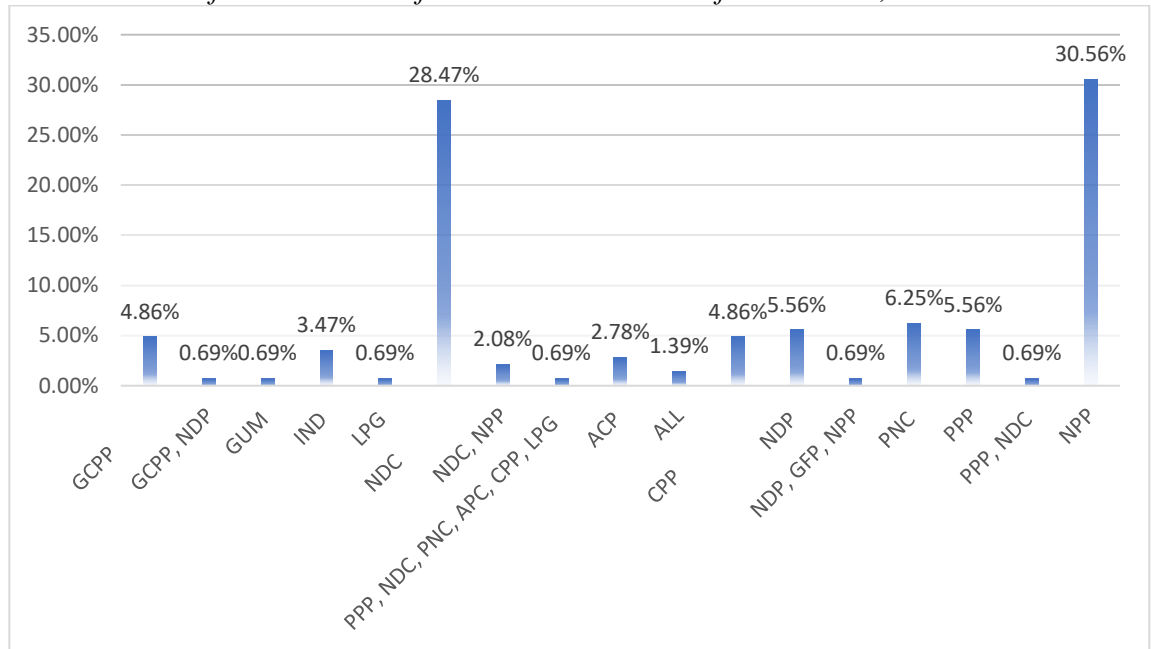
N= 144

Dominance in the political sphere means most political conversations are concentrated on these two parties since they are the most likely to be voted into power. Dominance also provides an unfair advantage to candidates contesting on the ticket of the NDC or NPP in terms of news coverage, especially on the presidential level. Meaning that if these parties present no female candidate, the media coverage of other candidates on the presidential ticket belonging to other political parties will be further limited unless the media make a conscious effort to increase coverage. It also suggests that if major parties nominate women candidates, the media will be more likely to cover them.

4.2.3 Placement of Story (Presidential)

The placement page of a story influences its prominence, and the importance readers may attach to it (Yovonoo, 2016). The data collected on story placement assessed placement across six categories. These were the Frontpage- Main story, Frontpage- other story, Center-spread, Back placement, Politics page, and Other pages. Stories on the front pages, center-spread pages, and back pages generally gain more attention.

According to Yovonoo (2016), newspapers' front-page lead stories are considered more critical than front-page non-lead stories. Hence, front-page stories in this study included front-page-main news stories and front page-other news stories. Centre-spread and back pages are also prominent pages. The last category was the 'other' category, which was news stories found on any other page. Some of the stories were in two categories because they were front-page stories also another category, for example, a story could start on the front page and continue a politics page.

Out of 144 stories on candidates on the presidential ticket, stories placed on the front-page (main news story) were made up of 83.33% men and 16.67% both men and women. Stories on the front- page (other news story) had 13.33% on women, 66.67% on men, and 20.00% was on both men and women. Front- page (other news story) in combination with Politics page had 100.00% of the stories on men. The Centre spread placement had 14.29% of the stories on women and 85.7% covering men. The Back placement had 100% of the stories on men. The politics page had 28.17% of the stories covering women, 70.42% covering men, and 1.41% covering a man and woman candidate. Finally, stories located on other

pages covered 14.29% covering women, 80.00% covering men and 5.71% covering a man

and woman candidate.

Table 4
Story Placement by Sex, Candidates on the Presidential Ticket

Placement of Story	Sex of the Main Candidate			Total
	Female	Male	Male and Female	
Front- page main news story	0	5	1	6
%	0.00%	83.33%	16.67%	100.00%
Front- page other news story	2	10	3	15
%	13.33%	66.67%	20.00%	100.00%
Front- page other news story, politics	0	2	0	2
%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Centre Placement	1	6	0	7
%	14.29%	85.71%	0.00%	100.00%
Back Placement	0	8	0	8
%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Politics Page	20	50	1	71
%	28.17%	70.42%	1.41%	100.00%
Other Page	5	28	2	35
%	14.29%	80.00%	5.71%	100.00%
Total	28	109	7	144
%	19.44%	75.69%	4.86%	100.00%

N=144
Pearson chi2(12) = 19.5931   Pr = 0.075

As observed from *Table 4*, stories on men were more likely to be placed on prominent

pages such as the front, center, and back pages. This is in line with the hypothesis that

women candidates are less likely to be featured on prominent newspaper pages (**H1c**). This

relationship was statistically significant at 0.075 using Pearson's chi-square. None of the

women featured on the front page of a main story against the 83.88% of men given this

placement. Back placement stories also had 100% stories on only men out of the dataset.

From the data (*Table 4*), there is more evidence of gendered coverage. Women in politics

are not accorded enough visibility compared to men regarding their story placements in newspapers. *Table 4* shows the inequalities in coverage of an already underrepresented minority. More leading stories on female candidates in heightened political campaign periods, will improve visibility.

4.2.4 Tone of Stories (Presidential)

The tone of news stories refers to a description given to a source, story subject, or context and how such a description reflects on the party or candidate involved (Yovonoo, 2016). The categories used in this study were positive, negative, and neutral tones. A positive story was when the Daily Graphic portrays a candidate in a favorable way.

> *"According to the statement, the Otumfuo commended the leadership of the PPP for choosing Ms Dzogbenuku as its flag bearer. He described Ms Dzogbenuku as a woman of courage and fortitude who must commit herself to upholding the values and principles of humanity. He said her decision to run for office was not only a motivation for all women and the nation but also a recognition of the role women could play in the country's democratic process"*
> *1-Dec-20 (page 24)*

Otherwise, a story was coded as negative if unfavorable.

> *"President Akufo-Addo further said former President Mahama was going round the country making all sorts of promises, forgetting that he was not a new character in the presidential election. He said the former President was shown the exit in 2016 due to his abysmal performance."*
> *26-Nov-20 (pages 1 and 3)*

Neutral stories represented stories that were neither negative nor positive.

> *"The People's National Convention (PNC) will today go to congress to elect its flag bearer for the 2020 presidential election and national executive officers to steer the affairs of the party. A total of 30 aspirants will be battling it out for 14 positions, including the flagbearership... All eligible voters are expected to converge on the respective regional voting centres in the morning of the exercise to cast their ballot."*
> *30-Sep-20 (page 13)*

Table 5 presents the distribution sex of the main subject and the tone of their stories. Out of 144, negatively toned stories were seven, 133 were positive, and seven were neutral. It is unclear why most of the stories were positive. However, most of the stories on candidates were campaign-related activities that mostly favored the story subjects. The data by sex shows that women had 25% of the negative stories about them and men had 50% while 25% of the negative stories were of both a man and a woman. 20.30% of the positive stories were on women, 78.20% were on men and 1.50% of the positive stories were of both a man and a woman. Finally, the Daily Graphic neutrally toned stories had none on women, 42.86% on men, and 52.14% on both men and women.

Table 5
Tone of stories by Sex, Candidates on the Presidential Ticket

Tone of story	Sex of the Main Candidate			Total
	Female	Male	Male and Female	
Positive	27	104	2	133
%	20.30%	78.20%	1.50%	100.00%
Negative	1	2	1	4
%	25.00%	50.00%	25.00%	100.00%
Neutral	0	3	4	7
%	0.00%	42.86%	57.14%	100.00%
Total	28	109	7	144
%	19.44%	75.69%	4.86%	100.00%

N=144
Pearson chi2(4) = 48.7127   Pr = 0.000

Generally, the data distribution on the story's tone shows no gendered difference by the Daily Graphic. The study hypothesized that women candidates are likelier to be written

about in a negative tone by newspapers (**H1d**). However, this was not the case per the findings.

4.2.5 Story Enhancement (Presidential)

Figure 6 represents the distribution of presidential stories by sex and the presence of a story enhancement. The story enhancement in this study means the story had an image accompanying the story on the subject, alone or with others. When an image is attached to a story, it increases its significance and enhances the candidate's visibility.

25.00% of the 52 stories with a sole photograph of the candidate were women, while 75.00% were men. The photograph with others category (80 stories) had 15.00% women, 78.75% men candidates, and 6.25% were both women and men. 25% of the 12 stories with no photographs were women, 58.33% were male, and 16.67% were both women and men.

The study expected that women in politics are less likely to have pictures with their stories in newspapers (**H1e**). The distribution (*Figure 6*) shows that story enhancement is not gendered by the Daily Graphic on the presidential level. Almost all stories had an enhancement to them and only 12 out of the 144 stories had no picture attachment. However, this can be due to the high profile of candidates on the presidential ticket and the electoral period.

Figure 6
Story Enhancement in Stories of Women and Men, Candidates on the Presidential Ticket
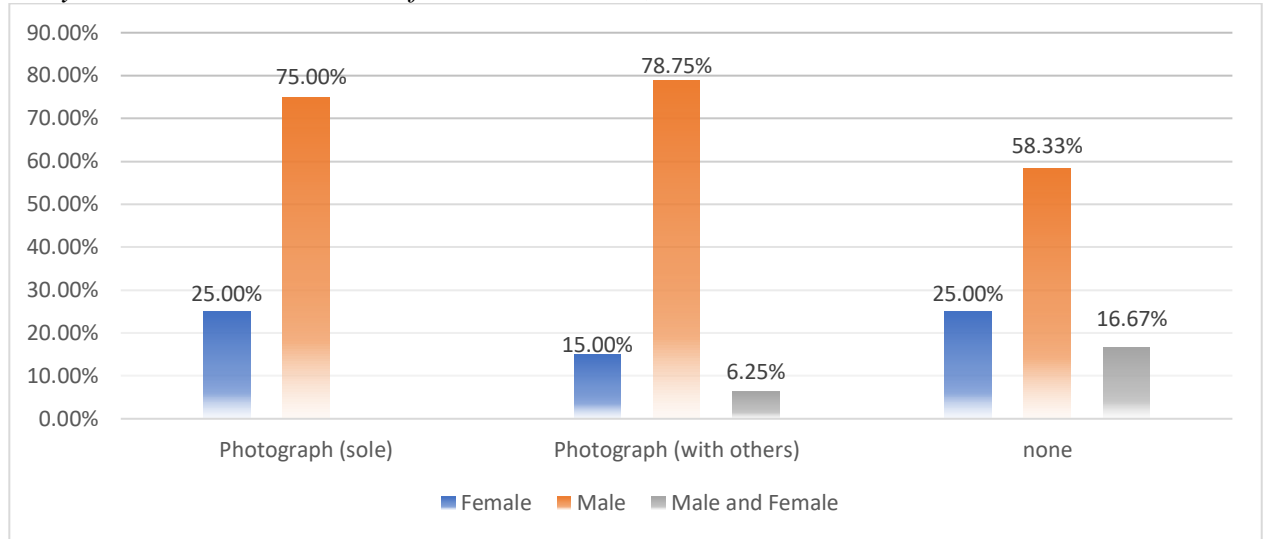
N=144
Pearson chi2(4) =   8.6941   Pr = 0.069

4.2.6 Focus of Story (Presidential)

The dataset for "Focus of story" was grouped into two main categories. These were 'Issue-based' and 'Issue and Personality Based.' Issue-based stories were concerned with the economy, politics and governance, security and crime, legal and social, health and science, energy, education, and media (Yovonoo, 2016). Personality-based stories were categorized based on qualities of the candidates, such as character, competence, appearance, and physical attributes. All personality-based stories on candidates were also issue-based, meaning that despite a story having sections centered on a candidate's personality, the overall story was also issue-based.

From *Figure 7,* 14.17% of 127 issue-based stories were of women, 81.10% were of men

and 4.72% were of both women and men. 58.82% of the 17 personality-based stories were

of women, 35.29% were of men and 5.88% were of both women and men.

Figure 7
Issue and Personality-based Content of Stories by Sex, Candidates on the Presidential Ticket
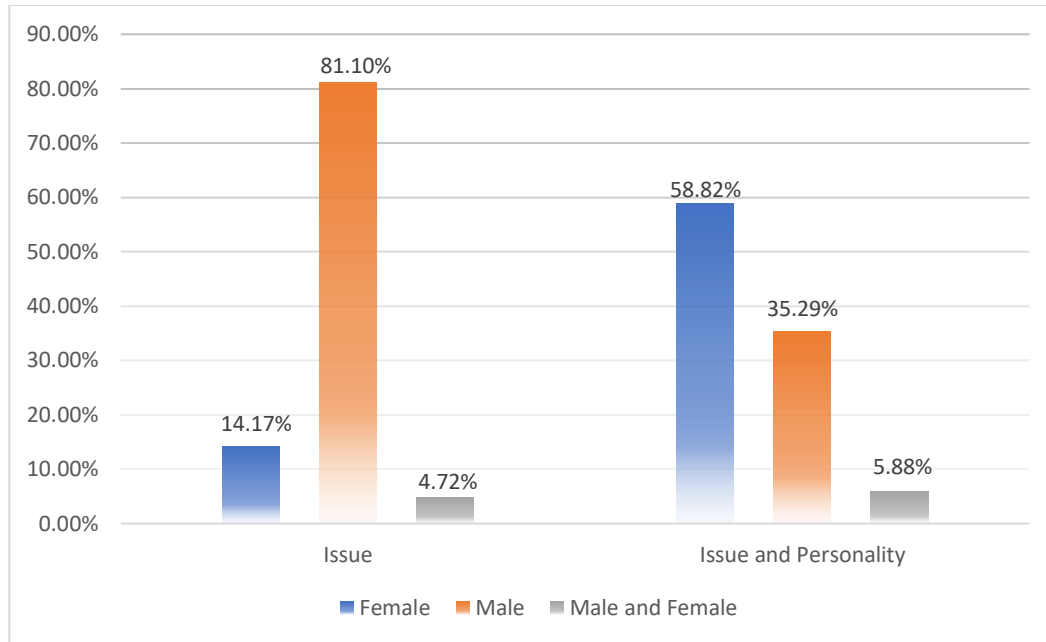
N=127(issue) and 17 (issue and personality)
Pearson chi2(2) = 19.5702   Pr = 0.000

Figure 7 suggests that female candidates are more prone to stories that center on their

personality than male candidates whose stories are more likely issue based. Further analysis

under the issue and personality-based stories are in 4.2.7 and 4.2.8, respectively.

4.2.7 Type of Issue-Based (Presidential)

The issue-based stories category was in eight sub-headings for specification. These were:

Politics and Governance, Economy, Security and Crime, Power and Energy, Legal and

Social, Health and Science, Education, and finally, Media and Arts. Stories often overlapped in more than one category.

This section includes a breakdown of the analysis for each of the eight sub-headings to better understand which content was more associated with women and men. The percentage of women and men in each category reflects the data within that category and not a total of all the eight categories.

- Politics and Governance *(143 stories)* - The stories under this category dealt with party politics, elections, policies, and other related issues. As expected, almost all presidential stories covered were in this category, most likely due to the study's timeframe (i.e., a heightened political campaign period). 19.58% of the stories on politics and governance related issues were of women, 75.52% were of men and 4.90% were of both women and men.

  Pearson chi2(3) = 0.4727 Pr = 0.925

- Economy *(107 stories)* - Stories placed under this category included trade policies, economic indicators, social welfare, and other related issues. Again, many stories were recorded for both male and female candidates because almost all campaign policies had economic factors. 18.69% of the stories on economy related issues were of women, 78.50% were of men and 2.80% were of both women and men.

  Pearson chi2(2) = 4.1819 Pr = 0.124

- Security and Crime *(seven stories)* - The stories under this category dealt with security, defense, corruption, riots, accidents, and other related issues. 42.86% of

44

the stories on security and crime related issues were of women, 57.14% were of men and none were of both women and men.

Figure 8
Issue-Based Content of Stories by Sex, Candidates on the Presidential Ticket
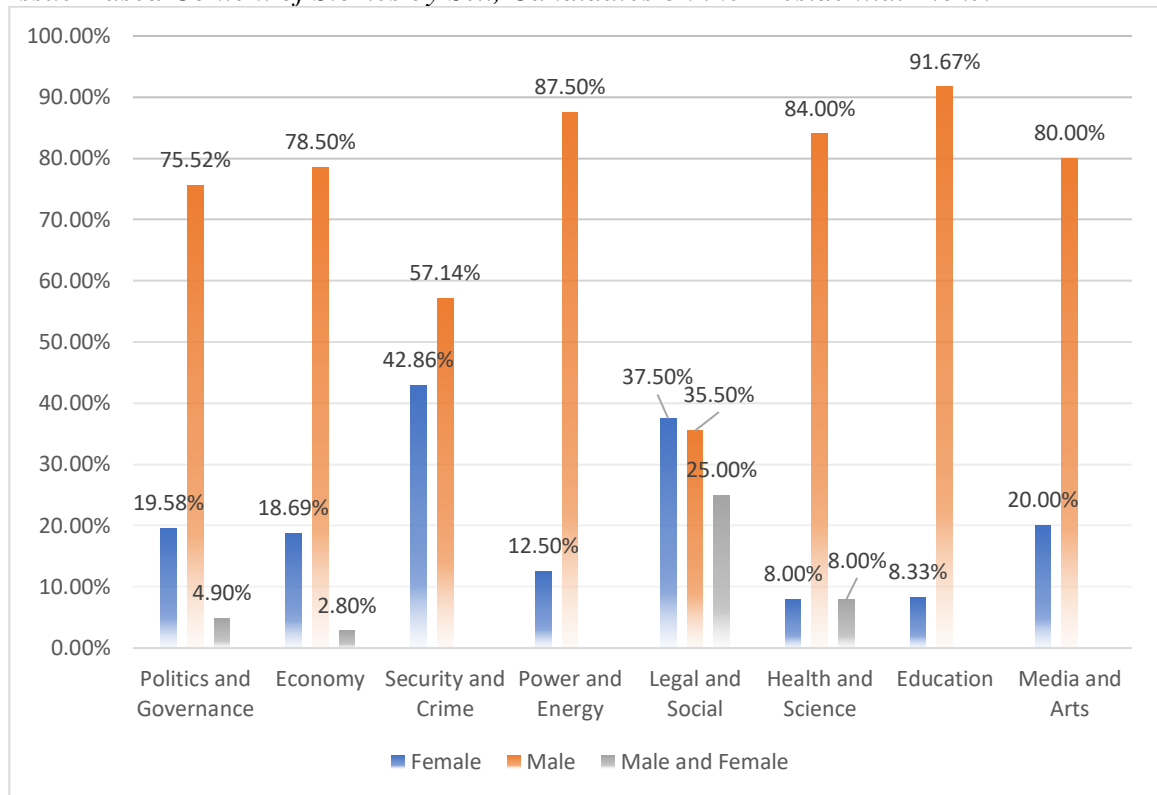
- Power and Energy *(eight stories)* - This category dealt with stories that concentrated on mining, fuel, hydropower, and other related issues. 12.50% of the stories on power and energy related issues were of women, 87.50% were of men and none were of both women and men. Analysis in this category revealed that men running on the presidential ticket are more likely to be associated with power and energy related issues than women.

45

- Legal and Social *(eight stories)* - This category dealt with development issues, human rights, religion, culture, migration, activism, and issues related to the legal system. 37.50% of the stories on legal and social issues were of women, 57.14% were of men and 25.00% were of both women and men. This section also reveals that, women running on the presidential ticket are more likely to be associated with issues that are legal and social in nature than they are to be associated with other types of stories.

Pearson chi2(2) = 10.1199 Pr = 0.006

- Health and Science *(25 stories)* - Science, technology, research, and environmental issues were in this category. 8.00% of the stories on health and science related issues were of women, 84.00% were of men and 8.00% were of both women and men. Analysis in this category revealed that male candidates on the presidential ticket are more likely to be associated with issues related to health and science than female candidates on the presidential ticket.

Pearson chi2(2) = 2.9266 Pr = 0.231

- Education *(36 stories)* - This category dealt with stories relating to formal and informal education, educational policies, educational institutions, and other related issues. 8.33% of the stories on education related issues were of women, 91.87% were of men and none were of both women and men. Analysis in this category reveals that male candidates on the presidential ticket are more likely to be associated with issues related to education than female presidential candidates.

- Media and Arts *(five stories)* - These stories dealt with telecommunications, IT, the media, music, sports, and other related issues. 20.00% of the stories on media and arts related issues were of women, 80.00% were of men and none were of both women and men.

<div align="right">Pearson chi2(2) = 0.2653 Pr = 0.876</div>

As stated earlier, a possible explanation for the high figures in the politics and economy categories may be due to them being top issues on which electorates base their votes on. Aside from that, there were generally low figures recorded in the other categories. The education category, power and energy category and health and science category revealed the highest gendered coverage. The high number of male stories recorded for the education category may be linked to a popular free senior high school policy recently implemented in Ghana. The power and energy category can also be linked to the frequent power outages in Ghana which has been a high priority policy issue for governments over time. Finally, the health and science category may be due to the COVID-19 concerns and candidates' proposals on how to tackle it. Evidently, these categories have very high national concerns which candidates on the presidential ticket use as policy tools to win elections. Interestingly, women seem to be significantly associated with legal and social related issues more than men. The data in this section reinforces the notion that, women are stereotypically associated with "soft" politics which factors in stereotypically "female" issues because they would enjoy significant electoral advantages (Norris, 1997, p. 78). Overall, the study's hypothesis that women in politics are less likely to be associated with priority issues in newspapers (**H1f**) is true.

4.2.8. Personality-Based Stories (Presidential)

The personality-based stories had seven sub-groupings. These were Work Experience, Achievements, Competence, Physical Attributes, Reference to Family, Partly Reference to Family, and Character. *Figure 9* shows a distribution of these sub-categories concerning the sex of the story's subject.

This section includes a breakdown of the analysis for each of the seven sub-headings to better understand which content was more associated with women and men. The number of stories on women and men in each category reflects the data within that category and not a total of all the eight categories.

- Work Experience *(one story)* - This category dealt with the story revealing the work experience of the subject, deeming them capable for their aspired role. 100.00% of the stories on work experience as a personality trait were of women, none were on men, and none were of both women and men.

  Pearson chi2(2) = 4.1718 Pr = 0.124

- Achievements *(three stories)* - Stories here mentioned the general achievements of the subject. 100.00% of the stories on achievements as a personality trait were of women, none were on men, and none were of both women and men.
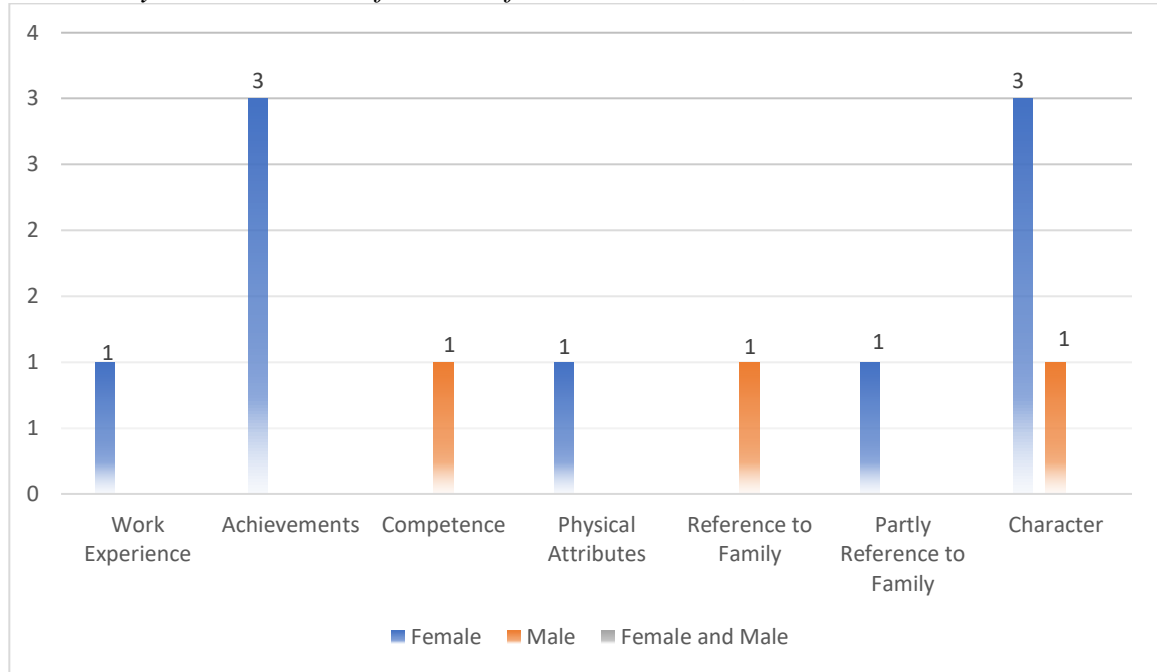
- Competence *(one story)* - Stories here hinted at the competency of the subject. None of the of the stories on competence as a personality trait were of women, 100.00% of the stories were of men and none were of both women and men.

  Pearson chi2(2) = 0.3233 Pr = 0.851

- Physical Attributes *(one story)* - This dealt with stories on candidates that referred to physical qualities, such as looks. 100.00% of the stories on physical attributes were of women, none were on men, and none were of both women and men.

  Pearson chi2(3) = 13.4937 Pr = 0.004

- Reference to Family *(one story)* - Stories in this category referred to the subject's family in the article. None of the stories that referenced the family of the candidate

were of women, 100.00% were of men and none were of both women and men.

Pearson chi2(3) = 13.4937 Pr = 0.004

- Party Reference to Family *(one story)* - Stories in this category partly hinted at the subject's family in the article. 100.00% of the stories that partly referenced the family of the candidate were of women, none were on men, and none were of both women and men.

Pearson chi2(2) = 4.1718 Pr = 0.124

- Character *(three stories)* - Stories in this category referenced the character traits of the subject, such as their mood and emotional reactions. 75.00% of the stories that commented on the character of the candidate were of women, 25.00% were of men, and none were of both women and men.

Pearson chi2(2) = 8.1275 Pr = 0.017

Generally, *Figure 8* reveals only a few stories in the sub-categories, hence inconclusive analysis and observations were made in relation to the hypothesis that women in politics are likelier to be associated with personality-based content in newspapers (**H1g**). Despite the conclusion drawn from this hypothesis, closer analysis into news stories showed a gender bias in news reporting, in relation to personality traits. An opinion piece in the Daily Graphic spoke of the female presidential candidate of the GFP Akua Donkor this way:

"*If she does not win in next week's polls, it may be because some people had issues with her temper: she appears to be quarrelsome. Emotional outbursts can be costly in an election."*
(2020/12/04, Pages 7 and 10)

This same opinion piece also commented on the female presidential candidate of the NDP, Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings, saying:

"In addition to the sympathy votes, on account of her dear husband's passing, she has done enough to deserve compensation from Ghanaian voters."
(2020/12/04, Pages 7 and 10)

This statement clearly shows a disregard for her competency and suggests her political support was based on sympathy votes. What was interesting in this opinion piece was the writer's quick jump to praise the apparent strength of the incumbent president, Nana Akuffo-Addo, saying:

"Meanwhile, the doctors are surprised that President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo, at his age, has such energy! His energies flow to the brim, especially when he meets the Volta chiefs"
(2020/12/04, Pages 7 and 10)

4.2.9 Context of Story (Presidential)

The category 'context of the story' revealed the settings where a story took place. The story's context refers to the situation in which the event is reported or written about takes place (Yovonoo, 2016). The categories here included Political Rally, Campaign Event, Speech Event, Interview with Journalist, Press Statement/ Press Conference, Inauguration/ Inspection/ Launch of Projects, Donation of Items, Expert Source, Meet the People Tour of the Constituency, Durbar of Chiefs and Primaries. *Figure 10* shows this distribution concerning the sex of the main candidate and the context of the stories. Stories often overlapped in more than one category.

This section includes a breakdown of the analysis for each of the seven sub-headings to better understand which content was more associated with women and men. The number of stories on women and men in each category reflects the data within that category and not a total of all the eight categories.

- Political Rally *(32 stories)* - Subjects in this category were involved in political rallies. 9.38% (Three stories) of political rally stories were of women, 87.50% (28 stories) were of men and 3.12% (one story) were of both women and men. The analysis here indicated that men running on the presidential ticket are more likely to be covered when participating in political rallies.

    Pearson chi2(2) = 3.1580 Pr = 0.206

- Campaign Event *(113 stories)* - Any kind of campaign event by the story's subject was in this category. 18.58% (21 stories) of the stories on campaign events were of women, 80.53% (91 stories) were of men and 0.88% (one story) were of both women and men. The analysis indicated gendered coverage concerning the gender ratio of the candidates on the presidential ticket. However, as stated earlier, more media coverage is needed for women in areas of low representation.

    Pearson chi2(2) = 18.8934 Pr = 0.000

- Speech Event *(30 stories)* - These included events where the subject delivered a speech. 30.00% (9 stories) of the stories on speech events related issues were of women, 70.00% (21 stories) were of men and none were of both women and men.

- Interview with Journalist *(10 stories)* - This category were stories where the subject had an exclusive interview with a journalist. 20.00% (two stories) of the stories on interview related issues were of women and 80.00% (eight stories) of men.

Pearson chi2(2) = 0.5504 Pr = 0.759

- Press statement/Press release *(four stories)*- This category included stories where the subject or the subject's political party issued a press statement. 100.00% of the stories on press statements were of women, none were on men, and none were of both women and men.

Pearson chi2(4) = 1.3211 Pr = 0.858

- Inauguration/Inspection/Launch of Projects *(26 stories)* - This category included stories of subjects partaking in inaugural events for projects. 15.38% (Four stories) of the stories on launch and inauguration were of women, 76.92% (20 stories) were of men and 7.69% (two stories) were of both women and men.

Pearson chi2(2) = 0.7985 Pr = 0.671

Figure 10
Context of Stories by Sex, Candidates on the Presidential Ticket
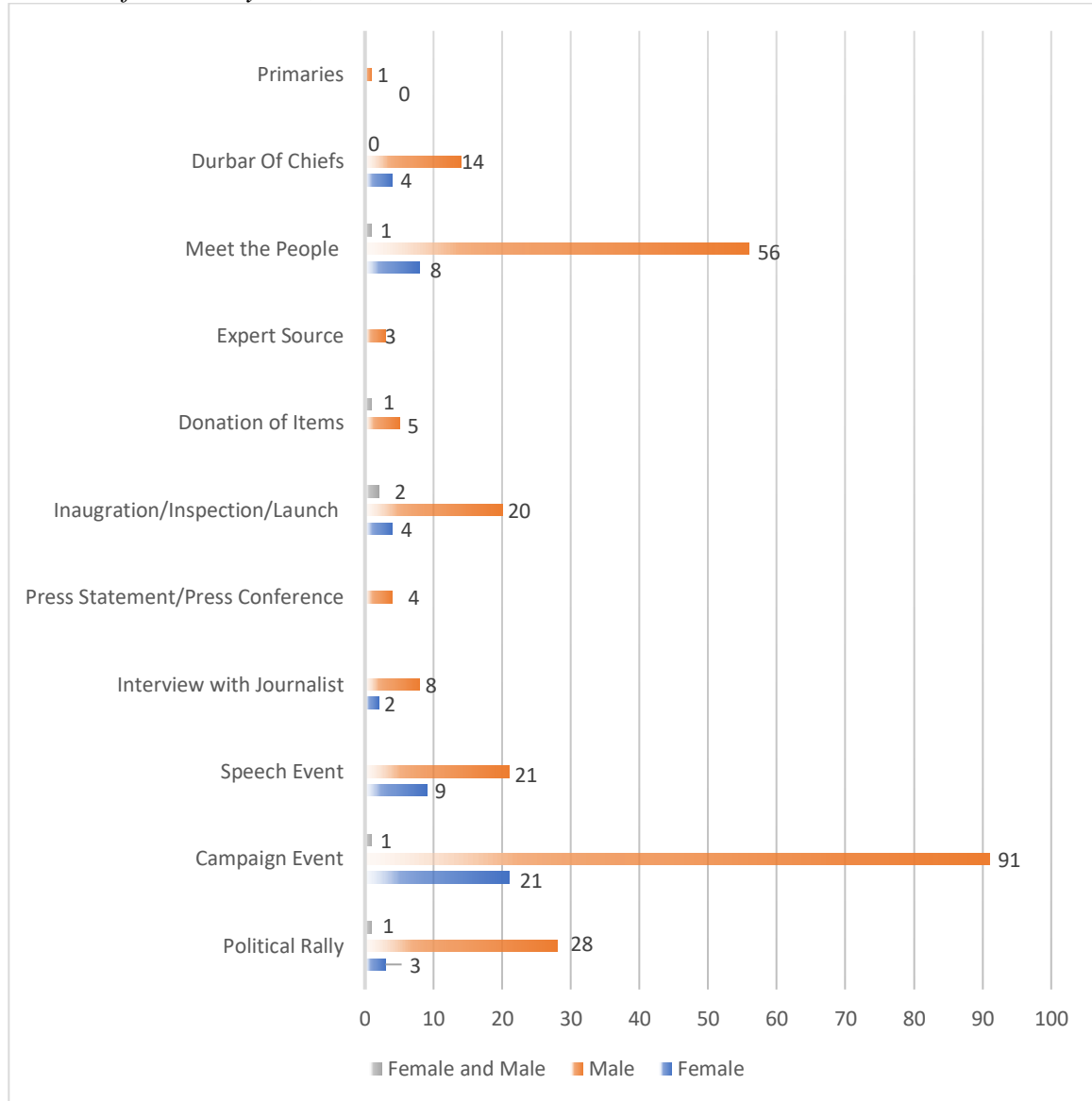
- Donation of Items *(six stories)* - These included stories where the subject donated items. None of the stories on donation of items were of women, 83.33% (five stories) were of men, and 16.67% (one story) were of both women and men.

Pearson chi2(2) = 3.0607 Pr = 0.216

- Expert Source *(three stories)* - These were stories where an expert opinion was the source of the article on the subject. None of the stories from an expert source were on women, 100.00% of the stories were on men only.

Pearson chi2(2) = 0.9838 Pr = 0.611

- Meet the People Tour *(65 stories)* - These included stories where the subject embarked on tours to meet citizens. 12.31% (Eight stories) of the stories of where a candidates on the presidential ticket engaged in a people's tour were on women, 86.15% (56 stories) were of men, and 1.54% (one story) were of both women and men. The analysis here indicated that men are more likely to be covered when participating in a constituency tour.

Pearson chi2(2) = 7.5067 Pr = 0.023

- Durbar of Chiefs *(18 stories)* - These included stories where there was a gathering of chiefs with the subject. 22.22% of the stories on durbar related issues were of women, 77.78% were of men, and none were of both women and men.

Pearson chi2(2) = 1.0934 Pr = 0.579

- Primaries *(one story)* – These included stories where the subject's political party held election primaries. None of the stories on election primaries were of women, 100.00% of the stories were of men, and none were of both women and men.

Pearson chi2(2) = 0.3233 Pr = 0.851

Generally, in terms of the story's context, the gendered coverage was seen in the political rally category and tour of the constituencies. These were the only categories that reflected

the physical activities of the subjects during campaigns. The notion here is that women did not engage in physical campaign exercises and is in line with the hypothesis that women in politics are less likely to have news stories about them associated with strong context. (**H1h**).

4.2.10 Total Size of Stories (Presidential)

There was a gendered allocation of the size of stories of the candidates on the presidential ticket. Story sizes were rounded up to the nearest quarter for the analysis. Almost all stories on female candidates on the presidential ticket were under a page. Meanwhile, stories on male candidates had more pages allocated to them (*Figure 11*).

The total number of pages allocated to a candidate improves their visibility. In this context, the representation of women is inadequate. The Daily Graphic appears to be gendered in the space allocated of stories on candidates on the presidential ticket. Using Microsoft Excel to calculate the mean pages for women and men in this dataset (*Figure 11*), I discovered that stories on women are averagely allocated 13.54%, while stories on men are allocated 69.14% in terms of story size. This proves that the hypothesis that women in politics are less likely to have significant news story sizes (**H1i**).

Figure 11
Size of Stories of Women and Men, Presidential
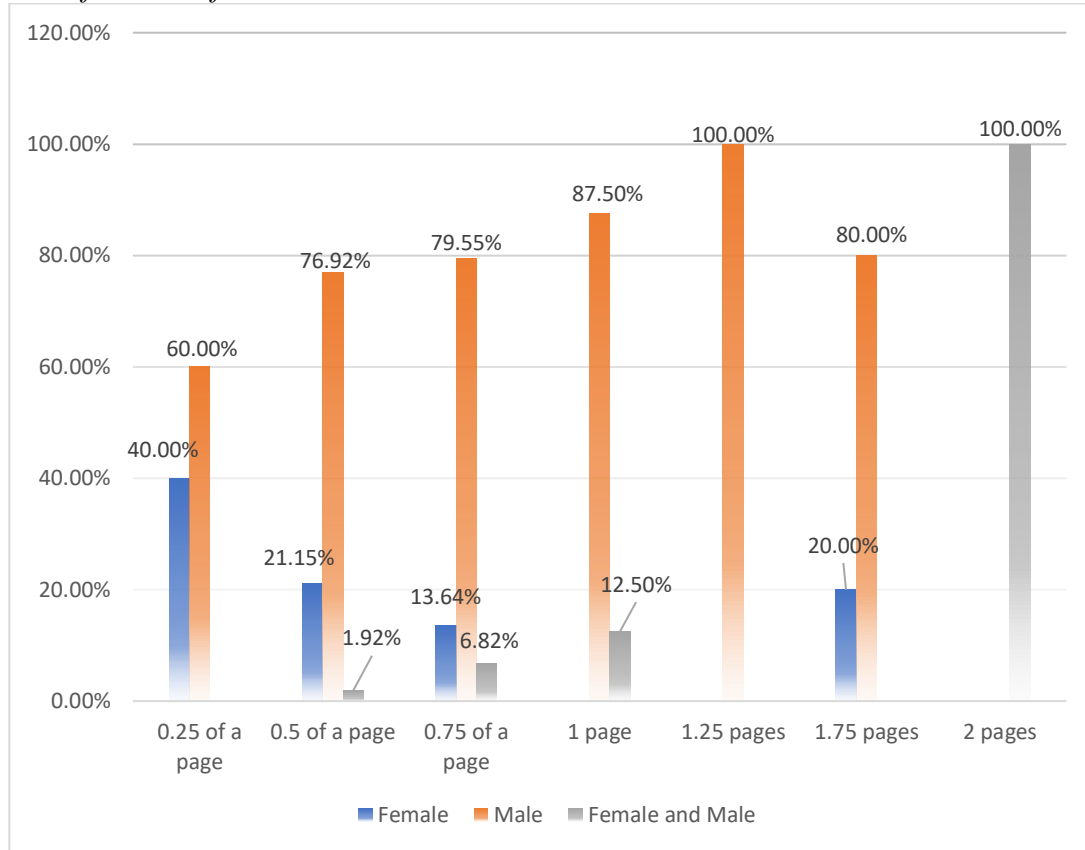
N=144
Pearson chi2(12) = 35.1444   Pr = 0.000

<u>4.2.11 Sex of the Reporter (Presidential)</u>

There were four categories of reporters in the dataset. These were Female, Male, Male and

Female and News Agency. Out of the total number of Presidential Reporters, 6.96% (10)

were female reporters, 68.06% (98) were male reporters, 0.69% (one) were both male and

female, and 24.31% (35) were articles written by the news agency.

In the cross-tabulation data analysis between stories of candidates on the presidential ticket

and the sex of the reporter, 40.00% of stories covered by a female reporter were on women

and 60.00% were on men. 12.24% of stories covered by a male reporter were on women, 80.61% were on men and 7.14% were on both women and men. Stories covered by both a female and male reporter were 100.00% (one story) on men. 34.29% of stories covered by a news agency or was not specified were on women and 65.71% were on men.

Figure 12
Sex of Reporters for the Presidential Candidates
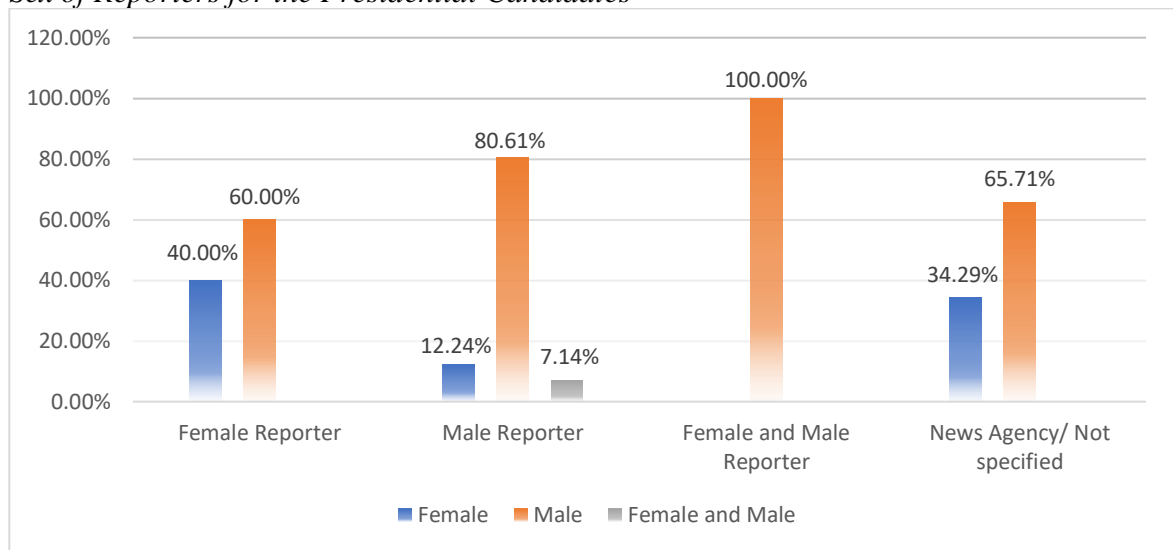
N= 144
Pearson chi2(6) = 13.4074   Pr = 0.037

From this analysis, there is another revealing gender imbalance. The probability ratio stood at 0.037, which means it is statistically significant. Female reporters were only 6.94% of the dataset, while male reporters stood at 68.06%. This statistic means female reporters covered only 10 out of 144 stories on candidates on the presidential ticket.

A study by Armstrong (2004) revealed that the gender of a reporter influences the sex of the subject of a political story reported. Although female reporters covered only ten stories

on a candidate on the presidential ticket, they reported a ratio of 2:3 female to male stories. In contrast, male reporters reported a ratio of 3:20 female to male stories. This analysis is consistent with the study by Armstrong (2004), who outlined the higher probability of increased coverage of females when there are more female reporters. From *Figure 12*, the conclusion drawn is in line with the hypothesis that, women in politics are less likely than men to be covered by female reporters in newspapers (**H1j**). This means that, because there are few female journalists, there is less coverage of female politicians.

4.3 Part 2 - Parliamentary Stories

I examined the coverage of parliamentary candidates for the constituencies in the Greater Accra region. In this section, I will walk through the results of the analysis of proportion of overall coverage, placement, tone, size, political party, story context, story content, story enhancement and sex of reporter.

4.3.1 Sex of Main Candidate (Parliamentary)

Out of the 123 parliamentary candidates for the Greater Accra region, 33 men and eight women were mentioned in news articles *(Table 2).* A total number of 39 stories had a Greater Accra parliamentary candidate/s as the main subject of the story. The data collected on the parliamentary candidates about their sex yielded the following results *(Figure 13).* The data on parliamentary candidates ahead for the Greater Accra Constituencies of the 2020 elections revealed that out of 39 stories on candidates, 25.64% (10 stories) had a woman as the story's subject, while 71.79% (28 stories) had a man as the subject. 2.56%

(one story) had both a man and a woman as the subject of the story.

Figure 13
Coverage of Women and Men, Parliamentary
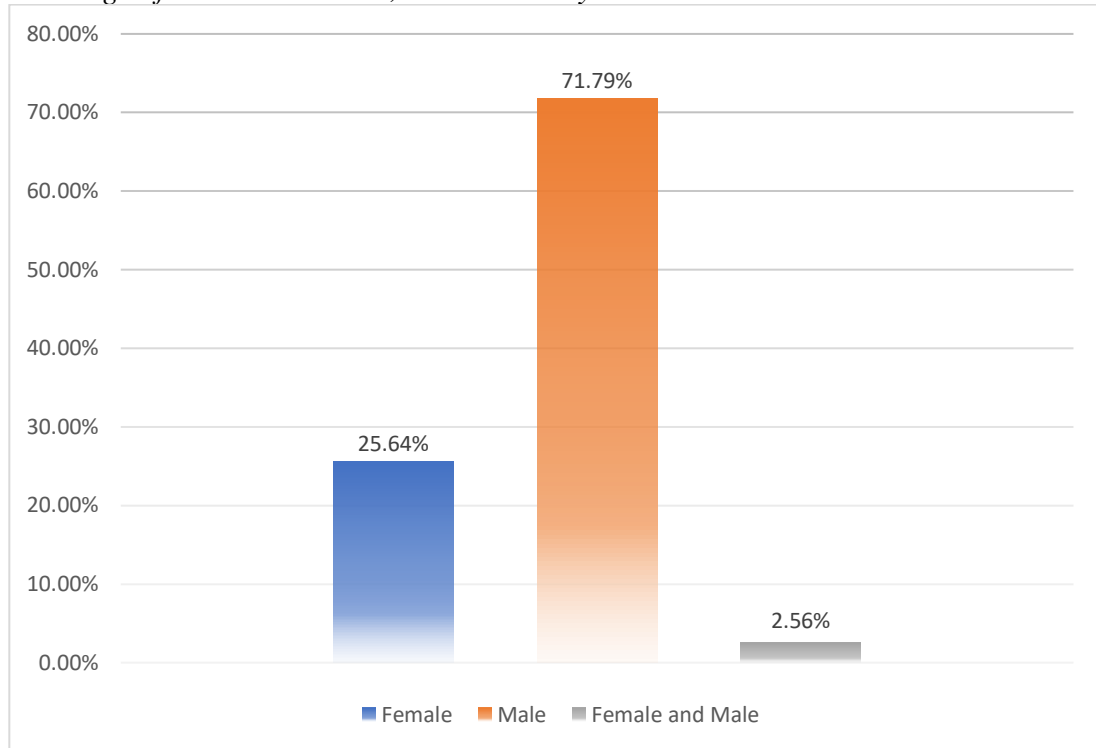
Consistent with the data on candidates on the presidential ticket, frequency distribution presented in *Figure 13* reflects an equal media coverage in reference to the ratio of male to female parliamentary candidates. This balance suggests that the Daily Graphic's parliamentary discussion broadly reflects the gender distribution of candidates. This statistic from *Figure 13* forms the basis of all other findings in the data collected for parliamentary stories. Ten stories of female candidates out of 39 stories further reveal the underrepresentation of women candidates which limits the choices of voters on the parliamentary level. The study expected that women candidates are the main subject of

fewer newspaper articles than men (**H1a**) and this is true.

4.3.2 Political Affiliation of Subject (Parliamentary)

There were 41 parliamentary candidates whose names were mentioned at least once by the Daily Graphic within the timeframe (*Table 2*). These candidates were from three political parties and one independent candidate. The political parties were the NPP, NDC, and GUM. There were 39 stories collected on parliamentary candidates. The only parties who had exclusive subjects were the NDC and NPP. The New Patriotic Party (NPP) had the highest number of articles; 76.92% (30 stories), and the NDC had 10.26% (four stories). The other parties mentioned (not exclusively) were GUM and the Independent candidates.

The NPP recorded the highest number of stories affiliated with parliamentary candidates (*Figure 14*). This high record may have been a result of their party holding the presidential seat. In Ghana, MPs who belong to the ruling party may hold other ministerial roles. Hence, stories associated with these candidate's ministerial and campaign activities featured more than the other candidates.

Due to the advantage that the dominant parties have in news coverage, more female candidates must emerge intra-party to increase representation. In 2015, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) attempted to introduce an affirmative action bill. This bill would have ensured that any constituency where a woman was the incumbent MP could only be contested by another female NPP candidate: a limited form of affirmative action policy. However, this was opposed within the party and was not implemented. Had this been successfully

implemented and imitated by other high-profile parties, female representation would have improved.

Figure 14
Total Number of News Stories by Political Parties of Candidates, Parliamentary
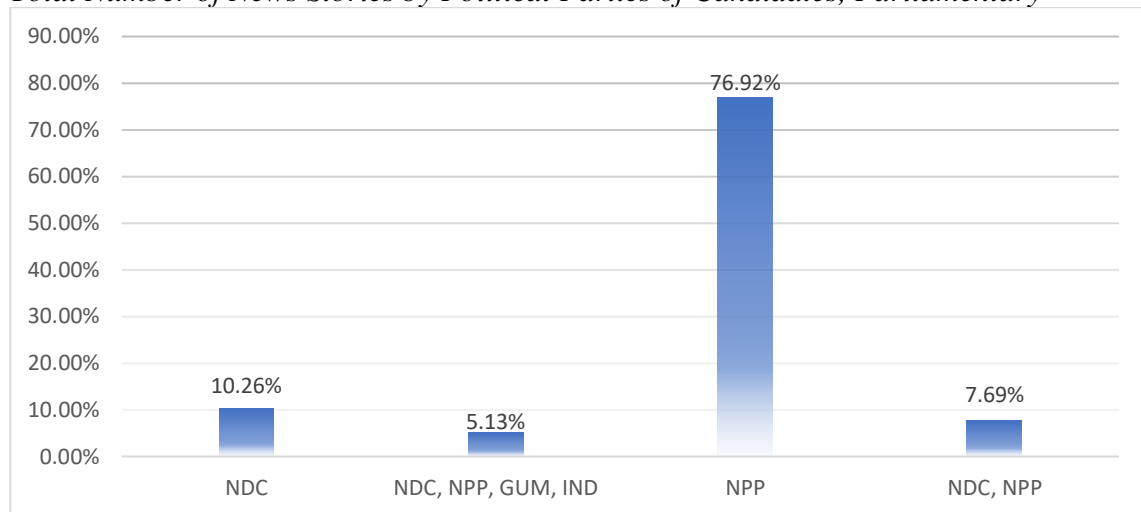
N=39

Consistent with the data on the candidates on the presidential ticket, the study's hypothesis that women from major political parties are likelier to receive more coverage in newspapers (**H1b**) is valid.

4.3.3 Placement of the Story (Parliamentary)

The data collected on story placement had a total of six categories. These were Frontpage-other news story, Centrespread, Back placement, Politics page, and Other pages.

Table 6

Story placement by Sex, Parliamentary Candidates

Placement of Story	Sex of the Main Candidate			Total
	Female	Male	Male and Female	
Front- page other news story	0	1	0	1
%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Front- page other news story, politics	1	0	0	1
%	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Centre Placement	1	5	1	7
%	14.29%	71.43%	14.29%	100.00%
Back Placement	1	1	0	2
%	50.00%	50.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Politics page	3	10	0	13
%	23.08%	76.92%	0.00%	100.00%
Other page	4	11	0	15
%	26.67%	73.33%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	10	28	1	39
%	25.64%	71.79%	2.56%	100.00%

N=39

Pearson chi2(12) = 23.1829   Pr = 0.026

Stories on the front- page (other news story) had none on women, 100.00% (one story) covering men, and none on both a man and woman. Front- page (other news story) in combination with Politics page had 100.00% (one story) on women only. The Centre spread placement had 14.29% of the stories on women and 71.73% covering men, and none on both men and women. The Back placement had 50.00% of the stories on women, 50.00% on men and none on both men and women. The politics page had 28.08% of the stories covering women, 73.33% on men, and none covering a both men and women. Finally, stories located on other pages covered 26.67% women, 73.33% covering men and none on both men and women.

The placement data for parliamentary candidates was scanty and, therefore, hard to assess

the existence of any gender disparity. The distribution is consistent with the gender of the

parliamentary candidates (*Figure 13*).

4.3.4 Tone of Story (Parliamentary)

The categories used in this study were positive, negative, and neutral tones. A story was

coded as positive when the tone was favorable.

"The New Patriotic Party (NPP) Member of Parliament (MP) for Ablekuma West, Mrs
Ursula Owusu Ekuful, has donated 300 mono desks to junior high schools in her
constituency. Mrs Ekuful also donated 2,000 mathematical sets to all final year students
in public schools in her constituency to aid them in the Basic Education Certificate
Examination (BECE) The donation of mathematical sets to final year students in the
constituency is an annual gesture by the MP."
17-Sep-20 (page 18)

A negative code meant that the tone of the story was unfavorable.

"Consequently, the EC has refuted claims by the MP that his name is not on the electoral
roll, describing the claims as 'false' and a deliberate attempt to discredit the register...
The Member of Parliament is on record to have stated that his name is not in the
provisional register. This is false. For the benefit of our stakeholders, we attach a
portion of the register for Ashaiman Constituency with the photograph of the MP.
The public should, therefore, disregard his statement which is a deliberate effort to
tarnish the credibility of the Commission and the Voters' Register..."
21-Sep-20 (page 19)

Neutral stories represented stories that were neither negative nor positive.

"It remains to be seen whether the NDC's Joe T, as the candidate is popularly known,
can retain the seat or Mr Adorye may make history as the first ever NPP candidate to
have clinched one of the opposition party's safest seats or perhaps the GUM and the
independent candidates may cause an upset."
11-Nov-20 (pages 17, 18)

Table 7
Tone of stories by Sex, Parliamentary Candidates

Tone of story	Sex of the Main Candidate			Total
	Female	Male	Male and Female	
Positive	10	24	1	35
%	28.57%	68.57%	2.86%	100.00%
Negative	0	2	0	2
%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Neutral	0	2	0	2
%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	10	28	1	39
%	25.64%	71.79%	2.56%	100.00%

N=39
Pearson chi2(4) = 1.7510 Pr = 0.781

Women accounted for 28.57% of the positive stories, men accounted for 68.57%, and 2.86% of the positively toned stories were of both men and women as the subject. Negative stories were 100.00% (two stories) on men and neutral stories were 100.00% (two stories) on men.

Generally, the data distribution on the tone of the story showed no gendered difference. All the stories on women were positively toned (10 stories), and 24 out of 28 stories on men were positively toned. Therefore, the study's hypothesis that women candidates are likelier to be written about in a negative tone by newspapers (**H1d**) is not true.

4.3.5 Story Enhancement (Parliamentary)

Figure 15 represents the distribution of parliamentary stories by sex and story enhancement. The story enhancement in this study means the story included an image of the story's subject, with other personalities.

100.00% of the 10 stories with a sole photograph of the candidate were men. The photograph with others category was made up of 31.82% stories of women, 63.64% stories of men, and 4.55% stories of both women and men. 42.86% of the seven stories with no photographs were of women, 57.14% were of men, and none were of both women and men.

Figure 15
Story Enhancement of Women and Men, Parliamentary Candidates
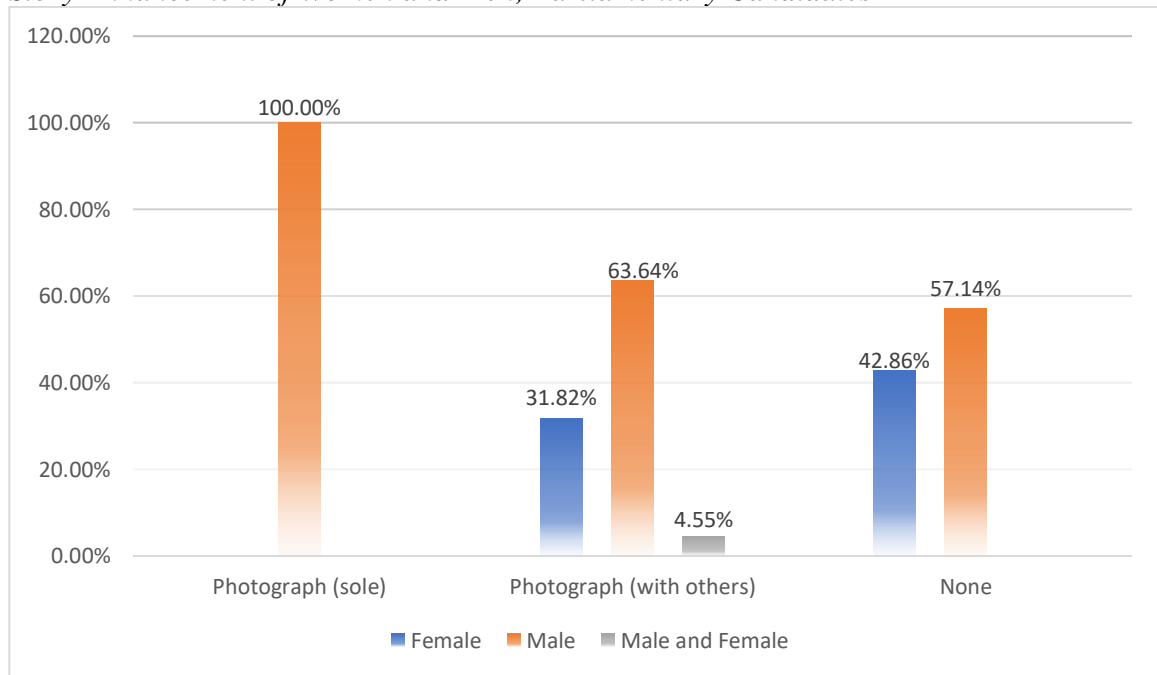
N=39
Pearson chi2(4) = 5.9947 Pr = 0.200

66

Despite female candidates having no story with sole photographs, seven of them had a photograph with others. When an image is attached to a story, it increases the level of significance of that article and enhances the candidates' visibility.

There does not seem to be any gendered difference in this category for parliamentary candidates because almost all stories had a photograph attached. Therefore, the study's expectation that women in politics are less likely to have pictures with their stories in newspapers (**H1e**) is also false for parliamentary candidates.

4.3.6 Focus of the Story (Parliamentary)

The dataset for "Focus of story" was grouped into two main categories. These were 'Issue-based' and 'Issue and Personality Based'. Issue-based stories were concerned with matters of the economy, politics, governance, security and crime, legal and social, health and science, energy, education, and media fell under issues (Yovonoo, 2016). Personality-based stories concentrated on qualities of the candidates, such as character, competence, appearance, and physical attributes.

From *Figure 16,* 27.03% of issue-based stories were of women, 70.27% were of men, and 2.70% were of both women and men. 100.00% (10 stories) of personality-based stories were of women.

Figure 16
Issue and Personality-Based Content by Sex, Parliamentary Candidates
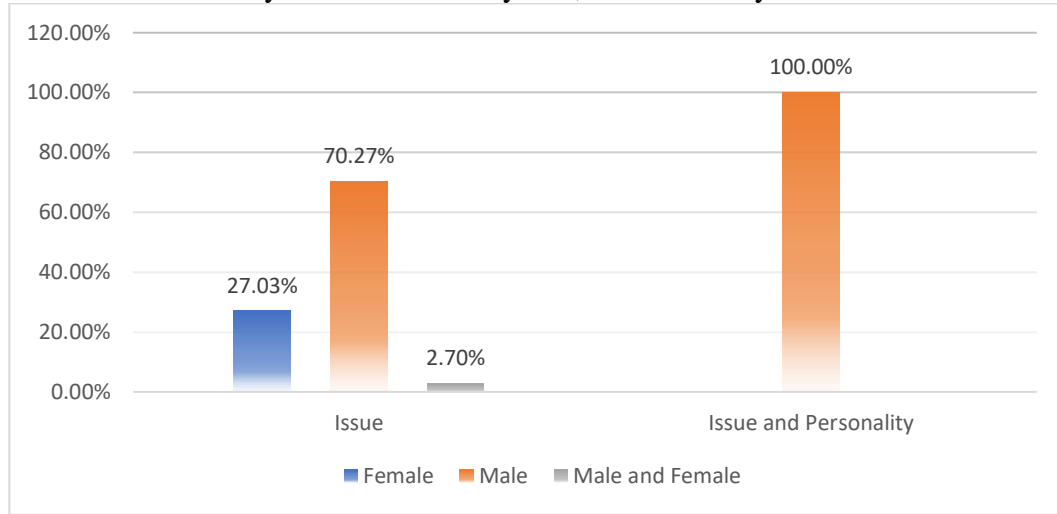
N=37(Issue) and 2(Issue and Personality)
Pearson chi2(2) =   0.8282   Pr = 0.661

The data from *Figure 16* contradicts the notion that coverage of women center on their physical appearance rather than being issue-based. However, because there were only ten stories for female parliamentary candidates, this may or may not be the case. Further studies would be needed with a larger sample size to draw this conclusion. Further analysis under the issue and personality-based stories are in 4.3.7 and 4.3.8, respectively.

4.3.7 Type of Issue-Based (Parliamentary)

The issue-based stories consisted of eight sub-headings. These were: Politics and Governance, Economy, Security and Crime, Power and Energy, Legal and Social, Health and Science, Education, and finally, Media and Arts. Stories often overlapped in more than one category.

This section includes a breakdown of each of the eight sub-headings for further analysis. The percentage of women and men in each category reflects the data within that category and not a total of all the eight categories.

- Politics and Governance *(30 stories)*- Stories placed under this category dealt with party politics, elections, policies, and other related issues. 23.33% of the stories on politics and governance related issues were of women, 73.33% were of men and 3.33% were of both women and men.

Pearson chi2(2) = 0.6129 Pr = 0.736

Figure 17
Issue-Based Content of Stories by Sex, Parliamentary Candidates
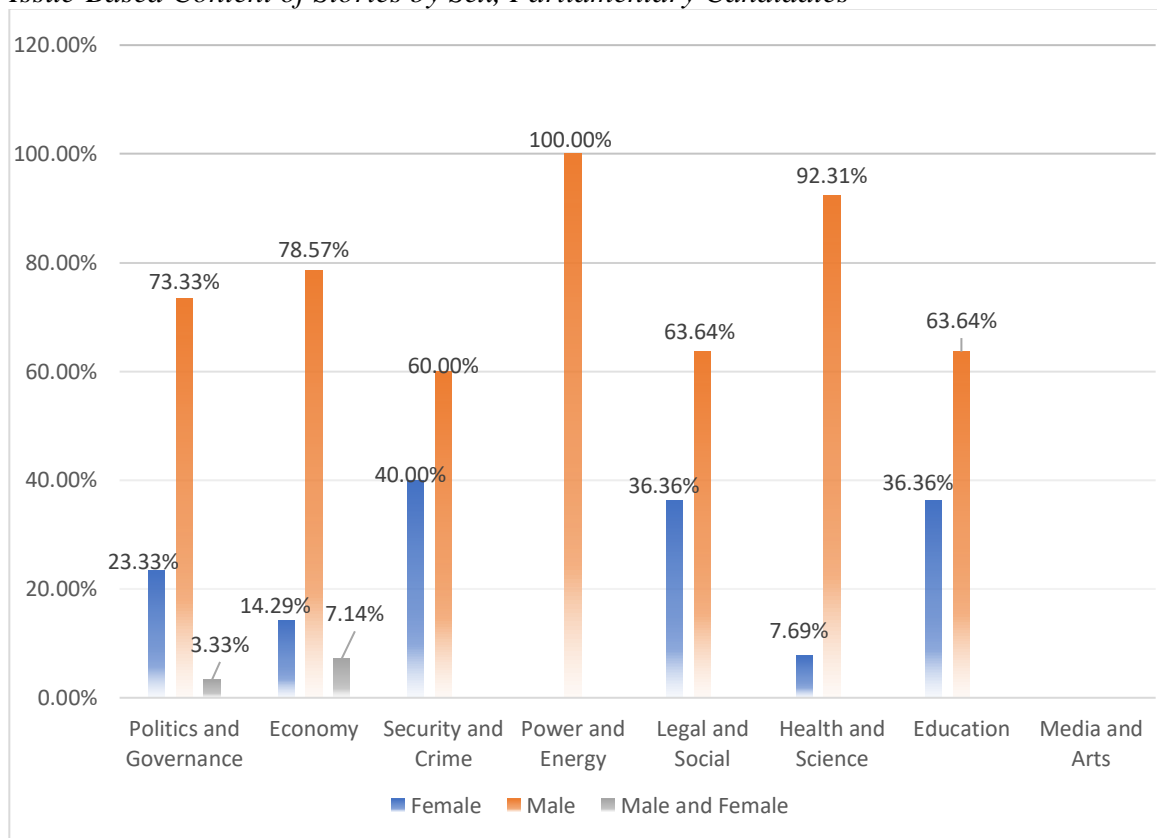
- Economy *(14 stories)*- Stories placed under this category included trade policies, economic indicators, social welfare, and other related issues. 14.29% of the stories on economy related issues were of women, 78.57% were of men and 7.14% were of both women and men.

  Pearson chi2(2) = 3.0237 Pr = 0.221

- Security and Crime *(15 stories)*- Stories placed under this category dealt with security, defense, corruption, riots, accidents, and other related issues. 40.00% of the stories on security and crime were of women, 60.00% were of men and none were of both women and men.

  Pearson chi2(2) = 3.0573 Pr = 0.217

- Power and Energy *(two stories)* - This category dealt with stories that concentrated on mining, fuel, hydropower-related issues. None of the stories on power and energy related issues were of women, 100.00% of the stories were of men and none were of both women and men.

  Pearson chi2(2) = 0.8282 Pr = 0.661

- Legal and Social *(11 stories)*- This category dealt with development issues, human rights, religion, culture, migration, activism, and issues related to the legal system. 36.36% of the stories on legal and social related issues were of women, 63.64% were of men and none were of both women and men.

  Pearson chi2(2) = 1.2219 Pr = 0.543

- Health and Science *(13 stories)*- Science, technology, research, and environmental

issues were in this category. 23.33% of the stories on health and science related issues were of women, 73.33% were of men and 3.33% were of both women and men. Consistent with the analysis in the presidential stories, stories in this category also showed that male parliamentary candidates were more likely to be associated with issues related to health and science than female parliamentary candidates.

Pearson chi2(2) = 4.0929 Pr = 0.129

- Education *(11 stories)* - This category dealt with stories relating to formal and informal education, educational policies, educational institutions, and other related issues. 23.33% of the stories on education related issues were of women, 73.33% were of men and 3.33% were of both women and men.

Pearson chi2(2) = 1.2219 Pr = 0.543

- Media and Arts- These included stories that dealt with telecommunications, IT, the media, music, sports, and other related issues. There was no story recorded under this category.

Overall, the study's hypothesis that women in politics are less likely to be associated with priority issues in newspapers (**H1f**) is true. Analysis in this section reveals gender imbalances for the 'Politics and Governance', 'Economy' and 'Health and Science' categories (*Table 8*). 23.33% (7 stories) of stories under Politics and Governance were on women, while 73.33% (22 stories) were on men. The Economy category recorded 14.29% (one story) of the stories on women and 78.57% (11 stories) on men. Likewise, 7.69% (one

story) of stories under Health and Science were on women, while 92.31% (12 stories) were

on men.

Table 8
Gendered Mediation from Figure 17, Parliamentary Candidates

Sex of Main Candidate	Issue-Based Stories		
	Politics and Governance	Economy	Health and Science
Female	7	2	1
%	23.33%	14.29%	7.69%
Male	22	11	12
%	73.33%	78.57%	92.31%
Male and Female	1	1	0
%	3.33%	7.14%	0.00%
Total	30	14	13
%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Issue-based campaigns are significant because they show issues of national concerns are a

priority to candidates. *Figure 8* shows a disadvantage for women covered in the media,

especially on topics that generally receive high voter attention.

4.3.8 Type of Personality-Based (Parliamentary)

The personality-based stories had seven sub-groupings. These were Work Experience,

Achievements, Competence, Physical Attributes, Reference to Family, Partly Reference to

Family, and Character. *Figure 18* shows a distribution of these sub-categories and the sex

of the subject.

Figure 18
Personality-Based Content by Sex, Parliamentary Candidates

Figure 18
Personality-Based Content by Sex, Parliamentary Candidates
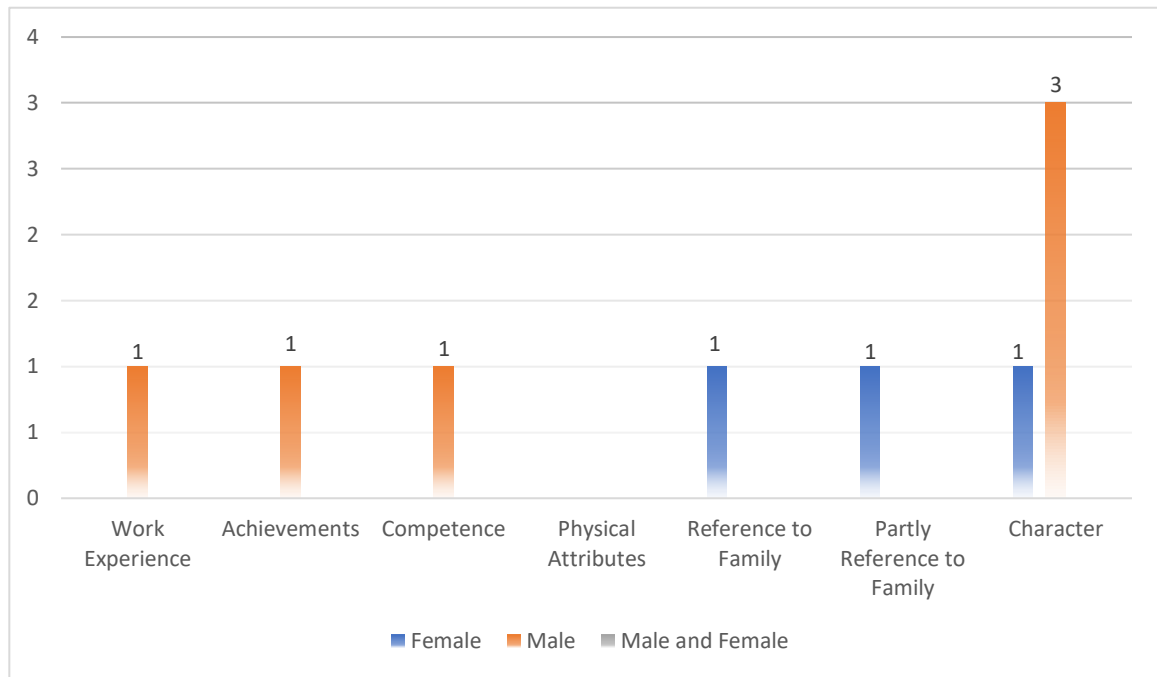
Generally, the data in *Figure 18* includes only a few stories; hence, there is a difficulty in making significant analyses and observations. However, one male story (100%) was in each of the following categories: Work Experience, Achievements, Competence, Reference to Family and Partly Reference to Family. The 'Character' category was made up of 25.00% (one story) on women and 75.00% (three stories) on men. The category on Physical Attributes recorded no data. Similar to the candidates on the presidential ticket, *Figure 18* reveals only a few stories in the sub-categories, hence inconclusive analysis and observations were made in relation to the hypothesis that women in politics are likelier to be associated with personality-based content in newspapers (**H1g**).

4.3.9 Context of the Story (Parliamentary)

The situation in which the event is reported or written about takes place is the news story's context (Yovonoo, 2016). The sub-groups in this category includes: Political Rally, Campaign Event, Speech Event, Interview with Journalist, Press Statement/ Press Conference, Inauguration/ Inspection/ Launch of Projects, Donation of Items, Expert Source, Meet the People Tour of the Constituency, Durbar of Chiefs. *Figure 10* shows the distribution in relation to the sex of the main candidate. Stories often overlapped in more than one category.

- Political Rally *(three stories)* - Subjects in this category were involved in political rallies. 33.33% of political rally stories were of women, 66.67% were of men and none were of both women and men.

Pearson chi2(2) = 0.1702 Pr = 0.918

- Campaign event *(nine stories)* - This category dealt with stories concerning campaign events by the subject. 22.22% of campaign events stories were of women, 66.67% were of men and 11.11% were of both women and men.

Pearson chi2(2) = 3.4295 Pr = 0.180

- Speech event *(five stories)*- This category was of events where the subject delivered a speech. None of speech event stories were of women, 80.00% were of men and 20.00% were of both women and men.

Pearson chi2(2) = 8.3244 Pr = 0.016

Figure 19
Context of Stories by Sex, Parliamentary Candidates

- Interview with Journalist- These included stories where the subject granted an exclusive interview with a journalist. There was no story under this category.

- Press statement/Press release - These included stories where the subject or subject's political party released a press statement. There was no story under this category.

- Inauguration/Inspection/Launch of Projects *(13 stories)* - Subjects partook in inaugural events for projects in this category. 46.15% of the stories on launch and inauguration were of women, 53.85% were of men and none were of both women and men.

Pearson chi2(2) = 4.5750 Pr = 0.102

- Donation of Items *(six stories)* - These included stories where the subject donated items. 16.67% of stories on donations were of women, 83.33% were of men and none were of both women and men.

Pearson chi2(2) = 0.5360 Pr = 0.765

- Expert Source- There was no story under this category.

- Meet the People Tour of Constituency *(three stories)* - These included stories where the subject embarked on tours to meet citizens. 33.33% of political rally stories were of women and 66.67% were of men only.

Pearson chi2(2) = 0.1702 Pr = 0.918

- Durbar of Chiefs *(two stories)* - These included stories where there was a gathering of chiefs with the subject. 50.00% of political rally stories were of women, 50.00% were of men and none were of both women and men.

Pearson chi2(2) = 0.1702 Pr = 0.918

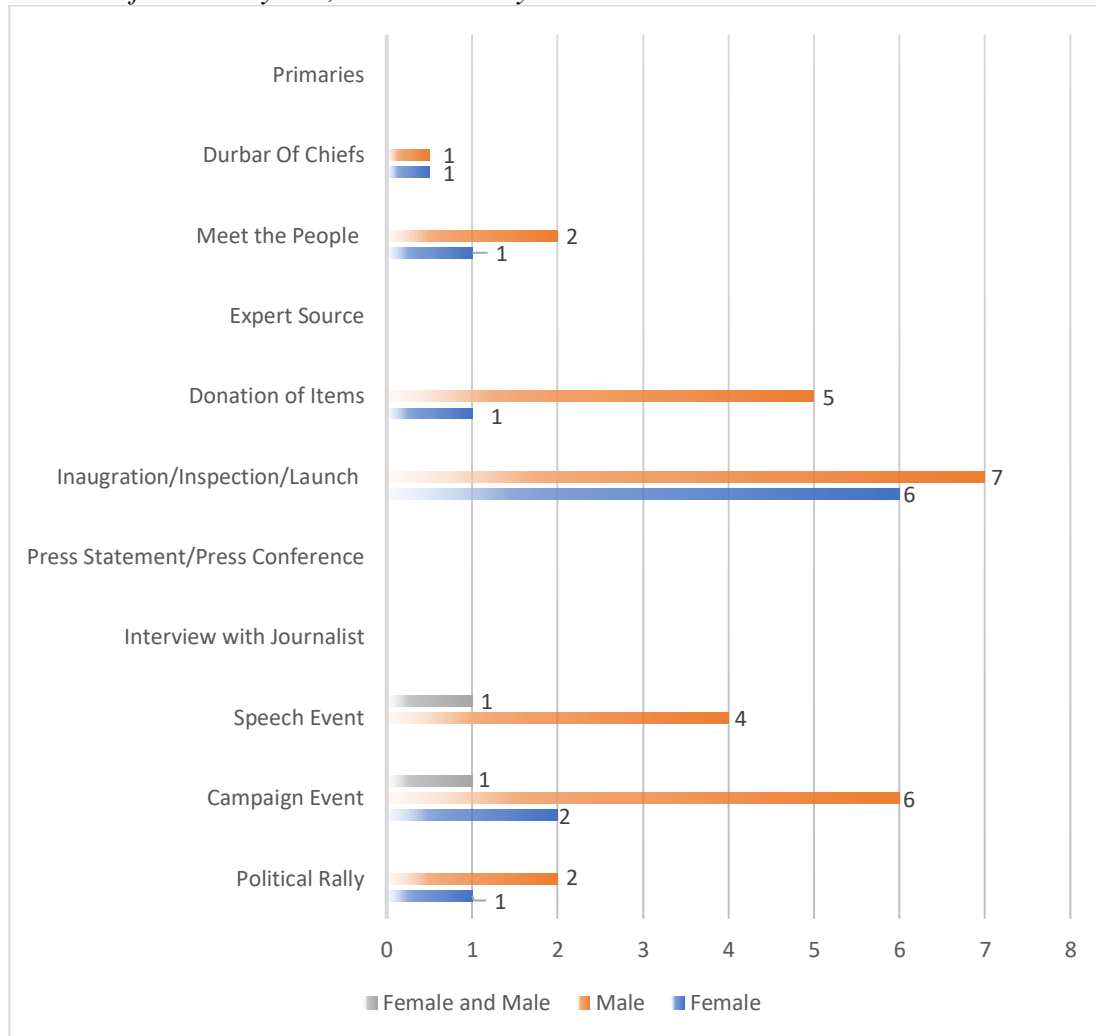- Primaries- These included stories where the subject's political party had primaries election. There was no story under this category.

Generally, there did not seem to be any gendered difference for parliamentary candidates in terms of context. The data collected for the story's context for parliamentary candidates were scattered and showed no obvious pattern or gender imbalances. This analysis is due to the few stories on parliamentary candidates which fell under the various categories. The hypothesis that women in politics are less likely to have news stories about them associated with strong context (**H1h**) is therefore inconclusive for the parliamentary candidates.

4.3.10 Total Size of the Story (Parliamentary)

Figure 20 shows the distribution of the sex of parliamentary candidates in relation to the size of the article. Generally, almost all the parliamentary stories were not allocated more than one page on stories they featured as the main subject. Using Microsoft Excel to calculate the average page allocation for men and women in the parliamentary category, women stood at 12.96% while men stood at 85.65%. This proves that the hypothesis that women in politics are less likely to have significant news story sizes (**H1i**) is true.

Figure 20
Size of stories by Sex, Parliamentary Candidates
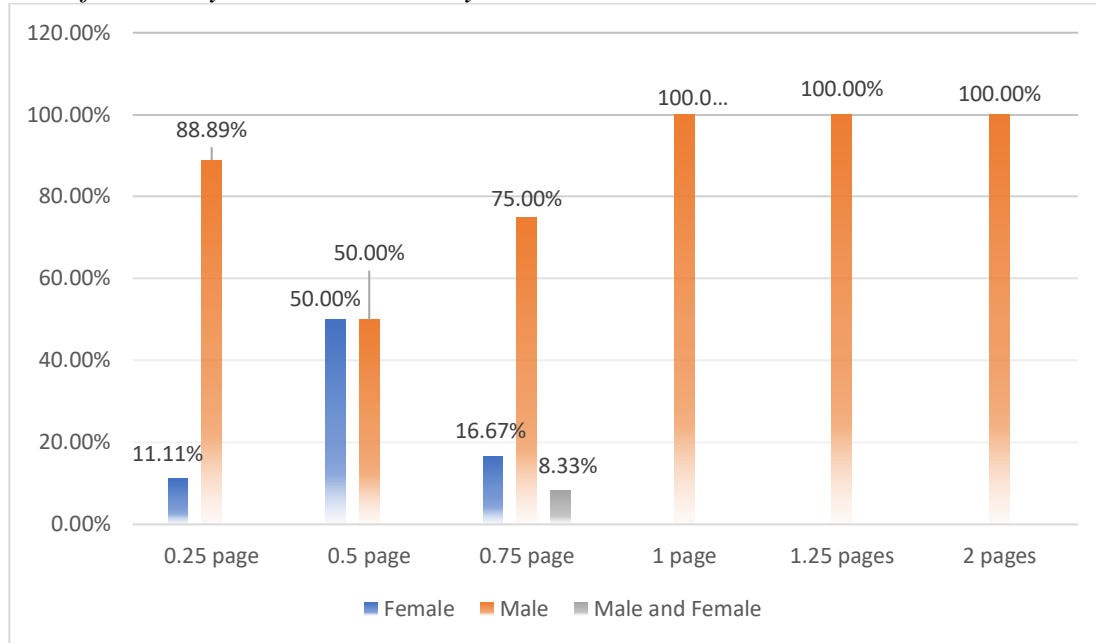
Pearson chi2(10) = 9.3863   Pr = 0.496

4.3.10 Sex of the Reporter (Parliamentary)

The sex of the journalists who covered stories on the parliamentary candidates included nine (23.08%) women, 20 (51.28%) men, one (2.56%) in both the men and women category, and nine (23.08%) stories by the news agency.

In the cross-tabulation data analysis between parliamentary stories and the sex of the reporter, 22.22% of stories covered by a female reporter were on women and 77.78% were on men. 30.00% of stories covered by a male reporter were on women, 65.00% were on men and 5.00% were on both women and men. Stories covered by both a female and male reporter were 100.00% (one story) on men. 11.11% of stories covered by a news agency or was not specified were on women and 88.89% were on men.

Figure 21
Sex of Reporters for the Parliamentary Candidates
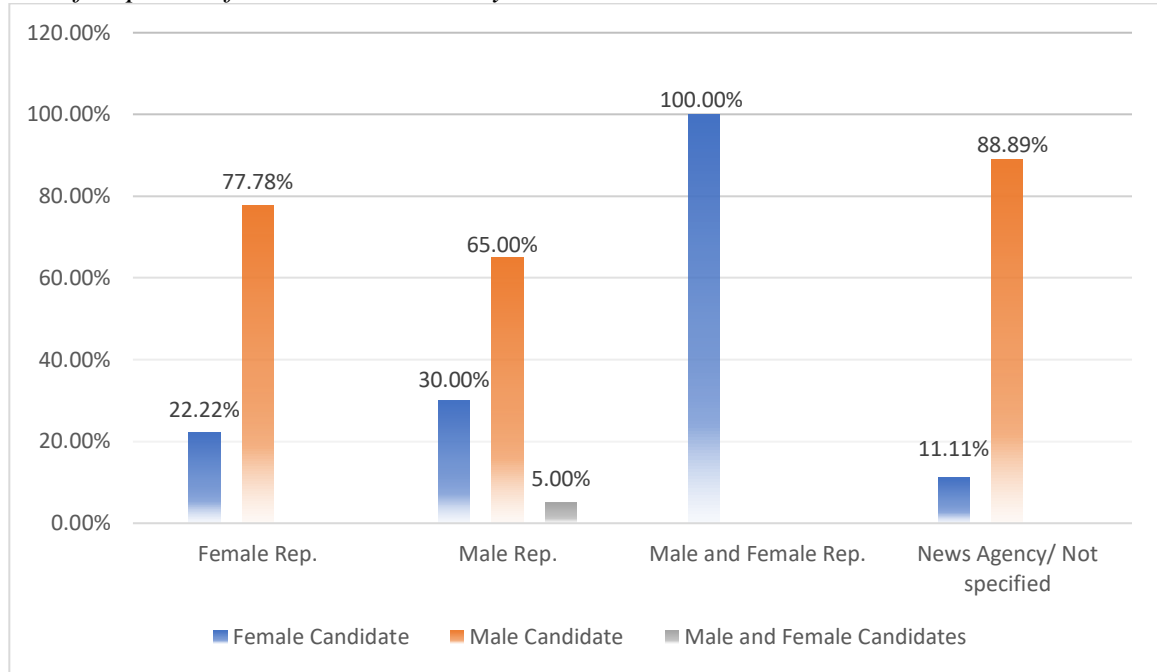
N=39
Pearson chi2(6) = 5.2944 Pr = 0.507

The data of the gender of parliamentary reporters did not reveal a gendered difference as striking as that of presidential reporters, even though it still existed. The data also proves that the hypothesis that women in politics are less likely to be covered by female reporters in newspapers (**H1j**) is true.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented the statistical findings of the study using tables, and diagrams. Findings for the Presidential and Parliamentary stories were outlined in this chapter. The themes which emerged from the findings will be discussed more in the concluding chapter.

5.1 Introduction

The research sought to assess gendered coverage of candidates on the presidential ticket and parliamentary candidates ahead of the 2020 Ghanaian elections by the Daily Graphic newspaper. Findings reveal elements of gendered coverage on both the presidential and parliamentary levels. The coverage was, however, more gendered for candidates on the presidential ticket than parliamentary candidates. This chapter gives an overview of the study and highlights the emerging themes of gendered coverage. It also gives concluding statements about the research, limitations of this study, and what future studies can seek to carry out.

The overall findings generally showed that the Daily Graphic portrays women in politics positively. The number of stories that appeared in the news was proportionate to the number of female candidates at both the presidential and parliamentary levels. However, findings also revealed elements of gendered mediation by the Daily Graphic in terms of the prominence given to the female candidates and the size of stories allocated to them.

5.2 Overall Coverage of Candidates on the Presidential Ticket

There were 24 candidates on the presidential ticket (*Table 1*) in total ahead of the 2020 general elections in Ghana. Out of 24, 19 were male, and five were female candidates. News articles of candidates on the presidential ticket accounted for 144 out of the 183 news

articles used in this study. Out of 144 news stories, 28 had a woman as the story's subject, while 109 had a man as the story's subject. Seven had both a man and a woman as the subject of the story.

There was an equal distribution of news stories according to the sex of the candidate. Generally, women on the presidential ticket were represented well in terms of the tone of the story. Almost all stories of female candidates were positive. In terms of story enhancement, 90% of articles on female candidates on the presidential ticket had a photographic enhancement. Attaching the picture of a candidate to a news article increases the significance of that article and enhances the candidates' visibility. In this regard, the Daily Graphic increased the prominence of women.

However, the placement of stories on female candidates on the presidential ticket by the Daily Graphic was not as encouraging. Only 10.7% of stories on female candidates were on pages that receive the most attention. These pages were the frontpages, center-spread pages, and back page. Male candidates on the presidential ticket, however, had 28.53% of their stories placed on these prominent pages. The existing under-representation of women in politics in Ghana already creates a disadvantage in terms of news coverage. Locating most news articles of female candidates on pages that do not receive significant attention places them at a further disadvantage.

Contrary to the argument that coverage of female candidates concentrates mainly on personality traits, the study of the Daily Graphic revealed that women in politics have most of their coverage being on issue-based topics. Female presidential coverage concentrated

on political and economic issues. However, coverage of personality traits was still higher in female candidates on the presidential ticket than male candidates. 35.71% of stories on female candidates concentrated on their personality traits, while 5.50% of stories on male candidates had elements.

A closer analysis of the stories on candidates on the presidential ticket in terms of the story's context revealed that male candidates on the presidential ticket were more likely to be associated with political rallies and tours of the constituencies. These are the only categories that reveal the physical strength of candidates. As a result, not associating women with this trait adds up to the belief of women not having the physical strength to engage in them actively.

Another aspect of gendered mediation of the candidates on the presidential ticket revealed that the Daily Graphic associated more men with education, health, and science issues. This analysis was striking because they were top priority national issues during the time frame of the study. As initially indicated, the COVID-19 pandemic was a priority issue for all candidates on the presidential ticket. However, 7.4% of stories on female candidates on the presidential ticket covered were associated with health compared to the 19.2% of male stories associated with health. In terms of education, there is a belief that the widely popular 'free senior high school policy' initiated by the then incumbent government (NPP) largely contributed to their victory in the 2016 elections. As a result, presidential candidates generally gave this issue much attention ahead of the 2020 elections. Again, 10.71% of stories of female candidates on the presidential ticket covered were associated with health,

while 30.28% of male stories were on education. It is important for issues of national priority also to be emphasized for female candidates on the presidential ticket, as this will get their campaign messages across to voters.

Women candidates on the presidential ticket were relatively disadvantaged in terms of story size. The size of a news article allocated to a candidate clearly shows how important the story is. The Daily Graphic allocation of one or more pages of stories on female candidates on the presidential ticket was only 3.57%. On the other hand, 17.43% of stories on male candidates on the presidential ticket were on one or more pages.

Finally, the analysis reveals that female reporters wrote less articles about candidates on the presidential ticket than men. A female journalist reported only 6.94% of the stories compared to 68.06% by a male journalist. Further analysis shows that female journalists reported 14.29% of stories on women, and male journalists reported 42.86% of stories on women. It was indicated earlier in the study that the gender of a reporter influences the sex of the subject of a political story (Armstrong 2004). An increase in female journalists may therefore increase stories on female candidates.

5.3 Overall Parliamentary Coverage

This study sampled the coverage of the MP's standing for constituencies in the Greater Accra region (capital region) of Ghana. Among the 123 candidates, 36 were women, and 87 were men and nine independent candidates. Eight out of the 36 female parliamentary candidates and 33 out of the 87 male candidates were mentioned in news articles within the

study's time frame. Out of 39 news stories collected for the parliamentary candidates, ten stories were of women, 28 were men, and one story had both a male and female parliamentary candidate being the main subject.

Similar to the presidential stories, there was an equal distribution of news stories according to sex. Generally, female parliamentary candidates were represented well in terms of tone. Almost all stories of female candidates were positive. In terms of story enhancement, 70% of female parliamentary candidates had a photographic enhancement, while male candidates had 75% of their stories containing a photograph. There seems to be no gender bias in this context by the Daily Graphic.

In terms of story placement, data obtained for parliamentary candidates differed from candidates on the presidential ticket. A total of 30% of stories on female candidates were on pages that receive the most attention. Male candidates on the presidential ticket also had 25% of their stories placed on these pages. There was not much gendered difference in this regard. Again, unlike the stories on candidates on the presidential ticket, there was no differential coverage in personality-based stories. None of the female parliamentary candidates had stories centering on personality traits, while male candidates had 5% of their stories covering personality traits.

Another result that differs from the stories on candidates on the presidential ticket was in reference to education-related stories. Female parliamentarians were associated more in education-related stories, 15% more than male parliamentary stories. However, consistent with the analysis in the presidential stories, stories in this category also show that male

parliamentary candidates were more likely (32.86% more) associated with health and science issues than female candidates on the presidential ticket.

In terms of story size and the sex of the reporter, the study discovered gendered coverage. Though the gendered coverage in these categories were not as striking as that of the presidential candidates, they were still present.

Table 9
Summary of Overall Findings for Candidates on the Presidential ticket and
Parliamentary Candidates

Hypothesis Accepted (Gendered Coverage)		Hypothesis Rejected (Coverage Not Gendered)		Inconclusive (Not Sufficient Data)	
Presidential	Parliamentary	Presidential	Parliamentary	Presidential	Parliamentary
H1a	H1a	H1d	H1d	H1g	H1c
H1b	H1b	H1e	H1e		H1g
H1c	H1f				H1h
H1f	H1i				
H1h	H1j				
H1i					
H1j					

Key:
H1a: Women candidates are the main subject of fewer newspaper articles than men.
H1b: Women from major political parties are likelier to receive more coverage in newspapers.
H1c: Women candidates are less likely to be featured on prominent newspaper pages.
H1d: Women candidates are likelier to be written about in a negative tone by newspapers.
H1e: Women in politics are less likely to have pictures with their stories in newspapers.

H1f: Women in politics are less likely to be associated with priority issues in newspapers.
H1g: Women in politics are likelier to be associated with personality-based content in newspapers.
H1h: Women in politics are less likely to have news stories about them associated with strong context.
H1i: Women in politics are less likely to have significant news story sizes.
H1j: Women in politics are less likely to be covered by female reporters in newspapers.

Overall, the findings from this study indicates more elements of gendered mediation on the parliamentary level than the presidential level (*Table 9)*. This result may have been affected by the fewer stories recorded for parliamentary candidates. The number of female parliamentarians was few in terms of representation, which affected the story distribution by the Daily Graphic. In terms of the negative portrayal of female parliamentarians, the study shows no consistency with many global studies.

This study acknowledges certain limitations that may have affected or influenced the outcome. The limitations were mainly the sample size of candidates, the number of newspapers studied, and the time frame. In terms of recommendations for future studies, this study recommends a more significant sample size and several influential newspapers in Ghana. Increasing the sample size will help assess if similar results are obtainable when the study's sample size increases.

The argument for an increased sample size for future studies hopes to give a broader scope of the gendered differences that exist in news reporting. This will also allow for stronger conclusive hypothesis. Increasing the number of newspapers studied will also allow for a side-by-side investigation into various newspapers.

Again, to determine if this study's hypotheses will stay same in non-heightened campaign periods, a study with a broader timeframe will be needed. This type of study will assess if there is a difference in coverage of women in politics in the extended periods before and after an election. Future studies on gendered mediation in Ghana should widen the timeframe to generally assess the portrayal of women in politics in Ghana.

Finally, there is a need for a holistic study to assess the portrayal of women in general in the media. The holistic study should include other types of media such as radio, television, and social media. In contrast to newspapers, radio, television, and social media are generally not based on news reporting and have other categories such as talk shows that are worth exploring. These different segments also have a significant following from the public and may influence political opinions. Such a study would help identify which type of media is associated with elements of gendered mediation.

In conclusion, this study is significant in outlining specific elements of gendered political news reporting by newspapers. There is a moral and philosophical question that arises from this study. This question asks if there will be fewer elements of gendered mediation if the media increases coverage of women in politics in situations where their representation significantly lags. This question is a steppingstone for further comparative studies on gendered mediation to assess the role of the media in increasing female political representation and participation.

Bibliography

ABANTU. (2020). *Affirmative action*. https://abantu-rowa.com/affirmative-action/

Abney, R., Adams, J., Clark, M., Easton, M., Ezrow, L., Kosmidis, S., & Neundorf, A. (2013). When does valence matter? Heightened valence effects for governing parties during election campaigns. *Party Politics*, *19*(1), 61–82. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068810395057

Amoakohene, M. (2004). Violence against women in Ghana: a look at women's perceptions and review of policy and social responses. *Social Science & Medicine (1982)*, *59*(11), 2373–2385. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.SOCSCIMED.2004.04.001

Andersen, K., & Miller, E. D. (1997). Gender and student evaluations of teaching. *PS - Political Science and Politics*, *30*(2), 216–219. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096500043407

Ashmore, R. D., & Del Boca, F. K. (1979). Sex stereotypes and implicit personality theory: Toward a cognitive-Social psychological conceptualization. *Sex Roles*, *5*(2), 219–248. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00287932

Bauer, G. (2017, March 8). *Women and Ghana's 2016 Parliamentary Election | International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics*. https://www.iknowpolitics.org/en/discuss/opinion-pieces/women-and-ghana's-2016-parliamentary-election

Bawa, S., & Sanyare, F. (2013). Women's Participation and Representation in Politics: Perspectives from Ghana. *International Journal of Public Administration*, *36*(4), 282–291. https://doi.org/10.1080/01900692.2012.757620

Bell, A. (1991). *The language of news media*. 277.

    https://books.google.com/books/about/The_Language_of_News_Media.html?id=X_

    s5PwAACAAJ

Berger, J. (1962). *Ways of seeing*. Penguin Group.

Blankenship, J. (1976). The Search for the 1972 Democratic Nomination: A Metaphorical

    Perspective. *Rhetoric and Communication*, 236–260.

Bradley-Geist, J. C., Rivera, I., & Geringer, S. D. (2015). The Collateral Damage of

    Ambient Sexism: Observing Sexism Impacts Bystander Self-Esteem and Career

    Aspirations. *Sex Roles*, *73*(1–2), 29–42. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0512-y

Byerly, C. M. (2011). Behind the scenes of women's broadcast ownership. *Howard*

    Journal of Communications, *22*(1), 24–42.

    https://doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2011.546740

Byerly, C. M., & Stiles, C. K. (2008). *Principal Investigator INTERNATIONAL*

    WOMEN'S MEDIA FOUNDATION Global Report on the Status of Women in the

    News Media. www.iwmf.org

Ceron, A. (2017). Social Media and Political Accountability. *Social Media and Political*

    Accountability. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-52627-0

Corrigall-Brown, C., & Wilkes, R. (2014). Media exposure and the engaged citizen: How

    the media shape political participation. *Social Science Journal*, *51*(3), 408–421.

    https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2014.03.009

Diabah, G. (2019). The representation of women in Ghanaian radio commercials:

    Sustaining or challenging gender stereotypes? *Language in Society*, *48*(2), 261–283.

    https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404518001343

Donkor, L. C. S. (2016). *Mediating gendered politics : Ghanaian politicians and news discourse* (Issue March). niversity of Liverpool.

Eagly, A. H., & Carli, L. L. (2007). *Through the labyrinth: The truth about how women become leaders*. Havard Business School Press. https://psycnet.apa.org/record/2008-01900-000

Eagly, A. H., Makhijani, M., & Klonsky, B. G. (1992). Gender and the evaluation of leaders: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *112*(3), 557–557. https://doi.org/10.1037/H0090375

Electoral Reform Society. (2020). *Two-Round System*. https://www.electoral-reform.org.uk/voting-systems/types-of-voting-system/two-round-system/

Freedom House. (2020). *Countries and Territories | Freedom House*. https://freedomhouse.org/countries/freedom-world/scores

Frempong, A. K. D. (2017). *Elections in Ghana*.

Friedrich Ebert-Stiftung Ghana, & Human Rights Advocacy Centre. (2011). *Law-making Process in Ghana: Structures and Procedures*.

Gerrits, B., Trimble, L., Wagner, A., Raphael, D., & Sampert, S. (2017). Political battlefield: aggressive metaphors, gender, and power in news coverage of Canadian party leadership contests. *Feminist Media Studies*, *17*(6), 1088–1103. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2017.1315734

Gidengil, E., & Everitt, J. (1999). Metaphors and misrepresentation: Gendered mediation in news coverage of the 1993 Canadian leaders' debates. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, *4*(1), 48–65. https://doi.org/10.1177/1081180X99004001005

Gingras, A.-M. (1997). Médias et conflits sociaux. *Études Internationales*, *28*(3), 615.

    https://doi.org/10.7202/703779AR

Goldenberg, E. N., & Traugott, M. W. (1987). Mass Media in U. S. Congressional

    Elections. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *12*(3), 317. https://doi.org/10.2307/439809

GSS. (2012). 2010 Population and Housing Census, summary of Report of final results.

    Ghana Statistical Service, 1–117.

Gyesi, Z. K. (2020, June 27). Ghana needs to pass Affirmative Action Bill into law -

    ABANTU for Development. *Daily Graphic*.

    https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/ghana-needs-to-pass-affirmative-

    action-bill-into-law-abantu-for-development.html

Haraldsson, A., & Wängnerud, L. (2019). The effect of media sexism on women's

    political ambition: evidence from a worldwide study. *Feminist Media Studies*, *19*(4),

    525–541. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2018.1468797

Hausmann, R., Tyson, L. D., & Zahidi, B. S. (2011). Global Gender Gap Report. In

    World Economic Forum. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119085621.wbefs350

Heflick, N. A., & Goldenberg, J. L. (2011). Sarah Palin, A Nation Object(ifie)s: The Role

    of Appearance Focus in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election. *Sex Roles*, *65*(3), 149–

    155. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9901-4

Hindin, M. J., Kincaid, D. L., Kumah, O. M., Morgan, W., Mi Kim, Y., & Ofori, J. K.

    (1994). Gender Differences in Media Exposure and Action During a Family

    Planning Campaign in Ghana. *Health Communication*, *6*(2), 117–135.

    https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327027HC0602_3

Hinson, R. E. (2020, July 18). What Ghana's First Woman Presidential Running Mate of

a Major Party Offers . *Graphic Online*.

https://www.graphic.com.gh/features/features/what-ghana-s-first-woman-vice-

presidential-candidate-of-a-major-party-offers.html

Højlund Madsen, D. (2019). Women's Political Representation and Affirmative Action in

Ghana. *The Nordic Africa Institute*, *1*, 1–8.

Huddy, L., & Terkildsen, N. (1993). The Consequences of Gender Stereotypes for

Women Candidates at Different Levels and Types of Office.

Http://Dx.Doi.Org.Qe2a-Proxy.Mun.ca/10.1177/106591299304600304, *46*(3), 503–

525. https://doi.org/10.1177/106591299304600304

Kahn, K. F. (1992). Does Being Male Help: An Investigation of Gender and Media

Effects in US Senate Races. *Journal of Politics*, *54*(2), 497–517. https://scholar-

google-com.qe2a-

proxy.mun.ca/scholar?hl=en&as_sdt=0%2C5&q="Does+Being+Male+Help%3A+A

n+Investigation+of+Gender+and+Media+Effects+in+U.S.+Senate+Races."&btnG=

Kahn, K. F. (1994). The Distorted Mirror: Press Coverage of Women Candidates for

Statewide Office. *The Journal of Politics*, *56*(1), 154–173.

https://doi.org/10.2307/2132350

Kahn, K. F., & Goldenberg, E. N. (1991). Women candidates in the news: An

examination of gender differences in U.S. Senate campaign coverage. *Public

Opinion Quarterly*, *55*(2), 180–199. https://doi.org/10.1086/269251

Karsay, K., Knoll, J., & Matthes, J. (2017). Sexualizing Media Use and Self-

Objectification: A Meta-Analysis. *Https://Doi-Org.Qe2a-

Proxy.Mun.ca/10.1177/0361684317743019*, *42*(1), 9–28.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684317743019

Kittilson, M. C., & Fridkin, K. (2008). Gender, Candidate Portrayals and Election

    Campaigns: A Comparative Perspective. *Politics and Gender*, *4*(3), 371–392.

    https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X08000330

Koenig, A. M. (2018). Comparing Prescriptive and Descriptive Gender Stereotypes

    About Children, Adults, and the Elderly. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *0*(JUN), 1086.

    https://doi.org/10.3389/FPSYG.2018.01086

Kuehnhenrich, D. (2012). *Entwicklung oder Profit? die staatliche und private Presse in*

    Ghana.

    https://books.google.com/books/about/Entwicklung_oder_Profit.html?id=_jp1M9yx

    8u4C

Langer, A. I. (2009). The Politicization of Private Persona: Exceptional Leaders or the

    New Rule? The Case of the United Kingdom and the Blair Effect:

    Http://Dx.Doi.Org/10.1177/1940161209351003, *15*(1), 60–76.

    https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161209351003

Madsen, D. H. (2018). Gender, Power and Institutional Change – The Role of Formal and

    Informal Institutions in Promoting Women's Political Representation in Ghana:

    Https://Doi.Org/10.1177/0021909618787851, *54*(1), 70–87.

    https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909618787851

Magenya, S., Namibia, S., & Windhoek. (2010). *Sexism in the Media : Claiming our*

    Bodily Integrity. *22*(Oct), 1–2.

Mcallister, I. (2007). 01_McAllister_The_Personalization_of_2007.pdf. In *In R. J. Dalton*

    & H. Klingemann (Eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior (1st ed.). (pp.

571–588). https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199270125.003.0030

National Communications Authority. (2020). *What We Do » National Communications Authority*. https://www.nca.org.gh/the-nca/what-we/

Naylor, N., & Motau, R. S. (n.d.). *A women ' s issue ? in the media*. 56–57.

NCCE. (2020). Matters of Concern to the Ghanaian Voter- 2020 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections. *National Commission for Civic Education*.

Nketia. Kwabena J. H. (2005). *Ethnomusicology and African Music: Collected Papers: Modes of Inquiry and Interpretation* (Vol. 1). Afram Publications. https://www.amazon.com/Ethnomusicology-African-Music-Collected-Interpretation/dp/B00Y2ULB02

Norris, P. (1997). *Women, media, and politics*. 269.

Ocran, R. K. (2014). Women's Political Participation: A comparative Study on Ghana and Tanzania. *Gait and Posture*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gaitpost.2018.03.005

Odame, F. (2010). Women in Politics in Ghana: A Study on Local Government in the Greater Accra Region. *Ghana Journal of Development Studies*, *7*(1). https://doi.org/10.4314/gjds.v7i1.61401

Ofori-Birinkorang, A., & Donkor, D. A. (2014). " Woman , I have told you not to speak ": Portrayals of Women in Popular Ghanaian. *New Media and Mass Communications*, *31*, 42–55.

pressreference.com. (2002). *Ghana Basic Data*. http://www.pressreference.com/Fa-Gu/Ghana.html

Sano, Y., Sedziafa, A. P., Amoyaw, J. A., Boateng, G. O., Kuuire, V. Z., Boamah, S., & Kwon, E. (2016). Exploring the linkage between exposure to mass media and HIV

testing among married women and men in Ghana. *AIDS Care - Psychological and Socio-Medical Aspects of AIDS/HIV*, *28*(6), 684–688. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540121.2015.1131970

Sossou, M. A. (2011). We do not enjoy equal political rights: Ghanaian women's perceptions on political participation in Ghana. *SAGE Open*, *1*(1), 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244011410715

Sreberny-Mohammadi, A., & K., R. (1996). Women MPs and the Media: Representing the Body Politic. *Parliamentary Affairs*, *49*(1), 103–115. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.pa.a028661

The World Bank. (2010). *Public Sentinel: News Media & Governance Reform* (P. Norris (ed.)). The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank.

Tremblay, M. (2007). Democracy, representation, and women: A comparative analysis. *Democratization*, *14*(4), 533–553. https://doi.org/10.1080/13510340701398261

Trimble, L. (2007). Gender, political leadership and media visibility: Globe and Mail coverage of conservative party of Canada leadership contests. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *40*(4), 969–993. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423907071120

Trimble, L., Everitt, J., & Sampert, S. (2010). *Belinda Stronach and the Gender Politics of Celebrity*. 50–74.

Trimble, L., Raphael, D., Sampert, S., Wagner, A., & Gerrits, B. (2015). Politicizing Bodies: Hegemonic Masculinity, Heteronormativity, and Racism in News Representations of Canadian Political Party Leadership Candidates. *Women's Studies in Communication*, *38*(3), 314–330.

https://doi.org/10.1080/07491409.2015.1062836

Trimble, L., Wagner, A., Sampert, S., Raphael, D., & Gerrits, B. (2013). Is It Personal? Gendered Mediation in Newspaper Coverage of Canadian National Party Leadership Contests, 1975-2012. *International Journal of Press/Politics*, *18*(4), 462–481. https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161213495455

Tuchman, G. (2007). *Women ' s Depiction by the Mass Media*. *4*(3), 528–542.

UNWomen. (2020). *Facts and figures: Women's leadership and political participation*. https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/leadership-and-political-participation/facts-and-figures#_edn1

Van Der Pas, D. J., & Aaldering, L. (2020). Gender differences in political media coverage: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Communication*, *70*(1), 114–143. https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/jqz046

Wagner, A., Trimble, L., & Sampert, S. (2019). One Smart Politician: Gendered Media Discourses of Political Leadership in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *52*(1), 141–162. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423918000471

Wasburn, P. C., & Wasburn, M. H. (2011). Media coverage of women in politics: The curious case of sarah palin. *Media, Culture and Society*, *33*(7), 1027–1041. https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443711415744

Wood, J. T. (2013). *Gendered Media: The Influence of Media on Views of Gender*.

World Economic Forum. (2021). *Global Gender Gap Report 2021*.

Yovonoo, S. A. A. (2016). *Portrayal Of Women Parliamentary Candidates During the 2012 Elections By the Daily Graphic, Daily Guide and the Enquirer*. University of Ghana.