

GHANA INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISM

STATE-OWNED NEWSPAPERS AND DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA

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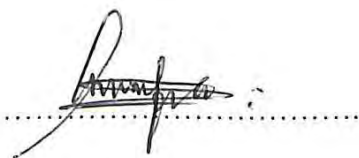
**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
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FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF A MASTER OF
ARTS DEGREE IN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION.**

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DECLARATION

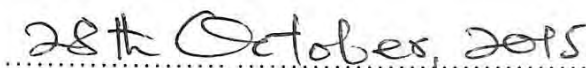
I, Philip Atawura, the author of this study, state-owned newspapers and development in Ghana, do hereby declare that except for the reference to other people's work, which has been duly acknowledged, the work presented here is the result of my own effort for the award of a Master of Arts degree in Development Communication at the Ghana Institute of Journalism.

I also declare that this thesis, carried out under the supervision of Dr. Wilberforce Sefakor Dzisah, has neither in whole or in part been submitted to any institution for the award of any certificate.



Philip Atawura

(Student)



Date



Dr. Wilberforce Sefakor Dzisah

(Supervisor)



Date

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to God almighty for his grace and mercies. I also dedicate it to the numerous press workers who have put their lives on the line to make sure that the world is informed, educated and entertained. I finally dedicate this work to Gerald Ohene Otchere-Darko and Jaden Adjei Nyasem in whom I believe to make me proud in the near future.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CIMA	Chartered Institute of Management Accountants
CPP	Convention People's Party
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DFID	Department for International Development
GDP	Growth Domestic Product
GJA	Ghana Journalists Association
GLSS	Ghana Living Standards Survey
GPRS	Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy
LEAP	Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NDPC	National Development Planning Commission
NLCD	National Liberation Council Decree
PNDC	Provisional National Defense Council
SADA	Savannah Accelerated Development Authority
SDC	Sustainable Development Goals
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

UNESCAP

United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific

UNGA

United Nations General Assembly

ABSTRACT

The study examines the role of the state-owned newspapers in the development agenda of Ghana. It looks at the coverage of developmental issues by focusing on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and their targets as the units of analysis.

The two State-owned newspapers in Ghana, the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times*, were sampled. In all 31 editions for the year starting January 1, 2010 to December 31, 2010, of each newspaper was systematically sampled and analysed using qualitative content analysis. The editors of the two newspapers were also interviewed and analysed using discourse analysis.

The findings reveal the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times* newspapers were able to give more than 10% of space to the MDGs. However, more needs to be done in order to achieve the most of the MDGs. Most of the published stories were not given prominence – more than 90% of the stories were placed on inside pages. Some of the MDG goals especially that of child mortality and maternal health had less than 2% of the total MDG stories published.

The newspapers failed to facilitate discourse which will promote development to the benefit of the governed and the governors. They highlighted a strong correlation between their operations and the commercial value of the stories they publish.

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CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

The study examines the role of the state-owned newspapers in the development agenda of Ghana. It looks at the ideology (ies) behind the establishment of the state-owned newspapers vis-a-vis the development of the country. It draws its strengths from the fact that at the heart of every development agenda lies communication and this can be seen from latter-day theories and concepts such as Development Journalism, Social Marketing and Participatory theory and also, former theories such as Hypodermic Needle and Agenda Setting.

The history and development of the mass media in Ghana are inextricably linked to the country's political history. Under colonialism, the newspaper was introduced and used as a political tool which linked the centre (government) to the periphery (people) than as a tool for the dissemination of information according to Anokwa, (1997); and Ansu-Kyeremeh and Karikari, (1998). More so, this link is arguably the jellying of the developed and underdeveloped, and in certain cases developing, parts of the country for harmonisation.

Whatever the role of the state-owned press may still be, a school of thought has it that there is a part they can play to foster development in Ghana. In this way, the study focuses on the reportage of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* newspapers and their understanding and practice of development journalism in Ghana.

On the MDGs, Shaw in Banda (2006: 6) defines development journalism as consisting of 'news' that:

'should examine critically, evaluate and interpret the relevance of development plans, projects, policies, problems, and issues. It should indicate

the disparities between plans and actual accomplishments, and include comparisons with how development is progressing in other countries and regions. It also should provide contextual and background information about the development process, discuss the impact of plans, projects, policies, problems, and issues on people, and speculate about the future of development’.

Development news is or should be milieu specific. It should be related to a certain people who are concerned about such development. Development news also varies from region to region or country to country. What will be development news to a particular country may not be a development news to another. However, generally, development encompasses the basic needs of life — food, shelter and clothing — and should be able to provide housing for, jobs, energy to power homes, schools and businesses, transportation, telecommunication, recognition of identity and respect for cultural and religious diversity for the citizens of the country.

The United Nations Millennium Declaration, which was adopted by world leaders at the Millennium Summit of the United Nations in 23rd September, 2000, captured the aspirations of the international community for the century. For the first time, there was a global effort towards the eradication of extreme poverty and promote human rights across the globe.

According to the 2010 Ghana Millennium Development Goals Report (2012: 1),

‘The MDGs aim to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, achieve universal primary education, promote gender equality and empower women, reduce child mortality, improve maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and

other diseases, ensure environmental sustainability, and develop global partnerships for development.’

In September 2000, Ghana made the conscious effort to track these eight time-bound MDGs and their associated indicators. Progress towards the attainment of the MDGs has been reported annually since 2002 in many national documents including the Annual Progress Report (APR) on the implementation of the Medium-term Development Frameworks (MDFs), namely the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategies (GPRS I and GPRS II). Also, the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) has a category to award journalists who tirelessly report on the progress of the MDGs in Ghana. This is to ensure that journalists contribute, through their reportage, to the attainment of the MDGs in the country.

According to Kayode and Adeniran (2012: 1),

‘development is a widely participatory process of social change, intended to bring about both social and material advancement. It involves greater numbers of people gaining control over their environment, empowering people to be self-reliant and creating the right environment for people to improve their living conditions’.

To address the problems that come with the goals and targets, world leaders and leading development institutions around the globe developed a blueprint to spur efforts to meet the needs of the world’s poorest people. They agreed to work together to ensure there is an end to extreme poverty. This blueprint was tagged the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with an eight-point agenda and specific targets (United Nations General Assembly, 2000).

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

According to Locksley (2009:5), the media's contribution to development occurs simultaneously along several storylines. Economists term this joint production as when rearing sheep provides meat, wool, and leather. The media's information dissemination creates awareness, knowledge acquisition and brings about social change through mobilisation and the debating of public opinions.

The creation and dissemination of knowledge are key factors in the development process where the media have been instrumental as a means of storing and sharing knowledge. For example, the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID) cites the effectiveness of radio in promoting development in a wide range of disparate countries, including Afghanistan, Moldova, and Kiribati (DFID 2006). The well-recognized functions of the media are to educate, inform, and entertain where the social and economic contributions of the media to development depend on the nature of the content delivered. Direct development benefits flow from educating and informing, with entertainment possibly acting as a "hook" (Ibid).

As Ansah (in Tshabangu, 2013: 315) accentuates,

'Nkrumah used his paper, *Accra Evening News*, to whip up support for his political party during the struggle for Ghana's independence and rejected the idea of an independent press. He believed in activist journalism, that a journalist should have high ideals, be a political activist and party member, and his newspaper a collective organizer, a collective instrument of mobilization.'

Nkrumah (in Odhiambo, 1991:24) thus claims, “the true African newspaper is a collective educator – a weapon, first and foremost, to overthrow colonialism and imperialism, and to assist total African independence and unity.”

However, over the years, the terms of media and development may be more than just for liberalisation and unity. Now, the media’s reportage is probably more concerned with social, political and entertainment issues rather than aligning itself to certain propagandists and populists ideals. This is seen in Kariithi (1994: 28) as he believes;

‘Development journalism recognizes the reality of underdevelopment and the fact that development is a valid social goal that the media must actively pursue. Thus, the main characteristic of development journalism is the deliberate and active role of the media in pressing for change’

As opined by Salawu (2008) citing Goldhaber (1983), ‘the ultimate aim of communication for development is the facilitation of the exchange of information for increased productivity and development’, it will serve for the purpose of this research to find out the various ways in which the state-owned newspapers knit with the development of Ghana.

Tshabangu (2013: 314), again, is of the motive that development journalism also entails that the media should critically report on the MDGs, comparing planned schemes and actual implementation and impact.

Vilanilam (1979 cited in Machado 1982:11) proffers a definition of development news as:

‘News relating to the primary, secondary, and tertiary needs of a developing country. Primary needs are food, clothing, and shelter. Secondary needs are development of agriculture, industry and all economic activity, which lead to the fulfilment of the

primary needs, plus development of education, literacy, health, environment, medical research, family planning, employment, labour welfare, social reforms, national integration and rural and urban development. Tertiary needs are development of mass media, transport, tourism, telecommunication, arts and cultural activities’.

Atawura (2013: 10) also accentuates this position by opining that;

‘the theory of development journalism requires that journalists go to rural and/or deprived places of a country to report on the conditions, mostly unfavourable, that the people there face, ... to inspect the progress of proposed government projects and analyse government’s policies to ensure they are feasible or not’.

1.1.1 MEDIA AND DEVELOPMENT

This section looks at the issues that relate to the media and development in general. It contextualises the role the media play or can play to promote development in a third-world nation like Ghana.

According to McBride (1980: 20), for so many years, and even millennia in some places, the vast majority of the earth’s inhabitants lived completely within the context of their own small social unit — the tribe or the village — with interpersonal communication being their main form of social contact. Only the uncommon appearance of strangers (travellers, pilgrims, nomads, soldiers) briefly interrupted the routine of this rather hermetic existence. Gradually, communication became institutionalised within traditional societies. Interpersonal communication and public institutional communication, in the form of the transmission of norms and customs, existed in superimposition. As communication became institutionalised,

there arose professional categories as guardians of collective memory and responsible for the transmission of certain types of messages: bards, sorcerers, tribal chiefs, travelling merchants, local administrators, dancers, scribes and so on. The initial institutionalisation of communication paralleled the development of increasingly more complex societies and promoted that development.

The issue of media and development, especially in Africa, Asia and Latin America are rooted in the systems left behind as a result of colonialism. As Mytton (1983) opines, the modern press and broadcasting systems in these continents are mostly as a direct and indirect contact with the Europeans (Mytton, 1983: 37).

Prior to Mytton's assertion, Hachten had earlier expressed that the:

'differences in colonial experiences help explain differences in media systems as it was seen in the way the French and the British handled the various relay stations in Africa with different motives. Mass communications are not indigenous to Africa. A crucial element in the development of mass communications in Africa, both past and present, is the nature and extent of European influences (1971: xv).'

While acknowledging this critical observation by Hachten, Dzisah (2008:50) argues that:

Hachten's assertion of mass communication, being alien to Africa, even though he noted that other forms of communication existed seems a sweeping generalisation without any empirical evidence or the often misguided viewpoint of looking at the topic through the Western world's prism'.

This in essence can be true because Africans and other peoples of the world who were colonised by Europeans had developed their own means of communication. These means were specific to their understanding and was able to mobilise the people to take up worthy causes. Still in the 21st century, certain communities in Africa still make good use of the town criers, the gong beaters, talking drums, durbars and runners to communicate. These forms of communication promoted social capital among the people than the evolved forms of joining bowling leagues, clubs and social media platforms.

The uniqueness of the African means of communication is embedded in their originality, creativity, tradition and culture of the people. These essentially make them highly effective and enduring in the dissemination of information personally, inter-personally and through group communications.

Though Dzisah (2008: 50) refutes the assertion made by Hachten, Karikari (2007), supports this as he argues that the mass media in Africa, as is well known, was a product of Africa's contact with the Europeans.

'As with everywhere else, the media in Africa is a product of the political developments and histories of the continent. The ownership systems, their character, strengths and weaknesses, their political and social outlooks, and above all their outputs and impacts are all the products of the societies that have formed and shaped them' (Karikari, 2007: 10).

However, Mytton, although acknowledging the existence of other forms of communication that existed in Africa prior to the advent of the Europeans, believes that with the intrusion of European communication technology: traditional oral forms of communication — which

played a central role in the maintenance of social and political order — ensuring continuity and reinforcing values and norms of behaviour of the people — was gradually confronted by quite different forms based on the new technology of print and generally, on a foreign language (1983: 37).

However, the strong characteristics of communality, credibility of information, inexpensiveness, promotion of culture, use of local language and simplicity, among others have made the traditional forms of communication still relevant in Ghana (talking drums), Nigeria (town crier), South Africa (vuvuzela) and other countries.

Again, in ‘Our Common Interest: Report of the Commission for Africa’ (2005), there has been a rapid and diverse proliferation of media and communication initiatives in Africa over the last 20 years. This accelerated growth has produced its own particular problems, including inadequately trained journalists, low professional standards and weak self-regulation. These issues make it difficult for African media to fulfil two key roles: (i) to improve access to information to enable the ordinary citizen to participate in public affairs; and (ii) to carry out its role as a public watchdog (Ibid).

1.1.2 HISTORY OF THE PRESS IN GHANA

Concerning the history of the press in Ghana, Hachten (1993) argues that the main justification for Africans to have their own press paradigm was for those countries to seek refuge in the demands of nation-building, issues of under-development and their traditions and cultures, in order to control the press. The notion that emerging nations, coming out of centuries of colonialism, need the press for national construction and development was

identified because of its potency as multipliers in education and information dissemination (1993: 51-54).

According to Barton (1979: 15) after the appearance of black Africa's newspaper, *The Royal Gazette* and *Sierra Leon Advertiser* in 1801, the idea of newspapers began to spread, slowly at first, then more rapidly and eventually almost like a bush fire out of control throughout the coastal belt of West Africa. The Sierra Leon paper only lasted a year before the English printers decided there was more money to be made selling people than papers and went into the slave trade.

According to Barton's assertions, it was in Ghana, then the Gold Coast, that the press really took hold, and for a long time, it was exclusively African owned edited. *The Royal Gold Coast Gazette* and *Commercial Intelligencer*, the first two newspapers in the Gold Coast, began in Accra in 1822 in hand written form, and for three years, it was recognised by the authorities as a semi official organ of the area (Ibid).

The two newspapers greatly showed aggression towards the slave trade and presented the African as deserving no less respect than the European.

Charles Bannerman was the first African editor in the Gold Coast who was doing the same sort of thing in his *Accra Herald* (later renamed the *West African Herald*) launched in 1858. As a result of this, Accra ended up providing West Africa with its first daily newspaper carrying regular international news through Reuters. This was the *West African Times* founded by DR. J. B. Danquah in 1931, though Accra's first daily was the *Gold Coast Spectator* founded in 1927. The *Spectator* had Africa's first foreign correspondent, Chatwood Hall, who from Moscow sent regular articles extolling the virtues of communism (Barton, 1979: 15).

Another contributor to the Spectator was the West Indian George Padmore, who became a close friend of Nkrumah and played an important role in Ghana's struggle for independence.

Kwame Nkrumah founded the *Evening News* in Accra in 1948. The newspaper became the mouthpiece around which the Convention People's Party (CPP) was built and all CPP members were expected to read it and did so. The newspaper was to serve Nkrumah well, and the *Evening News* was to spawn half-a-dozen papers owned by the CPP.

It was not long before the Mirror Group began to extend up the coast, first to Ghana with the *Daily Graphic*, and then to Sierra Leon with the *Daily Mail*. The *Daily Graphic* was launched in 1950 and there was great suspension not only among the colonial authorities but also among many Africans. When the *Graphic* appeared in Accra, a young political firebrand not long back from university in the United States was editing the highly volatile *Evening News*, one of no less than 13 local newspapers which eventually fell to (Cecil) King's competition (Barton, 1979: 34).

In 1956, the Guinea Press brought out its second daily, the *Morning Ghanaian Times* established through public funds. It was much more like a real newspaper than the *Evening News*, but it was still much a CPP's mouthpiece and only served to emphasise the overall superior quality of the *Graphic* which outsold both the CPP party papers five or six to one.

Though King's *Graphic* was always the circulation leader against Nkrumah's *Evening News* and *Ghanaian Times*, it had supported the CPP in campaign towards independence. But it had also given a fair showing to Nkrumah's opponents, and as the nationalistic atmosphere of independent Ghana intensified, operations became more and more difficult.

The media in Ghana continues to play a critical role in the consolidation of democracy and development. As part of the democratic culture, the 1992 Constitution assigns roles and responsibilities to institutions of state, and the media is not left out in this.

According to Blay-Amihere, for a constitution to devote a whole chapter for the media means that journalists have a mandate to play their watchdog role effectively. Since 1993, the press has consistently exercised their constitutional mandate under Article 162(6) to “uphold the responsibility and accountability of the government to the people of Ghana.”

As Blay–Amihere points out, currently, Ghana has a diverse media sector with about 200 authorized FM stations, 12 private television stations and hundreds of newspapers. It is no longer a media monopoly of Graphic, Times, GBC and GNA.

1.2 PROFILE OF NEWSPAPERS

This section outlines the profile of the two newspapers and why they were chosen for this study.

1.2.1 THE GHANAIAN TIMES NEWSPAPER

The *Ghanaian Times* newspaper is a daily newspaper published six times a week. It is currently owned by the New Times Corporation and with a circulation of 80,000 as of 2009 (Kuehnhenrich 2012: 1). *Ghanaian Times* is a state-owned newspaper established as the *Guinea Press* in 1958 by Ghana’s first President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Under the 1992 constitution, the Ghanaian Times, published by the New Times Corporation, is supposed to

be neutral and serve everybody irrespective of political affiliation but over the years, it has not hidden its strong preference for political parties in government.

Kuehnhenrich (2012) adds to this historical perspective of the newspaper as he states that:

‘the newspaper was formerly known as The Guinea Press Limited. It was established by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as a printing press for the Convention People’s Party (CPP). After Nkrumah’s overthrow in a military coup in 1966, The Guinea Press was taken over as a state property by the National Liberation Council Decree (NLCD) 130 of 1968. By an instrument of Incorporation-Act 363, 1971, Guinea Press was changed to the New Times Corporation. The Act also repealed the National Newspapers (Guinea Press Limited- Interim Reconstruction) Decree which acquired it as a state property. That Act was given further recognition by the provision of Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) Law 42.

1.2.1.1 OBJECTIVES OF THE GHANAIAN TIMES NEWSPAPER

Act 363 of 1971 authorised the Corporation to, among others, carry out businesses as:

1. Newspaper proprietors
2. Newspaper and general printers and publishers
3. Advertisers and advertising agents and contractors
4. Other businesses as may be conveniently or profitably carried out therewith, or as may enhance the value of any of the Corporation’s property
5. To manufacture and deal in all kinds of articles and things required for the purpose of any such business.

6. It was also to collect and disseminate news and information, employ correspondents, authors, writers and others, and to pay for news and information however, obtained.

1.2.1.2 MISSION STATEMENT

The Corporation's mission statement is as follows:

To become one of the best and most profitable publishers and printers with a major impact on socio-economic development of Ghana; employing experienced, motivated, and dedicated workforce; optimising the use of available technology, and always ensuring customer satisfaction and growth.

Thus, the Corporation will remain dedicated to informing and educating the Ghanaian public in a manner that is worthy of responsible journalism while ensuring that government policies and programmes are effectively communicated to the Ghanaian citizen to facilitate national development.

The Corporation will improve the quality of all its products especially to enable the Commercial Printing Department to make a greater contribution to corporate revenue.

Underlying all these will be the pressing need to be commercially viable in all its business activities and administrative efficiency in all its operations.

1.2.2 THE DAILY GRAPHIC

The *Daily Graphic* is a Ghanaian state-owned daily newspaper published in Accra with a nationwide coverage. It was founded in 1950 by Cecil King, and it is one of the oldest daily newspapers in Ghana today. It was then owned by the British Mirror Group Company, also known as the Overseas Newspapers Incorporated, headed by Cecil King (Mytton, 1983: 40). Originally a private newspaper, it was sold to the Ghana Government under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, shortly after the country attained self-rule. Being a state-owned paper, it regularly covers the government in a favourable light, detailing and encouraging national unity and government policy (Hasty, 2005).

In colonial Ghana under British rule, the *Daily Graphic*, which was staffed by local Ghanaians, received large government funding from British banks, which led to its high circulation and raising awareness of events to ordinary Ghanaians, more so than Ghanaian-owned newspapers (Eribo and Jong-Ebot, 1997).

These newspapers were chosen among others because they provide the framework for public discourse in the daily ‘newspapertronics’ as coined by Dzisah (2002). The newspapers have the widest circulation in the country. The *Daily Graphic* is the first with about 800,000 per day and the *Ghanaian Times* is third— second to the *Daily Guide* newspaper.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

According to Dugle (2013: 2),

The press and society are bedfellows; they are interrelated in so many ways. This interrelation creates a significant interdependence between the two systems; that is the

press on one hand depend on society for its production raw materials, whilst society on the other hand heavily depends on the press for its information needs. As a result, the press' role in shaping the knowledge of society particularly on social issues cannot be overemphasised.

According to Kellner (1995) cited by Richards et al. (2011: 179) in Dugle (2013), the degree to which the media help shape peoples' views of the world is extensive, affecting "what we consider good or bad, positive or negative, moral or evil".

Some scholars have even suggested that "the media have the single greatest influence on individuals' attitudes and behaviour, above and beyond all other social forces" (Chermak, 1995; Croteau and Hoynes, 1997 as quoted by Richards et al., 2011: 179). Hence, the nature of coverage of social issues by the press is not only important but also critical. This underscores the fact that the media has a single power of modern socialisation.

However, on the part of newspapers, communication scholars, political scientists, and sociologists have developed rich scholarship on the social construction of news which suggests that newspapers are not neutral channels when it comes to covering social issues. Andrews and Caren (2010: 843) for example postulates,

"Like other institutions, the media are shaped by organizational, economic, political, social, and cultural forces that influence the practices of news-gathering and the content of news".

These dynamics have numerous consequences for whether or how social issues are covered because the news institutions are themselves socialised within the various communities in which most of them live. Andrews and Caren (2010: 843) further observed that the news media are not neutral channels just reflecting the events of the day, but that news agencies,

editors as well as reporters act as gatekeepers who sort through events and define what is and what is not an important story.

Due to the eminent competing interests, newspapers sometimes consciously or unconsciously overlook or give less attention to important social issues such as drug trafficking, child labour and the MDGs.

According to the Ghana's Millennium Development Goals Report (2012), the main challenge of the 2010 MDG Report is the non-availability of more recent data beyond the fifth round of the Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS5) conducted in 2005/06 and Demographic and Health Survey, in 2008 for poverty and health analyses respectively.

In that same report, the main factors contributing to the progress (of the MDGs) remain:

1. Good governance
2. Improved partnership between government and development partners based on the Paris Declaration
3. The ownership of development process and alignment of donor resource towards implementation of the development policy framework
4. Transparency and Accountability through improvement in public financial management
5. Budget execution and control,
6. Timely external auditing of the accounts of the consolidated fund,
7. Broadening of budget coverage to include more information on internally generated funds and external grants (including HIPC and MDRI grants), and

8. External audit reports being produced in a more timely fashion with the Annual Report by the Accountant General being submitted to Parliament within 12 months of the closing of the accounts (Ibid: 66).

Vernon and Baksh (2010:7) pointed out that the universal agenda to achieve the MDGs by 2015 without the active involvement of the media was likely to fail. They wrote;

‘there is need for the development discourse to be reframed in ways which help create a better understanding of what constitutes development, and how change happens. Because of the inertia in the aid system, this will require good leadership from within the sector, and from politicians and in the media’.

However, it is a well known fact that the media plays an important role (whether vertical or horizontal, one-way or discursive) in the development of any society. It is based on the fact that the media’s role in the dissemination of information relating to the MDGs and arguably the total neglect of other social issues is what has set the problem tone for this study.

1.4 OBJECTIVE(S) OF THE STUDY

The main objective of the study is to do a comparative and discourse analysis of the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* newspapers by outlining the roles the two newspapers play towards the attainment of the MDGs in Ghana.

This objective seeks to;

1. Outline the number of MDG related news items covered by the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* newspapers and the kind of treatment given to those stories during the year 2010 and their proportion to other news beats;

2. Identify what informs the news values of the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* newspapers; and
3. Identify the link between the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* newspapers and the development agenda of the country.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions guide the soliciting of information from the content analysis and the discourse analysis which will in the long run help achieve the objectives set for this study. The following research questions are examined vis-a-vis the first three principles of development journalism as espoused by Galtung and Vincent (1992).

1. Why are the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* newspapers currently reporting the type of news coverage under the various segments they have?
2. Do the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* newspapers promote the eight MDGs and which of the MDGs received more prominence?
3. Which were the most quoted sources of development news considering Vilanilam's position?
4. What role can the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* newspapers play to promote the MDGs and development in Ghana?

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

As postulated by Aggarwala (1979 cited in Ogan 1980: 8), the essence of development journalism is to

“critically examine, evaluate and report the relevance of a development project to national and local needs, the difference between a planned scheme and its actual implementation and the differences between its impact on the people as claimed by government official and as it is actually”.

This study creates the awareness of the role the state-owned newspapers play or can play to promote development in Ghana. It will extensively reveal the extent to which Ghana plays a role in the achievement of the MDGs from the media’s point of view.

It also encourages decision making within the enforcement agencies (eg. Ghana Journalists Association and National Media Commission), non-governmental organisations and other state institutions (eg. the Ghana Institute of Journalism) to encourage the nurturing of journalists who have the interest of promoting development in Ghana through their work.

1.7 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The scope of the study looks at the activities of the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* newspapers by concentrating on their reportage. It also involves editors working within the two organisations. This scope is informed by the fact that, as compared to other newspapers, these are the only state-owned newspapers with wider coverage area and reports on a daily basis. The editors that are interviewed all come from the two organisations only because they will understand the mission of their newspapers and the news values that informs their decision making.

1.8 CONCLUSION

The chapter outlined the various arguments underpinning the advent of the press in Ghana and the current state of the press. It has also provided various arguments that take away or add to the media and development debate in Africa. Again, it also outlined the questions that led to the establishment of the topic and the objectives as well as the significance of the study.

The next chapter takes a look at the various philosophical and theoretical paradigms of the several scholars and writers of the role of the press in development and most especially in the dissemination of news reportage relating to the MDGs. It also looks at the role of the press in setting the agenda for their reportage; what informs their news values and what their objectives are concerning the achievement of their missions and visions.

CHAPTER TWO

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Literature review refers to the critical examination of published/scholarly (and sometimes unpublished) literature or information relating to the issue/problem/subject under investigation.

Literature review involves examination of relevant literature contained in scholarly articles, books, dissertations and papers presented at conferences.

The purpose of the chapter is to present a theoretical framework and to review scholarly materials relating to development journalism and the MDGs in Ghana.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Borgatti (1998), a theoretical framework is a collection of interrelated concepts, likely a theory but not necessarily so well worked-out. It guides the research by determining what things to measure and what statistical relationships to look out for.

This study heavily relies on the Agenda-Setting theory and that of the concept of Development Journalism as the two set of interrelated concepts. Interrelated because when the media sets the agenda to promote development related news; it is inadvertently promoting development journalism. On the other hand, if development journalism becomes the order of the day; then the news agencies are actually setting the agenda for such type of news to flourish. Even though the Agenda-Setting theory is arguably an old theory to deal with, its

effectiveness in dealing with media effects, framing and construction of reality cannot be down-played. It is still as relevant as the dominant paradigm to development.

2.2.1 AGENDA-SETTING THEORY

Most literature, research and scholarly works relating to development and the media have cited the Agenda-Setting theory as one of their, if not the sole, theoretical framework. This is seen in the works of (Daramola, 2003 in Popoola 2012; Kayode and Adeniran, 2012; Atawura 2013; McCombs, Lopez-Escobar & Llamas, 2000; Takeshita and Mikami, 1995; Weaver, Graber, McCombs and Eyal, 1981 and a host of others) as the bedrock theory of the role of the media in public decision-making and discourse towards development.

As opined by Weaver and Elliott (1985: 87), most media agenda-setting research carried out since McCombs' and Shaw's study of the 1968 U.S. presidential election has tested the assertion that media emphasis on certain issues results in increased public concern over these issues. But there has been very little systematic study of the underlying assumption that the media set the public agenda of issues by filtering and shaping reality rather than by simply reflecting it.

And yet, in some ways, this assumption is just as crucial to the idea of media agenda-setting as the assumption that media emphasis is correlated with public salience. For even if there is a correlation between what the press emphasizes and what many people are most concerned about, it is not quite accurate to speak of the press *setting* agendas if it is mainly passing on priorities set by other actors and institutions in the society (Ibid).

According to McCombs (1972) the power of the news media to set a nation's agenda, to focus public attention on a few key public issues, is an immense and well-documented influence. Not only do people acquire factual information about public affairs from the news media, readers and viewers also learn how much importance to attach to a topic on the basis of the emphasis placed on it in the news. Newspapers provide a host of cues about the salience of the topics in the daily news – lead story on page one, other front-page display, large headlines, etc. Television news also offers numerous cues about salience – the opening story on the newscast, length of time devoted to the story, etc. These cues repeated day after day effectively communicate the importance of each topic. In other words, the news media can set the agenda for the public's attention to that small group of issues around which public opinion forms.

Again, McCombs (1972) has argued that “the use of the term “agenda” here is purely descriptive. There is no pejorative implication that a news organization “has an agenda” that it relentlessly pursues as a premeditated goal.

Social scientists examining this agenda-setting influence of the news media on the public usually have focused on public issues. The agenda of a news organization is found in its pattern of coverage on public issues over some period of time— a week, a month, an entire year. Over this period of time, whatever it might be, a few issues are emphasized; some receive light coverage, and many are seldom or never mentioned. The media agenda presented to the public results from countless day-to-day decisions by many different journalists and their supervisors about the news of the moment (Ibid).

Kosicki (1993) is of the opinion that research and theory on the media treatment and popularization of important social issues have many long traditions. The largest of these, agenda setting, has made its way over the years into newsrooms and think-tank analyses of public policy debates. And when the general public thinks about media effects, it almost always thinks of agenda setting. Unfortunately, these popular conceptions often characterize agenda setting as something of an iron law rather than the subtle, highly contingent effect that years of careful research has shown it to be.

During its first 25 years, the agenda-setting literature has grown to include more than 200 separate articles and more than a dozen books dealing specifically with this topic (Rogers, Dearing and Bregman, 1993). The heuristic value of the agenda-setting perspective is undeniable, but heuristic value is not the only standard by which we judge the accomplishments of scientists. Agenda setting's key proponents have worked hard to expand its boundaries and scope, struggling valiantly to overcome the underspecified and constrained stimulus-response approach to media effects contained in agenda setting's original conceptualization (Ibid).

Norton (1958) is cited in Severin and Tankard (1977) by Daramola (2003) as attempting to explain the agenda setting function of the media when he writes:

In a sense, the newspaper is the prime mover in setting the territorial agenda. It has a great part in determining what most people will be talking about, what most people will think the facts are, and what people will regard as the way problems are to be dealt with.

This proposition was emphasised by Dzisah (2002), as he describes the phenomenon as ‘newspapertronics’, which relates to the radio and television panel shows to be just a replica of the newspaper headlines and salient issues reported on.

According to Rogers and Dearing (1988: 556), the “agenda-setting process” consists of three subareas;

First is, the public agenda-setting literature is indigenous to mass communication, which takes as its starting point the original McCombs and Shaw (1972) article. Public agenda setting deals with the link between issues as portrayed in mass media content and the issue priorities of the public. Although this literature was originally the work of scholars in schools or departments of journalism and mass communication, or research institutes so affiliated, it also has a long history of involvement by scholars from sociology and political science, and recently from political psychology.

Second is what Rogers and Dearing (1988) define as policy agenda-setting work, literature growing out of institutional analysis perspectives in political science. Policy agenda-setting studies are those making their dependent variables the issue agenda of public bodies or elected officials or those focusing on issues in the legislative arena and their connections to media content or procedures. Until relatively recently, this work has had little meaningful impact on the work of the public agenda-setting scholars.

Third is the media agenda-setting literature, which examines the antecedents of media content relating to issue definition, selection, and emphasis. This work grows largely out of sociology but has other sources as well, including political science and mass communication. This area also has been treated as largely irrelevant to the public agenda-setting work, with certain

exceptions (e.g., Lang and Lang, 1983; Reese, 1991; Rogers, Dearing and Chang, 1991; Shoemaker, 1989). This is the point where the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* can set the agenda to promote development through issue definition, selection and emphasis.

Folarin (2005) argues that agenda-setting is a process where the mass media predetermine what issues are regarded as important at a given time in a given society.

Takeshita observes that mass communication effects research in general and agenda-setting research in particular have their roots in the classic voting studies of the 1940s, not in cognitive psychology. The first footnote in the seminal 1968 Chapel Hill study (McCombs and Shaw, 1972) cites the 1948 Elmira study (Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee, 1954). In addition, the 1972 Charlotte study (Shaw and McCombs, 1977), the initial large-scale study of agenda setting among the general public, notes the similarity between agenda-setting and the status conferral function of the mass media (Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1948) because both ideas concern the salience of objects. “This suggests,” said Takeshita (2006: 278), “that the founders must have meant salience to stand for perceived importance because the concept of status conferral asserts that the mass media bestow prestige or importance on certain individuals just by paying attention to them.”

Although Takeshita makes the case that the dominant psychological path to agenda-setting effects is defined by salience as perceived importance, he concludes that “... there might be two types of agenda setting: a deliberate ‘genuine’ agenda setting involving active inference and an automatic ‘pseudo’ agenda setting explained by the accessibility bias” in McCombs and Stroud (2014: 72)

According to Shaw (1996: 97), by avoiding claims of attitudinal effects for the media, the agenda-setting approach aligns itself with the diffusion, or multiple-step flow model (Lazarsfeld and Menzel, 1963), which eventually supplanted the 1984 view of media impact. That model emphasises the role of person influence in changing human behaviour. Like that diffusion model, agenda-setting recognises the importance of interpersonal contacts in determining the ultimate impact of media content on people. It uses interpersonal factors to help explain the conditions under which agenda-setting effects are more pronounced (Robinson, 1972: 88).

The basic premise of the agenda setting theory examines how news media reports on particular issues, and influences or shapes public awareness and debate (McCombs and Shaw, 1972, cited in Franklin et al., 2005: 46). Editors act as gatekeepers of mass mediated messages. They promote a media agenda by prioritising certain issues. They can provide sustained and prominent coverage to an issue while others are marginalised or ignored.

Earlier propositions about the agenda setting theory suggested that while media do not tell us what to think, they may tell us what to think about. This suggests that mass media has the potential to draw people's attention to certain issues, and allows for conclusions already raised in the public agenda.

As Atawura (2013: 16) opines, considering these assumptions and propositions, the media sets an agenda that might entirely be different from the needs of society. However, the media, which set the tone and fix the rules, are just a subset of the society in which they operate. Their decisions to set particular agenda can be influenced by the society through

socialisation. Obviously, certain issues are of salience to society before the advent of the media. This situation, to an extent, does not make the media's agenda-setting alien to society.

Even though the agenda setting theory has been successful in drawing a correlation between the media's agenda and the public's agenda, there has been instances where it has failed to do so. For an example, the spectacular failure in the U.S. of the intensive news coverage of the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal to set the public agenda and sway public opinion, an effort that failed despite gargantuan and persistent coverage frequently described as "All Monica, all the time," speaks in a loud voice about the limits of media influence. Overwhelmingly, the U.S. public rejected the relevance of that scandal as the basis of their opinion about the president's success or failure in governance (Shaw 1999: 183-202).

Conversely, Poopola (2011), citing Daramola (2003) writes that many scholars have tried to prove the validity of the agenda setting power of the media. Folarin (2005: 96) also echoes this when he stated that 'there have been criticisms of the agenda setting hypothesis, but it is generally agreed that it has a strong enough basis in logic and experience'. Folarin concludes by quoting Marshal McLuhan (1968) who says that 'the press can colour events by using them in a particular way or refusing to use them at all'.

Griffin (2011) notes that the agenda setting theory reaffirms the power of the press, while still maintaining the individual's freedom to choose. The theory assumes that individual members of society reflect on such issues already raised, and then make personal submissions based on their subjective reasoning.

2.2.2 DEVELOPMENT JOURNALISM

The concept of development journalism originated in the Philippines and was developed into a coherent doctrine in the 1960s across Asia and the Middle East (Ogan 1980: 8). It was made manifest, probably, after the Second World War, setting the tone for Europe to reconstruct itself. In the subsequent years, development journalism gained universal currency with a strong following in the Second and Third World. The conceptual basis of development journalism relies heavily on development communication theories. In 1968, a not-for-profit organisation, the Thomson Foundation sponsored a course called The Economic Writers' Training Course. The Course Chair, Alan Chalkley was the first to coin the term "development journalist" (Ogan 1980: 11).

According to Kayode and Adeniran (2012: 3-4), a number of roles have been assigned to the media in achieving development within any society. At one point in time, policy makers, government, civil societies, development organisations and the private sector acknowledged the important role the mass media can play in achieving developmental goals or targets. A senior executive of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Aggarwala (1979), noted that a journalist covering the development beat is expected to:

‘critically examine, evaluate and report on the relevance of a development project to national and local needs, the difference between a planned scheme and its actual implementation and the difference between its impact on the people as claimed by the government and as it actually is’ (cited in Dare, 2000: 164).

Aggarwala’s description of development journalism emphasises the watchdog role of the press.

According to Wimmer and Wolf (2005), development journalism comprises the reporting on ideas, programmes, activities and events, which are related to an improvement of the living standard, mainly in the rural regions. Gunaratne (1996:10) conceptualized developmental journalism as news that relate to the primary, secondary or tertiary needs of a country's population; news that satisfies the needs of a country's population and contributed to self-reliance; and news that relate to development or to social, economic or political problems.

Kunczik (1986 cited in Wimmer and Wolf 2005) saw development journalism as an intellectual enterprise in which the journalist should form a kind of free intelligence and should critically examine the aims of national development and the applicable instruments in rational discourse and solve them by using reasonable criteria free of social constraints.

2.2.2.1 DEVELOPMENT JOURNALISM IN AFRICA

According to Odhiambo (1991), expropriation of the media of mass communication was a major feature of the newly-independent countries in Africa, even though these countries had neither a sense of nationhood to preserve, nor national institutional structures to which the mass media could integrate citizens.

Most African countries explicitly stated that it was the role of the mass media to create national unity and foster development. In fact this was deemed so important that many governments became the mass media through nationalization. Journalists suddenly became civil servants and government spokespeople. Most journalists did not object to this development and actively supported government nationalization in the belief that this was

being done for patriotic reasons, and that politicians would play their traditional role of leadership and leave journalist to play theirs of watchdog and sentinel. Some were effusive in their support. For instance, Tanzanian journalist Ng' wanakilala (1981) argues that what was crucial was whether the media were used for liberation or oppression of the popular masses (Ibid). He avers 'where a government is committed to the development of all the people, media takeover by the government is an act of liberation and emancipation. '

Others, such as Kenyan editor and publisher Hilary Ng'weno (1969), were willing to accept a certain amount of limitation of press freedoms associated with democratic societies. He suggests that the media should impose limitations upon themselves rather than have the government impose censorship, and that such action was justified because:

'The challenge to the press in young countries is the challenge of laying down the foundations upon which future freedoms will thrive ... Under some of the conditions (of poverty, illiteracy and disease) in which vast numbers of Asians, Africans and Latin Americans live, it would be sacrilegious to talk about press freedom, for freedom loses meaning when human survival is the operative principle upon which a people live ... In such countries, the first duty of the press, as indeed of any other institutions or individual, is to encourage greater national unity' (1969: 16).

Some politicians like the late president of Ghana, Kwarne Nkrumah, a former journalist who used his paper to whip up support for his political party 'during the struggle for Ghana's independence, rejected the idea of an independent press. He argued that 'within the

competitive system of capitalism the press cannot function in accordance with strict regard to facts' (Nkrumah, 1965).

It may be argued that in an integrated world such as we have today, the role of the mass media in social change is an international co-operative effort, and that reporting Africa's developmental problems requires resources which its media institutions cannot afford.

Moreover, as we have seen, governments are the mass media in many African countries and this does not allow for the necessary analyzing that governments require for the development of democratic institutions.

Regrettably however, the narrow ideologism of international media would seem to make them unlikely supporters of popular structural and democratic change in Africa. In addition, there is little likelihood that they will shed in a hurry their cold-war approach to news-gathering so well documented by Herman and Chomsky (1988) and Aronson (1990).

2.2.2.2 THE WAY FORWARD

In a Chartered Institute of Management Accountants (CIMA) report on independent media's role in development, Graves (2007) noted the need for the media to provide reliable sources. According to this report, developing an appropriate media development strategy can create accelerated sustainable democratic and economic development.

The report also noted that the media can enhance democratic development by giving a voice to the people, acting as a balance and watchdog to potential government misconduct. Wood and Barnes (2007) acknowledged the role of the media in reducing poverty via

- a) raising public awareness and debate, and
- b) shifting public and political opinion.

They recommended the following functions for the media:

1. Informing a wide range of audiences on poverty reduction issues;
2. Providing an open forum to reflect different public views, including those of economically poor people;
3. Providing an inclusive platform for public debate and
4. Scrutinising and holding all actors to account for their actions.

As with most developmental goals and targets, the media are expected to play certain roles to ensure attainment of the MDGs. At the launching of the MDGs Media Awards in Nepal, the United Nations under Secretary-General, Kim Hak-Su, noted that the media can play an important role in promoting and communicating the MDGs to the general public (UNESCAP, 2006). Through the awards, reporters were encouraged to report on one or all of the following categories:

1. Tracking progress on MDGs: Reporters are expected to develop stories on how countries are performing, which countries are likely to achieve the MDGs and which are not. Why are some countries performing and not others?

2. Human Face: Reporters are expected to report on the consequence of the MDGs to people's daily lives and specify the role of civil society. They are expected to report success stories and achievements towards 2015, and also the key players driving forward change with their activities.

3. Changes needed in achieving the MDGs: Reporters are expected to report on changes needed to meet the 2015 target such as improving public service delivery (including education, health, water and sanitation), engaging communities, empowering women and fostering public/private partnership, among others.

The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (2005) noted that development objectives such as the MDGs can only be effective if they help in getting the message across. The commission pointed out that the media can contribute to achieving developmental objectives through continued training, and more back-up for African journalists.

Deane (2007) explored two themes that characterised the role of the media in supporting the achievement of the MDGs. The themes include:

1. The media's role in advocating for, and actively working toward the achievement of the MDGs.

2. The media's role in providing information to people most affected by development-related issues and providing opportunities for them to voice their perspectives through public debate.

Deane noted that the media are also expected to provide an avenue where diverse and opposing perspectives can be aired in ways that can influence and improve public policy. He therefore called for broader media strategies that would enhance reportage; and provide a more balanced perspective on the problems.

2.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

In literature review, it is important to demonstrate the awareness of the current state of knowledge in the chosen area of research. It is also important to show how the research being conducted fits into the wider context. For this reason, literature review forms a major part of the research report and this cannot be avoided in academia.

The purpose of this literature review is to convey to readers of this study the knowledge that has been established already by academic scholars and researchers on the media's role in the development of Ghana.

A lot of work relating to this study has been conducted. Some of these include (Nweke, 2002; Asamoah, 2009; Dzisah, 2008; Adedoku, Adeyemo, and Olorunsola, 2010; Popoola, 2011; Owusu, 2011; Kayode and Adeniran, 2012; Atawura, 2013; Dugle, 2013 and Tshabangu, 2013).

For this study, the literature that are reviewed comprises of some of the latest research works done in the field. These literature include the works of Tshabangu on 'Development Journalism in Zimbabwe: Practice, Problems, and Prospects' (Journal of Development and Communication Studies, 2013) and Kayode and Adeniran on 'Nigerian Newspaper Coverage of the Millennium Development Goals: The Role of the Media' (Itupale Online Journal of African Studies, Volume IV, 2012).

Meanwhile, Olatunji (2008) conducted a study on roles of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) in achieving the MDGs in Nigeria. He studied the CSR programmes of selected manufacturing companies in two areas in the south-west state. His findings showed that more CSR programmes for manufacturing companies are needed to achieve the goals (i.e. universal primary education, poverty eradication, improvement of maternal and children's health including HIV/AIDS reduction, and sustainable environmental practices). He also called for increased community involvement, and empowerment in developmental projects, rather than the present approach that emphasises 'money-giving' and haphazard execution of CSR projects.

From a media perspective, Ogan and Fair (1984) conducted a study of newspapers in eight developing countries and found a high number of government sources. Their findings also showed that most of the stories published were events, rather than programmes. In the same vein, the researchers found that human sources were consulted more frequently than were documents (cited in Oso, 2002). Their findings thus imply that media professionals in developing countries are not committed to development journalism. Rather, they rely on what individuals say as fact. Therefore, some developmental needs may not be identified or reported. They called for greater use of critical sources and analysis of development topics; and less dependence on government as the main source of information.

The above studies show a common theme, namely a lack of reporting on development issues.

Tshabangu: 'Development Journalism in Zimbabwe: Practice, Problems, and Prospects'

Tshabangu is a member of the Department of Languages and Communication, Lupane University, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. His paper presented research findings on development journalism in Zimbabwe. Through a case study approach of the Chronicle newspaper coverage of the Millennium Development Goals, the paper explores current issues in development journalism practice, problems and prospects. The main focus of the research paper was to evaluate the validity and relevance of development journalism as theoretically conceived by Galtung and Vincent (1992) in contemporary journalism practice.

He gave a general overview of the concept of development journalism by outlining the origin, evolution and the current state of the concept. For the origin, the works of Chalkley (1968), Aggarwala (1979) and Ogan (1980) were cited.

On the evolution, the literature relied on were Shaw in Banda (2006), Vilanilam (1979 cited in Machado 1982:11), Gunaratne (1996:5), Wimmer and Wolf (2005), and Kunczik (1986 cited in Wimmer and Wolf 2005).

He also emphasised on the need for the media in Africa to promote development in their respective countries by citing the likes of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's motive for establishing the press. His research was premised on the ten point development journalism model advanced by Galtung and Vincent (1992 cited in Banda 2006:7).

Methodology

According to Tshabangu, the data for his study were obtained through semi-structured interviews with the Chronicle journalists on their perceptions of development journalism, critical discourse and content analysis of 1208 news articles published in twenty-six editions of the Chronicle of 1-30 September 2010. The research deliberately focused on September 2010 because it was a month to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the signing of the MDGs.

Quantitative content analysis was used to count and measure the number and prominence given to development stories versus non-development news. Qualitative content analysis was used together with critical discourse analysis to identify the dominant discourses about the MDGs in Chronicle.

Findings

His findings revealed that journalists did not have any understanding of development journalism philosophy and principles; of the 1208 news articles published in twenty-six editions of the *Chronicle* of 1-30 September 2010, 1082 (90%) were non-developmental news; and of the 126 development news items analysed, it was established that government ministries or authorities were the most quoted news sources.

Conclusion

He concluded by recommending that the journalists and those in training need specialised training programmes in development journalism; there is an urgent need to re-theorise development journalism; and development journalism should be uniquely practiced to suit particular contexts.

The researcher showed an appreciable amount of the understanding of research methodology. He however failed to outline whether the sample was actually representing the population of the newspaper for the period under review or was part of a sampled size. If the latter was the case, then the sampling method was not made known. This will make reliability and validity of the work problematic in future studies that will want to replicate the work in the same milieu. Finally, some of the citations used in the study were not found at the referencing section.

Kayode and Adeniran: ‘Nigerian Newspaper Coverage of the Millennium Development Goals: The Role of the Media’

Kayode&Adeniran are all members of the Journalism Department of the AdebolaAdegunwa School of Communication, Lagos State University, Lagos, Nigeria. The purpose of their study was to examine media coverage of development issues in Nigeria using the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as examples. They gave an overview of the past and present state of Nigeria and the MDGs. They also outlined the role of the mass media in development by citing Aggarwala (1979); Graves (2007); Wood and Barnes (2007); Deane (2007); and UNESCAP (2006).

They also reviewed the works of Oyero and Areoye (2008); Olatunji (2008); and Ogan and Fair (1984). They realised that the above studies show a common theme, namely a lack of reporting on development issues.

The agenda setting and development media theories formed the theoretical framework of the study.

Methodology

Two prominent Nigerian national newspapers, The PUNCH and The Guardian, were sampled for the research. The study covered all 182 editions of each sampled newspaper published from January 1, 2008 to June 30, 2008. Thus, 364 editions were content analysed.

Findings

The findings showed that the Nigerian media did not give equal coverage to the development issues they covered. They reported some issues frequently, while other equally pressing developmental challenges in the country were neglected. Furthermore, the Nigerian media did not do much to educate, enlighten or motivate the public towards the need to achieve the developmental issues reported.

Conclusions

Their conclusions were that Nigeria is a member of the United Nations, and appears committed towards achieving the MDGs. Between 2006 and 2009, Nigeria's MDG office spent £1.23 billion (N305 billion) towards meeting these targets (Ahmed and Alhassan, 2011). It has been noted, however, that 'poor coordination of development plans within the federal government; together with incompetent delivery of services at state and local government levels; have greatly hampered progress towards the MDGs' (Adebowale, 2008).

However, in the mist of all these achievements, the study has shown that there is a poor coverage of MDG-related issues by two Nigerian newspapers. Although the study reflects

media coverage of the MDG issues four years ago, not much has changed since. The Nigerian media is still largely government oriented, focusing mainly on governance and its politics.

The researchers did well by drawing a comparative analysis of the content of the two newspapers. They, however, failed to outline the reasons why the newspapers gave more prominence to other news items other than those relating to the MDGs through conducting interviews to know the editorial policy guiding the two newspapers.

2.4 CONCLUSION

The chapter has outlined the various theoretical frameworks that governed the study. It also reviewed the works of scholars who have recently done works relating to the topic. It is an essential part of every research study that the theories and conceptual framework that relate to the study be tested or hypothesised to know the veracity underlying those concepts. In line with this, the next chapter looks at the methodology that is used to gather the necessary data for an analysis to be conducted on them. It also looks at the philosophical approach guiding the researcher's choice and use of specific designs, methods, instruments and procedures.

CHAPTER THREE

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Armah (2013: 25) methodology connotes the idea of a set of rules and procedures that may guide a research conduct and may also provide the tools for evaluating and understanding its claims. It is, thus, fundamental to the construction of all forms of knowledge and provides the tools whereby understanding is created (Daly, 2003). Methodology explains the choices researchers make about cases they wish to study, how data is collected, the types of data analysis among others in planning and executing a research in order to achieve the set goals (Silverman, 2005).

According to Wimmer and Dominic (2003: 306) methodologies used in the print media are similar to those used in most areas of research; academic and commercial research organisations often use content analysis, experiments, focus groups, and surveys, among other procedures, to study newspapers and magazines. Print media research, however, tends to be more narrowly focused and more oriented toward practical application (Ibid).

A comparative analysis of the two state-owned newspapers is conducted to outline the role played by the two newspapers vis-a-vis the development of Ghana by focusing on the MDGs. The two newspapers have been analysed for the period under review. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted for the editors of the two newspapers in an attempt to juxtapose the findings of the quantitative content analysis to that of the outcome of the interviews. This I believe will give a clearer picture of the newspapers' contribution to development and, also, to draw a correlation between what is put out there and the principles, in this case the house style, that guide what is put out there.

My choice of methodology, at the onset of this study, is informed by the vast literature done in the field of media effects, which also informed my theoretical positions on the relationship of the media and development for this study. Even though most of the literature I came across employed either the quantitative method (in the case of Kayode and Adeniran, 2012) or the qualitative method (in the case of Tshabangu, 2013), I employed both the qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis. Employing both methods, according to Wimmer and Dominick (2006: 50) is 'essential in understanding any phenomenon' (in Dzisah, 2008: 131).

3.2 PHILOSOPHICAL ASSUMPTIONS AND RESEARCH PARADIGMS

Perhaps, every researcher, knowingly or unknowingly, works within certain paradigms and philosophical assumptions. These assumptions and paradigms guides the researcher to come out with a complete work. This forms an important part of the study because it shows the kind of philosophies and paradigms that guided me to choose a particular methodology and data analysis methods over others.

A paradigm is a set of values, beliefs, ethics, rules, assumptions and philosophies based on ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions held by a community of social groups, religious groups, individuals and the social world (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). This study is undertaken within the world of the general paradigms of positivism and interpretivism. Under positivism, the positive stage — which posits that the understanding and explanation of behaviour are done through observation and reasoning. The research philosophy of the positivists is employed for the content analysis. To this, positivists believe that the purpose of research is to provide scientific explanation of reality which leads to the control, prediction and alteration of social behaviours (Ibid).

The interpretivism in social science was originated from the works of sociologist Max Weber (1864 - 1920) and philosopher William Dilthey (1833 - 1911). Its main view is that it is necessary to have subjective meanings of social actions. This paradigm is used for the data gathering tools and analysis of the results emanating from the interviews that are conducted with the editors. The philosophy employed here is the research philosophy which interpretivists believe that the reasons for acting in certain ways can be interpreted and understood through research. Research leads to the acquisition of subjective meanings of social actions. It also reveals the social contexts of actions of the actors involved (Healy and Perry, 2000).

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design presents a comprehensive plan for conducting the study. It provides the framework for the process of collecting, analysing and interpreting data which is aimed at answering specific research questions relating to the study. According to Bernard (2000), the research design ensures that, the evidence that is obtained enables the researcher to answer the research question as unambiguously as possible.

Research design shows the approach adopted or the way a researcher conducts his/her research. There are different types of research designs. They are normally grouped into two:

1. Method-based research designs (these include, according to Creswell, 2009; quantitative research, qualitative research and mixed-methods research) and
2. Purpose-based research designs (these also include descriptive research, analytical research, causal research, predictive research, among others).

The study will rely on the mixed method design which is a procedure for collecting, analysing and mixing both qualitative and quantitative data in the research process to enable one to understand a research problem more completely (Creswell and Miller, 2006). When used in combination, quantitative and qualitative methods complement each other and allow for more complete analysis (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998).

Similarly, Spratt, et al, (2004) also indicated that the use of multiple method approaches can capitalise on the strengths of each approach and offset their different weaknesses.

Recognising that all methods have limitations, researchers felt that strengths inherent in any single method could neutralise the biases of other methods. In other words, the process is to aim at triangulating data. Triangulation is the means for seeking convergence across qualitative and quantitative methods— were born (Jick, 1979).

Under the mixed method, the concurrent procedures were used. These procedures, according to Creswell (2003: 16), is when the researcher converges quantitative and qualitative data in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem. In this design, the researcher collects both forms of data at the same time during the study and then integrates the information in the interpretation of the overall results (Ibid).

Aside the mixed method used, the study also employs purpose-based research designs. For the content analysis of the two newspapers, descriptive research is used. Its aim is to provide an accurate and valid representation of the factors that pertain to the research questions. More so, for the interviews, the explanatory research design is chosen because the main aim of the explanatory research is to identify any causal links between the factors that pertain to the research problem.

3.4 DATA SOURCES

The study gathered data from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources for this study include editors and the content of the two newspapers; whilst the secondary sources include reviewing of documents, reports, books, chapters, news articles, journals and website reports.

3.5 ANALYSIS OF DATA

Data analysis involves the process of treating huge data or mass of data to summarise, simplify and interpret them. It is the processing and summarising of a mass of data to make them meaningful. It allows the researcher to reveal the hidden facts about the specific phenomenon under study. Data analysis is necessary because data do not make any meaning until they are scientifically processed and analysed.

In data analysis, a comprehensive plan is used to analyse the data obtained. The numerical results provided by a data analysis are usually simple: it finds the number that describes a typical value and finds differences among numbers (Levine, 1997).

3.5.1 QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH APPROACH

The quantitative research refers to numerical representation and manipulation of observations so that they can be described and explained in numerical terms. According to Bryman (2004: 19) it is a research 'strategy that usually emphasises quantification in the collection and analysis of data'. This method also allows for collecting large amounts of data in an economic manner whilst giving the researcher the chance to either confirm or refute

theoretical ideas, concepts and hypotheses after examination and analysis of fieldwork. To this effect, the quantitative content analysis outlined in numerical terms, the thematic values of each story analysed, and presented it in numerical terms for easy understanding. This is done through the measurement of the frequency under which each category under the MDGs and other variables occurred.

A quantitative content analysis is conducted for the newspapers and other reviewable documents. With the analysis, simple graphs and charts are employed. Acknowledging that quantitative research is weak in gaining deeper understanding of social processes, the method is supported with qualitative research approach.

3.5.2 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH APPROACH

This involves the researcher personally going to the people or setting of the research to seek answers to questions, observe behaviours and/or participate in events as they normally and naturally occur.

The qualitative technique employed here is the use of semi-structured interviews. This allows for flexibility in gathering responses since I was at liberty to add and/or omit certain themes, issues and topics as the data collection proceeded. This also gave the respondents the latitude to express themselves and not feel like they are subjected to some kind of court hearing or police interrogation.

Again, understanding that the samples of qualitative research are almost small, in this case two editors, and not necessarily representative, I have subjected the findings of these interviews as that pertaining to the state-owned newspapers only and not that of the entire

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Again, understanding that the samples of qualitative research are almost small, in this case two editors, and not necessarily representative, I have subjected the findings of these interviews as that pertaining to the state-owned newspapers only and not that of the entire

state media. The generalisation of the findings over the state-owned newspapers is resulting from the fact that there are only two state-owned newspapers currently operating in Ghana.

Whilst it is difficult to tell how far the findings are biased by the researcher's own opinions about the phenomenon under study as a result of contact with the interviewees and the researcher's personal attributes, measures were taken to avoid asking leading questions and acting in a way that accentuates what the interviewees were saying. Nonetheless, this does not mean I put across a stern and serious outlook to intimidate the interviewees. I was mindful of going off the set research questions and objectives. In order not to kowtow to the presence of the interviewees, which in this case one was a master's programme colleague; the qualitative interview guide was designed. This helped me to remain focus on what I was set out to do.

The setting for the interviews was the offices of the two editors. The offices are located in Accra. This is because per the organisational structure or chain of command of the two newspapers, the editors can only be located and be accessible in Accra. Even though both newspapers have regional offices and bureaus and regional editors, the actions and inactions of those regional editors and offices do not have a glaring impact on the output of the newspaper. Almost every decision taken resulting in the content of the newspapers' publications are as a result taken by the editors at the main offices in the capital city, Accra.

The data generated from the in-depth interviews are transcribed and analysed based on themes that emerge from the data. A total of 20 minutes, 20 seconds was spent on the two interviews conducted. The amount of time spent on each interview was approximately not lengthy because the interview guide helped to stay within the objectives set and not to allow other external issues to have much bearing on the interviews.

3.6 STUDY POPULATION AND SAMPLING

The study population comprises of the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* newspapers and two editors (one each) from the two newspapers. Both the probability and non-probability sampling techniques were used. The probability sampling method was used in the selection of the sample size for the content analysis. For the non-probability method, despite its unscientific procedure, it provides a strong basis for depth in generating estimates of sampling error (Riffe et al., 1998: 84).

3.7 SAMPLING METHODS

The study employs the purposive sampling technique under the non-probability sampling method for the interviews and the systematic sampling under the probability method.

In purposive sampling, the researcher samples with a purpose in mind. The researcher usually would have one or more specific predefined groups they are seeking (Armah, 2013: 29). Purposive sampling can be very useful for situations where the researcher needs to reach a targeted sample quickly and where sampling for proportionality is not the primary concern (Trochim, 2006). Thus, for this study, the respondents were selected with the view of in-depth interviewing techniques in mind and because the editors also hold positions of responsibility and had sufficient practical journalism experience.

Similarly, the systematic random sampling involves the selection of the n th unit from a sampling frame. The particular number (n) is determined by dividing the sample size by the sampling frame size.

Employing the systematic method to the newspapers, a sample of sixty-two newspapers, made up of thirty-one each of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times* is selected from the year under review. This sample size is reasonably fair for this study because it is complimented by the interviews. Moreover, bigger sample sizes do not necessarily mean better sample sizes. A whole population can be sampled, yet the research questions and objectives cannot be met if the tools for eliciting information are inappropriately conducted. This assertion is accepted by Wimmer and Dominick (2006) as they argue that a bigger sample size does not equate to improved analysis but the quality of data generated is essential.

3.8 DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

The main data collection tools in qualitative research are interactive interviews, participant observation, observation and documentary evidence.

The interactive interview is used for this study. An interview is a purposeful interaction, discussion or conversation between two or more persons during which one person or group of persons (the researcher in this case) poses questions to the other person or group of persons (the respondents – editors) in anticipation of receiving answers (Silverman, 2005).

The interactive interviews consists of semi-structured, unstructured and informal interviews as the main types. For the purposes of this work, the semi-structured interview was used. This falls between structured and unstructured interviews. A researcher uses only a list of themes, issues, topics or areas to be covered. This list is called interview guide. The researcher is always free to add and/omit certain themes, issues, topics or areas as the data collection proceeds. During the interview, an audio recording and note taking were used (Ibid).

For the content analysis, the variables that were considered for sampling are;

1. MDGs articles published in the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* from January-December 2010 and their respective subject matter (eg. poverty/ hunger, universal primary education, among others);
2. The paper placement of the MDG newspaper articles (eg. front page, back page, editorial page or centre spread); and
3. Sources of the news (eg. editorial, interviews and articles)

3.9 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The scope of the study looks at the activities of the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* newspapers by concentrating on their reportage from January 1, 2010 to December 31, 2010. It also involves editors working within the two organisations. This scope is informed by the fact that, as compared to other newspapers, these are the only state-owned newspapers with wider coverage area and reports on a daily basis. The editors interviewed all come from the two organisations only because the researcher presumed that they understand the mission of their newspapers and the news values that informs their decision-making.

3.10 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

According to Golafshani (2003: 99 -100), the use of reliability and validity are common in quantitative research and now it is reconsidered in the qualitative research paradigm. Since reliability and validity are rooted in positivist perspective then they should be redefined for their use in a naturalistic approach.

Joppe (2000) defines reliability as:

The extent to which results are consistent over time and an accurate representation of the total population under study is referred to as reliability and if the results of a study can be reproduced under a similar methodology, then the research instrument is considered to be reliable. (Ibid: 1)

Embodied in this citation is the idea of replicability or repeatability of results or observations. Kirk and Miller (1986) identify three types of reliability referred to in quantitative research, which relate to: (1) the degree to which a measurement, given repeatedly, remains the same (2) the stability of a measurement over time; and (3) the similarity of measurements within a given time period (Ibid: 41-42).

The traditional criteria for validity find their roots in the positivist tradition. Positivism has been defined by a systematic theory of validity. Within the positivist terminology, validity resided amongst, and was the result and culmination of other empirical conceptions: universal laws, evidence, objectivity, truth, actuality, deduction, reason, fact and mathematical data to name just a few (Winter, 2000).

Joppe (2000: 1) provides the following explanation of what validity is in quantitative research:

Validity determines whether the research truly measures that which it was intended to measure or how truthful the research results are. In other words, does the research instrument allow you to hit "the bull's eye" of your research object? Researchers generally determine validity by asking a series of questions, and will often look for the answers in the research of others (Ibid).

Wainer and Braun (1998) describe the validity in quantitative research as “construct validity”. The construct is the initial concept, notion, question or hypothesis that determines which data is to be gathered and how it is to be gathered. They also assert that quantitative researchers actively cause or affect the interplay between construct and data in order to validate their investigation, usually by the application of a test or other process. In this sense, the involvement of the researchers in the research process would greatly reduce the validity of a test (Ibid).

Insofar as the definitions of reliability and validity in quantitative research reveal two strands: First, with regards to reliability, whether the result is replicable? Second, with regards to validity, whether the means of measurement are accurate and whether they are actually measuring what they are intended to measure? However, the concepts of reliability and validity are viewed differently by qualitative researchers who strongly consider these concepts defined in quantitative terms as inadequate. In other words, these terms as defined in quantitative terms may not apply to the qualitative research paradigm. The question of replicability in the results does not concern them (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992), but precision (Winter, 2000), credibility, and transferability (Hoepf, 1997) provide the lenses of evaluating the findings of a qualitative research. In this context, the two research approaches or perspectives provide essentially different paradigms (Kuhn, 1970).

According to Morse et al., (2002: 9-10), verification is the process of checking, confirming, making sure, and being certain. In qualitative research, verification refers to the mechanisms used during the process of research to incrementally contribute to ensuring reliability and validity and, thus, the rigor of a study. These mechanisms are woven into every step of the inquiry to construct a solid product (Creswell, 1997; and Kvale, 1989) by identifying and

correcting errors before they are built into the developing model and before they subvert the analysis. If the principles of qualitative inquiry are followed, the analysis is self-correcting. In other words, qualitative research is iterative rather than linear, so that a good qualitative researcher moves back and forth between design and implementation to ensure congruence among question formulation, literature, recruitment, data collection strategies, and analysis. Data are systematically checked, focus is maintained, and the fit of data and the conceptual work of analysis and interpretation are monitored and confirmed constantly. Verification strategies help the researcher identify when to continue, stop or modify the research process in order to achieve reliability and validity and ensure rigor (Ibid).

To this study, the content analysis data was verified by following the same procedure and measurements on two occasions so as not to miss the pages, treatment, sources of news items and the primary, secondary and tertiary development needs.

On reliability, the data was constantly and systematically checked and the conceptual analysis and interpretations are monitored to avoid misplacing items which may not help other researchers to replicate the work in the near future (Ibid).

3.11 CONFIDENTIALITY AND CONSENT

The consent and guarantee of protection of participants is very important in every research. As a result, an introductory letter from the Ghana Institute of Journalism, stating the purpose and objective of the research was sent to the participating institutions.

3.12 RESEARCH CONSTRAINT

The major constraint to this work is time. The time was limited to gather enough respondents for the interviews to take place. The interviewees also had to reschedule the interview periods. This made it difficult to gather the data on time. The publications of the newspapers were also not readily available in the public libraries. For some of the libraries, they did not have a single publication. Those who had them too had some months missing. This led to combining three libraries to fetch the information needed.

3.13 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Regarding this study, the necessary ethical considerations associated with the conduct of research were implemented. Respondents were not coerced to respond to any questions and were free to end the interview whenever they wished.

Again, the protection of the participant's right of privacy was adhered to; participants were treated with the needed respect, and participants were also not exposed to any physical or mental stress during the interviewing.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The presentation of findings and the analysis of such data is an important part of the research process. This is because it helps the researcher to outline the information that they were able to gather in the application of the research methodology. The analysis process aids in the transformation, remodelling and revising of the data in order to achieve a certain conclusion to a given phenomenon. This also helps to structure the findings in an appropriate way. Once this is appropriately done, it gags the researcher from bringing their personal bias into the conclusions of the research.

This section aims at presenting the findings by condensing and analysing the data. This is done through the quantitative content analysis of the *Ghanaian Times* and *Daily Graphic* newspapers. Also, a discourse analysis of the interviews granted by the editors of the two newspapers has been presented.

4.2. PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF QUANTITATIVE CONTENT DATA

As stated in chapter three, the analysis of the quantitative content is rooted in the paradigm of positivism. Because there is a quest for objectivity, value neutrality is ensured. The results are also deductive leading to precision in terms of measurement and testing.

In conducting the analysis, the manifest content of the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Daily Graphic* newspapers was looked at instead of the latent content. This was so because the analysis was not extended to an interpretive reading of the symbolism underlying the physical

data. Generally, seven elements in written messages are looked out for in content analysis. Any of those seven elements or a combination of them can be used by the researcher. The messages counted in the quantitative content analysis include; words or terms, themes, characters, paragraphs, items, concepts, and semantics (Berelson, 1952; Berg, 1983; Merton, 1968; Selltitz et al., 1959). For this work, the themes element was employed. Over here, the headings of the stories and the sentences of the stories are looked at to provide themes that relate to the MDGs in Ghana.

A systematic sampling of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times* newspapers was conducted. There are 52 weeks in a year. The two newspapers appear six times, each, a week. This implied that barring any unforeseen circumstances, each newspaper has $6 \times 52 = 312$ stories for the year. For the two means 624 publications in a year. Ten percent of that number was 62.4, which was approximately 62. Calculating the n th number using the systematic sampling formula represented $624/62 = 10.06^{\text{th}}$, approximately 10. This meant that the 10th publication of the newspapers for the year starting January 1, 2010 was the starting point and other subsequent 10ths selected until the 31st publication for each newspaper was obtained. The unit of analysis was a news story. The research deliberately focused on the year 2010 because it was the year in which the MDGs celebrated its 10th anniversary since its inception in the year 2000.

The analysis was conducted in the sequence of the research questions and the objectives that underscored the research problem.

4.2.1 The number of MDG related news items covered by the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* newspapers from 1st January 2010 to 31st December, 2015

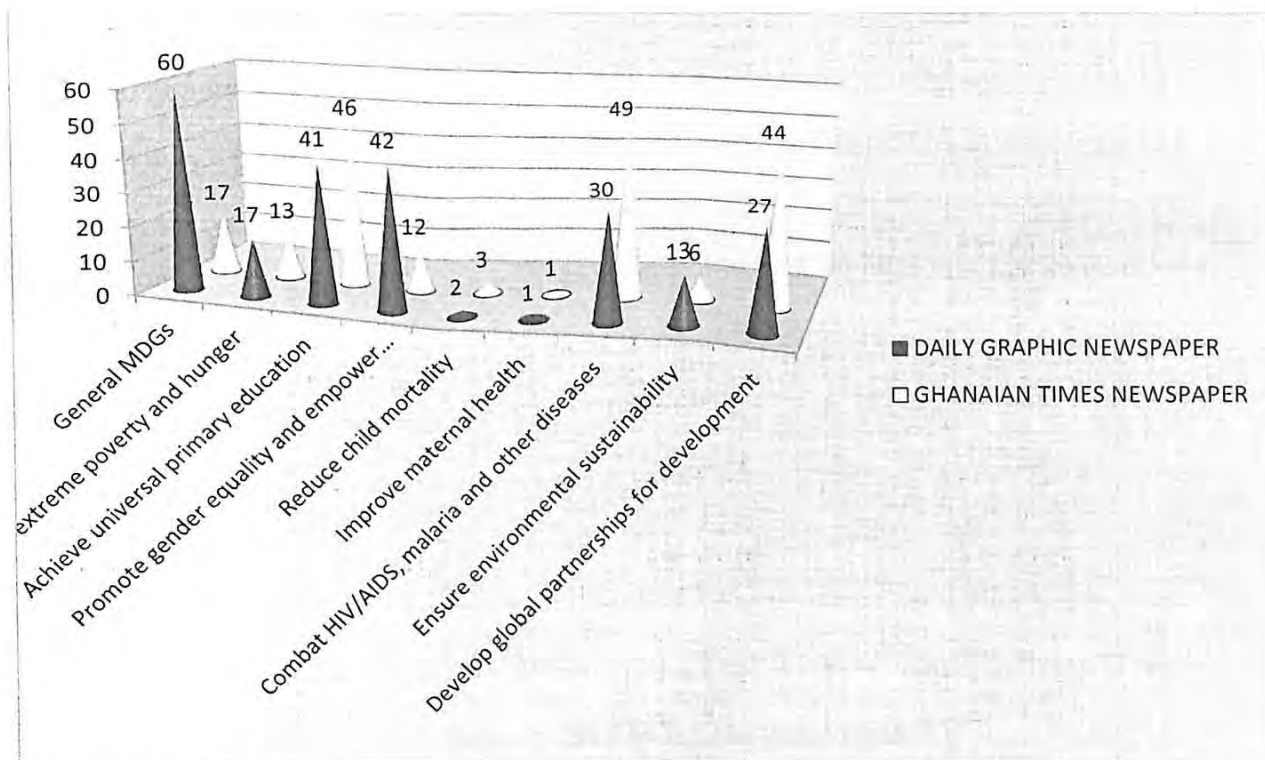
The total number of the MDGs was counted and was juxtaposed to the entire number of stories published in the selected copies of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times* newspapers. The *Daily Graphic* newspaper published a total of 2,149 news stories and 2,628 advertisements. This explained the commercial value placed by the newspaper. The *Ghanaian Times* newspaper also published a total of 1,759 stories and 1,095 adverts. The latter figure was close to the former with respect to the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper. This means that the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper placed some premium on advertisements. In all, per the number of stories that were published by the *Daily Graphic* newspaper, the newspaper recorded a total of 233 MDG stories out of the 2,149 published stories. This represented 10.8%. Likewise, the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper also reported 191 MDG stories as against the total number of 1,759 news items. This figure represented 10.9%. On the outlook, it seemed both newspapers were almost within the same percentage so far as reportage on the MDGs was concerned.

	<i>Daily Graphic</i>	<i>Ghanaian Times</i>	Both Newspapers
Total published stories	2,149	1,759	3,908
Total number of classifieds and adverts	2,628	1,095	3,723
Total MDG stories	233	191	424
MDG Percentage	10.8	10.9	10.85

Table one: Representation of MDG stories as against the total news stories carried by the two newspapers.

When the efforts of the two newspapers were combined, they both published a total of 3,908 news stories and a total of 424 MDG stories. This figure in percentage terms was 10.85%.

Chart 1: Subject matter of MDGs news articles



The two newspapers showed varying importance attached to the various MDG goals. Whereas the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper was more specific with the kind of MDG news they cover, the *Daily Graphic* newspaper was more concerned about the news items that carried more than one MDG. This was seen in the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper publishing 17 news items on the general MDGs whilst the *Daily Graphic* newspaper published 60 items on general MDG news. Both newspapers did not give much prominence to the ‘improving maternal health’ goal set by the countries. They both had only one news item on that goal. However, both newspapers did well to give a favourable amount of space to the second goal,

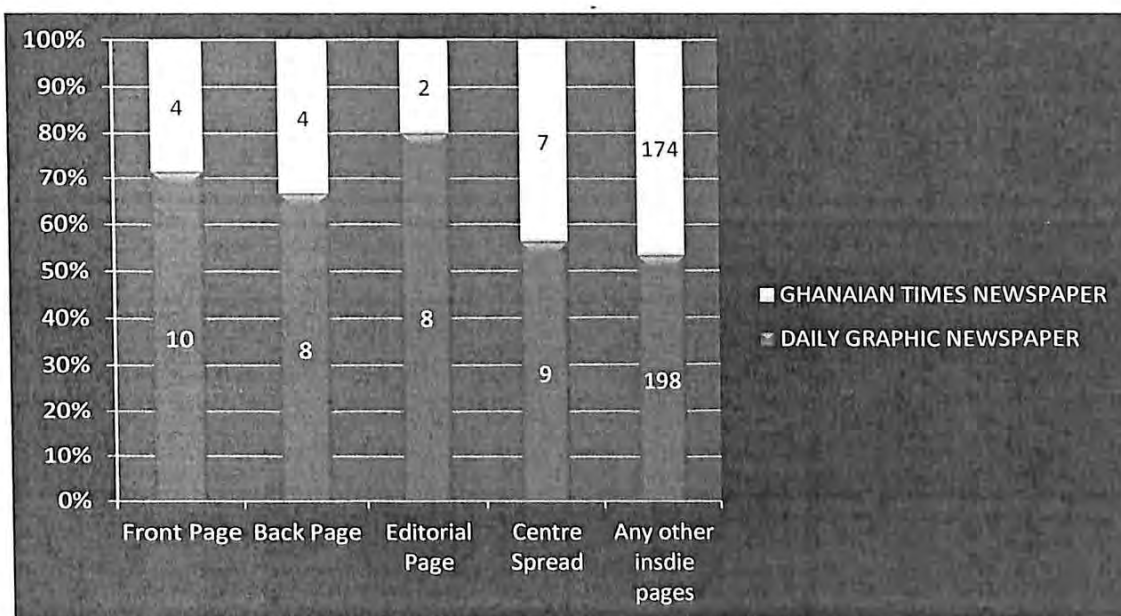
'achieve universal primary education'. Aside these features of the quantitative content analysis, one striking thing was that, the two newspapers covered up the weaknesses of each other. Whereas the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper devoted much time to goals six and eight, the *Daily Graphic* newspaper gave a considerable space to promoting gender equality and empowerment of women. This implies that a combined effort of 20.8%, 12.2%, 19.3% and 17.3% was covered for 'achieve universal primary education, promote gender equality and empower women, combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases and develop partnerships for global development' goals respectively. On improving maternal health and reducing child mortality, the two newspapers did not give much attention to those goals and their targets. The *Daily Graphic* newspaper, for instance, recorded a total of 0.9% and 0.4% for news items on reducing child mortality and improving maternal health respectively. On that same note, the *Ghana Times* newspaper also had 1.6% and 0.5% respectively for child mortality and maternal health.

4.2.2 Story placement of the MDGs by the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* newspapers from 1st January 2010 to 31st December, 2015

Generally, for the newspapers, the front page highlights the day's most important local, international, world, business and sports news. Next is the editorial page because that outlines the views, opinions and believes of the newspaper. For some newspapers, the back page is also important because most people are believed to turn to the back page after the front page. Usually, the centre spread comes next before other pages. The *Ghanaian Times* newspaper had an average of 32 pages per publication throughout the year. The *Daily Graphic* newspaper had varying number of pages depending on the number of news items they have for the day. For this study, they published between a minimum of 32 pages and a maximum

of about 80 pages per publication depending on the news items, classifieds and adverts available to them.

Figure 2: Page placement of MDGs related news articles



The *Daily Graphic* newspaper, at times, used the back page for the day’s second most important news items. However, this was not always the case since majority of the publications that were looked at had sports news on the back page. For the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper, the back page is mostly for sports news only.

The *Ghanaian Times* newspaper published a total of 4 MDG related news items each on the front page and the back page respectively. Two of the stories were in the editorial section and 7 stories in the centre spread. The remaining, making 174 stories were in other pages.

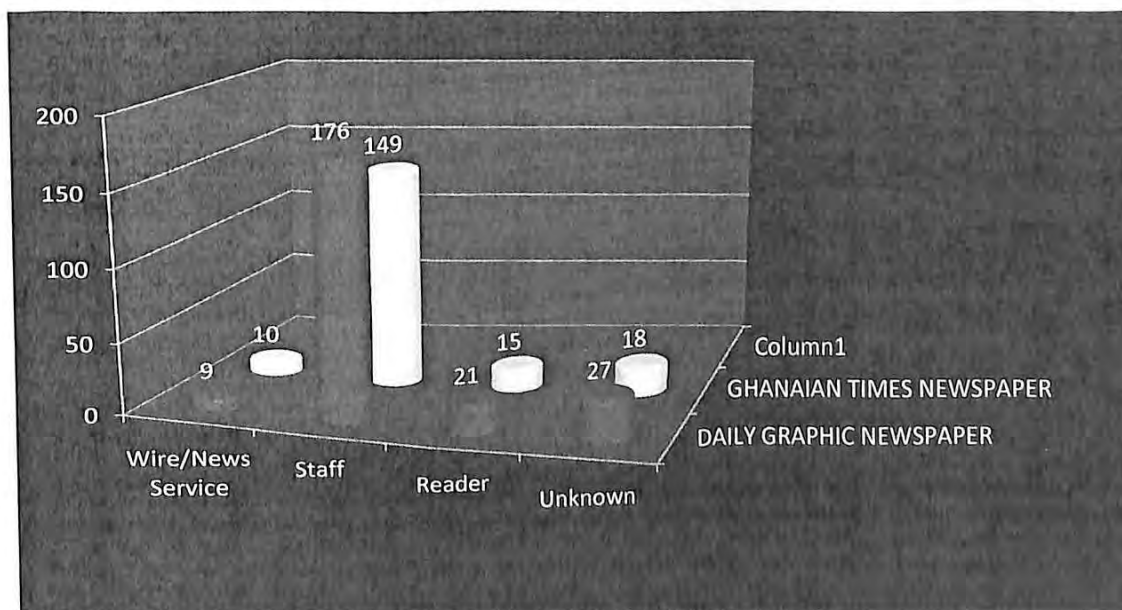
The *Daily Graphic* newspaper published 10 stories on the front page, 8 on the back page and 8 on the editorial page. The centre spread had 9 stories and 198 stories in other pages.

Comparing the two, *Daily Graphic's* personal vision and contribution to the attainment of the MDGs is greater in their editorial than that of the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper. Again, a whopping 85% of the stories reported by the *Daily Graphic* on the MDGs was on other inside pages. The *Ghanaian Times* newspaper also had 91.1% of its news items on other inside pages.

4.2.3 Sources of stories on the MDGs by the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* newspapers from 1st January 2010 to 31st December, 2015

The sources of the stories shows the various individuals responsible for the stories that the two newspapers publish. This included news that was outsourced from the various news agencies and networks, the readers of the newspapers and the reporters of the newspapers.

Chart 3: Sources of stories on the MDGs related news articles



Most of the stories that were published came from the reporters of the two newspapers. For the *Daily Graphic* newspaper, 75.5% of their reportage on the MDGs came from the efforts of their reporters. Likewise, the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper also had 78% of their news items from their reporters.

Most communication for development could be both vertical and horizontal. In this case, the people who form the readership of the newspapers also make their voice known through features, comments and letters to the editor. The two newspapers gave some amount of audience to their readers by publishing what their readers also have to say regarding the attainment of the MDGs. To this effect, the *Daily Graphic* newspaper published 21 stories, representing 9.0%, from its readers. The *Ghanaian Times* newspaper also published 15 stories, making 7.9%, from their readers.

Both newspapers outsourced some of their news items. The notable agencies that *Daily Graphic* newspaper published stories from were the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the Ghana News Agency (GNA). Nine news items came from those sources for the *Daily Graphic* newspaper. The *Ghanaian Times* newspaper mostly used GNA's news items. Ten of such stories on the MDGs were published.

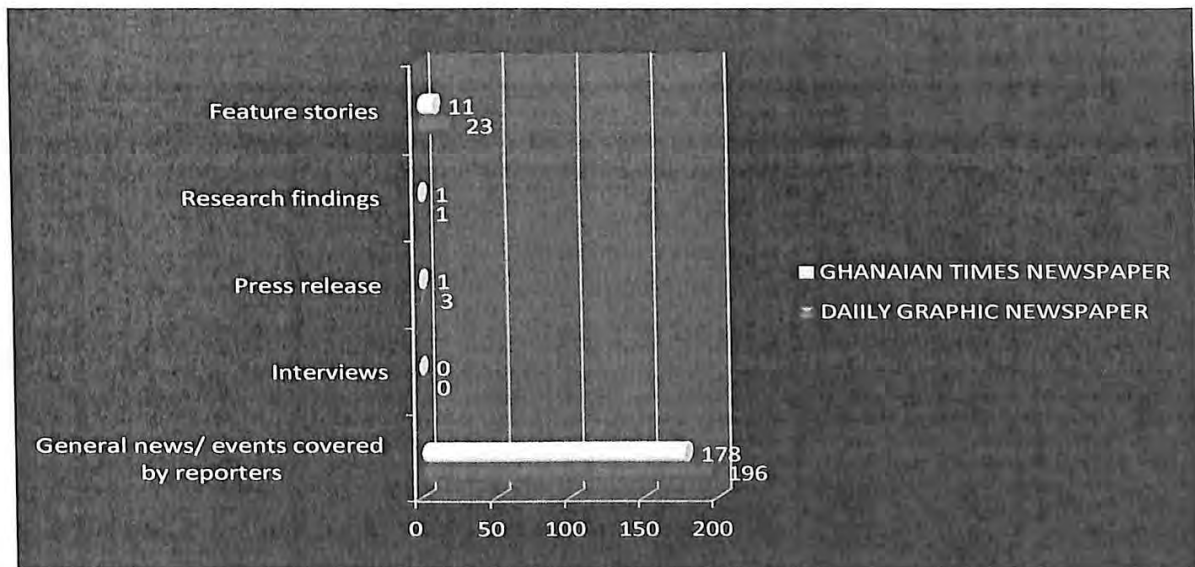
The second majority sources of news for the two newspapers came from sources which were not known. This was as a result of the newspapers not crediting the sources/ reporters who wrote the stories that they published.

4.2.4 Treatment given stories on the MDGs by the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* newspapers from 1st January 2010 to 31st December, 2015

The treatment given to the news explained how the two newspapers handled the various news items on the MDGs. It looked at the categories under which the news items were placed. It is the way the story was written. However, this was not the subject of the story. The categories were general news, interviews, research findings, press releases and feature stories.

General news stories placed emphasis on facts of a recent event. They were usually events covered by the reporters. It often used the house style of the newspaper and employed the straight news or inverted pyramid style of writing.

Chart 4: Treatment given stories on MDGs related news articles



The interviews looked at reportage on the MDGs that were reported as a result of the newspapers reporters interviewing people's opinions, contributions, discussions and

knowledge of the MDGs. These were usually the organisations that have direct correlation with the implementation of the MDGs or people who have a good understanding of the subject matter.

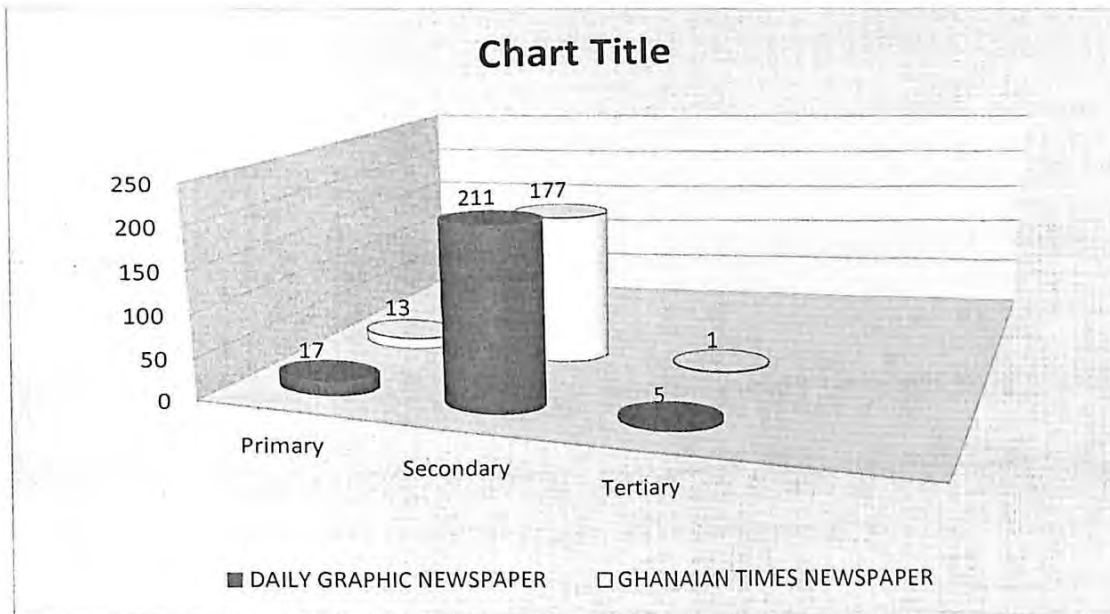
Research findings showed stories that were as a result of someone's or institution's findings emanating from a study.

To this objective, majority of the news items in the *Daily Graphic* newspaper and the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper publications were as a result of general news reportage. The *Daily Graphic* newspaper and the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper each reported 196 and 178 news items on general news respectively. This respectively represented 84.1% and 93.2% news items. None of the newspapers had stories resulting from interviews.

Feature stories were the next major stories carried by the two newspapers. The *Ghanaian Times* newspaper had a total number of 11 stories as a result of features. The *Daily Graphic* newspaper also published 23 stories on features.

4.2.5 Development stories by the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* newspapers from 1st January 2010 to 31st December, 2015

Chart 5: Development story position in relation to the MDGs



The *Daily Graphic* newspaper mostly had news items on the MDGs which were based on the secondary stories which lead to the attainment of the primary needs. A total of 211 secondary news items, representing 90.6%, was reported on the MDGs. They reported 17 items on the primary needs and 5 on tertiary needs. The *Ghanaian Times* newspaper reported 177 stories, making 92.7%, on secondary development. They also reported 13 items on primary needs and a single news item on tertiary. There is a correlation between the two newspapers in their reportage. This is because both newspapers have the same trend of reportage.

4.3 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS FOR INTERVIEWS WITH THE EDITORS

The main purpose of carrying out the critical discourse analysis was to determine the underlying causes of development news carried by the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* newspapers. According to Tshabangu (2013: 318), the use of the discourse analysis helps to understand how language is used and how the narratives of development news are framed.

Semi structured interviews were used to gather the data. For this study, the respondents were selected with the view of in-depth interviewing techniques in mind and because the editors also hold positions of responsibility and had sufficient practical journalism experience. The use of semi-structured qualitative interviews helped the interviewees to stray a little and flexibility was achieved at the end of the day. The data from the interviews were transcribed. The questions and responses which emerged were presented in a narrative form, with brief and relevant quotations used to illustrate major findings of the study.

4.3.1 MR. DAVID AGBENU – EDITOR, *GHANAIAN TIMES* NEWSPAPER

QUESTION: Why is the *Ghanaian Times* newspapers currently reporting the type of news coverage under the various segments they have?

EDITOR: The *Ghanaian Times* newspaper currently publishes news stories in the newspaper by adhering to our house style. We want to follow our set principles with regard to editorial policy and mission statement that the corporation has been working with for years now. We also want our readers to remain faithful by identifying with the newspaper as it has always been.

QUESTION: Identify what informs the news values of the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper?

EDITOR: What informs our news values is not different from what is generally known as news values for operating a newspaper. For us, the proximity and impact of stories play a major role in the selection of those stories for publication. The economic value of the story is also paramount to the newspaper because they thrive on sales and advertisements.

QUESTION: What is your level of knowledge of the Millennium Development Goals?

EDITOR: I have a considerable knowledge of the MDGs. However, I cannot give the sequence in which the goals appear. I am aware of their targets, the time they came into being and the designated year for them to be achieved.

QUESTION: What role can the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper play to promote the MDGs and development in Ghana?

EDITOR: The role the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper plays in promoting the MDGs in Ghana is by applying the primary functions of the media to those goals. Thus, we inform and educate the general public about the progress of the MDGs in the country. We also report more on issues relating to the MMDGs in order to meet the UNDP target set for journalists to win the GJA-MDGs best reporter award.

QUESTION: Identify the link between state-owned newspapers and the development agenda of the country

EDITOR: There is a big connection between the operations of the newspaper and the development agenda of the country vis-a-vis reporting on the MDGs. We provide support to any government (not political) towards the achievement of development in Ghana. This link

as we report on the MDGs without taking charges as it is done with advertisements. ‘We don’t charge, like we charge for adverts, news and information that we get from these areas for publication... and we do that for free and that is our contribution to the achievement of the MDG goals’.

4.3.2 MR. RANSFORD T. TETTEH – EDITOR, *DAILY GRAPHIC* NEWSPAPER

QUESTION: Why is the *Daily Graphic* newspapers currently reporting the type of news coverage under the various segments they have?

EDITOR: Our reason for publishing the kind of news items under the various segments is for us to be able to promote development in the country. We are basically doing so also because the media has a role to ‘provide the necessary information to and from the government to the governed so that interaction can be done properly from the policy interventions that we need for our development’.

QUESTION: What informs the news values of the *Daily Graphic* newspaper?

EDITOR: On the *Daily Graphic* newspaper, what informs our news values is inherent in the mission and vision statements. We do this by respecting all stakeholders and the various shades of opinion. This helps us not to be partisan since our stakeholders cut across all facets of Ghana. We leave the market to decide the kind of ideas and values to go for.

QUESTION: What is your level of knowledge of the Millennium Development Goals?

EDITOR: As the editor, it is my responsibility to provide such a policy with the view to assist the citizenry enjoy higher living standards. It is based on this knowledge that there are segments in the newspaper that handles issues relating to the MDGs.

‘If you take the newspaper as a whole, we deal with various aspects in trying to address poverty, childhood infant mortality and all that fall within the MDGs but not that purposefully this is a page devoted to the MDGs’.

QUESTION: Can you identify the link between state-owned newspapers and the development agenda of the country?

EDITOR: There is a link between the state-owned newspapers and the development agenda of the country. This link is in the newspapers providing space for dialogue by bringing all the forces struggling for space in Ghana into the limelight through reporting on issues that relate to them.

QUESTION: Is there a conscious attempt to put precedence on issues relating to the MDGs?

EDITOR: There is no conscious attempt to promote the MDGs in Ghana. What dictates the outcome of our reportage is mostly the commercial value we attach to the stories. For us who don't rely on the public purse for our processes, the commercial interest tends to dictate a lot of the things that we do.

However, we still make space for issues that do not sell on the market but are still necessary to ensure that our development is holistic by giving room for issues relating to the MDGs.

4.4 CONCLUSION

The chapter presented and analysed the data that was gathered from the quantitative content analysis and the discourse analysis. The data was subjected to the appropriate methodologies for condensing, interpreting and analysing information. The *Daily Graphic* newspaper and the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper publications are content analysed. Majority of the news items in the 31 publications for each of the newspapers carried information that did not relate to the MDGs. The discourse analysis revealed there is a considerable knowledge of the MDGs in Ghana and the newspapers showcase the outcome of the MDGs in their reportage.

The next chapter looks at the interpreting the data by comparing and contrasting the content of the newspapers and especially looking at the results of the content analysis as against the discourse analysis. It also concentrates on summarising the study, making recommendations for future studies and drawing conclusions.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This is the final chapter of the study. It interprets the data analysed from the previous chapter. It also looks at summarising the outcome of the study, making recommendations where necessary and concluding on all that is contained in the study. The chapter also reveals whether the objectives that were set at the beginning of this study have been achieved or not and whether the research questions yielded any results for the study.

5.2 INTERPRETATION OF DATA

This section carefully looks at the research findings in both the content analysis section and the discourse analysis section by sharing meaning out of the information gathered in those areas.

The outcome of the study in relation to the content analysis reveals that the two *Daily Graphic* newspaper and the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper are close in terms of the space they give to MDG related news items. They all provided more than 10% of news items on the MDGs. Even though this is inadequate considering the fact that the year under review was actually marking the 10th commemoration date of the MDGs, the contribution is encouraging.

The findings reveal that the most reported issues on the MDGs in the *Daily Graphic* newspaper and the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper are on achieving universal primary education, combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, developing global partnerships for development and promoting gender and empowering women.

The least MDG to receive much attention in the *Daily Graphic* newspaper and the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper were the issues relating to maternal health and child mortality. Ensuring environmental sustainability also did not have much attention even though the issues of galamsey, encroaching of forest lands and reserves, emission of chloroflourocarbons (CFC), improper waste management, the national sanitation day and bush fires are a routine happenings in Ghana.

Accordingly, the latest information on Ghana's progress so far as the MDGs is concerned, as reported by the UNDP's website on 3rd September, 2015, is that Ghana has mainstreamed the MDGs into the national development framework that has driven the national socioeconomic development agenda. Ghana is likely to achieve some of the goals as a result of putting systems in place to enhance their achievement. Some of the systems include the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (2010-2013) and a high Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Looking at each MDG, goals 1 and 2 have made significant progress and Ghana is likely to attain them by 2015. MDG 6 is potentially achievable, whereas MDGs 3 and 7 are likely to be partially achieved. MDGs 4 and 5 are unlikely to be achieved despite showing marginal improvements.

Surprisingly, the newspapers did not highlight more on extreme poverty reduction and hunger even though Ghana is the first country in Sub-Saharan Africa to meet the MDG 1 target of halving extreme poverty by 2015. Conversely, poverty is still endemic in the three northern regions of Ghana. This explains what the Editor of the Ghanaian Times newspaper said; that their market share in terms of their newspaper reach and circulation have a significant impact on the news items they publish about the MDGs progress across the country. It is likely that the lack of MDG news items from the three northern regions has led to this sharp divide. The success of Ghana's achievement of the first goal could be due to the newspapers covering issues relating to increased commitment on the part of government to resource the Savannah

Accelerated Development Authority, the School Feeding Programme and the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP).

Not surprisingly, the MDGs 4 and 5 are most likely not to be achieved because the reportage of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times* newspapers show that they had the least of news items. This shows an urgent need for the two newspapers to marshal space within their pages to focus more on child mortality and maternal health.

In terms of priorities given stories relating to the MDGs, little prominence was placed on the stories. This corroborates what Adeniran and Kayode (2012: 11) argued in the literature that most editors consider the level of importance of each story before deciding whether to feature it on their publication's front page or otherwise. Other important stories that do not make the front page are sometimes published on the back. The editorial page is special to newspaper organisations because that is where journalists are able to lend their voices on burning issues within society.

Majority of the news items on the MDGs were placed in the inside pages. This can have a great impact on the projection of the MDGs since, arguably, most Ghanaians are front page and/or back page readers. Again, this phenomenon is not surprising since both editors confessed to looking at the commercial value of the stories to determine where to place them. This calls for the newspapers to give more prominence to these stories to attract the necessary attention for action to be taken.

The *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times* newspapers did well to present the news items on the MDGs mostly through their reporters. This means the reporters are doing well to cover

events on the MDGs. However, have a total of 27 and 18 news items without bar lines for the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times* newspapers respectively is worrying.

Most of the issues relating to the MDGs were as a result of general news. This implies that the reporters go to cover programmes organised by other institutions. The research findings are very scanty. There was no single interview on the progress of the MDGs from reporters. The feature stories were quite encouraging. The newspapers ought to use more research findings or do the research themselves since those pieces of reports are arguably more credible than the general news.

On the discourse analysis, the editors made it clear that profit making is essential to their operations. Even though they demonstrated high levels of understanding the MDGs and their targets, they did not offer much space for these 'non-profitable' stories.

5.3 SUMMARY

The MDGs have seen some significant improvement in the livelihood of people. Almost fifteen years down the lane, the number of people living in extreme poverty and hunger has reduced by 14%. There is an increase in the number of school-going-age children. About 91% of children are now enrolled in schools in developing countries. About 90% of countries have empowered women to take up legislative and governing roles. The global number of deaths of children under five years has also reduced to 6 million in 2015 from 1990s 12.7 million. Since 1990, the maternal mortality ratio has declined by 45% worldwide and most of the reduction occurred since the year 2000. HIV/AIDS cases have also declined by 45% with a widespread distribution of treated mosquito nets to reduce malaria. About 90% of the world's population now have access to safe drinking water and official development

assistance has increased from \$81 billion in 2000 to \$135 billion in 2014 (The Millennium Development Goals Report, 2015: 4-7).

The study started by outlining various arguments relating to the beginning of the press in Ghana. It has provided arguments and counter-arguments about the relationship of the press and development in Africa and particularly, Ghana.

The various theoretical frameworks and theories that govern the study were looked at. Works of other scholars were reviewed. The study again used the most appropriate methodology to gather the necessary data for an analysis to be conducted on them. The philosophical underpinnings of the study was also looked at. Data was presented in the most appropriate way for clarity and understanding of the methodology.

5.4 STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE STUDY

The strengths of the study lie in the fact that it was able to marry the role of the Agenda-Setting theory and concept of Development journalism played pivotal roles in understanding the various positions made by scholars in the field of media and development. The critical examination of the theoretical arguments that were raised in the chapter two was constructively applied to give the work a solid methodological framework.

By using the triangulation method, both quantitative and qualitative methods in explaining the issues, the quantitative content analysis has helped in the formulation of statistical information and graphical representations to simplify some of the difficult research questions raised. The discourse analysis, though did not look at the symbols and personal characteristics of the respondents during the interview, was relevant to the study by outlining

the principles guiding the operations of the two newspapers. This helped to refute or accept the outcome of the results of the quantitative content analysis. The triangulation of the methods, which, arguably, most literature on the MDGs in Africa do not have, has spawned the methodological success of this study.

On the weaknesses, the inability to interview journalists, who are rewarded for reporting information relating to the MDGs is a general setback of this study. This would have increased the level of knowledge of the way journalists relate with the MDGs and their readiness or reluctance to promote the goals would have been secured.

Even though the theoretical frameworks established for the study have been carefully thought through, and were arguably well suited for the study, the possibility of looking at other approaches to the phenomenon would have been of much interest. Issues of participatory communication, the relevance of community media and the critique of the communication flow pattern of stakeholders at the policy implementation level would have given the work a total new dimension. The realisation of these weaknesses would have been curtailed but time and financial constraints was the biggest challenge to this study.

5.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The attainment of the MDGs requires everyone's contribution and in the participation. The media have a role to play whilst the policy makers and the entire public also have their quota to perform. Looking beyond 2015 into the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), it is prudent the state-owned newspapers be equipped with the necessary funds to dedicate more attention to the publication of SDG related issues.

More awards be given out to, not only journalist who report on the MDGs, but also, media organisations who devote much time to making sure that the Ghanaian populace are well informed about the challenges, prospects and in-roads made so far as the development agenda of the country is paramount. If possible, the best 'Development Journalism for furthering MDGs' award expanded to community media as well.

As an ultimate aim of communication for development, newspapers have the responsibility for facilitating the exchange of information for increased productivity and development in the country. This exchange of information is still absent in the two state-owned newspapers. It is therefore necessary the newspapers sit with their stakeholders to design means of achieving future development goals by assigning space for information to be exchanged as part of the corporate social responsibility.

With the inception of the 40 year national development plan launched by President John Dramani Mahama which is believed to start from 2018 to 2057, it is needed for the media to start making inputs and informing the public on the various stages of that plan.

The National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) and other stakeholders who heart the development of the country at heart should collaborate with the media organisations to promote the desired development of the country.

5.6 CONCLUSION

The objectives and research questions that defines the contours of the study were all achieved as a result of the content analysis and discourse analysis applied to the available data. The findings reveal a lot is still needed to be done by the media in terms of the prominence they give to the MDGs and the number of MDG stories that are published.

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APPENDIX 1: CODING GUIDE

The Millennium Development Goals, and their specific targets are listed below. Any story relating to these targets was content analysed for the study.

Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

Targets: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than a dollar a day. Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger.

Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education.

Target: Ensure that by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.

Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women

Target: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferable by 2005, and not later than 2015.

Goal 4: Reduce child mortality

Target: Reduce by two-thirds between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate.

Goal 5: Improve maternal health

Target: Reduce by three-quarters, between 1990 and 2015 the maternal mortality ratio.

Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases

Targets: To have halted by 2015, and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS

To have halted by 2015, and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases

Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability

Targets: Integrate the principles of development into the country policies and programmes and reverse loss of environmental resources

Halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation.

By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers

Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development

Targets:

- Develop further, an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system
- Address the special needs of the least developed countries, includes enhanced
- programme of debt relief for heavily indebted poor countries and cancellation of official bilateral debt; and more generous Official Development Assistant (ODA) for countries committed to poverty reduction.
- Address the special needs of landlocked countries and small islands developing states.
- Deal comprehensively with the debt problems of developing countries through national and international measures in order to make debt sustainable in the long term.
- In cooperation with developing countries, develop and implement strategies for decent and productive work for youth.
- In cooperation with pharmaceutical companies, provide access to affordable, essential drugs in developing countries.
- In cooperation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies especially information and communication.

General MDGs – stories written on a combination of two or more goals.

APPENDIX 2: STORY ANALYSIS FORM

STORY PLACEMENT

Front page

Back page

Editorial page

Centre spread

Other inside pages

TREATMENT OF STORY

General news/ events covered by reporters - any story that emphasizes facts of a recent event. Often uses a straight news or inverted pyramid style of writing.

Interviews – any story that is as a result of interviewing individuals on what they believe in relation to the MDGs

Press release – news relating to MDG stories that are as a result of press release

Research findings – stories relating to research findings

Feature stories - longer, more reflective tone; often humorous or entertaining. Can be on a serious subject but tries to tell a story rather than just regurgitate a series of facts.

SOURCES OF STORY

1. **Wire/News Service:** stories from the AP, Reuters or any other news service. We also include stories credited to another newspaper (not the home newspaper).

2. **Staff:** stories with or without a byline that are identified as coming from the newspaper. Includes “special to” and correspondents of the newspaper.

3. **Reader:** use only on *either* editorial pages where readers write columns or letters to the editor, *or* in cases where stories are specifically identified as being written by readers.

4. **Unknown:** use when the source of the story is not stated.

- Which were the most quoted sources of development news considering Vilanilam’s position?

Primary - food, clothing, and shelter

Secondary - agriculture, industry and all economic activity, plus development of education, literacy, health, environment, medical research, family planning, employment, labour welfare, social reforms, national integration and rural and urban development

Tertiary- development of mass media, transport, tourism, telecommunication, arts and cultural activities.

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Why are the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* newspapers currently reporting the type of news coverage under the various segments they have?
 - a) Is it for economic reasons?
 - b) Is it because of their mission and vision statements?
 - c) Is it for a particular agenda? And in whose benefit is that agenda?
2. Identify what informs the news values of the two newspapers;
 - a) What are your news values as an organisation?
 - b) What informs those news values?
 - c) Are you conversant with some of the MDGs?
3. In your view, what role can the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times* newspapers play to promote the MDGs and development in Ghana?
 - a) Are there any roles the newspapers can play for the attainment of the desired development and the promotion of the MDGs in Ghana?
 - b) How can those roles impact on the promotion of the MDGs?
4. Can you identify the link between state-owned newspapers and the development agenda of the country.
 - a) In your view, do you think there is a link between the state-owned newspapers and development in Ghana?
 - b) Can you touch on those links?

APPENDIX 4: TRANSCRIBED INTERVIEWS WITH EDITORS

MR. DAVID AGBENU – EDITOR, *GHANAIAN TIMES* NEWSPAPER

Why are the *Ghanaian Times* newspapers currently reporting the type of news coverage under the various segments they have?

What we do basically is to select stories according to certain pages. We have desks that handle those pages. So for instance we have the political desk, we have the business desk, we have the foreign desk, we have the sports desk and then we have features desk. Education desk is also included. Now, when the reporters bring the stories, they are segregated into these areas and then given to the page editors and they place them on the pages. The other pages that are left are pages that we select the stories of the day. Thus, page 1, page 3, page 4, the spread – that is pages 15, 16, 17 and 18 and then the back page. Those are the pages that we put the day's stories on. And what I mean by the day's stories is stories that we feel are very important and that we feel our readers should read. Those are the stories for the day and those are the stories we select at the conference.

THE REASONS

It is a house style. As simple as that. Because naturally you don't want to confuse the readers. You want the readers to know you for what you put out there. For instance, the reader knows that Times (*Ghanaian Times* newspaper) always have page 3 where they put crime stories; they have page 31 where they put the sports, they have the page 5 and 6 which is for features. So it's following a certain order. And it's a house style.

Identify what informs the news values of the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper?

(Our) news values is not different from any other media institutions. You look at the news value and what it will impact on the society. That is why you cannot just pick up anything

and put it on the front page. It must have a certain value to even sell your newspaper or must mean something to the reader. Those are the values we place on the particular stories that we get everyday.

(For example), if a Ghanaian is murdered in Togo and a Ghanaian is murdered in Ghana, depending on the stature of the person, particularly the one in Togo – it might take precedence over the one happening in Ghana. But if a murder happens in Accra and one happens in say Bole or say some corner in the Upper East region, the temptation will be for me to put the one that happens in Accra ahead of the one that happens in Bole because the proximity and because of the market share that I have, and the interest that my readers will generate in the two stories. Mind you I am also looking at the economic value of what I put out there. Will the readers buy the newspaper? So it matters most to me what news, when I put it on the front page, will be bought by my readers.

Knowledge of the Millennium Development Goals

I cannot give to you the sequence of the millennium goals. What I know is the UN decided, or the countries in UN decided to meet certain development goals by a certain year. I think 2015 thereabout, and they have standard measures that they use to measure the attainment of these goals and every country has about three or four that they set – well, this is what we want to meet by the year 2015. I think some have met; some have not met it and I know Ghana also has met some and have not met others. So, basically, that is it. If I want to go deep into it, I might go off.

What role can the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper play to promote the MDGs and development in Ghana?

Our basic work here is to inform the public, educate the public. So if that is one of our core mandate, then what we can do is to support the achievement of the MDGs and that we have been doing for several years. We have participated in many of the targets that have been set

by the UNDP for the media. We have a competition that the UNDP awards journalists at the end of the year at the GJA Awards. As part of the criteria, you must be publishing stories about the MDGs.

Identify the link between state-owned newspapers and the development agenda of the country

There is a huge link. And the link is that we (state-owned newspapers) provide public service. By public service, what I mean is that, we are expected to educate and inform the Ghanaian public about development agenda of the government and don't misunderstand me – when I say government, I am not talking about a particular government and it is not about political government, it is about everybody's government; what government is doing about education, health (and) all the things that provide development for the country. So we don't charge, like we charge for adverts, news and information that we get from these areas for publication. So if for instance we are talking about child mortality or maternal health and all those things, we are reporting it as an education to the public. For instance, if a hospital has been able to record zero maternal mortality in a particular year, it is our duty to inform the public about it and we do that for free and that is our contribution to the achievement of the MDG goals.

MR. RANSFORD T. TETTEH – EDITOR, *DAILY GRAPHIC* NEWSPAPER

Why are the *Ghanaian Times* newspapers currently reporting the type of news coverage under the various segments they have?

As a state-owned newspaper, our role as national development, national coercion, national integration and the interest of Ghana. That is what we do. And as you can see our communication every day does that role. Anything that will promote the development of our country. The media is supposed to provide the necessary information to and from the government to the governed so that interaction can be done properly from the policy interventions that we need for our development. Basically it is the role of the media beyond informing, educating and entertaining.

Identify what informs the news values of the *Ghanaian Times* newspaper?

Well, the Daily Graphic has a vision and a mission. Our vision and mission enjoins us to make sure that we help. And as I said earlier, the basic and traditional role of the media and beyond that is to provide information that will help in the development. So our stakeholders are very valid. And how do you serve those stake holders if you take a partisan position, if you take a sectarian position. So you look at the national media holistically and serve all the purposes. Then our believe is that in the market place of ideas where all the ideas struggle for space within the newspaper that we offer, the best will emerge and we may formulate the best policies for our development. And development is about people so everybody is involved in the discourse in the paper (*Daily Graphic* newspaper).

Knowledge of the Millennium Development Goals

Yeah. Generally we deal with them as and when they come and that is a focus to deal with. We have pages that deal with aspects of the Millennium development goals. We have the gender page, the education page and those are some of the issues. We have the sanitation

page. Those are the issues that deal with the MDGs generally. And if you take the newspaper as a whole, we deal with various aspects in trying to address poverty, childhood infant mortality and all that fall within the MDGs but not that purposefully this is a page devoted to the MDGs.

Identify the link between state-owned newspapers and the development agenda of the country

There is a link insofar as it falls within the independence of the media. You know the media, although we are state-owned, the National Media Commission ensures that there is no governmental control and the constitution indeed does that. So we will do so so long as it falls within the mission and vision I mentioned to you earlier. Our goal is to make sure that we bring all the forces that are struggling for space in Ghana for dialogue through the newspaper. Through that dialogue we determine the best way forward.

Conscious attempt to put precedence on issues relating to the MDGs

Honestly speaking, you know newspaper beyond the social responsibility have a commercial base in terms of the commercial things that we do. For us who don't rely on the public purse for our processes, the commercial interest tends to dictate a lot of the things that we do. But we still have space for issues that will not sell on the market but are still necessary to ensure that our development is holistic and therefore we give room for issues relating to the MDGs. That is why I said to you earlier, we do so through the education page, the gender page and the sanitation page that are specific to the goals and the rest, we do them as and when they come. And when the people who are in charge of those goals and want them achieved draw our attention to them, we can redo this. Therefore, the gender editor certainly will be looking at our performance in those areas, the education editor looking at basic education and how it

is targeted at every child of school going age. But beyond that the sector ministers will also be doing things that will make sure that they achieve those goals and you know that this is the year we are supposed to achieve those goals and that is why there is this new initiative where we always will come out with the clichés, the slogans in our sustainable development goals. For some, in Ghana's case, for instance I think its poverty that we are doing very well and the rest of them, we are lagging behind yet we are also going to be a party to the sustainable development goals. So those are the issues. The media can only play its role insofar as those in policy are also initiating the processes. Our role maybe will be to draw our attention to the fact that we have failed and those are the areas that when you draw attention to most of the time, people tend to say that you are being negative; sometimes they even call you names. But the most important thing is that, yes we are all in there. If we draw attention that we are not doing well, therefore let's do well to achieve the goals. The goals are not meant for the UN, it is for our development and that is what we are supposed to do. That is why we have the government in place and they have to see to certain things. The media also have the major distinct role to being watchdog over those who are in charge of those roles and therefore, that is what we do. Going forward, we will continue to do that. I don't know whether we come back, our editors will do a content analysis as to how we performed we will try to shape our attainment of the MDGs and our failures and in the sustainable development goals, we may do different things.