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**MEASURING THE IMPACT OF MEDIA REPORTAGE IN THE ENVIRONMENT
THE CASE OF THE FIGHT AGAINST ILLEGAL MINING IN GHANA**

BY

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DECLARATION

Candidates' Declaration

I hereby declare that this project work is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

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.....
DATE

Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this dissertation was supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of dissertation laid down by the Ghana Institute of Journalism.

.....
Dr. Joseph Obeng Baah

.....
DATE

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work first and foremost to Almighty God who has been there from the beginning to this this very point. Special dedication also to my ever supportive parents and my wife to be, for their relentless support and compassion towards me during the course of my Master's in Development Communication.

Furthermore, I want to dedicate this work to my lecturers for their continual impact of knowledge.

To God is the glory.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CSO	Civil Society Organisation
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
ERP	Economic Recovery Program
EU	European Union
MCAG	Media Coalition against Galamsey
NCA	National Communication Authority
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NMC	National Media Commission
NGRI	Natural Resources Governance Institute
PMMC	Precious Minerals Marketing Company
SMM	Small-Scale Mining

ABSTRACT

Many people have spoken about the environmental and health issues related to illegal mining in Ghana, some people have called a total abolishment of the business, others have called for comprehensive policies and regulations to guide the operations of small scale miners. The media also added their voice to the menace by setting the agenda to end illegal mining. This led to the establishment of organizations and committees by successive governments to help curb the situation. The question that arise is whether the fight has been won or not. This study seeks to investigate whether framing of galamsey stories between 2017 and 2020 influenced policy formulation and changes in policies in Ghana. Using a scientific approach of qualitative research in analysing the data in order to respond to the research questions. The results revealed that, the media applies framing and news values to the issues of galamsey, there is also a strong correlation between the media campaign to #StopGalamsey and government's response to the menace. Finally, this study, among others previously conducted, has contributed to the existing knowledge of media framing and national policy formulation. However, the study realized some intriguing issues that can be looked at in future studie

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

Many people have spoken about the environmental and health issues related to illegal mining in Ghana. Whilst some people have called a total abolishment of the business, others have called for comprehensive policies and regulations to guide the operations of small scale miners. The media have also added their voice to the debate and the fight to end the menace by setting the agenda to end illegal mining. This led to the establishment of organisations and committees by successive governments to help curb the situation. The question that arises is whether the fight has been won or not. However, there is also the need to find out whether the agenda set by the media was effective and brought about change or not. This study, therefore, seeks to assess the effectiveness of the campaign agenda applied by www.citifmonline.com from the period between 2017 and 2020.

1.1 Background

Small-Scale Mining (SSM) is common in many parts of the Lower and Middle-Income Countries (LMICs) (Hentschel et al., 2002). SSM is often categorized into two: legally registered operations and the non-registered/illegal operations. In Ghana, illegal/non-registered mining activities are popularly known as Galamsey. Galamsey is a corruption of the phrase “gather and sell,” a term which was coined by the colonial masters after observing how gold was being easily gathered by natives using simple tools (Mantey et al., 2017). The categorization of SSM into legal and illegal mining is, however, blurred because of the resemblance in the operational strategies of the two

(Teschner, 2012). The arguments for galamsey as a livelihood strategy and against it as being destructive to the environment have also been blurred.

While some actors argue for the regularization and formalization of galamsey citing it as a major source of direct and indirect employment for millions of Ghanaians (Akabzaa and Darimani, 2001), others disagree with this assertion. Opponents argue that because galamsey is mostly unregistered and unregulated, poorly monitored by regulatory authorities and rely heavily on the use of crude equipment, allowing its practice to fester could lead to severe environmental consequences such as water pollution (Armah et al., 2013), land degradation and loss of agricultural lands (Boateng et al., 2014). Other studies have reported a link between illegal mining and chronic health conditions including diabetes (Armah et al., 2012). Those making economic arguments in opposition to galamsey posit that illegal mining deprives the country of significant amounts of revenue needed for national development due to the non-payment of royalties and taxes by the illegal operators (Tschakert, 2009b). On the balance, however, the consensus is that the negative impacts of galamsey far outweigh any benefits. Consequently, attempts have been made to regulate the activity in many parts of the world, including Ghana. Indeed, some experts have argued that Ghana has some of the most dynamic and comprehensive laws on SSM (Hilson, 2017). However, the fact that galamsey remains a topical issue in Ghana suggests that these laws have largely failed to materialize. Hilson et al. (2014) argued that the failure of these dynamic laws in Ghana is largely due to the lack of political will to implement them, compounded by weak enforcement regimes, political expediency and self-interest of some actors in the extractive industry.

The continuing violation of the mineral laws in Ghana, including the current Minerals and Mining Act (Act 703, 2006: Section 82–99) by local and foreign actors in the extractive industry has

resulted in several policy actions. Within the last two decades, for instance, several military style operations such as the “Fight Against Illegal Mining” and the “Operation Flush-out” have been used in a bid to stump out galamsey (Tschakert, 2009a). While these attempts have been ongoing, they seldom attract media attention, and when they do, it is often about public opposition. The opposition by the public towards attempts at curbing galamsey is partly due to failure on the part of implementing agencies to garner the needed public support to facilitate smooth implementation. The non-involvement of the media and other stakeholders in the extractive industry has also contributed to the inadequate awareness of the public on the ills of galamsey. Armah et al. (2013) suggest that there has been excessive politicization of the galamsey fight in Ghana, which probably explains why previous efforts were kept on the quiet in order not to court public disaffection for ruling governments.

In 2017, an Inter-Ministerial Taskforce – the Operation Vanguard, was launched in response to the popular #StopGalamsey campaign by Citi FM – a key media house in Ghana. Other influential media organizations and institutions signed up to the campaign which led to the formation of the Media Coalition Against Galamsey (MCAG). The MCAG stepped-up pressure on stakeholders in the extractive industry to act on eliminating illegal mining. The coalition comprised media outlets (such as the Omni media (Citi FM), New Times Corporation, Graphic Communications Group Limited, Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, Multimedia Group Limited and Media General Limited (TV3)); and public and private institutions (like the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), the Ghana Journalists Association, the Private Newspaper Publishers Association, the Ghana Independent Broadcasters Association, and the Ghana Community Radio Network), as well as religious organizations (including the Christian Council of Ghana, the Ghana Baptist Convention and the Ghana Catholic Bishops Conference) (Kpienbaareh et al., 2020). The

MCAG has as its objectives: to carry out public education on the ills of illegal mining activities; carry out advocacy with stakeholders to ensure the eradication of galamsey; and promote sustainable mining. While the objectives of the MCAG are clear, and the institutions and organizations comprising the MCAG are credible bodies that have played significant roles in the past on important national issues, what remains unclear, and which the coalition has failed to declare, is who the funders are or what the sources of funds for their activities are. Previous studies have shown that international organizations such as the BBC Foundation, have funded media organizations in Ghana and other African countries (Schiffrin, 2010). Such support often calls to question the intentions of journalists sponsored by such organizations.

The media coalition made five demands on stakeholders in the extractive industry. They demanded a six-month moratorium on all SSM activities in the country, the cessation of the issuance of new mining licenses for a year, the reclassification of mining categories to reflect current operational dynamics such as the use of new/larger equipment, the allowance of water bodies to regenerate in their natural ecology, as well as tree planting and, a land reclamation project (Hilson, 2017). Perhaps, what differentiates the present campaign from previous efforts is that the present campaign seemingly enjoys support from actors across the political landscape in Ghana, has public support and enjoys dispassionate media reportage (Armah-Attoh, 2017). There are precedents of the media collaborating with other agencies and organizations to deal with environmental problems such as illegal lumbering and illegal mining in Ghana. For instance, to improve the knowledge of media practitioners and other stakeholders in the mining sector, the Natural Resources Governance Institute (NGRI) has sponsored journalists in Ghana to take part in the “Reversing the Resource Curse: Theory and Practice” courses to build the capacity of journalists to more constructively contribute to monitoring, and/or evaluating the mining and

petroleum sectors through their reporting. Such collaborations between journalists, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society organizations (CSOs) in other contexts have helped to set the agenda for sustainable use of environmental resources (Arthur, 2010; Van Alstine, 2014). But, amid tremendous growth in free speech and media freedom in the last two decades (Ahmad et al., 2016; Callamard, 2010), has any such collaborations in Ghana contributed to effecting policy change in Ghana?

1.2 Ghana's Changing Media Landscape

Since the publications of the Royal Gold Coast Gazette and the Commercial Intelligencer in 1822, the first newspapers in Ghana (Jones-Quarty, 1959; Jones-Quartey, 1968), the media landscape has transformed significantly over the decades. The earlier media outlets served the communication needs of the colonial government (Merrill, 1989; Rao and Lee, 2005). However, a growing elite population in the Gold Coast increased the interest of people in domestic political and economic issues (Wasserman and De Beer, 2005). The result was the establishment of private newspapers to create awareness about colonial governance and incite the public against the colonial rule (Ahmad et al., 2016; Ansu-Kyeremeh and Karikari, 1998). The resulting political activism led to the promulgation of the first media law – the Criminal Code Ordinance (No. 12) of 1892 – to moderate the media and control political activists, which was later amended in 1960 (Read, 1962). The Criminal Code Ordinance was followed by the Book and Newspaper Registration Ordinance of 1897. The rapid increase in the number of newspapers in the colony led to the passage of the Criminal Code Amendment Ordinance (No. 21) to punish the offence of sedition. These laws were the beginning of the Criminal Libel Law which suppressed the growth and development of media and free speech in Ghana for more than a century (Owusu, 2012).

Post-independence, the government enacted the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) Act (NLCD 226, 1968), which set up GBC as a state broadcaster (Government of Ghana, 1968). The democratic dispensation after independence brought about intense politicking that created a polarized society and resulted in a more divided media landscape, as more politically inclined newspapers emerged (Owusu, 2012). The polarization was because people had greater freedoms of association and expression, and more news outlets – both print and audio-visual – were established to push partisan interests (Arthur, 2010; Owusu, 2012). The polarization meant that focus was drawn more to the acrimony rather than on reporting on issues of national concern.

On return to multiparty democracy in 1992, the National Media Commission (NMC) (Act 449, 1993) and the National Communications Authority (NCA) (Act 524, 1996) were established with the mandate to sanitize and liberalize the media landscape. The number of independent media outlets have since increased following the liberalization of the airwaves. As of the third quarter of 2017, there were about 128 authorized television stations, (53 in active operation), 471 FM stations (367 in operation), and 46 newspapers in the country (NCA, 2017). Not only did the increasing presence of the media contribute significantly to the growth of CSOs and activism in the country (Blankson, 2002), but it also reflects the positive relationship between democracy and media development (Dennis and Snyder, 1995; Hallin and Mellado, 2018).

Despite the repeal of the Criminal Libel Law in 2001, expectations that the media will highlight the needs of the poor and vulnerable had not been met until recently (Arthur, 2010). For instance, television networks such as TV3 have recently started reporting on issues such as poor roads, dilapidated hospitals/clinics, and poorly equipped schools in rural areas that are deemed inimical to the wellbeing of the poor and vulnerable in society. Other media reports have focused on sanitation (#CleanGhana campaign), abandoned government projects such as hospitals, markets

and schools that could be put to better use if completed. Investigative journalism (e.g. Anas Aremeyaw Anas and Manasseh Azuri Awuni) has also increased and has led to exposés on corruption and abuse of political power. Citi FM's #StopGalamsey, which symbolizes the strong rise of the media as the fourth estate, is one of the recent collaborative efforts by the media to shape public opinion and policy.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Political agenda-setting studies share a strong empirical focus. They deal mainly with testing the effect of the media agenda on the political agenda in different contexts and circumstances. The basic question underlying most of the research reads: does more journalistic attention for an issue lead subsequently to more attention for that issue by politicians?

The few studies that have been done involving media coverage of issues bothering on illegal mining activities in Ghana only looked at the effects of such coverage mainly from the political perspective. On 6 June 2013, Ghana's police force arrested 168 Chinese nationals suspected to be working in the country's informal mining sector. The number of Chinese citizens involved in illegal gold mining activity has risen sharply in recent years with reports indicating that since 2005, to 2013 as many as 50,000 Chinese were engaged in illegal mining in Ghana (Hilson, Hilson and Adu Darko, 2014). Various stakeholders, the government and other agencies have all expressed concerns and at the same time spent a considerable amount of time and resources in the bid to reduce the menace posed by illegal mining activities in the country. Illegal mining issues like many other news items are always captured in the media since the practice of these illegal miners have always been at the peril of the environment (Hilson, Hilson and Pardie, 2007).

While being empirically strong and analytically sophisticated, political agenda-setting work has, until recently, remained somewhat under theorized. In particular, insights on why and how politicians adapt to the agenda of the media are still in need of elaboration (Van Aelst, Thesen, Walgrave and Vliegenthart, 2015). Furthermore, agenda-setting focuses only on thematic priorities and it remains unclear how the impact of the media on issue agendas relates to other types of influence.

The overarching question for this study is whether the media influence policy outcomes at the national level? To what extent does the media influence political agenda? These are not questions without any exploration in the literature surrounding agenda setting, but they are questions without substantive examination in the history of politics-journalism interaction. Acknowledging that causation cannot be inferred by correlation, the exploration of the answers to these questions is a logical extension of available literature and provides insights into the factors that influence the passage of law and policy. Because it is not clear whether local-level agenda setting works or works in the same way, this research looks specifically at the impact of the media on policy outcomes.

1.4 Research objectives

The objectives of the study will include:

1. To find out how galamsey was framed between 2017 and 2020 by www.citifmonline.com
2. To ascertain whether framing of galamsey stories between 2017 and 2020 influenced policy formulation or changes in policies in Ghana.

1.5 Research questions

The objectives of the study were turned into questions as follows:

1. How did www.citifmonline.com frame galamsey in Ghana between 2017 and 2020?
2. How did www.citifmonline.com framing of galamsey influence policy formulation or change on galamsey in Ghana between 2017 and 2020?

1.6 Significance of the study

This study is significant because there is little knowledge on the effects of the media agenda setting tool on policy formation or change in Ghana. Hence, it will contribute knowledge in that regard and give an academic perspective to the matter. Again, it will serve as a reference point for future studies that want to look at policy and agenda setting to pick cues from. To the www.citifmonline.com the study serves as a benchmark for them to assess the output of their energies placed in the fight against galamsey in Ghana. Finally, the study is significant to the growing change of the media and its agenda setting tools. Little studies are done regarding agenda setting and online platforms. As most media are moving on to these digital platforms with their accompanying audiences, it is important to study the concept of agenda setting within the context of the internet.

1.7 Organization of the study

The study is organized into five chapters. The first chapter introduces that study by outlining the history of the major concepts of the study. It goes ahead to locate the gap in the literature and use

the gap to formulate objectives. The objectives are transferred into questions and then the significance of the study is detailed. Chapter two is the literature review which is aimed at reviewing literature related to the study. The literature reviews will also involve theoretical and empirical reviews. Chapter three of the study concerns itself with the methodology while chapter four analyses the data gathered. Chapter five summarizes the whole work, draws conclusions and makes recommendations.

1.8 Chapter summary

The chapter describes the concept of galamsey and the changing media landscape of Ghana within the agenda setting theory. It has been able to tease out the lacuna in the literature and set appropriate objectives to achieve the gaps in literature. The chapter also has shown the significance of the study. The next chapter seeks to review the various literature related to the topic.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The concept of galamsey and the agenda setting theory have been studied for a long time now. This chapter seeks to review related literature on the subject. The chapter starts with empirical reviews of galamsey and agenda setting and then looks at a theoretical review of the application of the agenda setting theory. A synthesis is then conducted on the reviews by consolidating the two concepts together.

2.1 Empirical Review

2.1.1 Public Policy and the Mass Media

One of the key questions about policy change is why? The first candidate for an explanation of policy change is partisan shifts, whereby policy outputs are shaped by the ideological and policy positions of parties and groups of voters, which may turn into public spending or other policy outputs. Some elections may be particularly marked examples of partisan change when they originate from a sea-change in political debate. And there are existing tests of the impact of changes of partisanship for public spending levels (Hofferbert and Budge, 1992) and that party politics matters for the output of nations (Swank 2002; Jones et al., 1998). Linked to partisan change is the effect of public opinion on the policy positions and outputs of governments (Wlezien, 2004; Soroka and Wlezien, 2005).

The second cause of policy change is sudden shocks to the political system, as highlighted in the policy advocacy coalition framework (Sabatier, 1999), which can be large socio-political events, such as the galamsey issue in 2018, which shatter policy routines, force new issues and ideas onto the agenda by their sheer magnitude, thereby shifting the governing advocacy coalitions. These events are probably more distant from democratic process than public opinion and partisan change because the elite has to respond to environmental change rather than to a new expression of political will; but sometimes external change is about the more extreme behavior of excluded groups seeking to seize the agenda.

The third source of radical agenda and policy change is the emergence of new ideas, which can suddenly 'hit' a political system. Here policy entrepreneurs may be able to sell an idea to political leaders, experts and communicators at first, which then catches on more widely in the media later on. Here policy entrepreneurs often promote the idea to the media, where it takes hold and in turn influences the policy agenda, on the one hand, and public opinion, on the other. And once an idea catches on, it can be unstoppable, causing the punctuation in attention and policy outputs. Here the media acts as a gatekeeper between mass public and executive leaders, which may reflect the selective pressure of particular interest-group entrepreneurs (Baumgartner and Jones 1993). The influence of the media on public opinion and/or executive priorities is central to most of the agenda-setting research (Soroka, 2002), with studies focusing on the positive and significant influence of the media on public opinion on the one hand (McCombs and Shaw 1972; Soroka, 2002) and others on policy adoptions (Carpenter 2002).

2.1.2 Political Agenda-Setting and the Media

Both in communication as well as in political science, agenda-setting has become one of the dominating paradigms. The same concept, however, means quite different things in the two domains. In communication science, agenda-setting is largely a theory about media effects on citizens: media coverage of issues influences the issue priorities of the public, and indirectly their voting preferences. Since the study of McCombs and Shaw (1972), the popularity of the agenda-setting approach among media scholars has grown steadily and is now one of the most-cited media effects concepts (Bennett and Iyengar, 2008; Dearing and Rogers, 1996).

In political science, the political agenda-setting approach deals mainly with the limited attention of political actors for a wide range of political issues. Building on the insights of Schattschneider (1960), Cobb and Elder (1972) were among the first who investigated why some issues managed to get the attention of decision makers, while others failed. The media was seen as one of the possible factors that could influence the agenda of policy makers, but not a very important one. Gradually the media got more attention in the study of political agendas, but it was seldom the main focus of attention (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993; Kingdon, 1984).

A more recent stream of research, such as this study on galamsey in Ghana, tries to combine both traditions and focuses on the effect of mass media coverage on the political agenda (Rogers and Dearing, 1988; Walgrave and Van Aelst, 2006). For these scholars, the central question is to what extent mass media coverage affects the issue priorities of politicians. Although some prefer the term policy agenda-setting (Rogers and Dearing, 1988) or agenda-building (Denham, 2010), this study prefer to use the term political agenda setting. This does not mean that the political agenda-setting process is highly similar to the process of public agenda-setting. Although both processes deal with the relative importance or salience of issues, this study agrees with Pritchard (1992) that

the agenda of policy makers is different from the agenda of the public. The agenda of politicians is hardly ever operationalized by asking them to list the issues on top of their mind, but rather by looking at their words or deeds. It is not what politicians think (cognitive) but what they do (behavior) that matters. Furthermore, using the term agenda setting does not imply that the agenda of politicians is simply 'set' by the media but rather the media is one potential source of influence among many others.

Political agenda-setting can be considered as an early stage of the larger policy process. This process has generally been conceptualized in terms of a sequence of different phases: problem identification, policy formulation, policy adoption, implementation, and evaluation (Cobb and Elder, 1981). Agenda-setting overlaps with this first phase. Due to its ability to focus attention, media influence is typically seen as relatively high in this phase of the policy process (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993; Esser and Pfetsch, 2004). This does not mean that journalists entirely autonomously initiate new issues, but rather that they play a role in strengthening and structuring the initiatives taken by political actors (Reich, 2006; Wolfsfeld and Sheafer, 2006). Mostly, this role is defined positively: issues that are high on the media agenda can obtain, in turn, a more prominent position on the political agenda. However, the media also influence the political agenda by filtering and selecting issues that do not appear on the agenda. Or, as Van Praag and Brants (1999) conclude on the basis of their campaign study: the agenda-setting power of journalists seems to lie more in denying access and in forcing politicians to react on issues than in actually initiating them. Some have called this negative agenda-setting effect 'agenda-constraining' (Walgrave, Van Aelst, and Bennett, 2010); it is closely related to the well-known gatekeeping process (Shoemaker, 1991). In communication science: only a part of the many issue messages generated by political actors pass the media gates and receive news coverage. From a

policy perspective the media contribute to limiting the scope of decision-making to some issues (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962: 952).

2.2 Illegal Mining

Several researches, especially case studies have been done in analyzing the menace of illegal mining on the environment, the people and the country in which mineral resources are located. For decades, the extraction and subsequent processing of these precious minerals especially gold and diamond have been the means of livelihood for many indigenes located in these countries. These grassroots industries have also made important contributions to foreign-exchange earnings (Hilson, 2001).

On the other hand, the activities of illegal miners exploiting these minerals have led to serious environmental degradation and impoverishment of several other indigenes in these mineral rich countries (Hilson, 2001). Hilson, Hilson and Adu-Darko (2014) mentioned that many studies conducted in Ghana on illegal mining, academic literature and the media reportage seemed to focus particularly on the environmental impacts of Chinese-infiltrated galamsey activities. Drawing on findings from interviews with key stakeholders, the paper interrogates many of the claims presented in the local media about galamsey even though it did not include any research finding on media reportage of illegal mining activities. It is very clear that finding out how the media has reported such illegal mining activities and whether the media has given enough attention to illegal mining has not been the target of many studies.

In Ghana, Amstrong (2008) reports that gold mining has a very extensive history that dates back at least to the 15th century when the Europeans, starting with the Portuguese and followed later

by the Dutch and the English, were first drawn to the territory they called the “Gold Coast” by the trade in gold and spices. The British and a small number of other foreign investors controlled the mining industry during the colonial age and Ghanaians were absolutely excluded from the tenure structure of the mining industry. The industry was very vibrant during the pre-independence period, thus Ghana accounted for 35% of total world gold output between 1493 and 1600, nevertheless its portion of world mineral output declined over subsequent years. The post-independence period was marked by state ownership of mineral resources. The period up to 1986 of the industry was largely characterized by unproductivity, except for a few spikes recorded immediately after independence and in the early 1970’s (Akabzaa and Darimani, 2001).

As part of the country’s Economic Recovery Program (ERP) launched in 1983, the mining industry experienced substantial reforms beginning in 1986. Since 1983, Ghana has been experiencing World Bank/International Monetary Fund sponsored Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). Furthermore, Aubynn (2003) reported that modern mechanized mining of precious metals from both alluvial and hard-rock dates back from about 1880 and this type of mining began in the Tarkwa area. In 1898, modern mining was extended to Obuasi in the Ashanti Region, where the gold deposits were found to be even richer than the Tarkwa deposits. AngloGold Ashanti’s Obuasi Mine, which began production in the Adansi West District of the Ashanti Region in 1890, is by far the oldest mine in the country (Amstrong, 2008).

It is worthy to note that activities of small-scale mining are commonly done on the immediate surface or near surface deposits, comparatively with little waste or overburden, simple metallurgy and with easy access. Most at times, as indicated by Hilson (2001), galamsey entails the use of mercury for processing. In the view of Berger (1982), the activity is characterized by: one-man operations; various forms of leasing where miners either share the profit from the concession or

sell the minerals to the owner of the concession at an agreed price, joint-venture ship and cooperatives, limited labour with wage payments, distribution and sales usually involving middle men who in turn sell to the world market. Hentschelet al. (2003) conceptualized artisanal and small scale mining as mining by individuals, groups, families or cooperatives with minimal or no mechanization, which is usually done in the informal sector of the market. For the purposes of taxonomy, small scale miners are artisanal miners who are licensed to operate on a small piece of land and who are required to market their produce through the Precious Minerals Marketing Company (PMMC) or designated agents associated with PMMC and illegal miners “” on the other hand, practice their trade without any regularization or license from the regulatory agencies (Nyame et al, 2007).

In the study of Brayan (2010), two kinds of small scale mining are mentioned: land dredging and river dredging. ASSM activities can be subdivided in the same way, as conventional mining, according to type of deposit: underground mining; open pit mining and placer mining. In addition some small mining operations may have a semi industrial or fully industrial character and the degree of mechanization, internal organization and compliance with international industrial standards is advanced. These operations are most frequently financed and managed by partners from industrialized countries (Hentschel et al, 2003).

In many parts of the world, artisanal or small -scale mining activities are at least as important as large scale mining activities, particularly in terms of the numbers of people employed. Miners are generally unskilled and earn little. The most common equipment used are basic hand tools such as picks, axes, sluice boxes and shovels, although occasionally Honda water pumps, explosives and washing plants are seen within regions (Hilson, 2001). Small scale mining can generate significant local purchasing power and lead to more demand for locally produced goods and

services such as food, tools, equipment, housing, infrastructure (Hentschel et al. 2003). Artisanal and small -scale mining is the case in the majority of developing countries. The quick growth in Ghana's artisanal and small scale gold mining sector can be attributed to the acute lack of jobs and accompanying poverty nationwide (Hilson and Potter, 2005). The ASSM sector is the most challenging to regulate among others, due to the nomadic and often seasonal nature of their activities (Nyame and Grant, 2007).

2.3 Role of the Media in Reporting the Illegal Mining Industry

The link between an effective media coverage and economic development is illustrated by the level of coverage of the extractive sector particularly the mining industry. From varied experiences from Africa, the wealth from the extractive sectors poses challenges for African governments (Media Council of Kenya, 2015).

According to Schiffrin (2009), the media cannot only expose wrongdoing but can also help decide and prioritize development policy by pursuing relevant issues on the agenda for public discussion and covering topics in a way that educates the public and policymakers and help societies decide how they want to approach certain developmental questions.

On the basis of this, journalists should be able to undertake objective writing in the illegal mining industry using balanced sourcing, incorporating in-depth research, and proper article structure (Media Council of Kenya, 2015). Journalists can fulfill their oversight role only through informed analysis and reporting, high-quality and thoughtful commentary and investigative efforts. This requires good reporting skills, understanding technical issues and being accessible to relevant information from experts.

In this way the media can effectively play its fundamental role in spreading knowledge about, raising awareness of and highlighting potential flaws in the mining industry. To this end, journalists need to understand the sector's technicalities as well as the economic and political implications of management decisions. Moreover, they need to help the general public make sense of the figures and the technical details in an accurate, impartial, transparent and independent way (Dyke, Nash, Redd and Sukkarieh, 2014).

There is a great deal of room for journalists to do investigative reporting on the extractive sector. This is because there are innumerable instances of outright corruption as well as bad practices, where countries fail, for instance, to garner for themselves the full value of their resources and/or when the revenues raised are not used for public good. There are more complex stories, demonstrating how well intentioned actions can have unintended adverse effects. Such reporting is necessary if the media is to fulfill the role of the watchdog, particularly needed in this complex and often opaque industry (Schiffrin and Rodrigues, 2014).

As a whole, Ghana media's coverage of the mining industries, for example the illegal sector, has been unimpressive (Colmery et al., 2009). They further argued that, the media Coverage is generally insubstantial and skin-deep. In their view, different perspectives on the extractive industries are offered, for example, but rarely do articles engage the totality of the issue at hand or evenly present both pro and con arguments. In-depth investigative articles, crucial to monitoring the illegal mining industry is notoriously lacking in transparency, and are simply not being written (Colmery et al, 2009). Like most other African countries, Ghanaian media coverage of the extractive industries is limited almost entirely (Canonge, Purcell, and Behrman, 2010). However, it must be noted that news stories are important to fight against illegal mining. Based on this very limited analysis of Ghanaian media coverage of the illegal mining sector, it would

appear that the Ghanaian media should be doing a much better job at covering the mining industry which is vital to Ghana's economic development.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

McCombs and Shaw (1972) famously introduced their notion of media agenda-setting by quoting Cohen's (1963) epigram: "the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about." "What to think" refers to the traditional paradigm of persuasion and attitude change research including the counterintuitive findings of generally low correlations between media exposure measures and attitude change (Klapper, 1960). But McCombs and Shaw added a new element focusing on "what to think about"—the analysis of the public agenda. In an intriguing exemplar of Kuhnian is the adjective derived from the name Kuhn (1962) which is included in the bib Kuhnian theoretical evolution (1962), they proposed a theoretical puzzle (modest evidence of media effects) and the basic elements of a methodology for resolving the puzzle (shifting the focus from public opinion and political preference to the "agenda" of important problems and issues). The resulting agenda-setting literature grew quickly and dramatically. McCombs (2004) in a recent review made note of the existence of over 400 agenda-setting studies.

The basic causal model posits that correlations between aggregated measures of media issue coverage and public opinion survey measures of issue importance at a single point in time represent evidence of media agenda-setting. Subsequent studies refined the model by examining the agenda-setting correlation for different types of issues, different types of media, different types of audiences, and different time lags between media coverage and audience response

(Dearing and Rogers, 1996; Wanta and Ghanem, 2007). A few in this tradition tackled the difficult prospect of measuring both media agendas and public agendas over time with careful attention to the issue of causal direction (Brosius and Kepplinger, 1990; Cohen, 2008; Kellstedt, 2003). But the number of such analyses was so small that they were eliminated from a meta-analysis with the notation: “because the majority of agenda-setting studies have used Pearson correlations, eliminating these few time-series studies did not substantially reduce the number of studies included in our analysis” (Wanta and Ghanem, 2007, p. 43). McCombs and Shaw (1972) considered the possibility that correlations between media and public agendas could represent causation in the reverse direction with journalists, in effect, anticipating or estimating public interests but rejected that premise as implausible.

2.4.1 Agenda Setting: Framing

The public’s inability to always gain direct personal experience or information about mining related activities means that individuals must rely on cues to form opinions about such activities. This is why the media come in handy to fill in the gap through the provision of such information for public consumption. In situations like this, the media then report such activities from their perspective.

A frame in communication or a media refers to the words, images, phrases and mode of presentations that a speaker uses when relaying information about an issue or event to an audience (Gamson and Modigliani 1987, 1989). Frames, according to Ryan, Carragee and Meinhofer (2001), organize discourse including news stories, by their patterns of selection, emphasis and exclusion. In framing, social actors determine what is and what is not important to the issue.

Chong and Druckman (2001) states that public opinion often depends on how the elites choose to frame issues. In this regard, it can be argued that meanings of issues are not absolute.

Framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007). Several researches established that the media has powerful effect on its audience but most of these researches were conducted outside Ghana focusing mainly on problems in other parts of the world. Hanitzsch (2007) identifies that other variables, like the journalistic culture can influence a journalist's presentation of issues. He defines journalistic culture as a particular set of ideas and practices which, consciously or unconsciously guide the journalist to legitimate their role in society and render their work meaningful for themselves and others. In this regard, it could be concluded without looking at the nuances in this definition that the journalist is the determiner of meaning. This authority that journalists have in news coverage which is influenced by the journalistic culture could be the cause of biases in news reportage. This kind of bias is not the result of ideological decisions, but rather the result of the routines by which journalists work such as judging news stories according to their news values, or the use of framing which provide stories that are easily recognizable for audiences. What then inform that kind of selection depends on the objective that the person wants to achieve or the journalistic culture.

Higgins (1996) also observed that salience draws an individual's attention to specific parts of a message which can then have an effect on subsequent judgment. This means that the use of salience which is at the discretion of the media increases the likelihood that selective attention will be paid to the organization of particular aspects of messages thereby giving it the potential to influence subsequent interpretation and judgment of issues that may be reported. In that vein,

it presupposes that certain messages have to be selected and given salience and others have to be ignored. Who determines the selected and the ignored? Obviously it is the journalist.

Adams and Xenos (2001) stated that the idea of framing first appeared in Goffman's seminal work of 1974 with the underlying presumption that messages affect subsequent thoughts and actions. In other words, a message can induce how we think and the way we behave. They further indicated that one key element of framing is the organization and packaging of news which include the style and mode of presentation of messages. This means that how one says what they say could equally be as important as what they say as far as meaning attribution is concerned. For instance, Fishman and Marvin (2003) posited that photographs are regarded as very powerful tools that enhance the visual insight and imageries of viewers and they have the tendency to make a lasting impression on the minds of those who are exposed to them. In this light, stories that are accompanied by related photographs have a greater propensity to appeal to the heart and minds of viewers than those that are not.

Aoyagi-Usui (2009) conducted research in Japan that analyzed Japanese newspaper coverage of global warming from January 1998 to July 2007 and how public opinion during parts of that period was influenced by the newspaper coverage. The findings showed that dramatic increase in newspaper coverage of global warming from January 2007 had significant influence on people's perception on global warming. This suggests that the media, www.citifmonline.com can act as an effective tool in galvanizing public support and influencing policy formulation towards the activities of illegal mining.

It is the desire to make sense of the world that makes the individual to rely on other sources like the media for help. In this way the media hold some degree of power over the individual forcing him/her to think in a certain way in their interpretation of issues. Mining and mining related

activities have always been a problem for many mineral producing nations and the media often perform their watchdog role by covering such mining issues.

In Ghana for example by the end of 1999, the mining sector had attracted over US\$3 billion worth of foreign direct investment with 19 operating mines and over 128 local and foreign companies mainly in the domain of gold (Akabzaa and Darimani, 2001). With such a great investment going into the sector, it is imperative to look at how the media captures activities of the sector since the media wields so much influence over its audience.

2.5 Illegal Mining, the Media and Framing

Frames organize discourse, including news stories, by their patterns of selection, emphasis and exclusion (Ryan, Carragee and Meinhofer, 2001). This function of framing dwells on three thematic areas. The first selection acknowledges the fact that the media has a repertoire of issues at its disposal which as part of its mandate, it has to make available to the knowledge of the people.

Due to the limited space and transient nature of news reportage, frame helps in selecting what to bring to make news. After the selection, framing helps identify which aspect of news should be emphasized so that the information could have optimum effect on the schema of the target audience. This process is not complete without those news events that are judged not to be newsworthy and are therefore excluded or relegated to the background.

This definition involves three techniques used in the framing process which are selection, emphasis and exclusion (Ryan, Carragee and Meinhoffer, 2001). The selection and the exclusion process may be described as biases on the part of the journalist since he deliberately chooses what

to include and ignore in his reportage. The media perform very pivotal role in educating and informing the public on very pertinent issues. Mining and mining related activities have always engaged the reaction of the media. The function of inclusion, selection and exclusion that the media employs in the discharge of its duty is another issue all together.

Entman (2007) points out that the term framing bias could have three possible meanings. The first is distortion bias which refers to news that purportedly distorts or falsifies reality. This is largely unacceptable in journalistic practices. The second being content bias which favours rather than provides equivalent treatment to both sides and the third being decision-making bias which is basically about the motivation of the journalist to allegedly produces the biases based on his or her mindset or individual idiosyncrasies.

With the myriad of problems posed by illegal small-scale miners, the media become the first point of call in gaining information with regard to the activities of these miners. How the media present such issue has a great potential to influence public perception and government intervention. In the case of Chinese illegally invading Ghanaian small scale mining industry it is believed that the media reportage fueled public outcry that eventually led to the repatriation of several Chinese immigrants (Hilson et al, 2014).

Framing in itself, does not mean that a journalist spin their stories to deceive their audience. Framing here focuses on the way complex issues of illegal mining are presented and broken into comprehensible way for it to work on the cognition of the audience.

2.6 Who Sets the Agenda in the Digital Age?

With but a few keystrokes and mouse clicks any audience member may initiate a new discussion or respond to an existing one with text or audio, or perhaps images and even video. Transmitting requires minimal effort, and once one is digitally equipped, it is virtually costless. To posit that the power of the public agenda has swung from media elites and establishment institutions to the citizenry would be naïve. But the foundational conceptions of self-evident media agenda-setting may benefit from some fresh rethinking. The fundamental question may best be characterized as this: Under what conditions do digitally connected publics respond and when do those responses meaningfully impact the broader public and media agendas and the framing of public issues? Before the reintroduction of the term by Kim and Lee (2006), the notion of reverse agenda-setting meant simply that journalists may be responding to actual or perceived public interests and thus the public agenda could be seen as preceding and influencing the media agenda (McCombs, 2004).

Influences on the formation of the media agenda are outlined by Shoemaker and Reese's (2014) five-tier conceptual model. Their five factors contributing to the media agenda include individual journalists, media routines, organizational factors, social institutions, and cultural/ideological considerations. Although this model acknowledges the possibility that individuals, such as government officials or public relations practitioners, may affect the media agenda and that the cultural factors may simultaneously influence both journalists and their audiences, the general public is not identified as a significant influence in the model and the notion of reverse agenda-setting is not raised. Another related literature focuses on the concept of intermedia agenda building, which refers to the effects of institutional media agendas on each other (Golan, 2006). A number of studies attribute intermedia communication processes to common interests and

sources among journalists (e.g. pack journalism) as well as news organizations' willingness to "report on a report" (Denham, 2010, p. 315). Especially when reporting sensitive issues that might offend interest groups (e.g. advertisers), news agencies often cover the issues by citing the original report to make themselves appear relatively neutral. Research has demonstrated this intermedia agenda building in the correlation of the agendas of three evening television programs with that of the New York Times the following morning (Golan, 2006). More recently, studies have begun to observe the parallels between online "buzz" and mass media content (Karpf, 2008; Lee, 2007; Wallsten, 2007).

The emergence of social media has generated renewed attention to the reverse agenda-setting idea. Interpersonal conversations about public issues have always been an important part of the dynamics of the public sphere (Habermas, 1962). But now they are increasingly empirically accessible for analysis. Given the technical opportunity and most often the absence of enforced censorship, citizens of the industrialized and developing worlds, it appears, are ready and willing to speak out. The statistics here represent a moving target, but even a sampling from recent years creates a compelling picture. In 2011, Blogpulse estimated that there are more than 172 million identified blogs and more than 1 million new posts being produced by individuals each day (Blogpulse, 2011). Twitter has 100 million active users logging in at least once a month and 50 million active users every day (Taylor, 2011). Of course, blogs and social media are famously full of "pointless babble" and self-promotion. One study in 2009 focusing on Twitter ranked "pointless babble" at 40% and "conversation" at 38% (tweets that go back and forth between folks, almost in an instant message fashion, as well as tweets that try to engage followers in conversation, such as questions or polls) and current news at 4% (Kelly, 2009). So, given the

tremendous size of this electronic conversation, even if cats playing pianos seem to be the most popular, there is extensive and diverse political conversation and commentary as well.

It would be problematic, of course, to simply equate online tweets, blogs, and comments to “public opinion” in general. Social media users are not demographically representative and diverse social media platforms undoubtedly develop local cultures of expressive style which will influence the character of what people choose to say. But in-person, telephonic, and online surveys of multiple choice self-reports also fail to capture this elusive gold standard of public opinion without bias and distortion. The social media represent an important, perhaps increasingly important, instantiation of public opinion just as the outcomes derived from those who choose to answer surveys and those who choose to vote do.

The standing answer to the question “who sets the agenda” is that the traditional media set it. Online news sources which represent the online face of traditional broadcast and print media dominate public attention to news online (Hindman, 2009). By one estimate only 5% of bloggers commenting on public affairs do anything approaching independent journalism and information gathering, it is mostly simply a reaction to mainstream media content (Lenhart and Fox, 2006). In language that often proposes to celebrate the new citizen journalists and community agenda-setters, lists of the “exemplary” cases of reverse agenda-setting are less than compelling. Most such top 10 lists in the American context point to the case of bloggers keeping the issue of Senator Trent Lott’s awkward racial remarks alive in 2002 and Dan Rather’s troublesome sources for his story on candidate George W. Bush’s Air National Guard experience in 2004, resulting in both stories being addressed by the traditional media. Other examples, after those two significant stories, are rather marginal, dealing with technical issues in Apple and Dell products and other cases where it was unclear where a story was initiated (Haskins, 2007). A study of top 10 cases

of reverse agenda-setting in Korea included a few significant political cases but most dealt with minor scandals or bizarre behavior including the mishandling of babies in an obstetrics ward, poor quality school lunches, and a kerfuffle over a dog in a train station (Kim and Lee, 2006). Anecdotal examples do not represent systematic evidence, but the explosive growth of social media and the increasingly complex dynamics of intermedia agenda building merit further attention

2.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter empirically reviewed studies relating to illegal mining and framing, a core aspect of the agenda setting theory. The theoretical reviews also concentrated on reviewing literature on the main theory of the study. The chapter also considered reviews of studies that applied the agenda setting theory and the interplay between media agenda setting and the general policy change in states. This gave a wide perspective of the literature on the topic while giving grounds for a proper analysis to be done vis-à-vis the literature review. The next chapter seeks to outline the methodology and appropriate methods that are used in gathering data for the objectives set for the study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methods and processes engaged in collecting and examining the data pertaining to the impact of media agenda setting in Ghana and its effects on the fight against galamsey. This chapter covers important aspects of the study since the methodology have a great impact on the outcome of research findings and contribution to knowledge. A wrong methodology offers wrong results and wrong interpretations and vice versa. Following the scientific approach of qualitative research, this chapter covers issues such as the research approach, the research design, sampling technique and size, the data collection and analysis procedures. Essentially, this chapter goes to discuss the principles that underlie the choice of methods employed for the data collection and a further explanation of the procedures used in analysing the data in order to respond to the research questions, which are:

1. How did www.citifmonline.com frame galamsey in Ghana between 2017 and 2020?
2. How did www.citifmonline.com framing of galamsey influence policy formulation or change on galamsey in Ghana between 2017 and 2020?

3.1 Research Approach

It is an essential factor for the researcher to have in-depth understanding of whether media agenda setting has any effects on government's fight against galamsey in Ghana. Most of the studies in this field come to a conclusion that inasmuch as there is progress made in the fight against illegal

mining, the impact analysis of the media is missing. Studies have been unable to tell whether it indeed was the media factor that was solely responsible to fight the menace or other factors were involved. To understand the why means using a qualitative approach that will allow interviewees assess the situation and provide their candid opinions on the matter. To have an in-depth understanding of these issues requires the adoption of qualitative approach to this study. Employing a qualitative research approach helps the researcher gain better understanding of social realities and draws attention to processes, meaning patterns and structural features of why females are underrepresented (Flick, Kardorff and Steinke, 2004). This implies that using the qualitative approach is helpful in obtaining detailed information the media's agenda to make the issues worthy of discussing and engaging stakeholders on press meetings. In relation to this, Daymon and Holloway (2011) affirm that qualitative research is a powerful means of gaining in-depth and holistic understanding of issues. Therefore, studying the composition of boards from a gender angle of a qualitative research provides an in depth understanding of the experiences of journalists and media managers from citifmonline.com.

Lindlof and Taylor (2002) give the indication that qualitative researchers seek to examine the situated form, content and experience of social action, in words rather than subjecting it to mathematical transformations. The anticipated outcome of the study makes it important to the researcher that the issue of media agenda setting and the fight against illegal mining in Ghana be subjected to interpretive or descriptive analysis and not just statistical manipulations. This idea is affirmed by Amaratunga et al. (2002) and Willis (2008) as they argue that the qualitative approach concentrates mainly on words and observations to express reality, and tries to describe people and research phenomena in natural situations instead of statistical testing of variables.

Delpont and De Vos (2011) also affirm that “qualitative study is concerned with non-statistical methods and small samples, often purposively selected” (p. 65). This approach helped the researcher to deduce the latent meanings behind the understandings of the chair persons and also thematise the issues discussed in the literature.

Drawing from these instances, the researcher finds it imperative that the current study probes the concept of galamsey and media agenda setting in Ghana. An approach which collects data from participants and analyses data inductively, building from particular to general themes and the researcher making interpretations of the meanings of the data.

3.3 Research Design

A research design focuses on the processes to achieve the required outcome for a study. Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2005) indicate that the research design constitutes the overall plan according to which the respondents of a proposed study are selected, as well as the means of data collection or generation. According to Creswell (2014), the research design is the strategy, plan and structure of conducting a research work. Amoani (2005) explains deeper by stating that research design involves the arrangement of conditions for collecting and analysing data relevant to the research in the most economical manner. This is determined by the sample size, sampling technique, the type of data and the means of data collection as well as the method of data analysis (Amoani, 2005). It must be emphasised that the selection of a research design is mostly dependent on the nature of the research problem, the researcher’s personal experiences, and the type of audience for the study as asserted by Creswell (2014).

Centred on Creswell's (2014) assertion, the researcher collected data in the field at the site where participants experience the issue of galamsey and are able to set the agenda. For that reason, the day-to-day activities of journalists, editors and media workers related to galamsey, as phenomenon, are best understood through a case study analysis of the field. Hence, this study employed a case study design to qualitatively investigate whether the media can set an agenda such as the fight against galamsey which has the capability to influence national discourse and policy.

Case studies allow for gathering information from multiple sources by using different methods such as interviews, direct observations, documents and reports (Creswell, 2013), and even surveys can be incorporated (Bower and Courtright, 1984). The reason for employing various data gathering methods for case studies is because some scholars believe it is too narrow a means of gathering in-depth information. Hence, triangulating the data gathering methods makes the findings more reliable. But this idea depends on the type of case study one is employing. There are two types of case studies: the single case study and the collective case study. Employing the single case study means that the researcher's concern is to study one phenomenon from one bounded environment. However, as Yin (2009) argues, the collective case study studies the phenomenon from multiple bounded cases. What this study does is to use the collective case study to understand the phenomenon (media agenda setting, national policy and galamsey) within multiple bounded cases (citifmonline and government institutions). This means then that, in-depth interviews from these different organisations in Ghana can provide substantial and credible data for the study. Obviously, a large sample size for qualitative research, in this case, means data saturation can occur. When there is data saturation, the need will not be there to triangulate

methods because the study will not unearth any new knowledge that cannot be provided by the interviews only.

3.4 Sampling Strategy

The essential principle of gaining rich, in-depth information guides the sampling strategies of qualitative researchers (Daymon and Holloway, 2011). According to Bryman and Bell (2003), sampling is the segment of the population that is selected for investigation; it is a subset of the population. Sampling also refers to the process of picking a subgroup for a study (Kusi, 2012). Kusi explained that sampling is necessary because it is usually impracticable to examine the entire population in a study (Kusi, 2012).

Based on these views, and since the researcher could not make direct observations of every galamsey activity and monitor every media house in Ghana to draw the relationship between the two, the researcher purposively selected www.citifmonline.com as the media organisation to undertake the study. This media house was chosen because they were one of the first to set the agenda as part of their parent company's agenda to bring the menace of galamsey to public attention. Again, because it is an online portal, it is easy to retrieve information in an orderly manner from the before, during and after the anti-galamsey campaigns by the media. This makes it easy to monitor the galamsey issues and juxtapose that to the response and interventions of Government. It is important to also note that in phenomenological study, researchers generally use purposeful sampling. This means that, according to the purpose of my study, I chose a specific group and setting for my research, and then used a criteria to select who and what will be studied (Daymon & Holloway, 2011).

This study required specific information on galamsey and media agenda setting in Ghana. It was therefore imperative to use citifmonline since they were early promoters of the idea in recent times.

3.5 Sample Size

The phenomenon of interest was centered on the participants who were journalists, editors and other media workers at *Citi FM*. So, the selection of a sample size was crucial to the investigations in this study. In order to analyse the effects of media agenda setting to that of national policy, a sample size was taken from the reports of citifmonline which was related to galamsey and that of government official documents on the matter.

On the basis of Miles, Huberman and Saldana's (2014) assertion that in qualitative research, sampling relies on small numbers with the intention of studying the phenomenon in depth and in detail, two editors and three journalists were interviewed, making the sample size 5. This was for the interviews, while all galamsey stories on citifmonline became part of the sample size for the document analysis. Wolcott (1994) also adds that, rather than a large sample size enhancing qualitative research, a large sample may actually harm it as the research is likely to lack the depth and richness of a smaller sample. The reason for choosing the two editors and three journalists was because they have more knowledge about the organisation and have experience in reporting on environmental issues.

Daymon and Holloway (2011) emphasised that a small sample allows the researcher to capture participants' specific responses and individual interpretations. In considering Baum's (2002) views on how there are no closely defined rules for sample size in qualitative research, a total of

five participants were sampled in anticipation for obtaining a rich data set and a diverse interpretation for the study.

3.6 Data Collection Instrument

The data collection tools employed was recommended based on the phenomenology research. This required participants or non-participant observations, unstructured interviews, research diaries among others, in order to obtain rich data and descriptions. Inherently, time constraints of the study only allowed for interviews to be conducted since it adopts phenomenology data techniques (Kozinets, 2015).

3.6.1 Interviews

Interviews will be conducted to gather data on the experiences of participants on what media agenda setting is and the effects on the fight against galamsey is. The interviews served as a means to explore the perspectives and perceptions of the participants. Through this means, the researcher was able to gather data to investigate the factors and reasons for galamsey and why the media wants such mining activity to end in Ghana.

To Lindlof and Taylor (2002), qualitative interview involves a situation where one person, who is known as the interviewer, emboldens others (interviewees) to talk about their interests and experiences without any kind of restraint. Again, Creswell (2014) explains interviews as a means through which the researcher conducts face-to-face interviews with participants, interviews participants by telephone, on the internet, or engages in focus group interviews with six to eight

interviewees in each group. In light of the above, the act of interviewing entails inquiry through asking questions and listening of responses and reactions of the interviewee/s. This process helped the researcher to appreciate the phenomenon under study from the interviewees' viewpoints.

For the study, semi-structured interview was employed. This approach to interviews required the researcher to prepare an interview guide before the interview (Braun and Clarke, 2011). However, the researcher was flexible with the kind of questions she asked from the interview guide and did not rigidly adhere to the order in which the questions were arranged (Braun and Clarke, 2011). The questions were precise in wording and devoid of ambiguities such that the kind of data being elicited was adequately accessed.

The interview sessions lasted 2 hours, 16 minutes with participants interrogated on questions which implored media agenda setting, effects of agenda setting on national policy and effects of media setting on the fight against galamsey.

The questions that were asked during the interview were aided by an interview guide and based on the research questions of the study. The course of interview was conversational which enabled the interviewees to elaborate and freely express their experiences of the phenomenon. The researcher had the chance to clarify the term portions of the interview questions whenever it appeared the participant had difficulty understanding a specific question (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002).

The researcher had the opportunity of conducting both face-to-face and on-phone interviews with the participants in their offices. The study had to use both methods due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Before proceeding to the interview with the participants, the researcher had several telephone conversations with them in order to get a suitable date on which they would be free to

be interviewed for the study. Through that period, I introduced myself, my purpose to the participant and also briefed them about how the interview was going to be carried out. This was to create rapport between myself and the participants as I explained the purpose of the study to them (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002).

3.6.2 Document Analysis

The document analysis refers to analysing documents that contain information about the phenomenon under study (Bailey, 1994; Bowen, 2009). The documents for the study are examined and interpreted for their meanings and to gain understanding through developing empirical knowledge (Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Rapley, 2007). Hence, all reports from the media and government on the galamsey issue within the period under study were analysed. According to Payne (2004), documentary analysis helps to identify the limitations inherent in using human sources. Also, the texts, images and videos are social facts that are produced, shared and used in a socially organised system (Atkinson and Coffey, 1997). The document analysis was appropriate for the study since it is highly applicable to qualitative case studies (Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994). Again, document analysis has been employed by various scholars to corroborate their findings from using other methods (Angers and Machtmes, 2005; Rossman and Wilson, 1985; Sogunro, 1997). Other scholars have also used document analysis as a single method to data analysis and enquiry (Gagel, 1997; Wild, McMahon, Darlington, Liu, and Culley; 2009).

3.7 Data Collection Procedure

The data collection procedure looks at the means through which the researcher utilises the various data collection instruments to gather data for a study.

I had telephone interviews with the participants. Once the interviewees accepted to be interviewed, a convenient date was scheduled for that purpose. On the day of the interview, I placed calls to the participants to record their locations. Their offices were best placed since there was little noise there. The interviews were recorded using my iPhone and were later retrieved. Because the call was not a video call, certain nonverbal cues were not able to be noted down in my field notes during the interview session. The semi-structured interview guide was used to direct the flow of the interview with the participant, with focus on the participants' experiences of media agenda setting and galamsey practice in Ghana. Nonetheless, new ideas which were outside the guide were allowed. The interviews were characterised by unstructured and open-ended questions meant to prompt opinions from the participants (Creswell, 2014) and to verify their experiences of the phenomenon. To ensure participants' anonymity, I inquired if they would want to maintain their identity when using the extracts of their interviews in the study, they agreed to using codes to identify them instead. The recorded interviews were transcribed and analysed. The data were analysed qualitatively through the use of content analysis with emerging themes at the end. A pattern subsequently emerged from the coding process and the coded data were categorised thematically. Themes were later developed out of the listed categories as some of them were similar in character.

3.8 Method of Data Analysis

Data from the interviews were analysed using content analysis to discover the reasons for setting the agenda on galamsey and what the effects of media agenda setting on galamsey were. To begin the process, I employed the use of Qualitative Content Analysis of the interviews obtained.

Qualitative Content Analysis, also known as Latent Content Analysis or Ethnographic Content Analysis (Julien, 2008), caters to the object of analysis, that is, all kinds of recorded communication (social media visual contents, protocols of observations, and documents).

Bowen (2009) sheds more light by admitting that content analysis technique was best suitable for examining data collated through the analysis of documents. And documents obtained from the data were in the form of texts and transcribed interviews. These ideas or messages were then sorted out into different categories according to some set of classification criteria (Rosenberry and Vicker, 2009).

A close reading of the text was done, paying attention to issues that center on galamsey, national policy and media agenda setting in Ghana. The dominant issues identified were collapsed into themes, and the themes were used for the analysis.

In order to minimise subjectivity and bias, the researcher bracketed himself during the investigation. Bracketing, according to Bertelsen (2005), involves the researcher creating a distance from previously held assumptions or theories and basing interpretations solely on immediate insight into the phenomenon itself. In interpreting the findings and discussing the data, I drew meanings on the basis of the theories used for the research and direct quotations were to support the various findings from the research and to help analyse effectively.

3.9 Ethical Issues

Arnould (1998) affirms that ethical concerns arise due to the structure of case study research. In relation to all this, there was the need to follow an ethical guideline in conducting this case study.

For the study, I ensured the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants by using codes. I also engaged the participants, informing them through written letters, in order to interview them for the study. The interviews were done personally by the researcher, and this enabled the researcher to explain the essence of the study to participants and to assure them that their responses were purely for academic purposes. Participants were not coerced to respond to any question and were free to end their participation in the study whenever they wished to. The protection of the participant's right to privacy was also adhered to and participants were treated with the needed respect.

3.10 Trustworthiness of the Study

In order to validate and make trustworthy the study, the research was founded on the criteria of trustworthiness accorded to reflexivity, adequacy of data, and adequacy of interpretation (Marrow, 2005). The researcher's reflexivity is an important approach for the researcher to understand his or her own effect on the research (Patton, 2002). Invariably, this entailed the researcher observing her own experiences and understanding of the world which would affect the research process. In the line of reflexivity, the researcher becomes aware of his assumptions, predispositions and personal experiences about research and making them overt to the self and others by bracketing (Fischer, 2009). Through bracketing, I set aside any suppositions so I understand how the media workers conceptualised agenda setting and the reasons for choosing galamsey as a subject worth setting the agenda on.

In maintaining the trustworthiness of the study, another factor considered was the adequacy of the data and interpretation as avowed by Marrow (2005). Substantial data was gathered from the

interviews and through selected related documents such as scholarly articles pertaining to national policy, media agenda setting and galamsey activities in Ghana. Adequacy of interpretation centered on the multi-theoretical approach chosen. This was to ensure the credibility and dependability of the study, which are considerations established in qualitative research alongside transferability and conformability (Anney, 2014; Lincoln and Guba, 2000). Based on the assertion of Lincoln and Guba (2000) in preserving the credibility of the research, I used three stated means of achieving trustworthiness on any study. These were persistent observations in the research field, peer scrutiny of the research project and the use of multiple theories or perspectives in the analyses of the data set to better understand the phenomenon studied.

The study lasted for three (3) months and this enabled persistent analysis of document, followed by the help of a “to do list” scheduled on my iPhone mobile device. On days I could not attend to the reading the literature of conducting interviews, I made time for it on the next schedule observations. Peer and academic scrutiny of the research was employed throughout the period of the study. This was achieved through constructive feedbacks offered by my supervisor, peer researchers and other academics. These fresh perspectives and additions to the study enabled me fine tune and present a stronger argument for my study. Another essential angle to check the credibility of my study was with the use of Guba’s (2000) theory triangulation method. This entails involving more than one theory or perspectives to interpret single sets of data or to “extend the possibilities for producing knowledge” (Flick, 2002, p. 227).

3.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter has established the methods that were employed in arriving at the data for the study. It was important that the selected research design was appropriate in investigating the perspectives of participants on agenda setting, national policy and galamsey in Ghana. In view of this, a case study design was used to examine the phenomenon of media agenda setting and galamsey in Ghana. Through interviews, I gathered my data from three journalists and two editors at citifmonline. Ultimately, this chapter dealt with critical areas of concern in ethical issues, which is ensuring consent and confidentiality of participants to ensure the trustworthiness of the data. The next chapter discusses the data gathered through the lens of the theoretical and empirical perspectives.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

In chapter three, the study indicated the appropriate methodology for the study. This chapter is the continuation of chapter three where it presents and analyzes the findings gathered from chapter three. This chapter presents the results based on the objectives of the study. Each sub-heading in this chapter is done in accordance with the research objectives. Hence, there are two broad subsections to this chapter. The first one presents the findings on how galamsey was framed in the www.citifmonline.com from 2017 to 2021. The second section looks at whether the frames given to galamsey through www.citifmonline.com reportage had any impact on national policies.

4.2 Framing of Galamsey stories in www.citifmonline.com

Four thematic areas were used to analyse the framing process of www.citifmonline.com. These included the size of the frame, the aesthetics of the frame, how the story was treated and the tone of the story. Each of these areas helped the study to put the framing analyses into complete perspective.

Stories from 2018 and 2021 were used for the study. 2018 was the peak of the galamsey campaign and hence most conferences were organized within that period. Again, most policy makers paid attention to the issues in the media within that time. Hence, it was important to use this year. 2021 was also chosen because the Nana Addo government promised to end the Galamsey menace in his second term. This means that if there is any response to the issue, then 2021 should be giving

the headlight. In 2018, the total number of Galamsey stories on www.citifmonline.com was 66 while the total number of stories as of November, 4, 2021 (were data gathering ended) was 97.

4.2.1 Size of frame

The size of the frame indicates the numerical dimensions of the story. In newspapers, the size is often measured using a rule. However, because this is online, that rule was not applied. Instead, the number of minutes per read was used to determine the size of the frame. The stories were between 2 and 3 minutes each. Using the rule of 5 words to each second in a sentence, this means that there were as many as 600 words per story for the 2 minute length stories and 900 words per story for the 3 minute long stories.

Image 4.1: Duration of reading



4.2.2 Aesthetics

The aesthetics theme looks at whether the stories came with appropriate photography, video, graphic animation, symbols or any form of art work. The study revealed that all 163 stories that were posted on www.citifmonline.com during the time period came with pictures.

On the contrary, the use of photographs in accompanying mining related stories does not correspond to the actual number of issues on illegal mining that were reported. While forty-five percent (45%) out of the 163 stories analysed were with photographs of speakers on the galamsey menace, only about twenty percent (20%) were photographs used about illegal mining scenes. These photographs were reported mining pits and the devastating effects of mining on the environment. These findings go to support Babut et al.'s (2003) finding that illegal mining activities have had very devastating effects on the environment. However out of the 163 photographs used to accompany the stories, 17 constituting 20% of were about illegal mining sites. This suggests that only 20% percent of the photographs were used to frame the story to appeal to the emotional response of the readers (Setmetko and Valkenburg 2000). Thus, framing was used to bring to the fore some of the negative effects of illegal mining through a picturesque presentation to influence the readers perspective about the issue.

4.2.3 Story Treatment

In story treatment, the study looked the importance each story received. The way the story is treated determines the placement and choice of words used. In story placement, the work looked at whether the story was written as a news item, an opinion, an editorial, or a featured story. The table below shows the number of stories and the way the story was treated.

Number of story	Treatment given
2	Editorial
56	Opinion
97	News item
8	Featured story

The table above indicates the treatment of the stories and the total number of stories for each category. Editorials, regarded as the opinion of the media house had two stories. Editorial stories are those that are written by the editors and represent the standpoint of the media organization on matters of galamsey. 56 of the stories were opinion stories from the journalists and other opinion leaders. These are stories written to express people’s views other than that of the media organization. They are written by experts and beat-journalists. These stories were the second most populous on www.citifmonline.com. Most of the stories were treated as news items. With a frequency of 97, these stories are reported on and written by journalists of www.citifmonline.com. News items are those that follow the 5Ws and H style of reporting where the journalist only tells the story from what they have observed and/or told only. These stories do not contain the opinions of the journalists nor that of www.citifmonline.com. The last group of stories with a total number of 8 were feature stories. These are stories that are not originally written by www.citifmonline.com but had a way of being featured on www.citifmonline.com because of the relevance of the information they bear.

4.2.4 Tone of story

Under the tone of the story, the study seeks to look at the tonation and choice of words used in narrating the stories. There were several tones that were realized. Some of them were optimistic, others were pessimistic while some were neutral. Optimistic tones are stories that show a positive or hopeful nature. They are stories that come with some form of believe that the fight against galamsey is being won. The pessimistic stories are those that indicate that the rhetoric on galamsey is just a façade and hence the outlined policies will not be able to solve the galamsey. The neutral tones indicate those that neither sound positive or negative. They talk about the general issues of galamsey and do not tell whether it is good or bad. They are often descriptive and less opinionated.

Pessimistic tone

In June 24, 2018, www.citifmononline.com reported a story on the slow prosecution process at the Judiciary. In that story, they used words that suggest that the government is doing less in fighting the galamsey menace. The story, titled ‘The Media Coalition against Galamsey (MCAG) has blamed the justice system in Ghana for the slow fight against illegal mining in Ghana’ used the following sentence to show their pessimism about government’s actions... ‘According to them, the rate at which the illegal miners are prosecuted when they are arrested and the paltry fines handed to them as punishment are “unacceptable.”

Optimistic tone

An example of the optimistic tone has to do with a story published in October 26, 2021. This had to do with satisfaction of actions taken so far by the state in fighting against the galamsey operators. According to the story,

“...These efforts have resulted in significant gains with some of the waterbodies visibly clearing up. Today, after sustained hard work, we have reached a situation of reasonably satisfactory regulations of the small-scale mining sector.’

Neutral tone

In the January 12, 2021 story, the lead paragraph read that ‘President Akufo-Addo appears to have softened his stance on frontally dealing with the phenomenon of illegal mining in the country calling for an open conversation on whether or not the activity should be allowed to continue.’

In paragraph three of same story, the President is seen saying “‘There is one subject...I believe we the people need to have an open conversation, and that is the phenomenon of galamsey. Should we allow or not allow galamsey,” President Akufo-Addo said.’

Findings about the tone of stories that were published indicate that a little over 50% of stories on illegal mining stories had a pessimistic tone. From this, it could be concluded that more than half of the stories from www.citifmonline.com were with pessimistic tones than stories with optimistic and neutral tone. In other words, stories with negative themes about illegal mining have dominated the publications on the website for the 2018-2021 year period. This resonates with (Pomary, 2016) on the negative effects of illegal mining on mining areas in the country. It further corroborates his assertion that illegal mining activities have had negative implication for this country and the education of the youth. As a media organization, www.citifmonline.com performs educational, and informative watchdog role in bringing salient issues to the general attention of

the public. Findings on the use of tones further establish that the www.citifmonline.com, through the framing process of selection and emphasis used salient pessimistic stories in its coverage of illegal mining to inform the public.

4.3 Correlation between media framing and national policy

In 2017, the #StopGalamseyNow campaign, a campaign that was a culmination of efforts by members of the public to condemn galamsey, rose to prominence to place pressure on the government of Ghana to tackle the illegal practice. The hashtag would be utilized by non-profit groups, churches, and social organizations who mobilized around the fight to end galamsey activities. As Agobzo & Spassov (2018) note the media subsequently joined the cause by providing stories, photos, and videos on the damage caused by galamsey. A litany of media companies also banded together to place additional on the government to act (Agobzo and Spassov 2018, page 613). Moreover, a petition, which included signatures from key ministerial figures, was also presented to parliament. The #StopGalamsey campaign, in concert with extensive lobbying, helped to further embed notions of galamsey as inherently bad, and galvanize the

This section of the study gathered information from the interviews conducted. This was to hear from the journalists and editors of www.citifmonline.com as to whether their work through setting the agenda was able to influence national policy on the galamsey menace. Over here, there were seven four areas of questioning. These areas ranged from the reasons behind making galamsey an issue, how the stories were framed, the challenges in making galamsey a topic, and whether there was a relationship between their stories and actions taken by the government. Each area of

questioning contributed a great amount to understanding the phenomenon of media framing and that of national policy formulation.

4.3.1 Why make galamsey an issue?

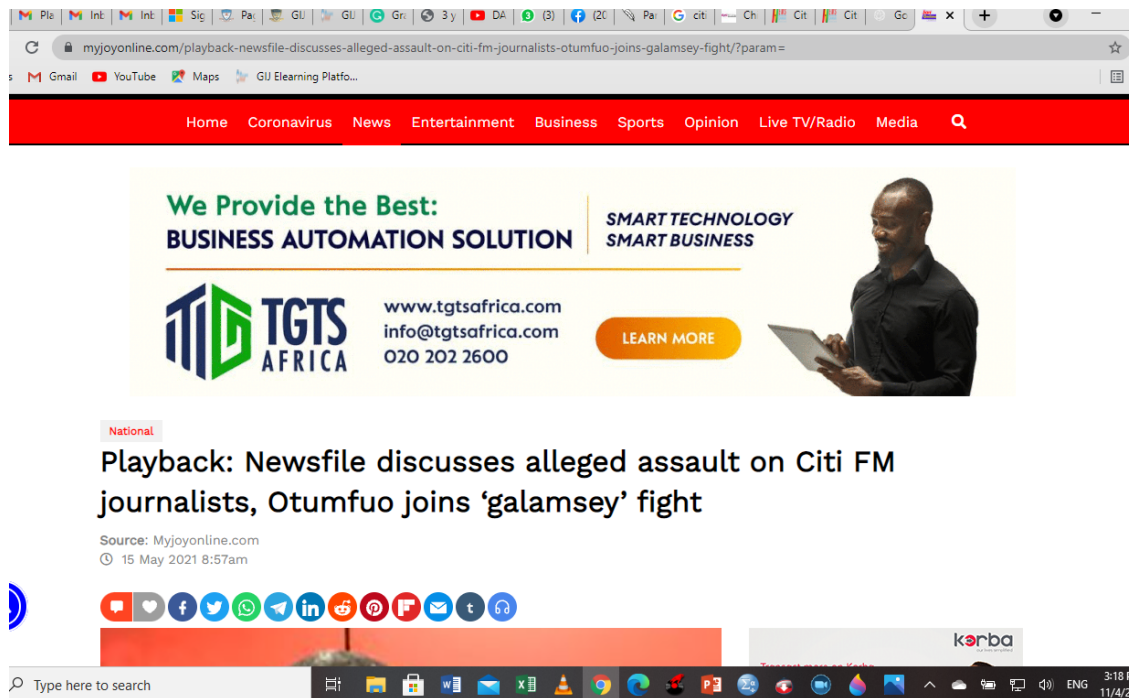
There are various societal problems in Ghana. However, very few of them catches the attention of the media in the way the issue of the galamsey. This question was asked to solicit views from the staff of www.citifmonline.com on why galamsey and not any other national issue. The staff were required to tell the importance of framing to the whole issue of galamsey. Over here, various personal and editorial reasons were given. Reasons such as galamsey being the leading cause of mass environmental destruction and water pollution, the dangers of galamsey, and passion.

On environmental destruction, there was a focus on the survival of the nation and the future of Ghana. They argued that Galamsey should be seen as an act of greediness, with the current generation becoming “greedily ubiquitous with money and willing to do anything whether good or bad, sustainable or non-sustainable just to satisfy our current wants or needs; leaving nothing for the future generations” (Editor 1, 2021). Another staff argued that the issue of galamsey is linked to the general poverty levels in the country. Hence, ‘one cannot concentrate on galamsey without looking at the root cause’ (JN3, 2021). Linked to this, the reason for concentrating on galamsey is because when the poverty frame is lifted from the galamsey operators, stating that the practice is driven by poverty, and is a result of the “gaps in the system and institutional failures” (JN 5, 2021), and then critiques the main reason as to why individuals get involved in the practice of galamsey, to the detriment of the environment. The environmental threat frame of the galamsey operator remains an ever present part of both political and public discourse on the

galamsey issue, remaining at the heart of the anti-galamsey rhetoric launched by the media and government alike. However, in recent years, the poverty frame has begun to emerge in the www.citifmonline.com's coverage on galamsey. Many of the stories included in my analysis that were written in 2018, included the code "livelihood". Moreover, most of the analyzed stories that included the codes "development" and "employment" were written in 2018. The results of the document analysis, evaluating a sample of the content on the website between the 2018 and 2021 period demonstrate the emergence of a new frame within www.citifmonline.com, away from the environmental threat frame towards other possible frames that may focus on other aspects of the practice. The presence of the notion of the galamseyers as a 'menace' to the environment was consistent throughout, while discussions on alternative approaches to the galamsey, emerged. According to JN 4 (2021), mass pollution, the damage to water bodies, and the destruction of forests and ecosystems are mostly caused by the work of galamsey operators.'

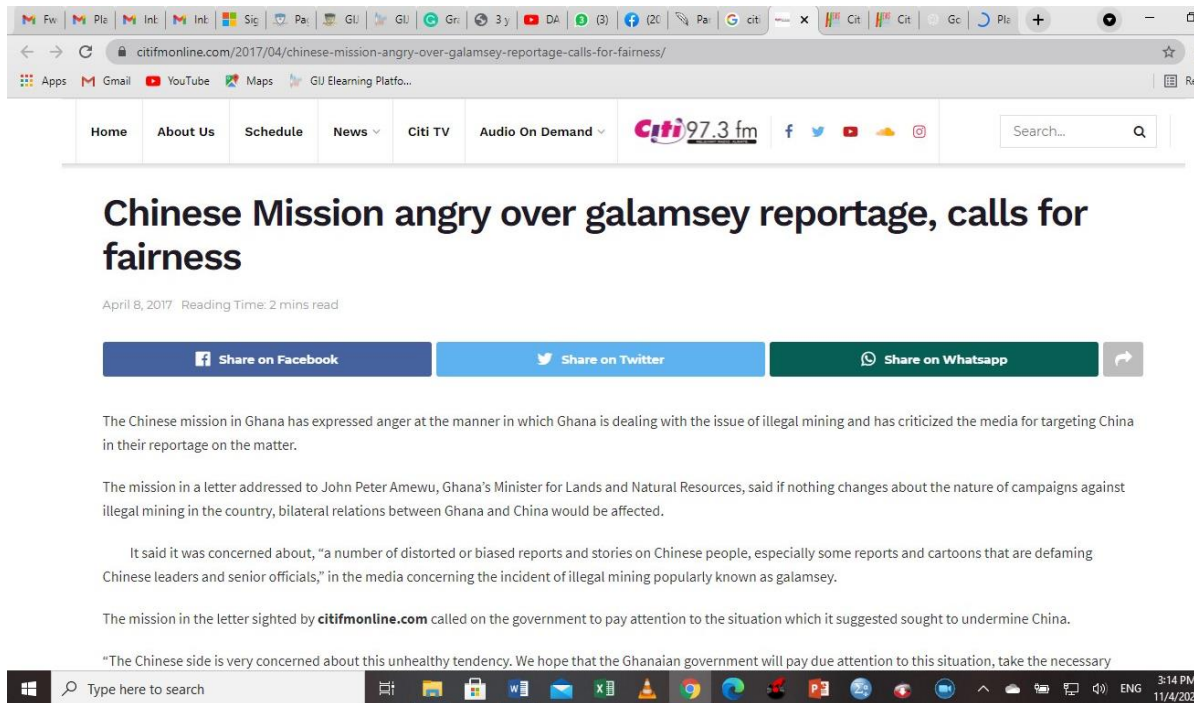
The second issue that the interviewees mentioned is the dangers of galamsey. There are many dangers associated with galamsey. Among some of the dangers, the interviewees mentioned loss of life, health danger, economic danger and international relations. According to JN 1 (2021), 'many people have lost their lives and many others are still losing their lives all in the name of galamsey. It is a very high risk job with pits collapsing in due to the less technical approach they use in that mining sector.'

Image 4.2: Assault on Citi staff



To buttress what JN 1 said, Ed 2 (2021) mentioned the health dangers the galamsey poses to both its operators and the people in the community and nationwide. She argues that ‘the galamsey operators use mercury to wash the mineral. When that happens, the mercury drains into nearby water bodies which run downstream. When people drink that water, it causes excess levels of mercury which creates sickness among the populace.’ Related to the high concentration of mercury and other chemicals seeping into water bodies, JN 4 (2021) opined that ‘the Ghana Water Company spends so much to treat the water that we drink now and this causes financial losses to the nation.’ Speaking on the international relations bit, JN 1 (2021) argues that ‘the galamsey menace is causing diplomatic problems for Ghana and its international partners. The EU has placed a ban on our cocoa due to high levels of chemicals and the Chinese government is unhappy their citizens are often mentioned to be the active participants of galamsey’.

Image 4.3: International relations effect



Galamsey operations act against the promotion of public health. Galamseymen mine in rivers and on banks; discharged untreated liquid waste into rivers; and/or clear plant cover in communities and forest reserves. They pollute water bodies that serve as sources of drinking water for several communities with mercury and other chemicals (Anas, 2011; Kusi-Ampofo and Boachie-Yiadom, 2012); as they may inhale (and cause others do same) dangerous chemicals such as mercury that have adverse effects on one's health (Anas, 2011). Illegal ASM activities have polluted the Pra, Birim and Offin rivers that supply fresh water to parts of the Ashanti, Eastern and Central regions respectively. Some have invaded the main intake points of the Ghana Water Company (GWC) on the Pra River in the Western Region, and completely blocked intake points in other parts of the country (*Daily Graphic*, 2013). Evidence from galamsey communities indicate high occurrence of respiratory infections among people who have direct or indirect relationship with galamsey. In Konongo and Odumase in the Ashanti Region, for instance, a strange lung disease killed over 100 - mostly galamseymen – between 2010 and 2013. According

to doctors, this strange respiratory disease (chronic obstructive airway) is linked to the use of mercury among galamsey operators (*Daily Graphic*, 2013). It is true that legal small or large scale mining may also cause a lot of harm to the environment as illegal ASM does, but the latter's operation often defies operational standards and easily disregards environmental impact assessment (EIA). Both legal mining activities and illegal ASM causes harm to the environment but at different degrees.

4.3.2 How Galamsey stories were framed

This section of the interviews solicits the views of the interviewees on the processes involved in the framing of the stories on Galamsey. According to the editors, besides the broader the agenda setting, which comprises of framing and priming, the specific issues of framing are around three questions. In answering those three questions, they are able to frame the stories on the galamsey menace in a manner that creates public attention to the issues. According to them, the following questions are asked:

1. How do we get people to think about the galamsey issue?
2. How do we get them to think about galamsey in such a way that they will want to find solutions to it through public policy?
3. How do we get them to think about galamsey in such a way that they will want to find solutions to it through individual action?

When these questions are answered, 'we then go ahead and present the story with the appropriate news values that accompany our house style on the website' (Ed 1, interview, 2021).

In framing the stories on galamsey, www.citifmonline.com write the story with elements that make people to keep thinking about it. It is seen that the horrifying images and devastation caused by galamsey, plus the before and after galamsey pictures that they post has the ability to draw the

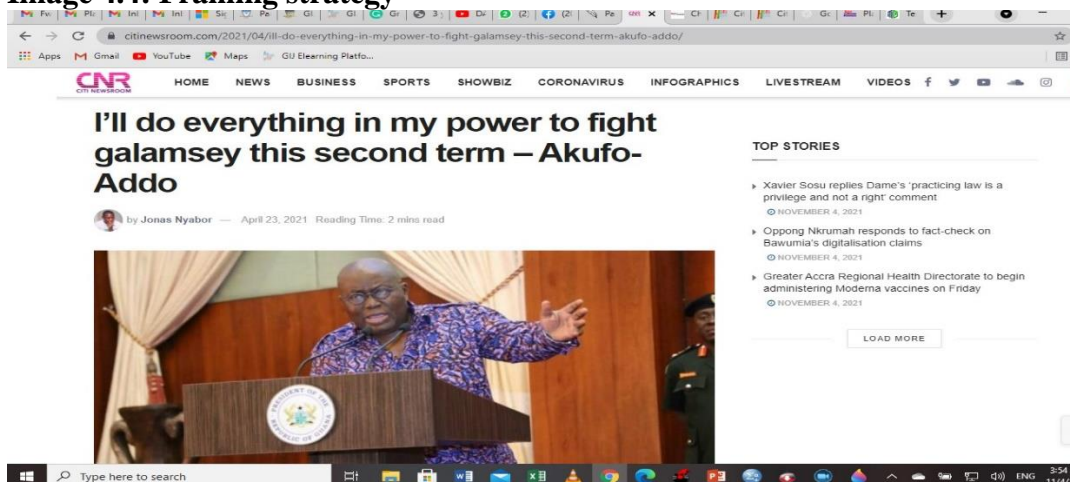
minds of people to think about the issues. As evident by most research, the pictures most people form in their minds when they read about galamsey is that it is not a good thing. Because www.citifmonline.com was also campaigning against the practice of galamsey, they consistently portrayed the act using negative descriptions.

The second process of framing the galamsey issues has to do with finding solutions at both the individual and national level through individual actions and public policy. Hence, the stories are written in such a way that they call for individuals to desist from the act while calling on government to persecute perpetrators and having a national stakeholder consultation on the issue.

‘So, in reporting on the issue of galamsey, we mention the name of the President and his ministers. When we do that, we are able to tag them to the story so that they also know the importance placed on the issue. At times, even when they are not the protagonists, we find a way of drawing them into the story so that the campaign keeps moving with the hope that they will find solutions to it’ (Ed 2, interview, 2021).

www.citifmonline.com finds a way of making the story look important in the eyes of individuals and the public. There has been various instances where the media focuses on galamsey promises made by politicians and ensure that such promises are highlighted in such a way that if the politician does not do something about it, it goes a long way to affect their works.

Image 4.4: Framing strategy



4.3.3 Challenges to framing Galamsey

Because the operations of galamsey are seen to be illegal, this part of the study seeks to offer insights into the challenges associated with the consistent reporting about galamsey. This part of the study wants to know the political economic implications of galamsey so far as the media organisation's output is concerned. The study found out whether there has been any threats and other unfavourable conditions the editors and journalists faced in trying to through the search light on the galamsey menace. To this effect, the study came out with two main issues namely challenges to work and challenges to the state. On the challenges to work, the study looked at danger to live of reporters and organized crime against the www.citifmonline.com brand. On the national front, the study saw sponsoring the deep state, sponsoring criminals and sponsoring politicians as challenges that hinder the journalist to frame such stories.

On the issue of danger to livelihood, the reporters have on many occasions threatened to be killed by these operators when they see them around their mining sites. At times, they indeed kill some journalists and at other times, they destroy their equipment, beat them and let them go. To be a journalist reporting on galamsey is no simple task if one wants to have exclusive images, among others. According to JN 3 (2021), 'I was nearly killed on one of my rounds in the Eastern Region but for the intervention of some farmers who pleaded on my behalf. I went to take pictures and see if I could be granted interview by the galamseyers but their way of life is entirely different.'

Another journalist recounts his ordeal with the galamseyers saying,

“. . . to be a journalist and reporting on galamsey needs special negotiation and investigative skills to be able to survive. It is often save to move with the forest commission people or the operation vanguard to ensure your safety. Because once they see camera, they think you are there to expose them to the authorities and they won't take that likely at all" (JN1, interview, 2021).

Related to this, the www.cifitmonline.com itself as an organization has received letters from unanimous persons who have threatened to deal with them. According to one of the editors, ‘we receive letters everyday requesting that we stop our campaign on the galamsey and also stop reporting about it’. This implies that the galamsey menace is deep rooted in a system where a whole network was ready to fight against www.citifmonline.com should they continue their stop galamsey project.

On the external issues of sponsoring the deep state, sponsoring criminals and sponsoring politicians, the document analysis realized that because the deep state, criminals and politicians are at times beneficiaries of galamsey operations, it is difficult to adequately frame stories in that field if one is not highly linked.

Arguing along the deep theory, just as the narcotics menace, illegal miners (can) use the huge returns they make to ‘buy’ officials (government, security) to collapse security systems and governance machinery in order to perpetuate their trade. Available evidence in Ghana today indicates that many government officials (central and local), security agents, chiefs and individuals have been compromised by illegal miners to the extent that security operations against galamsey are hardly successful; criminal charges are rarely preferred against illegal miners; and legal actions against them predictably end on the rocks. The consequence of this chain of events has been the collapse of the mineral sector and environment, and their associated negative impacts on security (local and national), development and local governance effectiveness. What probably is yet to be achieved by illegal miners is having access to, and controlling, the epicentre of politics in Ghana (Alhassan, 2014).

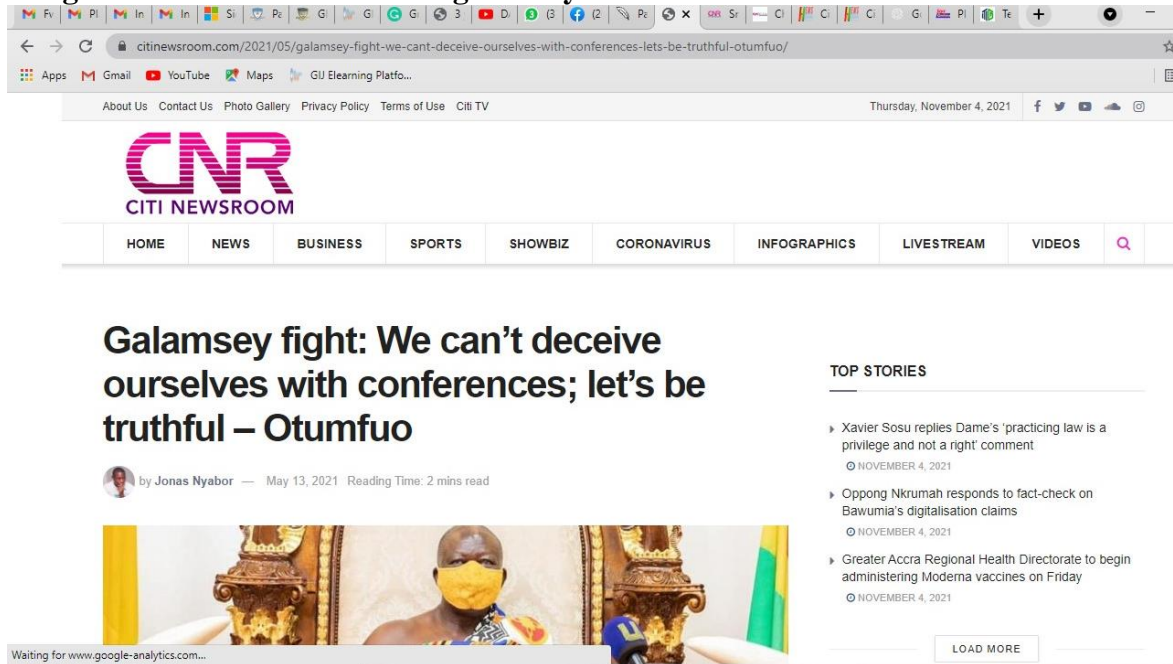
Again, crimes of all kinds are committed on illegal ASM sites: illegal possession of weapons, use of and dealing in narcotics, and robbery among others. What is more frightening is that assorted

illicit weapons widely circulate in mining areas across the country. Additionally, large quantities of weapons (including pump action guns) are believed to have been left behind by deported Chinese illegal miners for their allies, including police personnel, particularly in the Ashanti, Eastern and Western Regions (*www.myjoyonline.com*, 2013). Is there any guarantee that these arms will not fall in the hands of other criminal elements such as armed robbers? What if these sophisticated weapons are used against security officers engaged in the fight against galamsey operations in the country? The acts of terror visited by “armed illegal gold miners, brandishing guns and firing sporadically” on residents of Obuasi in March 2013, resulting in many residents fleeing the town for their dear lives is a clear example of how deadly the presence of galamseyers could be on security at both the local and national levels (*Daily Graphic*, 2013). On March 19, 2014, in the same galamsey area, an illegal miner attacked an Anti-Galamsey security patrol team with two rounds of explosives in an attempt to scare the team away from his site (*Daily Graphic*, 2014).

Thirdly, funds from illegal ASM can be laundered and used to sponsor politicians who would support the pursuit of a particular set of criminal activities in society. Examples abound on how other gold has been used to launder money. “In Central and South America, for example, drug traffickers often buy gold from informal miners and then declare the metal to be part of the output from a formal mine” (IIED, 2002: 323). Ghana’s Political Parties Act, 2000 (Act 574) is very specific on who can, and how, to sponsor political activities in the country. Two of the means of regulating party in the Act are rules on funding political parties and the requirement for submission of periodic financial reporting on parties’ activities to the Electoral Commission of Ghana. Article 23(1and2) of the Act provides that only citizens and/or corporate entities registered

in Ghana (with at least 75% Ghanaian ownership) can contribute to the funding of political parties in cash or kind (Republic of Ghana, 2000).

Image 4.5: Political influence on galamsey



The essence of these provisions is to ensure transparency and accountability in the political parties' resource mobilization and expenditure (Ninsin, 2006; Nam-Katoti et. al, 2011), and prevent manipulation of political parties by individuals and/or entities whose motives could jeopardise governance, security and development. Implied from this provision is that such contributions or donations from individuals and corporate organisations, as allowed by law, should be earned through lawful means in compliance with other laws of Ghana. What is the guarantee that galamsey networks have not funded, or attempted to fund, a political party in Ghana since the Fourth Republic? Indeed, it will be scientifically incorrect for us to underrate their capacity to influence political activities in the country. If care is not taken, galamsey influence of politics and security would be Ghana's version of drug cartels' influence on some Caribbean and South American countries. This security threat is even more critical because the

Ghanaian state does not know exactly how political parties raise funds for their activities, contrary to Article 21 (1) of Act 574. But political parties since 1993 have failed to comply with this requirement without them being punished. If there should be any evidence pointing to the receipt of financial or material support from individuals/groups engaged in galamsey by political parties, then that will be a clear case of facilitating money laundering. Per Article 1 (1and2) of the Anti-Money Laundering Act, 2008 (Act 749), an offence of money laundering involves the conversion, concealment, acquisition and/or use of the proceeds of unlawful activity (Republic of Ghana, 2008).

4.3.4 Effects of framing on national policy

Policymaking is a political process which is affected by various social and economic factors and the media plays an integral role in shaping the social context in which policies are developed. Through the media, citizens learn how government policies will affect them and governments gain feedback on their policies and programmes. The media acts as the primary conduit between those who want to influence policy and policymakers controlling the scope of political discourse and regulating the flow of information. Policymaking follows an orderly sequence where problems are identified, solutions devised, policies adopted, implemented and lastly evaluated. In reality, the policy process is more fluid, where policies are formed through struggle of ideas of various advocacy coalitions. The policies, on which the media focuses can, and often does, play an important role in determining the focal issues for policymakers.

Image 4.6: Framing and national discourse



The media acts as a powerful political actor, with its interests strongly tied to the status quo and that of other corporate policy actors, instead of the general public. Journalists and editors shape policy agendas by actively filtering issues, so that reporting confirms to their dominant news values (AALEP, 2018).

Media coverage actually has limited consequences for actual policy decisions even when policy agenda and political discussions are affected by the media. The media is important to understanding the political agenda and the framing of decisions about special or sensational issues, but normal politics and the broader policy priorities or governmental issues are largely unaffected. Media influence is strongest with sensational issues, and weakest in governmental issues, which are predominantly policy-driven. Likewise, when a policy issue is nonrecurring in terms of media coverage (a sensational issue), media power to influence public opinion (but not necessarily policy outcomes) is greater than with recurring policy coverage (which are more

synonymous with governmental issues). In the past, it was believed that the media's influence on policy occurred in a straightforward fashion, with journalists clearly separated from the governing processes. Media investigations prompt widespread changes in public opinion, citizens then organize and collectively pressure the government, which capitulates to popular pressure and makes the appropriate public policy reforms. This system assumes a strong democratic role for citizens in policymaking processes, a role which has been disputed by a number of political scientist who suggest that special interest groups and other political elites dominate the policymaking processes, not the public. Policymaking changes often occur regardless of the public's reaction to active reporting (Christian, 2013).

When asked whether government's decision to fight the galamsey menace was as a result of the media campaign and framing, the editors agreed that their actions brought the necessary attention to the issues of galamsey. The use of drones to capture the devastation caused by galamsey to lands and water resources. Though their claim could not be scientifically proven, they believe there was a much stronger correlation between their actions and that of Government decision to create a commission to look into the matter. Going further, they were supposed to show whether the fight against galamsey had been won. In this question, they all said no. They are of the view that the fight against galamsey had just began. Government and other people in society are making it difficult to win the fight against galamsey. The wrong tactics are applied, the wrong people captured, excavators burnt are counted for in judgement debt and Operation Vanguard capos are bribed. The media has done enough to highlight all these anomalies in the system but the judiciary and other arms of government have not been able to find lasting solution to the problems. As opined by Ed 2 (2021),

‘So we are calling on the police who are involved in the investigation, prosecutors, lawyers who go to court, we are calling on the Ministry of Interior, Chief Justice and judges, that it’s important that when people are arrested we go through the processes and make sure we exact the maximum punishment that is required.’

Ed 1 (2021) also agreed that ‘If you play diplomacy with it, if we allow partisanship to come into this fight, we are dead.’

Again, the interviewees were asked to indicate whether framing of issues has the capacity to bring about the formulation of national policies or to make changes to national policies. They agreed in affirmation that the media frames are able to cause the formulation of policies and to also cause changes in existing policies. According to them, the formation of the National Consultation Dialogue on Small-Scale Mining was initiated by the President and the Lands and Natural Resources Ministry to ...

‘establish this Dialogue to deliberate on issues pertaining to the small scale mining sector with a view to developing a bi-partisan, broad-based and national consensus around a national policy on small scale mining, that promotes a responsible, viable, environmentally sustainable industry which has discarded illegalities and practices which compromise the environment and ecosystem of our country’ (Accra, 2021).

As the citizenry in Ghana engage in informal learning drive using varied media platforms, they could appreciate their current living conditions; learn informally from it, and take action to better their lot. The increased sensitisation and education of the media strengthened the activism of the citizenry in Ghana. This is evidenced by the citizenry uproar and agitation against the activities of ‘galamsey’ operators, and the steps they took, together with the Government of Ghana, to restore the polluted water bodies, and the degraded environment, to their former state. Laal and Salamati (2012) assert that in the 21st century, we all need to be lifelong learners. Such integrated learning through the media might have aided many Ghanaians, and the Government of Ghana to

raise up against the activities of the ‘galamsey’ operators in Ghana. Although media practitioners could sometimes be sensational, and not help the course of the citizenry in learning to improve themselves and their communities, but the ‘galamsey’ operations, and the damage caused to water bodies and the environment in Ghana, rather attracted the attention of media practitioners, the citizenry, and the Government of Ghana to wage relentless war to address the problems.

These media outlets constitute powerful educational and mobilisation tools to drive social change in communities and society as a whole. The media platforms in Ghana, if well integrated and utilised, could serve to conscientise, sensitise and educate the citizenry to speak out loudly against the ‘galamsey’ activities in their communities (Oduro-Mensah, and Biney, 2013). The current citizenry activism and relentless fight against ‘galamsey’ in Ghana was waged by media practitioners, in partnership with the Government of Ghana, to address the water pollution and environmental degradation due to ‘galamsey’ activities.

4.4 Summary

The chapter analysed the findings from the field work coupled with conducting a document analysis of www.citifmonline.com and related literature works. The study finds out that www.citifmonline.com applies framing and news values to the issues of galamsey. There is also a strong correlation between the media campaign to #StopGalamsey and government’s response to the menace. Finally, there was an established correlation between the framing of www.citifmonline.com and that of the national consultation dialogue with the aim to formulate a long lasting national policy on the galamsey issue. The final chapter concentrates on summarizing and concluding the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This final chapter of the study seeks to draw all perspectives in the various chapters together into a lump of summary. It is the synthesis of the bits and pieces of ideas and analysis in the previous chapters. It mainly summarises the entire work, draw conclusions and makes recommendations for future studies.

5.1 Summary

Several researches, especially case studies have been done in analyzing the menace of illegal mining on the environment, the people and the country in which mineral resources are located. For decades, the extraction and subsequent processing of these precious minerals especially gold and diamond have been the means of livelihood for many indigenes located in these countries. These grassroots industries have also made important contributions to foreign-exchange earnings (Hilson, 2001).

In 2017, an Inter-Ministerial Taskforce – the Operation Vanguard, was launched in response to the popular #StopGalamsey campaign by Citi FM – a key media house in Ghana. Other influential media organizations and institutions signed up to the campaign which led to the formation of the Media Coalition Against Galamsey (MCAG). The MCAG stepped-up pressure on stakeholders in the extractive industry to act on eliminating illegal mining. The coalition comprised media outlets (such as the Omni media (Citi FM), New Times Corporation, Graphic Communications

Group Limited, Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, Multimedia Group Limited and Media General Limited (TV3)); and public and private institutions (like the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), the Ghana Journalists Association, the Private Newspaper Publishers Association, the Ghana Independent Broadcasters Association, and the Ghana Community Radio Network), as well as religious organizations (including the Christian Council of Ghana, the Ghana Baptist Convention and the Ghana Catholic Bishops Conference) (Kpienbaareh, Kansanga, Konkor and Luginaah, 2020). The MCAG has as its objectives: to carry out public education on the ills of illegal mining activities; carry out advocacy with stakeholders to ensure the eradication of galamsey; and promote sustainable mining. While the objectives of the MCAG are clear, and the institutions and organizations comprising the MCAG are credible bodies that have played significant roles in the past on important national issues, what remains unclear, and which the coalition has failed to declare, is who the funders are or what the sources of funds for their activities are. Previous studies have shown that international organizations such as the BBC Foundation, have funded media organizations in Ghana and other African countries (Schiffrin, 2010). Such support often calls to question the intentions of journalists sponsored by such organizations.

The overarching question for this study is whether the media influence policy outcomes at the national level? To what extent does the media influence political agenda? These are not questions without any exploration in the literature surrounding agenda setting, but they are questions without substantive examination in the history of politics-journalism interaction. Acknowledging that causation cannot be inferred by correlation, the exploration of the answers to these questions is a logical extension of available literature and provides insights into the factors that influence the passage of law and policy. Because it is not clear whether local-level agenda setting works or

works in the same way, this research looks specifically at the impact of the media on policy outcomes.

According to Schiffrin (2009), the media cannot only expose wrongdoing but can also help decide and prioritize development policy by pursuing relevant issues on the agenda for public discussion and covering topics in a way that educates the public and policymakers and help societies decide how they want to approach certain developmental questions.

A frame in communication or a media refers to the words, images, phrases and mode of presentations that a speaker uses when relaying information about an issue or event to an audience (Gamson and Modigliani 1987, 1989). Frames, according to Ryan, Carragee and Meinhofer (2001), organize discourse including news stories, by their patterns of selection, emphasis and exclusion. In framing, social actors determine what is and what is not important to the issue. Chong and Druckman (2001) states that public opinion often depends on how the elites choose to frame issues. In this regard, it can be argued that meanings of issues are not absolute.

The research approach to the study was the qualitative method. Interviews and document analysis were used to solicit responses from the staff and the website. The research design was the case study. This is because case studies allow for gathering information from multiple sources by using different methods such as interviews, direct observations, documents and reports (Creswell, 2013), and even surveys can be incorporated (Bower and Courtright, 1984). This study seeks to use multiple data gathering tools such as interviews and documentary analysis. The sampling technique was purposive sampling. The sample size included content on the webpage of www.citifmonline.com, two managers and four journalists at citifm.

On the main findings of the study, objective one, the Framing of galamsey stories, www.citifmonline.com used frames that were relatively small in size but much focused. They did this by ensuring stories that are posted on the website concerning galamsey does not exceed three minutes when one reads. They also stated the reading time so that people consciously know they do not have to spend so much time knowing the content of the story. In the framing process, they ensured that all the stories were accompanied by pictures. In other instances, there were short videos attached to the story for public viewership. Applying these aesthetics placed imagery emphasis on the minds of the readers. In terms of treatment however, very few of the stories were from the editorial room with majority of them being news items. In terms of tone, www.citifmonline.com applied different tones to the stories. Some of them were pessimistic, others were optimistic and there were neutral tones as well. The 2018 stories were more optimistic with more pessimistic stories in 2021.

Objective two looked at finding the relationship between the media's framing of events and formulation of national policy. The literature was varying with regards the actual role of the media in national policy formulation. While others argued that the media has the potential of bringing about changes to national policy, others claimed that it does not have that power. The respondents, in the case of the galamsey, believe that the media did well to highlight the issues to the public. Government started out well but later on relaxed. In April 2021, the government came up with the national consultation dialogue on small-scale mining with the media being an active representative. This meant that the constant framing of galamsey in the media has propelled the state to form the national consultation with the aim of having a national and broader policy on galamsey. This implies that the media has pushed hard for the state to look at having a policy though the correlation of such association is still not scientifically verified.

5.2 Conclusion

In recent times, the governments at both the national and local levels have failed to craft a balanced policy framework that addresses the social, economic, and environmental problems of the galamsey (Armah et al. 2013). Additionally, to address the root drivers of informality that lead many individuals into galamsey, the Ghanaian government should develop economic policies that aim to protect those left in poverty. As Ayelazuno (2014) posits in his piece, the government of Ghana needs to rethink its policies on mining, especially those that hurt the livelihood options of galamseyers, aiming to protect them in the process (Ayelazuno, 2014). Government actions against galamsey, such as suspending all ASM activities in an attempt to protect the environment, or utilizing force to eliminate the activity, have ultimately failed to adequately address the root causes of galamsey. This is illustrated by the results of the frame analysis which found that the environment frame of the galamsey operator remained relevant in public and political discourse even after Operation Vanguard and the implementation of the ban of all small-scale mining.

The demands of media campaigns such as the #StopGalamseyNow and the Media Coalition Against Galamsey, and the media coverage on the environmental impacts of galamsey, led to the building of public support for the government's criminal justice-based response to the issue through mass arrests and crackdown, further legitimizing the government's response. However, as Hilson (2017) contends, the belief that continuous military intervention is the key to eliminating illegal ASM activity in the country, further entrenches informal ASM activity (Hilson 2017, page 115). The galamsey industry must be understood as a highly complex industry that is difficult to regulate due to its informality. As such, the practice must be understood outside of its effects on the environment, and as many authors suggest (Hilson (2017), Afriyie et al. (2016),

Hilson & Osei (2017), and Hilson & Pardie (2006), an effective solution to the galamsey issue must address the drivers of informality that trap many galamseyers in a cycle of poverty that coerces them into continuing the practice, aiding in the industry's expansion.

The results of the analysis suggest that a segment of the Ghanaian media has begun to shift away from anti-galamsey rhetoric focused on the criminalization of the practice, and towards a more inclusive perspective on galamsey focused on livelihoods and local development. However, as the literature also indicates, the environment frame of the galamsey operator continues to dominate public discourse. Despite this, in 2017, the government also committed to aiding the ASM sector. They committed to the improvement of the formalization process, the training of 100,000 small-scale miners, and the providing of galamseyers with mineralized land through the launching of the five-year Multilateral Mining Integrated Mining Project (MMIP) (Hilson, 2017; Yankson and Gough, 2019; Kpienbaarah et al., 2020). This may indicate that the Government is starting to move in the right direction on this issue.

5.3 Limitation

The study was limited in the following ways:

The study was limited by the sample size. As a result of using a case study, the study applied a single case (www.citifmonline.com) in drawing a correlation between their activities and that of national policy on Galamsey. This meant that opinions and content was drawn only from www.citifmonline.com and not representation of the entire Ghanaian media landscape. This limitation however does not mean the findings of the study have been skewed or are unscientific. The application of all the case study techniques, thus, the triangulation of methods and theories and the in-depth analysis of events mitigate for such lapses.

5.4 Recommendations for Further Studies

This study, among others previously conducted, has contributed to the existing knowledge of media framing and national policy formulation. However, the study realized some intriguing issues that can be looked at in future studies. One is to look at studies in a broader national perspective. Media operations across the country can be considered in a bigger national project. This will not only give the perspective of only one media organization, but the Ghana media as a whole.

The study also realized that most of the studies in this field has applied the qualitative approach to understanding the galamsey issue. As with all qualitative studies, the ideas are objectively subjective. Therefore, the quantitative and mixed method approaches can also be used to replicate the study. This way, we will be able to assign figures to the relationship between media framing and national policy formulation.

Finally, the reviewed literature showed that most of the studies done in this field are those in that of the political science and African Studies discipline. Since framing is a media practice, it will be better to have more studies conducted by media persons and communication specialists so that we can have communication ideas to national policy and media framing.

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APPENDIX

GHANA INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISM (GIJ)

INTERVIEW GUIDE

I am a master's student of the Ghana Institute of Journalism (GIJ). I am conducting a research on framing of galamsey and its effects on national policy. You have been selected to assist the study by providing candid answers to the following questions on the topic. The interview session will last between 15 and 20 minutes. Please note that your confidentiality is my priority. In that case, do not mention names or things that can make someone identify you in any way. Finally, this is an academic exercise and the results of the interview will only be used for such purpose. Thank you.

Objective one: To describe how galamsey was framed between 2017 and 2020 by www.citifmonline.com

This objective observes the online platform. It uses document analysis to analyze the content on the website in a cyber ethnographic process. It describes the how the stories on galamsey were framed through the following indicators:

1. Size of frame – size of story content
2. Aesthetics – is frame accompanied by pictures, symbols and art works?
3. Treatment – is story editorial, news item, opinion etc
4. Tone – is the writer for or opposing the operations of galamsey

Objective two: To ascertain whether framing of galamsey stories between 2017 and 2020 influenced policy formulation or changes in policies in Ghana.

This objective will be handled by the interview sessions with the selected staff of www.citifmonline.com. The following questions will be asked after the introduction:

1. Why did www.citifmonline.com decide to make galamsey the top story?
2. How were the stories on galamsey framed?
3. What challenges did you face when you decided to put the search light on galamsey?
4. Do you think government's decisions on the galamsey within the period of the media campaign was as a result of how you framed the stories?
5. Do you think the fight against galamsey has been won?
6. Is there a relationship between your anti-galamsey campaign and national policy on mining?
7. Do you see media framing as having the capacity to change national policies?