

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

**MEDIA IMAGE OF GHANAIAN CHIEFS:
A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE DAILY GRAPHIC, THE GHANAIAN TIMES
AND THE DAILY GUIDE**

BY

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**THIS DISSERTATION IN THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION AND
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AUGUST, 2013

DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

I, Andrew Quao, hereby declare that this thesis except for the references to other authors contained in published works which have been identified and dully acknowledged, the entire work is my original work and has not been presented to any other institution in part or in whole for another degree.

SIGNATURE.....

DATE.....



SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the preparations and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of dissertation as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

NAME OF SUPERVISOR.....

SIGNATURE.....

DATE.....

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my lovely family for their support.



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I reserve a great deal of commendation for Dr. Andy Ofori-Birikorang whose encouragement, ideas and support were crucial to the final delivery of this work. Indeed, your continued guidance and advice proved invaluable for the assignment.

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I cannot forget the invaluable services rendered by Dave Agbenu, Editor of the *Ghanaian Times*, K.K. Inkoom, Deputy Editor of the *Daily Graphic* and Nehemia Owusu Achiaw, News Editor of the *Daily Graphic*, my interview respondents for the research. Their preparedness to avail themselves for the long interview was a rare gesture which was very crucial to the completion of the work.

My profound gratitude goes to Nana Kobina Nkestsiah V, Paramount Chief of Essikado Traditional Area, who, readily agreed to serve as my interview respondent after a short notice and also hosted me at his residence where the interview was conducted. Nana, I cannot forget the breakfast you offered, the references you kindly released from your library as well as the intellectual perspective you brought to bear on the subject which enriched the conversation with you.

ABSTRACT

The work examined how the media presents the chieftaincy institution and how chiefs are framed in the various local newspapers. It also tried to understand the different frames used by the newspapers to represent chiefs and how they impact on their image and chiefly positions they occupy in the Ghanaian society.

Again, the study examined the major themes inherent in the chieftaincy stories used by local newspapers and how they affect the image of chiefs and the chieftaincy institution as a whole and the ideology and principles that guided and informed the media professionals in their presentations as well as the perspectives of chiefs.

The study used framing and gatekeeping analysis as the theoretical base for the study.

Qualitative methods were adopted in the process of the data collection. Three major newspapers namely, *the Daily Graphic*, *the Ghanaian Times* and *the Daily Guide* were used for the study. Three journalists and a chief were also interviewed.

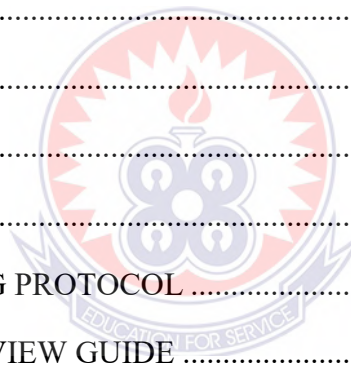
The major findings of the research showed that chiefs are usually associated with conflicts, litigations and various social vices in the Ghanaian media. This is reinforced by the trend that emerged in the newspapers studied which predominantly framed chiefs around litigation which were given prominence, even though chieftaincy stories were largely not accorded front page prominence in the newspapers studied.

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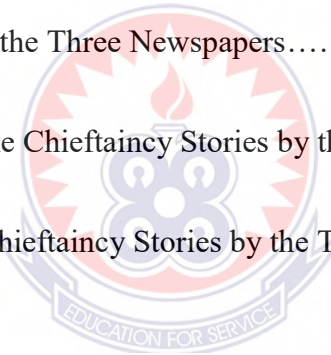
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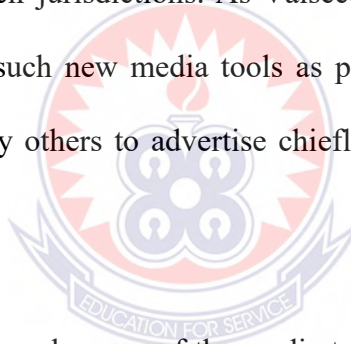
CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

The media is considered as vital to the sustenance of chieftaincy. According to Barnes (1996), chieftaincy relies on the media to attain visibility and “create awareness to a public that is knowledgeable and sympathetic to the practices and ideals of the institution”. That the media gives prominence to chieftaincy is exemplified by Rathbone „s (2000) assessment of the Ghanaian media on chieftaincy in which he asserts;” there are innumerable stories about major and minor chiefs in the Ghanaian media”. The importance of the media to chieftaincy is hinged on the assertion by Voelker (1975)” that the mass media are crucial forces of society in their provision of information, enlightenment as well as persuasive powers that can effect radical changes in society”.

Indeed, in the view of Barnes (1996) the chiefly prominence of Alaafin of Oyo in Nigeria was enhanced by several publications, particularly in *The West Africa Magazine* on chiefly ceremonies „including a marathon rite he holds to honour a large group of citizens“. Media expose on rites on traditional ceremonies such as festivals and the involvement of chiefs in various political processes enhance the image of chiefs and their traditional areas that they represent. The image of chiefs is crucial because as stated by Clarke-Ekong (1997) chiefs represents their people and their images spur allegiance to them. Invariably, if a chief’s image is tainted by acts considered to be anti-social and which reduces allegiance to him, or that the chief loses the people’s allegiance to him and this often creates a fertile ground for his destoolment exemplified in the words of Arhin (1985) that the chief embodies the moral and ritual purity of his people.

In this regard, conscious efforts have been made by chiefs and their assigns in recent times to create favourable visibility for themselves and the authorities they wield through various publications in the media and the advertisements of their cultural events. Clarke-Ekong (1997) cited a *Ghanaian Times* August 4, 1994 edition which carried a report on Annual Akwambo Festival of the chiefs and people of the twin towns, Gomua-Antseadze and /Odumase during which a fundraising harvest in aid of development projects will climax the annual event. According to Valsecchi (2007) the chief's image is fashioned by both fabricators who shape his image through the sharing of collective ideas. It is in this light that chiefs, recognizing the importance of the media to their image, have in recent times employed the new media to help build, exhibit and promote their jurisdictions. As Valsecchi (2007) puts it: "Many chiefs are now equipped with such new media tools as photo and video camera, compact disc players among many others to advertise chiefly functions such as festivals and rituals.



In contemporary times the relevance of the media to the institution of chieftaincy has become imperative in the general quest to make the institution play a pivotal role in local governance. The media as healthy partners of chieftaincy has been felt in more recent times in the role they play as purveyors of advocacy on chieftaincy matters. Valsecchi(2007) asserts that the media provides the forum for the discourse and debate on institutional capacity building of the institution and cites a typical appeal of Gborbu Wolumei Shi-Tse, head priest of Ga Nungua, who used *the Ghanaian Times* to advocate the need to modernize the institution and so that it could take centre stage in the affairs of statecraft.

1.1.1 Chieftaincy and Media in Ghana

With the unprecedented expansion of the Ghanaian media landscape since the promulgation of the 1992 Republican Constitution, which has also guaranteed media pluralism and subsequently, the emergence of a plethora of newspapers Asante (2007), chieftaincy has received massive media attention and as stated by Rathbone (2000) "there are innumerable stories about major and minor chiefs", because in the view of Nungent (1996), "ordinary Ghanaians take chieftaincy seriously and chieftaincy wrangles and the behaviour of royal families are big news in Ghana". According to the National Media Commission there were over 67 dailies, 23 bi-weeklies and tri-weeklies by 2006 and still growing. This means more exposure on chieftaincy matters.

However, the media has been seen as part of a conspiracy to undermine the institution in the way they operate as megaphones for the negative aspects of the institution (Adjaye and Misawa, 2006). As pointed out by Strentz (1992) news coverage influences the outcome of an issue or event, this assertion probably influences the perception that the media has a hand in the negative image of chieftaincy. A classic scenario is provided by Adjaye and Misawa (2006) in which they state: "In perusing Ghanaian dailies, one would be struck by innumerable reports of contestants about chieftaincy successions and incidence of violence attributable to animosities on the part of contesting parties in chiefly positions". The affinity of the Ghanaian media to chieftaincy conflicts and disputes and their associated violence can be explained from the perspective of Black, Bryant and Thompson (1998) in which they state: "By far the most compelling reason for including violence in media is that the producers, directors, writers and editors believe this is what audiences want."

Also significant is the view by Tonah (2005), that the media constitute veritable sources of chieftaincy conflicts in Ghana. From the above perspectives, the media in Ghana and many other places will prefer issues about chieftaincy that put the institution in a negative light than those that dwell on the exemplar of the institution and the outstanding works of individual chiefs who have carried, initiated and executed critical projects for the development of their jurisdictions.

Besides chieftaincy conflicts that are widely reported in the Ghanaian media, allegations of wrong doings are levelled against individual chiefs (Ajaye and Misawa 2006). Allegations such as lack of accountability and transparency have been associated with the institution which had often found their way in the media (Prah & Yeboah, 2011). In the view of Bamfo (2000) the dignity that chieftaincy evokes had been compromised by the violence associated with the institution and the scandals that often rocks it. In more recent times chieftaincy had been badly bruised by media allegations against some Ghanaian chiefs perceived to be meddling in partisan politics. Indeed, Article 276 of the Fourth Republican Constitution of Ghana stipulates that a chief shall not take part in active politics and any chief wishing to do so and subsequently seek election to parliament must abdicate his stool. As pointed out by (Arhin 1985) since chiefs maintain strong ties with their communities their authority and legitimacy stand the danger of being compromised if they involve themselves in partisan politics. Consequently, a chief's capacity to act as custodians of tradition, custom, law and order are weakened and this creates a fertile ground for his destoolment.

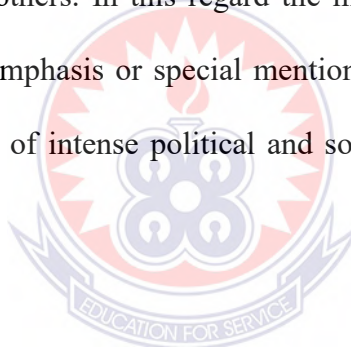
1.2 Statement of problem

Some studies on chieftaincy have portrayed the institution in a negative light. For instance, chiefs have often been associated with conflicts and communal violence particularly those related to ethnicity, succession to traditional political office and the struggle over land (Tsikata & Seini 2004). Arguably, these conflicts have given the institution a bad image and evoked scorn for chiefs. This has been a source of discomfiture for government and civil society who expect the institution to complement governance, particularly in the area of local government. Indeed, reflecting on the 1997 riots and mob attacks on Police Stations at various parts of the country, the then President of Ghana, Ft Lt Jerry John Rawlings, averred that the violence associated with chieftaincy disputes which had led to the brutal killings and maiming of people was a source of indiscipline in the Ghanaian society which he said was a threat to democracy. (*Daily Graphic, February, 19, 1997*).

He stated: “We must remember that the essential preconditions for the survival of chieftaincy everywhere are an environment of peace and respect for laws and order. Conflicts over who should be a local chief are the major cause of indiscipline and lawlessness. Besides violent chieftaincy disputes, the institution is also bedevilled with other anti-social vices such as corruption, exploitation of people by greedy chiefs in the quest to line their pockets. These chiefs are always involved in cases of succession and destoolment in pursuit of wealth (Knierzinger 2006). Indeed, some have even been associated with alcoholism and womanizing. Against this background many have called for the abolition of the institution. In many public discourse, whether at bus stops, lorry parks, offices in public buses and other public gatherings the perceived corruption of some chiefs have come into sharp focus and many

wondered whether they really perform the duties assigned them (Abotchie, 2006). Despite the bad image that some chiefs have earned due to their involvement in anti-social vices, others have conducted themselves in an exemplary manner. Some chiefs are engaged in innovations to bring developments to their jurisdictions (Bob-Milliar 2009).

The perception of the media is crucial in the debate because it is influential in connecting society to social reality (McQuails (1993). According to McQuails (1993) the media does this in various ways including serving as window for events and experiences which extend the vision of society to enable it to see what is going on, without interference on others. In this regard the media filter or gate keep or select parts of experience for emphasis or special mention. Since independence, the media has acted as the fulcrum of intense political and social discourse (Ofori-Birikorang ,2009).



It is against this background that some proponents of the institution have argued that if the institution of chieftaincy is to be preserved as sacred and partner the nation for development, then the media has a role to play in that agenda. This appeal was exemplified by Sampson Kwaku Boafo, Minister of Chieftaincy Affairs, who in 2008, inaugurating a chieftaincy firm at Tema, Accra on the media to portray the positive parts of chieftaincy, despite the pervading views that the institution was bedevilled with disputes and controversies. He argued that rather than issues of conflict, the media must give suggestions to improve the chieftaincy institution.

He stated: “Some journalists misrepresent chieftaincy issues which confuse the public and thus thwart the efforts of stakeholders to resolve disputes”. (*myjoyonline.com*, May 13, 2008).

The question therefore is: How did the media report on chiefs and the chieftaincy institution? Whether in the course of their narratives on chieftaincy there were emphases or biases for certain issues about chieftaincy? To put it succinctly, whether in the various narratives about chieftaincy there were deliberate attempts to amplify the negative aspects of chieftaincy and muffle the exemplars of chiefs?.

Aside that, whether the media professionals who covered and wrote on chieftaincy issues appreciate the issues or were guided by some editorial direction or policy which influenced their narratives? This was the contextual basis of the search and the above issues were crucial to the investigations.

1.3 Objectives of Study

Ghanaian chiefs are subject of media coverage and chieftaincy issues are given prominence depending on the issues associated with it. Indeed, studies have concluded that such stories sometimes attract sales and that is why experienced journalists and “market sensitive men and women who own the media, particularly newspapers, regard stories about chieftaincy as the kind of eye-catching material and good copy that their readers relish Rathbone (2000). The media market has become competitive and as stated by the Ghana Country Report Context (2006) it has created a diverse range of investors with different ideological and varied persuasions who are behind the setting up of a plethora of privately owned newspapers which has suffocated the newspaper landscape. This has called for the need on many newspapers

to survive the market and chieftaincy is one of the issues that have used to attract readers and as stated by Nugent (1996) chieftaincy is taken very seriously by the ordinary Ghanaian and that “chieftaincy is seldom far from the centre of the frame”.

This study thus aimed at the following;

- 1) Conceptualizing the coverage of chiefs by the print media and how they are framed, packaged and presented to Ghanaian readers.
- 2) Since the study was about the image of chiefs in the Ghanaian media, it attempted to identify the frames that the various print media used in their narratives on chieftaincy.
- 3) There was also an attempt to interpret the patterns of narratives by the media on chieftaincy by discovering the reasons behind the frames from the perspectives of journalists.
- 4) . The study also attempted to unveil the perceptions and interpretations given to these frames by prominent chiefs.
- 5) And finally, whether these frames depended on the prominence or the popularity of the chief.

1.4 Research Questions

In a bid to achieve the objectives of the study, there was an attempt to answer the following research questions:

1. What frames do the newspapers employ to represent chiefs in their narratives?
2. What are the reasons behind the frames from the perspective of journalists?
3. What are the perception of chiefs towards these media frames?

1.5 Significance of Study

The study aims at contributing to the intellectual debate on chieftaincy which has been at the centre of some negative practices. This is imperative in view of the many intellectual debates on the subject to expand the frontiers of knowledge and project it into modern democratic culture.

Secondly, on a wider theoretical level, the study while contributing to the body of theoretical knowledge, the empirical findings are expected to provide a useful theoretical framework for the study of chieftaincy from the media perspective. It will also help to bridge the gap between the media and the institution of chieftaincy and establish the true role of the media towards the building of the institution of chieftaincy and resolving some of the problems inherent in it.

Thirdly, for the many Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), policy makers as well as civil society groups desirous of providing orientation to the media on the institution of chieftaincy, this work will be a useful guide.

Finally, there has been a growing interest in chieftaincy issues following a revival of interest in the chieftaincy institution in the last two decades in Sub-Saharan African countries after the institution was virtually rendered weak following over 40 years of independence and Ghana has been named as one of the countries where there has been a resurgence of traditional influence in the past decades, thereby making the institution a very visible feature of Ghanaian life as almost every political activity now takes place in chiefly pageantry. Indeed, this was reinforced recently by the interest of donor institutions in the affairs of chieftaincy matters, particularly in the case where the Asantehene Otumfuo Osei Tutu, secured a \$3million grant to support

his education campaign in 2005 (Valsecchi 2007). These are clear manifestations that the chieftaincy institution deserves more intellectual focus.

1.6 Organisation of Study

The overall study has been categorized into five chapters.

Chapter one provides a preamble to the study with the introduction to the issues that form the scope of the work. It introduces the study from a contextual perspective with a review of the relevance of the media to the institution of chieftaincy. It provides the historical basis for the numerous media perspectives in the narratives on chieftaincy which was a sequel to the democratic culture that emerged from the promulgation of the Fourth Republican Constitution of Ghana which guaranteed freedom of the press and media pluralism.

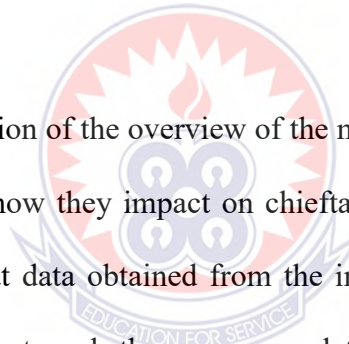
The chapter also contains the aims and objectives of the study as well as the justification of the study which examined how the media frame chiefs and further carve images for the Ghanaian chief. It further poses questions that guided the issues or the questions that were crucial to the project. Also included in Chapter One is the significance of study. It's a part that appreciates the contribution of the work to academic research.

Chapter Two is a review of related literature to establish the status of the topic. It discusses the ability and the pervasiveness of the media in the creation of images around personalities and its associated stereotypes. It further reviewed scholarly works that linked chieftaincy to negative practices such as conflicts, litigations and other social vices as well as some positives associated with the institution of chieftaincy.

Chapter Three discussed the methods deployed to obtain and analyse the data for the research. It showed that the study adopted Content Analysis procedure as a means of providing a quantitative and qualitative basis for the analysis. Its advantages over the others means of data collection were indicated. Under the chapter is the indication of the unit of analysis that was subjected to the investigations and the period of study. Finally, it outlined the coding instrument for the work.

Chapter Four presents the findings and analysis from the content analysis conducted on the news articles on chieftaincy from the research questions outlined in chapter three. Also in this chapter is the analysis of the relevance of the results in defining the various media frame patterns used by the Ghanaian media to represent the chieftaincy institution.

Chapter Five is a discussion of the overview of the media as a powerful element in the creation of images and how they impact on chieftaincy from the conclusions drawn from the analysis on that data obtained from the investigations. It also includes the limitations of the project and the recommendations to journalists involved in chieftaincy coverage.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Media Construction and Framing of Images of Personalities

Various literatures have established that the media is powerful in creating images of personalities (Wood 1994; Kinder 1998). Tiung and Hassim, M. (2009) assert that both the print and electronic media have a big influence in shaping public perception on issues. This assertion finds expression in the view by Herman Chomsky (1988) who describes the mass media as a system which is able to communicate images to society. In the view of (Wood 1994; Bullock, Wyche and Williams 2001), the media is effective and pervasive in the way they create attractive messages into the consciousness of people throughout their daily lives because of their ability to educate, raise consciousness, and shape public attitude. Indeed, as a powerful social force the media is able to control the minds of societies. In the view of Wood (1994) these images are woven in our daily lives by all forms of media and they “perpetuate unrealistic and stereotypical perceptions”. Some of the stereotypes created by the media are responsible for the way society perceives things and issues.

Some common stereotypes created by the media have been identified by (Wood 1994; Druckman (1980) as one that emphasizes male domination through a subtle agenda to under represent and even give prominence on traditional roles and rationalises violence against women. A similar study by Michira (2002) has identified some of these stereotypes as „Africa “The Dark Continent”, “Africa the Wild Jungle”, A Continent of Hunger , Famine and Starvation and AIDS. Michira (2002) explains in his study that the Western media which are the purveyors of this image of Africa holds a monopoly over opinions and ideas and their perception of reality creates these stereotypes about the Africa continent.

Newspapers are highly successful in the creation of images of personalities by playing up or playing down their news and pictures (Tiung and Hassim 2009). In their view the media is quite pervasive and persistent because both readers and viewers are limited or virtually lack the ability to evaluate the accuracy of the stories they read or the images they view without direct personal experience or specific background knowledge of an issue.

The process of creating images by journalists are informed and influenced by factors they consider salient in the process of making news out of events. VanDijk (1988) have listed these factors as proximity, negativity, timeliness and novelty. A study by Gans (1979) identified eight factors that drive news and named them as altruistic democracy, which expects honesty in public service, responsible capitalism, a virtue that ensures equity for workers, individualism which places emphasis on self-made people, moderatism, order, small town pastoralism, and leadership. Thus whether in the US, Europe or Ghana these values determine what premium or prominence that the media will give to a particular issue in choosing the angle of a story and choosing the appropriate photos (Tiung and Hassim 2009).

Other scholarly works have established that the media in creating social reality only reflect the images that persists in society and as stated by Biaggi (2002), the media only mirrors society. Indeed, Tuchman (1978) asserts that in whatever images that the media constructs it often reflects the dominant values of society as it only acts as a powerful link that ensures that such values persist. Thus in a society where the values ensure that women are rendered dependent or subjugated, the media will act as a powerful chain in the socialization that will ensure that such values are maintained.

2.1 Overview of Chieftaincy in Ghana

Chieftaincy is the oldest, most enduring institution in Ghana which has persisted and remained resilient in spite of the many challenging epochs (Boafo-Arthur: 2001; Gyampo 2007).

Several definitions have been suggested as to who a chief is. Arhin (1985) defines a chief as “a person elected or selected in accordance with customary usage and recognized by government as wielding authority and performing functions derived from tradition assigned by government within a specific area”. But some writers like Gyampo (2007) view this definition as archaic following the promulgation of the 1992 constitution which rules out government recognition as means of legitimizing the position of chiefs.

Article 227 of the 1992 Constitution defines a chief “as a person, who hailing from the appropriate family and lineage, has been validly nominated, elected or selected and enstooled, enskinned or installed as a chief or queen mother in accordance with the relevant customary law and usage”. The chief has long played significant roles in their respective societies. He is the custodian of lands of the political community that he heads and also exercises judicial functions (Busia 1951). As pointed out by Odotei (2010) Chiefs were responsible for the daily administration of the traditional area they represent and ensured the advancement and growth of their people. He was also a law maker in his jurisdiction through the application of customs and traditions of the people embedded in their worldview. It is also important to note that one of the prominent functions of the chief in the past was military. He had the power to declare war (Abotchie2006). Thus as asserted by Gyampo (2007) “Chiefs served as modicum for expression of social, political religious and to some extent economic authority”.

However, changes in the social and political structure of Ghana in subsequent years have curtailed the powers initially wielded by chiefs in Ghana. According to Abotchie (2006) colonialism and political independence of Ghana have taken away most of the powers of chiefs. Abotchie (2006) asserted that the military powers of chiefs were rendered irrelevant by the declaration of the Gold Coast as a British Colony and the attainment of Independence in 1957 which led to the formation of national armed forces responsible for the defence of the entire nation. Also the judicial functions of the chief were reduced drastically, following the promulgation of the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance(1883) which restrained chiefs to pass bye-laws on their subjects and impose fines and subsequently, the attainment of independence which witnessed the expansion of judicial services.(Amenumey;1964; 235). Indeed the only functions of chiefs that persist now are the religious and cultural functions.

2.2 Image of Chiefs and Chieftaincy conflicts

Some existing literature on chieftaincy dwell on the succession litigations and conflicts which have often rocked the institution. According to (Abotchie2006), by the year 2006 about 600 of land and chieftaincy related disputes had dominated the Ghanaian landscape and stated that virtually every Ghanaian traditional area had experienced a chieftaincy dispute in one way or the other. As stated by (Tonah 2009: Prah&Yeboah2011: Sutton 1984), these chieftaincy conflicts date back to several decades and are not restricted to one traditional area. In the view of Sutton (1984), chieftaincy disputes was the result of the political, social and economic transformations under the British colonial rule, even though Addo-Sowatey (2005) asserts that disputes associated with chieftaincy is a by-product of President Kwame Nkrumah's interference in chieftaincy matters during the post-independence

following the demise of colonialism . Some of the notable chieftaincy disputes include: the Dagbon chieftaincy conflict in 2002, the Ga stool crisis of 2007, the Anlo chieftaincy dispute in 2007, the Nkonya Alavanyo chieftaincy crisis 1999 among others (Tonah S: 2009: Prah&Yeboah (2011), Daily Graphic March 2, 2002).

2.3 Ghanaian Chiefs, Scandals and Anti- social vices

Various literatures on chieftaincy have associated chiefs with corruption, lack of transparency and accountability as well as scandals and other anti-social vices (Addo-Fenning 2006). In his study of the Okyeman Stool of the Kyebi Traditional Area under Ofori Atta, Addo Fenning (2006) unveiled the palpable lack of accountability that was associated with the Okyeman stool in the 1950s. In his account, Addo Fenning (2006) underlined the wanton dissipation of stool revenues by chiefs who displayed what he described as „self-seeking debauchery and lack of candour in the management of matchless resources“. Sometimes the issues descended into accusations of thievery levelled against some chiefs. One such accusations of stealing was levelled against the Asafoatse of La for allegedly stealing a wood carving representing the god of the Agbawe clan at La in Accra and selling it to one Ernest, a Beninois (*Weekly Spectator* May 15, 2004.) Addo-Fenning (2006) provides a historical evidence to the involvement of chiefs in theft cases. According to his account, two chiefs of the Abuakwa Traditional Area in the pre-independence era ; Nana Gyamera and Nana Tupri “frittered away in most irresponsible manner” large sums of money that accrued from the sale of public lands. Other existing literatures are overwhelming in their condemnation about the lack of transparency among Ghanaian chiefs and who were not accountable to their subjects. Evidence of this is provided by Ampofo-Addo(2009) who states that accountability remains a problem of the chieftaincy

institution because the Constitution of Ghana does not require of them to account for the resources at their disposal and as such it is almost a sacrilege to demand such a disclosure from chiefs, even though that study concedes that not all chiefs are tainted by corruption. Indeed, some chiefs have been exemplary in their promotion of accountability and the Okyenehene, Amotia Ofori Panyin comes up for mention for the way he has been promoting the virtues of accountability at the least opportunity (Bob-Millier 2009).

Some writers have explained that the reasons behind the obsession of chiefs for money, even though Addo Fenning (2006) posits that in the case of some chiefs in the Akyem Abuakwa area, money was crucial to satisfy their „profligate lifestyles“, (Busia; 1951) believe the problem is consequent to the clash between the old and new customs. They concluded that many of the traditional practices of chiefs involved payments and gift giving or tithing and as pointed out by Busia (1951); “The chief was expected to be generous to show largess to his subjects on various ceremonial occasions”.

2.4 Chieftaincy and development

Contrary to studies that link the institution of chieftaincy to all kinds of negative practices such as conflicts and corruption, other scholarly works have established that chiefs were becoming strong agents and catalysts in the various development processes in their communities and Ghana as a whole. (Bob-Milliar 2009; Owusu-Sarpong 2003); have dismissed the assertion that chiefs are nothing more than gluttons, corrupt, thieves and not transparent with their subjects, particularly with revenues that accrue to their stools and skins. According to Bob-Milliar (2009), the

phenomena of Nkusuohene has become prevalent in recent times and a profound testament of the trend which portrays the chief as a facilitator of development. Literally translated from the Akan dialect as „chief of progress“ it has according to Bob- Milliar (2009) caught up and become common among the Akan community of Ghana after it was first initiated by the Otumfuo Opoku Ware II in 1985. The study observes that there were numerous benefits that have inured to traditional areas whose chiefs have adopted the concept and reserved it for natives in the diaspora and other foreigners in search of funds for development.. That the importance of chiefs in the development process of Ghana is recognized by the Constitution of Ghana of both the Third and Fourth Republics which gives a place to the institution of chieftaincy (Gyampo 2007; Visecchi P 2007).

Some studies have gone further to identify the initiatives of chiefs like Amotia Ofori Panyin, the chief of the Akim Abuakwa traditional area, the Asantehene Otumfuo Osei Tutu II and Togbi Afede XIV, the Agbogbomefia, of the Asogli State with their direct involvement in the development of their communities and Ghana in general(Visecchi 2007; Bob-Milliar 2009). Bob- Milliar (2009) for instance has observed that the Okyehene has initiated many projects including deforestation programmes to protect the forest in his area together with an oil palm project in the same way that the Asantehene since his enstoolment has initiated a number of development programmes including the Otumfuo Educational Fund which provides assistance to the needy and the deprived in the Asanteman and other parts of Ghana to pursue their education. According to Visecchi (2007) the direct involvement of chiefs in the development aspirations of the nation has enhanced the position and

power of some chiefs like the Asantehene who was able to negotiate a 30million loan from the World Bank directly for the Traditional Councils.

2.5 Theoretical framework

A theory is an attempt to construct an abstract interpretation that can be used to explain a wide variety of situations (Giddens, Duneis, and Appelbaum 2005). From the above, A communication research theory is thus concerned with the main features that enhance various forms of communications and show how they help in explaining a situation, a trend or a phenomena. Another perspective is provided by Babbie (1997) who defines a theory as a general and more or less, comprehensive set of statements or propositions that describe different aspects of a phenomenon, a particular social or natural phenomena as well as allow observations to be used for predicting or explaining events. Giddens et al (2005) further contend that facts, contrary to the general rule do not speak for themselves unless proven by research which must be guided by „some knowledge of theory“. Thus theory in research helps to explain the complexities of society. This is against the background that every scientific research must be measurable, realistic and lend itself to testing.

This part of Chapter Two of the study focuses on how the various theories of media effects help to construct meanings for the theme of the study in perspective. They are the Framing and Gate keeping theories.

2.5.1 Framing Theory

One of the key theories deployed to establish the theoretical basis of the study was the Framing theory. The concept was first introduced by Goffman (1974) and

subsequently referred to by Entman (1993);” As scattered conceptualization which relies on context rather than generally applicable operationalization“, but nevertheless key to the formation of public opinion and critical to the study of public opinion on issues depending on which frames are chosen to project these issues. (Chong 1993; Druckman; 2005). „To frame is to select some aspects of reality and make them salient (Entman 1993; Gamson & Modigliani:1989). They put it more succinctly; „A frame is a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them”. It means that the process is a cognitive tool used in encoding , interpreting and retrieving information.

Framing is propelled by the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences (Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007). Framing has sociological and psychological foundations. Goffman (1974) made the assumption that individuals cannot understand the world fully and constantly struggle to interpret life experiences and to make sense of the world around them. According to Goffman(1974), individuals efficiently process new information through the application of interpretive schemas or „primary frameworks“ Goffman (1974) to classify information and interpret it meaningfully. Goffman’s investigations have led to the understanding that individuals make sense of things through the prism of social-cultural norms. Thus social norms define the frames of interpretations. It is within this framework that the media presents its frame Tuchman (1997). Consequent to Goffman’s (1974) expositions on the sociological and psychological interpretations of framing various scholarly works by Nelson & Kinder (1991) have shown that framing effects are achieved not by merely altering information, but through a

psychological process in which individuals consciously and deliberately think about the relative importance of different considerations suggested by the frame.

According to Truchman (1997), the media due to constraints such as time and resources adhere to these norms. Against this background, the media packages news or social issues within the existing dominant frame and stories that fall out the bracket of content of the pre-defined frame of dominant interpretations are invariably marginalized (McLeod & Detenber 1999; Valeda, 2002). In effect, media frames are outcomes of journalistic norms.

Media Framing of news is what people perceive as spinning of stories or issues by journalists. It has been described by Goffman (1974) as a “schemata” of interpretations that journalists give to information or as stated by (Gamson and Modiglian 1989) is the central organizing idea. According to Shoemaker and Vos(2009) journalists provide the tools or the perspective to enable the public make sense of information. In the process of framing the journalist uses various tools to achieve effect (Shoemaker and Vos(2009)). Some of these tools are metaphors, exemplars, catch phrases and depictions among many others which help the audience to make a sense out of news.(Nisbert & Huge 2007) and likened this to a struggle to define the nature and importance of issues. Media frames construct a new world for their readers and depending on the individual standpoint journalists cover and package news from different angles.

2.5.2 Importance of Frames

Despite some theoretical flaws and conceptual deficiency inherent in the framing theory, media sociologists agree that the concept of framing have proved useful in discourse analysis and also provides meaning to a diverse array of symbols Tuchman

(1979):As stated succinctly by Gitlin(1980), „largely unspoken and unacknowledged, it organizes the world for both the journalists who report it and in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports“.

2.5.3 The Gatekeeping Theory

Another important theory considered in this work is the gatekeeping theory. The theory was pioneered by Kurt Lewin in 1974. Domminick (1990) defines a gatekeeper as any person or group who has control over what material eventually reaches the public. The concept is applied widely in the field of psychology and communication studies. According to Shoemaker & Vos (2009),“ gatekeeping is the process of culling or crafting countless bits of information into limited number of messages that reach people each day“. Thus the media product that are consumed each day are the acts of what they call mediators who transform billions of messages or events into a „subset“ called media messages.

Indeed the theoretical basis of the gatekeeping theory revolves on the action of a gatekeeper who according to (Shoemaker & Vos 1974: Ranney 1983) determines what a person’s social reality or his particular world view is. Ranney (1983) explains further that information that stops at the gate generally does not become part of peoples social reality. Alexander (1981) has established that the decisions at the gate are often borne out of evaluations which have the potential of influencing and shaping peoples attitude. This is reinforced by Hardt (1990) who posits that gatekeepers control over information and dissemination suggests that they have control over the mind of society and argues that the process invariably helps to define the lives of people and the world around them. From this perspective gatekeeping theorists believe that the gatekeeper wields enormous power to determine what its public or what the population needs at a particular time. The gatekeeper is crucial particularly

in contemporary times because the journalist is inundated by information explosion from the internet, newspapers, television, radio news, magazine and other sources and their job of selecting and packaging news would be impossible without the process of gatekeeping.

Additionally, the gatekeeper decides what information should move to a group or an individual and what information should not. This means the gatekeeper's influence has social and political dimensions and as concluded by Shoemaker & Vos (1974) it is through this influence that the "unwanted and controversial information are removed and this helps to control the society or group and let it pursue the right path. As stated by Schudson, (1978), there is a pervasive ideology in America that the media will produce accurate, factual accounts that corresponds to objectivity. But like framing, the gatekeeper is not independent in his creation of social reality. Brown (1979) has established the process of gatekeeping as "a faithful reflection of perceptions of society". Thus rather being subjective to the writers discretion and believes, gatekeepers are also influenced by audience interest and the environment that generates those interests.

The role of the gatekeeper is determined by the size of the news organization, but the editor plays a vital role in what kind of news the (news organization) eventually publishes, but his decision is influenced by the organisation's own ethics and editorial policy. This according to (Streitmatter 1997) explains why various news organisations cover an event but different information is selected and different messages are produced.

While the editor is perceived as key in the decision making, (Mcombs & Becker 1979) believe the reporter has a direct influence on stories that eventually emerge

from the various news organisations he (the reporter) is the primary gatekeeper from the source to the audience. Thus from the reporter it will move to various editors before it reaches its audience, this according to Wilson (1992) finally affects the content of the story.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Research Design

This chapter describes how data on the work was obtained and analysed in consonance with the stated objectives of the study. A combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques was applied in this regard to obtain, describe and analyse the data. Quantitative research according to Cohen (1975) is a social research which employs an empirical method and empirical statement about what is the case in the real world rather than what is out to be the case. Qualitative research is described by (Shank 2002) as a systematic, empirical inquiry into meanings. This means that the method allows for description of an experience and is convenient for intangible factors such behaviour, norms among many others.

The study settled on the Content Analysis approach and reviewed the content of three prominent newspapers in Ghana, namely, *The Daily Graphic*, *The Ghanaian Times* and *the Daily Guide* to examine the coverage of the various newspapers on chieftaincy and the various perspectives that they defined in their construction and crafting of chiefs and chieftaincy in their narratives. The decision to deploy the content analysis technique was inspired by the description of Berelson (1982) who described content analysis as an analytic research device which is patently and sufficiently systematic, objective and quantitative to analyse or describe the manifest content of a mass medium of communication. Added to this is the view by Krippendorff(1980) that the technique provides the opportunity to read a body of text

images and symbolic matter objectively without being subjugated by the author's or users perspectives.

Content analysis has been defined by various authors and one of the comprehensive insights of the technique has been provided by Zito (1975) who defines it as "a methodology by which the researcher seeks to determine the manifest content of written, spoken or published communication by systematic, objective and quantitative analysis including newspaper accounts, personal letters, suicide notes among many others." "The method helps the researcher to construct meanings from various communicators and journalistic output as well as setting journalistic arguments". In considering chieftaincy as a subject of the research due cognizance was given to the fact that matters affecting the institution have been unfolding in the media which has often engendered debates in public.

Another factor that motivated the choice of content analysis was that since printed matter- both past and current newspapers are available in various libraries and archival institutions at some institutions of learning in the Ghanaian capital of Accra, it was always going to be easy to assemble archival matter on the subject from newspapers. Thus there was the opportunity to lay hands on a plethora of material as the libraries stocked a substantial collection of newspapers. Obtaining materials to subject them to content analysis was not difficult. Most importantly, content analysis was appropriate in eliminating the subjective views of the researcher, even though, Sjoberg and Nett (1998) have maintained that the researcher's influence cannot always be eliminated completely from a content analysis project. The researcher himself is a variable in the research design. He influences the course of any research he undertakes, and his actions are in turn structured by the broader society in which he

lives”. It is against this caveat that the work progressed with an aim that all biases, interests and beliefs were held at bay in order not to taint the findings of the research.

3.1 Choice of Newspapers for the analysis

Newspapers were considered vital for the analysis because they frame issues, explain events and create for societies what is acceptable and what is not. They are also the watchdogs in not only the political sphere, but the society as well (Steeve 1997). Another reason that inspired the choice of newspapers for the study is Valeda (2002)’s view that newspapers are practical and of substantive value in research on frames. Indeed, as stated elsewhere in this work, newspapers are powerful in the creation of the world view of people in a society. Again, newspapers are always available for analyses compared to other forms of media, particularly, the electronic media. In fact it is always difficult to retrieve news bulletins or television material in Ghana from the archives. Most importantly, is the fact that newspapers command central role in social discourses of many Ghanaians (Hasty 2005). Besides, they are key and practical in researches that involve framing Valeda (2002). The Ghanaian media landscape is awash with numerous dailies, but three, namely, *The Daily Graphic*, *The Ghanaian Times* and *Daily Guide* were selected for the study.

The Daily Graphic is the oldest and the most influential on the Ghanaian media landscape. It was established in 1950 initially as the West African Graphic Company Limited by the Daily Mirror Group of newspapers in the United Kingdom. It has been the most widely circulated newspaper in Ghana. Earlier researches by Adewale Maja-Pierce (2006) puts the daily circulation of *The Daily Graphic* to about 200,000 in 1996 and states that these copies are distributed throughout the 10 regions of Ghana via bus and courier. But latest circulation figures in 2010 put *The Daily Graphic* at 100,000 (Yankson, Brown, Tagbor, Donkor, Quansah and Asare 2010), but it still

leads the pack on the landscape. As a state-owned media, *The Daily Graphic* has acquired the financial muscle over the years to exert an influence in the newspaper market and is the most widely read and has two journalists at least in each of the 10 regional capitals including stringers, thereby making it the most credible and economically viable newspaper in Ghana. It is published six times a week from Monday to Saturday and sometimes contains 94 pages in its editions.

Besides its credibility, *The Daily Graphic* is enjoined by article 163 of the Ghanaian Republic Constitution to provide fair coverage of issues and therefore provides a broad spectrum of viewpoints for objective analysis. It provides coverage on wide range of events including current affairs, environment, business, finance, politics, women affairs and chieftaincy which is the subject of the study.

The Ghanaian Times is the other state-owned media in Ghana. It is the second oldest newspaper in Ghana and was established in 1958. It circulates 35,000 copies daily and is the third largest circulating newspaper in Ghana (Yankson et al 2010). Like *the Daily Graphic*, *the Ghanaian Times* which is also state-owned has a readership which cuts across the whole country (Asante, 1996: Blay Amihere 1996) and also have correspondents in all the regions of Ghana. By its reputation and long standing popularity as one of the oldest, it also wields an influence in framing national discourse whether on social, political, economic or cultural issues. Thus a story published by *The Ghanaian Times* is likely to make a huge impact on the larger Ghanaian populace and will provide a good basis as in the view of (Asante 1996 : Boafo. 1985: Yankah. 1994) who argue that both *The Ghanaian Times* and *The Daily Graphic* have consistently published since independence and thereby have become useful for research and longitudinal analyses.

The Daily Guide belongs to the stock of independent newspapers which emerged in Ghana after the promulgation of the country's constitution in 1992. It was established in 1999 initially as a private weekly newspaper basically as grievance avenue for the opposition who felt muffled by the state-owned *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times* in favour of the state or government. But it became a daily in the year 2000 and publishes from Monday to Saturday each week. It is the biggest selling private newspaper in Ghana and is the second bestselling newspaper with a current circulation figure of 45,000 daily (Yankson et al 2010) which are circulated throughout the country. But readership is concentrated in the more urbanized areas of Ghana as well as the regional capitals of Ghana even though it matches the two state-owned newspapers in terms of correspondents and news sources. From a merely political tabloid that specializes in political headlines, scandal reporting among government functionaries and sometimes sensationalism which Hasty(2005) believes has been the lot of the independent media in the Ghanaian democratic culture the paper has developed into a credible medium.

The paper has now improved from an eight- paged weekly tabloid , subsequently a 16-paged daily to a 24-paged newspaper and even though largely viewed as a political tabloid it covers news on politics, environment, business and financial issues, life style, entertainment and sports and just as *The Ghanaian Times* and *The Daily Graphic*, it represents a broad spectrum of issues and readership for a credible analytical work.

3.2 Sampling Design

All the three newspapers used for the analysis namely; *The Daily Graphic*, *The Ghanaian Times* and *The Daily Guide* were sampled based on non-probability

purposive sampling. All issues on chieftaincy from January to December in the period of study were selected and issues on the subject covered by the three papers from Monday to Saturday were all considered. The decision to use purposive sampling is to enable an efficient examination of content on newspaper narratives on chieftaincy over a particular time. Even though Riffe, Lacy & Fico (2005) underline the problem of using non-probability sampling in the process of content analysis, the gathering of newspapers for this work was not too problematic in the course of the work. Two of the state-owned dailies have well established libraries for references and other archival retrieval purposes. At the Graphic Communications Group Ltd, publishers of *The Daily Graphic*, there were files of all copies which have been neatly bound into historical materials in addition there were files cataloguing various cuttings on publications ranging from politics, social, environment, economics, business, lifestyle, sports, chieftaincy etc. It was very easy to lay hands on all the contents available for the period required for the analysis.

The only difficulty was that some older files were not readily available in the library as they were kept in the company's archives located outside the main building. It was also difficult to lay hands on other publications relevant for the study and therefore had to visit the New Times Corporation library, publishers of *The Ghanaian Times* which has the same facilities as the Graphic Communications library, except that the lack of proper storage of the archival materials in that library affected some of the copies. The Daily Guide also has a library where all the relevant publications were accessed for the study, even though it was not possible to get every material and eventually had to rely on Graphic Communications Archives and retrieval from www.ghanaweb.com archives. Indeed these libraries came handy as there were difficulties in getting archival copies of the relevant publications from bigger libraries such the

Balme Library of the University of Ghana and public libraries such as the Central and the Padmore Libraries in Accra.

3.3 Period of Study

Publications on chieftaincy from January 2002 to December 2005. The year 2005 was chosen as the point of commencement because it marked one of the tragic moments of the institution when the Overlord of the Dagbon Traditional Area, Ya Na Yakubu Andane together with 40 others were gruesomely murdered which provoked interesting debates about the relevance of the institution in modern Ghana. The events certainly ignited media attention for the institution of chieftaincy which reinforced the framing of chiefs and the chieftaincy institution. Secondly, the year marked 10 years after the promulgation of the 1992 Republication Constitution of Ghana which recognized chieftaincy as a relevant institution. The December 2005 cut off time was suitable because there were significant number of publications to review. The study investigated the entire universe of the articles that appeared in the three newspapers for the period of study. The sample procedure was chosen due to the fact that even though Rathbone(2000) asserted that chieftaincy was an attractive piece and good copy for the media it was not a regular occurrence on the pages of the newspapers.

In all, 947, chieftaincy articles were selected for the study which constituted the universe. The breakdown is as follows:

Daily Graphic—361

The Ghanaian Times---451

The Daily Guide---135

3.4 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis for the study involved all articles published by *The Daily Graphic*, *The Ghanaian Times* and *The Daily Guide* on issues relating to chieftaincy. This included news reports or stories, editorials, opinion and comments, letters to the editor, features, statements etc.. These items were examined to identify the frames and themes used in the reportage in the newspapers studied for the period of study. The stories were read thoroughly to identify themes to develop a coding system based on the established categories of themes. The process was as follows:

Firstly, There was a thorough examination of the text through multiple readings of each of the article sampled to secure a general understanding of the content. Descriptive notes were taken at every stage. After this stage, there was a deeper reading of the text in a more detailed engagement to identify the discursive strategies adopted in the presentation ,(Betrand & Hughes 2005). Finally, the categorisation of the issues that emerged from the reading process effected and names and labels were assigned to them.

The Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) software programme was applied to summarize the coded categories. Categories were analysed to determine the differences and similarities to the standard formulated categories. There was an attempt to compare the coverage provided by the three papers.

3.5 Coding Instrument

To ensure effective analysis, a coding instrument was designed to break down the large chunk of data gathered. Coding enables the researcher to categorize and make sense of the qualitative data that was analysed (Lindlof & Taylor 2002). The Coding Instrument was arrived at through the appreciation of the various subject matter,

headlines, expressions and the emphasis on some key words in the narratives of the newspapers studied. They were all identified in the news stories, features, letters to the editor, editorial comment and press releases captured in the three newspapers studied. The first attempt at Coding was at the explorative stage where all the headlines were sorted out

During the coding process any item identified as News Story, Editorial Comment, Letters to the Editor and Feature Article related to chieftaincy that appeared in the three newspapers selected between January 2002 and December 2004 was included in the sample and coded according to the themes and categories developed for the coding scheme (see appendix).

3.6 Categorization of Themes

To further appreciate the frames used a system of categorization was created whereby all the themes sorted were categorized based on the thematic space they occupied and frames used in the various newspapers studied. At the end of the first of analysis, a number categories were fashioned out and are as follows:

- 1) Violence and Conflicts: This refers to the violence associated with chieftaincy conflicts. This violence involving rival claimants of chieftaincy stool or skins reported in the various newspapers studied and the deaths associated with it.
- 2) Disputes refer to the succession disputes and protracted court litigation associated with chieftaincy.
- 3) Promotion of stool and culture: This involves news coverage on programmes, initiatives aimed at popularizing, promoting and creating favourable visibility for their stools, skins and jurisdictions as whole.

3) Peace-building and conflict resolution: This refers to efforts by chiefs and their assigns to promote peace, resolve conflicts and peaceful co-existence.

4) Development: This refers to development projects and initiatives by chiefs, Kings and their assigns in Ghana which were covered by the three newspapers studied during the period.

5) Enstoolment/Installation/Outdooring: Involves the outdooring, installation, coronation of chiefs and kings.

6) Destoolment: These are situations where chiefs are denounced and forced out of authority for reasons such as fraud, lack of accountability, womanizing and other social vices.

3.7 Interviews

Another data collection method employed was the in-depth interview technique which is also a qualitative part of the study. It was chosen to spend a relatively longer time with respondents. This was crucial to examine the world of journalists who authored the stories and determine whether this influenced the frames represented by the stories. As stated by Lindlof & Taylor (2004), interviews enable the researcher to understand „the social actors experience and perspective“ A group of journalists who authored the stories as well as the news editor who play a major role in the gatekeeping process of the media organizations. Also, a prominent chief was interviewed to elicit the perspective of chiefs. In all four respondents were taken through the indepth interview which lasted one week and they contributed significantly to the data gathering process. The journalists are Nehemiah Owusu-Achiaw, a News Editor of *The Daily Graphic* with over 25 years“ experience as

Regional Correspondent in Ashanti Region, Presidential Correspondent with varied experience in news reporting and editing, Kingsley Inkoom, Deputy Editor of The Daily Graphic with close to 30 years on the job and also has considerable experience in news gathering and editing. The other resource person was Dave Agbenu whose experience in reporting on politics and other areas including chieftaincy matters is now the editor of *The Ghanaian Times* newspaper.

Though the interview selection criteria was open-ended, consideration was given to the roles the respondents play in their respective organisations which easily make them authoritative regarding the data needed for the conclusions

The prominent chief used as a resource person was Nana Kobina Nketiah V, Chief of Esikado Traditional Area in the Western Region. He is a historian, lecturer at the University of Cape Coast and has contributed to many issues affecting Ghana, particularly on chieftaincy.

The interview was structured along the following question lines;

- 1) What is respondent's position on chieftaincy in Ghana?
- 2) What are the parameters that respondents use to define chieftaincy in Ghana?
- 3) Why are most chieftaincy stories associated with violence, scandals and other anti-social vices?
- 4) What are the problems that militate against the preservation of the chieftaincy institution?
- 5) What are the considerations that respondents take into account to determine the importance of a chieftaincy story?

- 6) Is there any editorial policy on chieftaincy stories?
- 7) What kind of chieftaincy stories are likely to attract public attention?
- 8) Is it possible that respondents are likely to be influenced by their sources of information?
- 9) Are respondents presentations always influenced by the position that a particularly chief occupy in Ghana?

3.8 Placement of Stories

As part of the tools adopted for analyzing the data, placement of the stories were considered and examined. Placement is key because it determines the significance of the story and the importance the editorial team attaches to it. Normally, stories placed on the front pages are considered important and considered the window of the newspaper. Indeed the first attraction of every newspaper is its front page. The issue of placement is important in the scheme of qualitative analysis as it provided the basis for knowing how many stories were considered so important to the newsrooms to attract front page placement and which types of stories considered important.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Outlining chieftaincy through newspaper frames

This chapter and the next present the findings and discussions of the newspaper reports studied, namely, *The Daily Graphic*, *The Ghanaian Times* and *the Daily Guide*. It contains data obtained from the various frames used by the three newspapers in their reportage and narratives as well as opinions by readers and editors on chieftaincy issues (letters to the editor and editorial comment). The outcomes are presented in two parts. The first presentation is about the results of the data gathered from the quantitative data and the descriptive part of the data which have been analysed. The second part involves the data obtained from the in-depth interview with journalists, editors and a chief and how they helped answer questions relating to the frames in the content analysis of the institution of chieftaincy in the various newspapers.

As established so far, in the preceding chapters, various news items presented by the newspapers used series of frames to construct the images of chiefs and the institution of chieftaincy as a whole. Indeed, it is the use of these frames that crafted the research questions as follows:

RQ1: What frames did the newspapers employ to represent Ghanaian chiefs in their narratives?

RQ: What were the reasons behind the frames from the perspective of journalists?

RQ3: What are the perceptions of chiefs towards these media frames?

The first part of the analysis answers the first research question, while the second part takes care of the second and third research questions. The highlights of the first part of the analysis involved the various frames that emerged after the study of the various themes of the narratives on the chieftaincy institution in the course of the study. Figures were ascribed to the various frames in percentages and illustrated in graphs and pie charts (see the last page after the analysis). These quantitative representations provided graphic illustrations about the dominant frames employed by the various newspapers in their narratives about chiefs and the chieftaincy institution.

The frames as earlier indicated after carefully reading through the articles were identified as follows;

- 1) Litigation.
 - 2) Conflicts.
 - 3) Development,
 - 4) Promotion of Culture,
 - 5) Governance,
 - 6) Promotion of Peace and Conflict Resolution,
 - 7) Social Vices,
 - 8) Destoolment and
 - 9) Installation.
- In addition to creating and analysing the themes or categories of frames, this chapter also analysed the placement of the stories which helped reinforced the frames through the determination of the importance that the newspapers attached to them and the dominance of these frames in the narratives of the newspapers. The analysis of placement or location of the stories was outlined with the aid of quantitative aids such graphs, pie charts and figures in percentages.



The analysis of articles published in *The Daily Graphic*, *The Ghanaian Times* and *The Daily Guide* between January 2002 and December 2005 was based on 975 articles. Out of the number, only 11 were Feature articles, 8 were letters by readers and a paltry 7 were editorial comments. Thus the large chunk totalling 947 were news stories on chieftaincy. *The Ghanaian Times* led in the publications during the period analysed. It published a total of 451 representing 47 per cent news articles 5 feature articles, 2 Letters to the Editor and 3 Editorial Opinions on the subject. *The Daily Graphic* published 361 news stories accounting for 38 per cent 4 Feature Articles and 6 were Letters to the Editor and 4 were Editorial Comments of the newspaper. *The Daily Guide* contributed 135 news stories 2 Feature Articles, 2 Letters to the Editor and 2 Editorial Opinions. The initial data gathered from the three newspapers revealed that news stories on chieftaincy are not too common a feature in Ghanaian newspapers as reflected above. Indeed throughout the four-year period of publications by the three newspapers, only 975 issues of chieftaincy were featured. The trend is showed in the graphical representation below:

Table 1: Graphical Representation of the News Stories on Chieftaincy by the three newspapers

Newspaper	News Stories		Feature		Opinion	
	<i>Num</i>	<i>Perc</i>	<i>Num</i>	<i>Perc</i>	<i>Num</i>	<i>Perc</i>
Daily Graphic	361	38.12%	4	36.36%	10	58.82%
Ghanaian Times	451	47.62%	5	45.45%	5	29.41%
Daily Guide	135	14.26%	2	18.18%	2	11.76%
Total	947	100%	11	100%	17	100%

Figure 1: Opinions on chieftaincy by the three newspapers

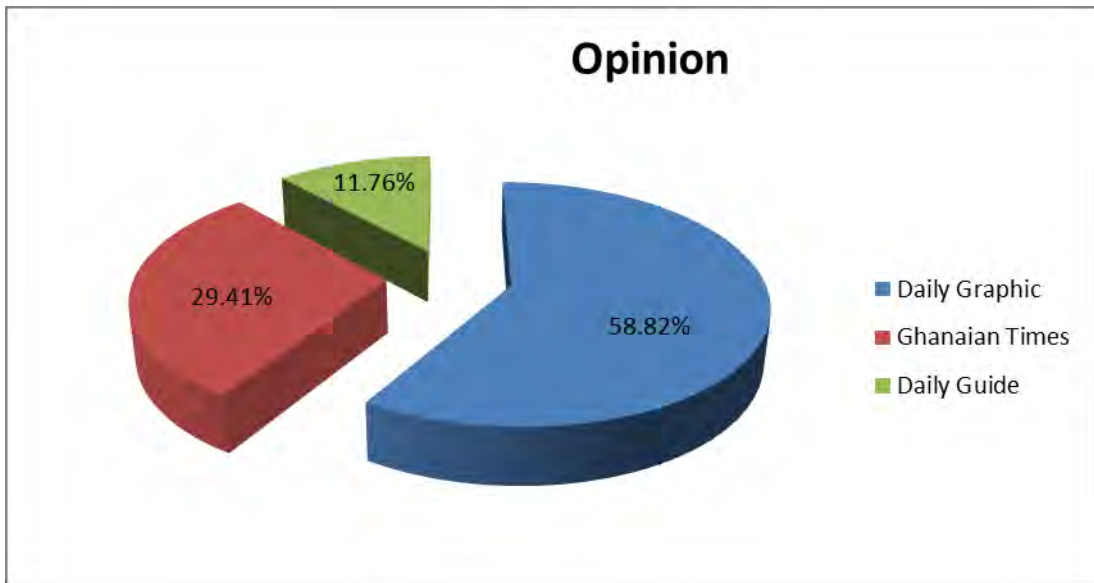


Figure 2: Features on chieftaincy published by the three newspapers

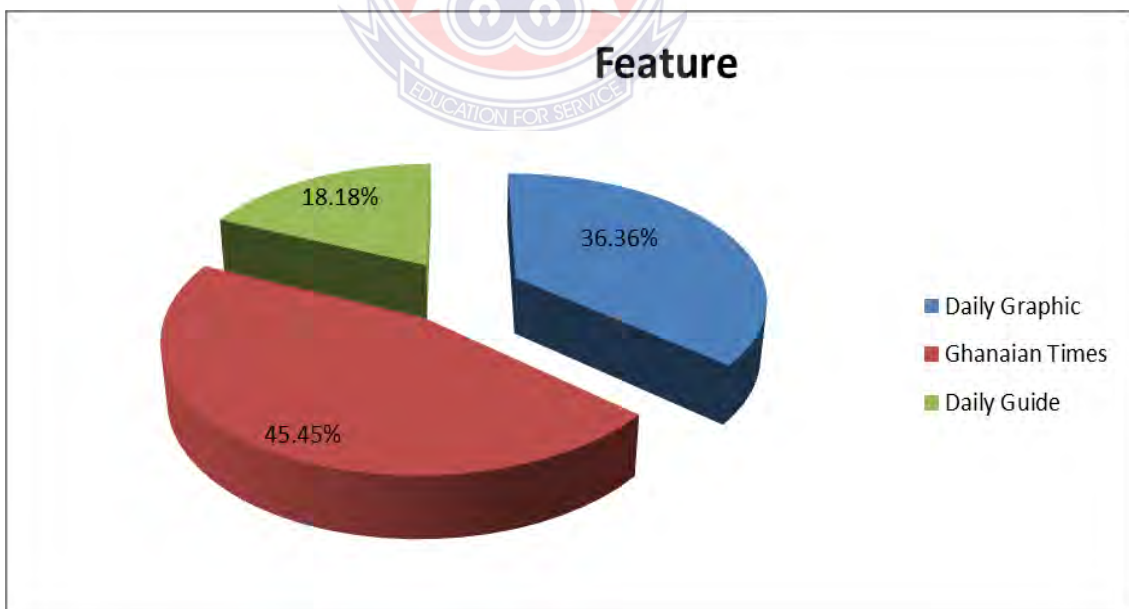
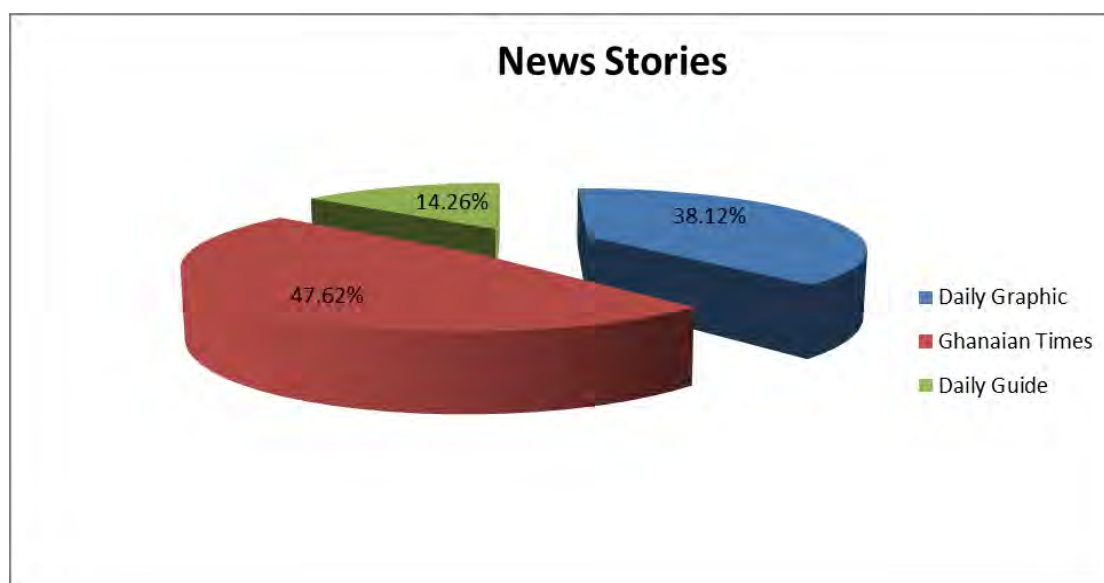


Figure 3: News Stories on chieftaincy published by the three newspapers

It shows that chieftaincy is not normally an interpretative device for journalists as exemplified by the number of Editorial Comments, Opinions and Feature Articles published by the three newspapers. The reason for this phenomenon can partly be found in the explanation by Asante (1996) in the assumption that politics is the main discourse or theme in the narratives of various newspapers in Ghana. This is exemplified by the observations in the data gathered from the *Daily Guide* newspaper in which only 135 news stories on chieftaincy were published in the entire period as the narratives were predominantly, on politics.

As stated by (Asante, 1996), the preponderance of politics in the discourse of newspapers in Ghana has a historical antecedent as most of these newspapers in Ghana, particularly, the state-owned media were established as government mouthpieces or megaphones for the development agenda of the government of the day. In this regard all major socio-political issues were framed through politics. Politics thus became the conduit or points of attraction through which the newspapers are able to engage the larger society.

4.1 Framing chieftaincy as Litigation/Disputes:

From the trend gathered, the newspapers studied largely framed chiefs and chieftaincy issues around Litigation and Disputes. In this instance, chiefs and indeed the institution of chieftaincy were interpreted through a medium of litigations and disputes. The findings revealed that framing chiefs and the chieftaincy institution around Litigation and Disputes ranked the highest and was thus the dominant frame among the three newspapers studied. It occupied 553 out of the 1926 thematic spaces that were identified in the chieftaincy stories sampled. This represented 28.71 per cent. *The Ghanaian Times* contributed the highest to the total number of frames during the period with 253 thematic spaces. This represents 45.75 per cent. *The Daily Graphic* followed with 210 which accounted for 37.97 per cent of the thematic space while *The Daily Guide* used 90 representing 16.27 per cent. The Graphical Representation below further illustrates the trend and how the various frames were deployed by the three newspapers.

Figure 4: Frames used by Daily Graphic

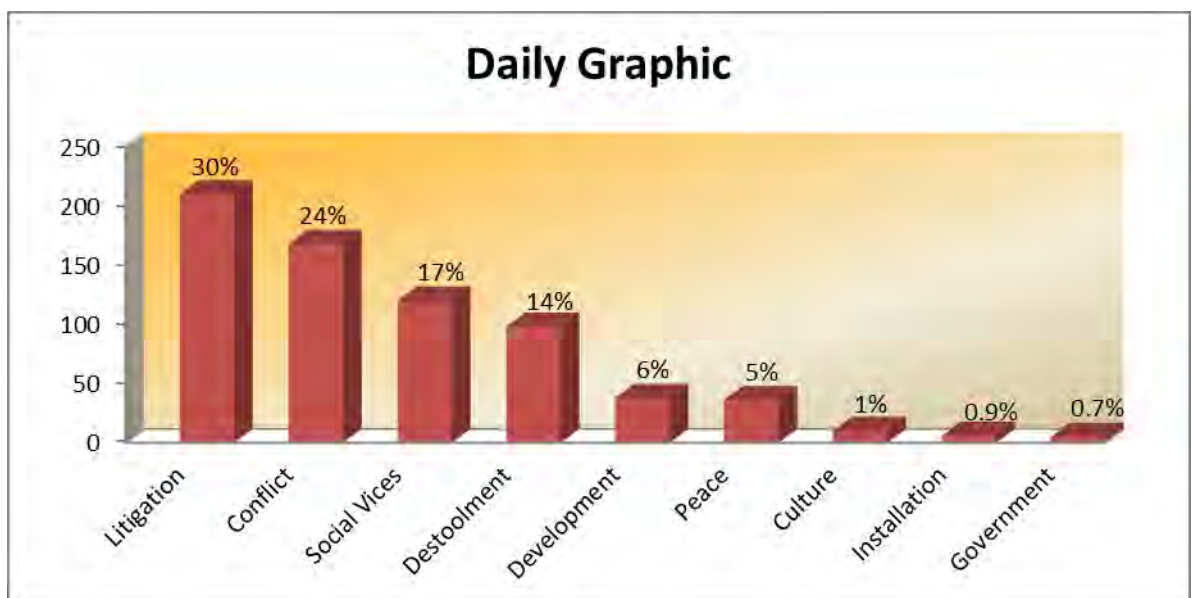
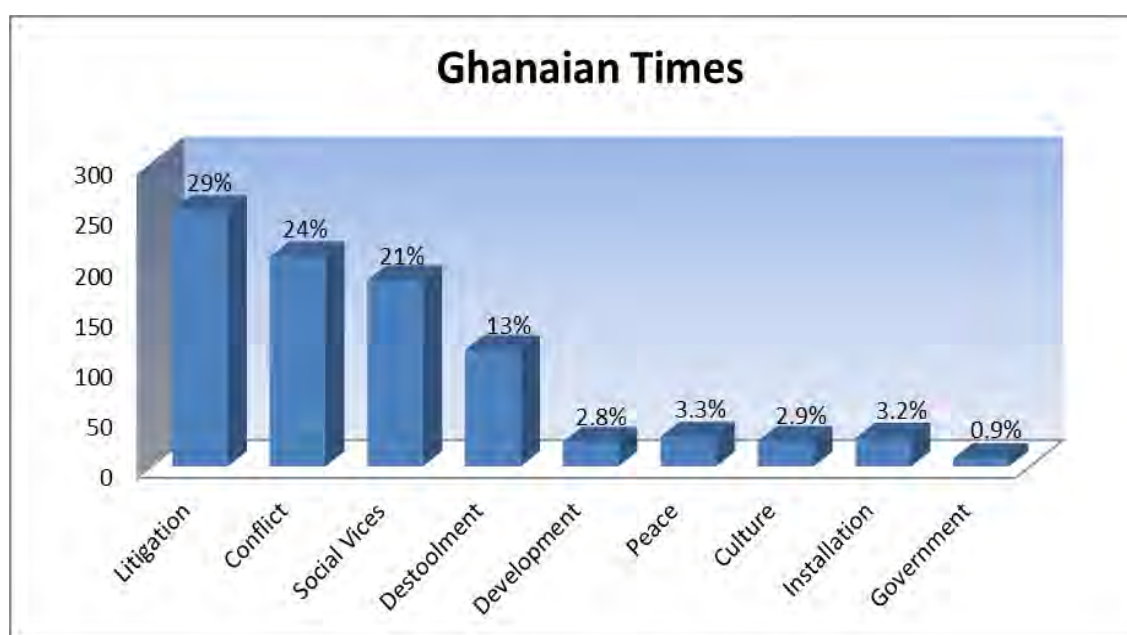
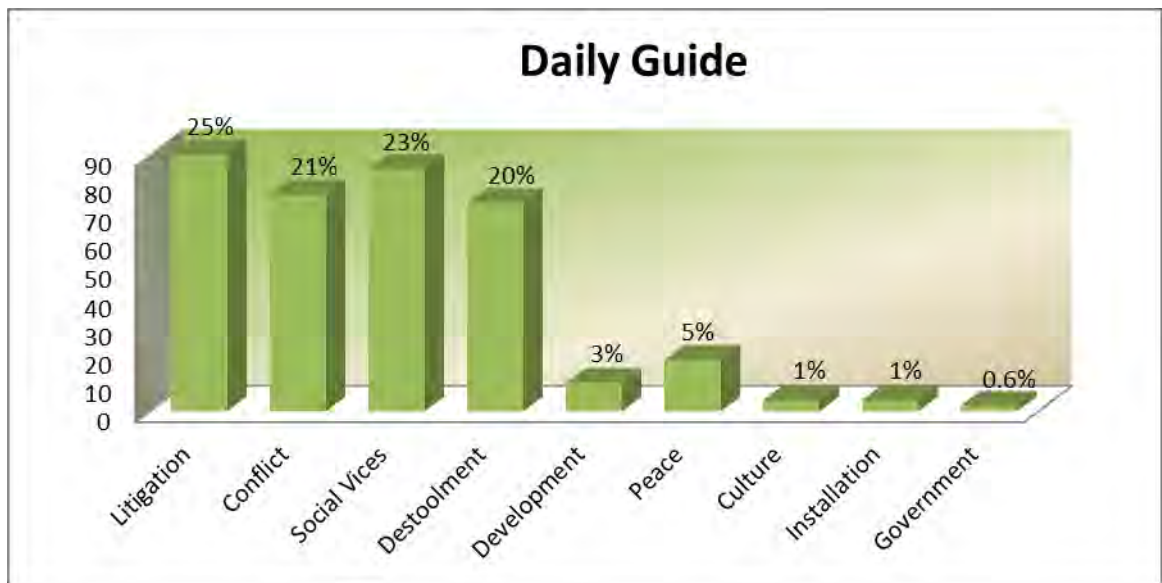


Figure 5: Frames used by Ghanaian Times**Table 2: A graphical representation of the various frames used by the three newspapers**

News Frames	Daily Graphic		Ghanaian Times		Daily Guide		Total
	Num	Perc	Num	Perc	Num	Perc	
Litigation	210	30.39%	253	28.98%	90	24.86%	553
Conflict	168	24.31%	207	23.71%	76	20.99%	451
Social Vices	120	17.37%	184	21.08%	85	23.48%	389
Destoolment	98	14.18%	115	13.17%	73	20.17%	286
Development	38	5.50%	24	2.75%	10	2.76%	72
Peace	36	5.21%	29	3.32%	18	4.97%	83
Culture	10	1.45%	25	2.86%	4	1.10%	39
Installation	6	0.87%	28	3.21%	4	1.10%	38
Governance	5	0.72%	8	0.92%	2	0.55%	15
<i>Total</i>	691		873		362		1926
<i>Perc</i>	35.88%		45.33%		18.80%		

Figure 6: Frames used by the Daily Guide**Table 3 Graphical Representation of the Frames used by the Newspapers**

News Frames	Daily Graphic		Ghanaian Times		Daily Guide			
	Num	Perc	Num	Perc	Num	Perc	Total	Perc
Litigation	210	37.97%	253	45.75%	90	16.27%	553	28.71%
Conflict	168	37.25%	207	45.90%	76	16.85%	451	23.42%
Social Vices	120	30.85%	184	47.30%	85	21.85%	389	20.20%
Destoolment	98	34.27%	115	40.21%	73	25.52%	286	14.85%
Development	38	52.78%	24	33.33%	10	13.89%	72	3.74%
Peace	36	43.37%	29	34.94%	18	21.67%	83	4.31%
Culture	10	25.64%	25	64.10%	4	10.26%	39	2.02%
Installation	6	15.79%	28	73.68%	4	10.26%	38	1.97%
Government	5	33.33%	8	53.33%	2	13.33%	15	0.78%
<i>Total</i>	691		873		362		1926	

Figure 7: News Frame

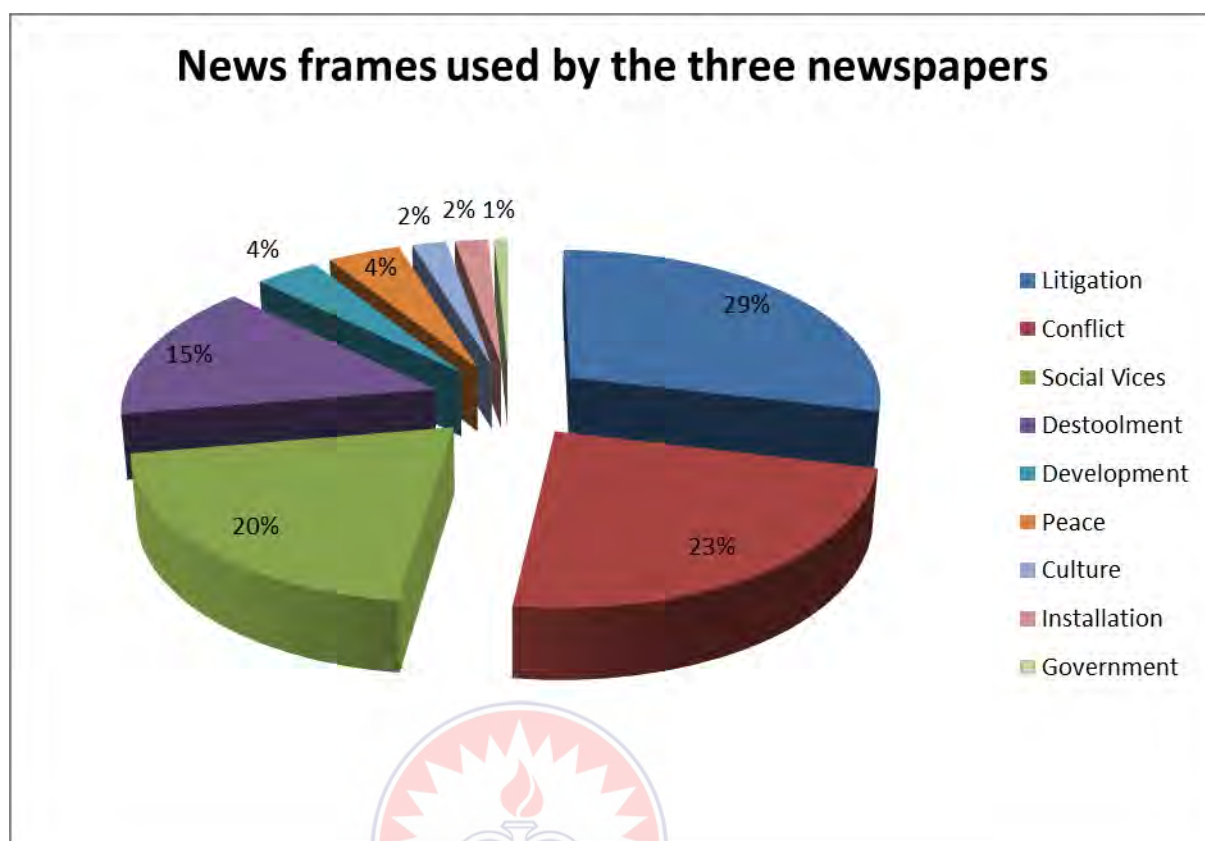
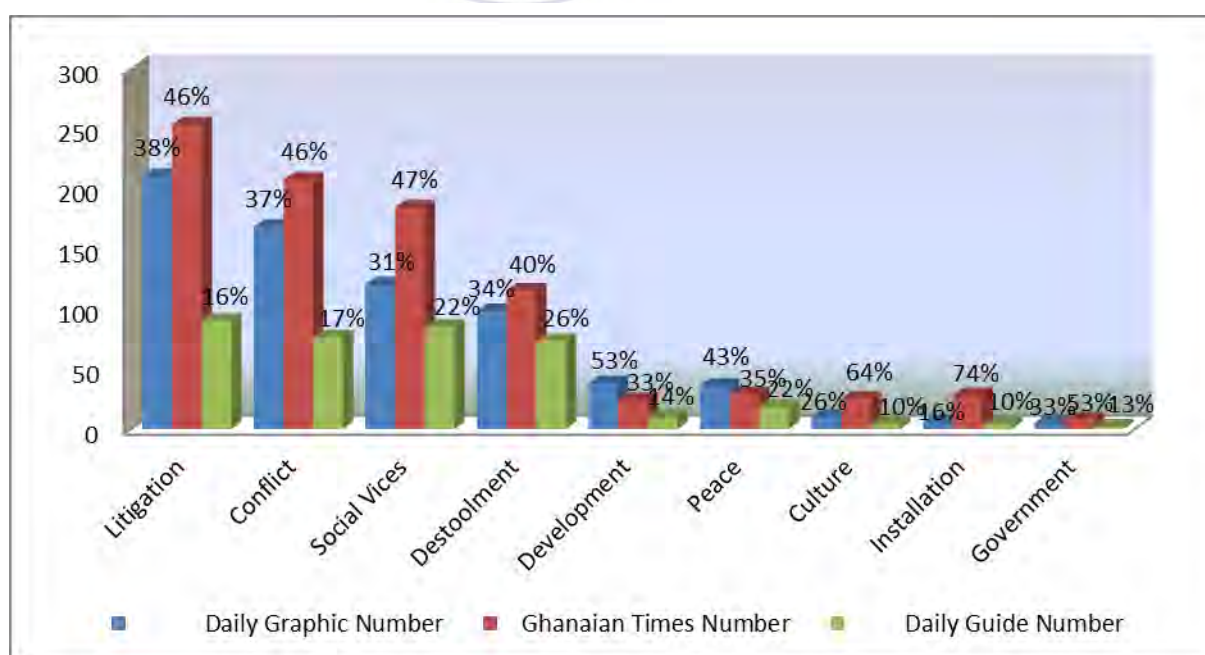


Figure 8 Frames used by the three newspapers



Thus as far as the three newspapers are concerned, Litigation forms a major plank of chieftaincy issues in the coverage by the media. The frame thus serves as an interpretative device for the presentation of chiefs and the chieftaincy issues in the media. Below are illustrations from the three newspapers:

The high cost of maintaining security in the Wassa West District as a result of protracted chieftaincy disputes that occasionally degenerate into violent conflicts continue to have a toll on the District and the District Assembly finances, Madam Horner-Sam has said (*The Ghanaian Times* January 24, 2004).

The Omanhene of Wenchi Traditional Area, Nana Abrefa Kwadwo Nketia V11, has said he has a reputation to maintain and would therefore not allow his detractors to tarnish his hard-won image.

The chief has threatened legal action against Nana Amokona Nimpong, a senior citizen in Sunyani and a sub-chief of the Dormaa Traditional Council for making unsavoury remarks about him. Speaking to a section of the press at his palace in Wenchi in reaction to an earlier press conference held by Nana Amonkona Nimpong in Sunyani, levelling series of allegations at him(Omahene) , including the stealing of teak trees and Wenchihene said his reputation has been put in disrepute and would take the necessary legal means to redeem his image(*Daily Guide* September 6, 2004).

All of the above excerpts from the newspapers show that litigation is the common feature of chieftaincy in Ghana and one that blights and undermines the reputation and integrity of the chiefs and the institution of chieftaincy as a whole. Litigations over stools and skins as revealed in the study emerged as the common narrative about the chiefs in the three newspapers. These stories were mostly negative publications about chiefs involved in protracted ligations which have often snowballed into violent

conflicts leading to deaths and which ultimately proved costly to the state. Most of the litigations were borne out of controversies associated with succession. That litigation is a common feature of chieftaincy in Ghana is not a creation of the media, but a phenomenon which has been long been established by scholarly works of Abotchie (2006) & Tonah(2009) earlier indicated in chapter three of this work. Both Abotchie & Tonah have indicated that chieftaincy litigations dominate the Ghanaian landscape and that virtually every part of the country has experienced it. The media's preference as indicated by the preponderance of these stories published by the three newspapers indicates that chieftaincy in Ghana is about litigations . This trend reinforces the fact that newspapers or the media consider bad news as often more newsworthy than good news(Shoemaker 2006) .

4.2 Framing Chieftaincy as Conflicts issue

The findings also revealed a pervasive use of Conflict as a frame which comes second to the frame on Litigation. It accounted for 451 thematic spaces representing 23.42 per cent. *The Ghanaian Times* devoted 207 thematic spaces for the frame and this represented 45.90 per cent, while *The Daily Graphic* used 168 (37.25 per cent) *The Daily Guide* allotted 76 (16.85 per cent) in their respective publications. Thus the analysis of stories churned out by *The Daily Graphic*, *The Ghanaian Times* and *The Daily Guide* shows that Conflicts which have often been violent leading to deaths emerged as an important interpretative device for chieftaincy narratives for newsmen in Ghana. An illustration of the use of Conflict as a frame in the three newspapers is as follows:

The overlord of Dagbon, Ya Na Yakubu Andani, 66, is reported dead. He was killed on Tuesday night during renewed clashes between factions in the Dagbon chieftaincy

dispute. Information made available to the Graphic said 24 others were killed during the clash which erupted on Sunday. The violence that erupted leading to the death of the Ya Na led to many injuries (*Daily Graphic*, March 23, 2002).

Fifteen people were injured and a number of houses either burnt or vandalised following renewed chieftaincy clashes at Weija in the Ga District the injured including a pregnant woman are on admission at the 37 Military and the Korle Bu Teaching Hospitals (*Ghanaian Times* February 20, 2003).

The two reports are classic illustrations of the devastating form of violence, which is often a sequel or residual to chieftaincy litigation that is usually highlighted by newspapers. These conflicts evoke violence leading to widespread destruction of life and property. The trend revealed that the three newspapers placed editorial value on Chieftaincy issues associated with Conflict or Violence. Conflict coincidentally emerged closely after Litigation by the sheer frequency of the two frames in the news stories on chieftaincy. In terms of ranking, Chieftaincy conflicts come second to only Litigations in terms of priority in the schemes of editorial preference. It means that the media is almost likely to choose stories that feature chiefs as purveyors of conflicts and violence other than any other chieftaincy related issues. This finds expression in the perspective of Black, Bryant and Thompson (1998) referred to earlier in the chapter in which they state: „By far the most compelling reason for including violence in the media is that producers, directors, writers and editors believe this is what the audience want“. They stated further; “More critically, they believe that many audience members will not choose to watch, listen to or read the messages that do not contain fistfights, shootings and mayhem”..

4.3 Framing Chieftaincy as Social Vice

The study also revealed that the frame on social vice was among the popular frames in the narratives of journalists. The social vice frame encapsulate other social themes such as issues of embezzlements, womanizing, corruption, embezzlements and lack of accountability to subjects which occupied a significant thematic space in the narratives of the journalists.

It accounted for 389 thematic spaces. This represented 20.20 per cent of the thematic space. *The Daily Graphic* used 120, representing 30.85 per cent. *The Ghanaian Times* used 184 representing 47.30 per cent of its space *The Daily Guide* contributed 85 representing 21.85 per cent of its thematic space. This is a re-echo of Busia (1962; Mends; 2000; Addo Fenning 2006; Prah & Yeboah 2011) elucidated earlier in this work. The use of Social Vices frame by the three newspapers studied is given an illustration below:

The Okyehene Osagyefo Amotia Ofori Panin II, has called for stiffer punishment for chiefs who use their authorities to rape, and defile innocent women and children.

He said the chieftaincy institution is a sacred one and therefore should not be debased by unscrupulous chiefs. The Okyehene was also unhappy with chiefs who sell lands that they are supposed to hold in trust for the people they represent and embezzled the funds and failed to account for the people (*Ghanaian Times* July 6, 2002).

The chief of Bonwire in the Ashanti Region, Nana Kwakye, is in the grips of the law for allegedly engaging in a visa fraud. Also assisting the police is his accomplice David Essandoh, a self-styled businessman. The two were alleged to have defrauded a student, Mr. Degraft Mensah, aged 24 of 5,000 us dollars with the promise of securing him a United Kingdom Visa. (*Daily Guide*, August 2, 2003)

A Group known as the Concerned Citizens of Ashanti Mampong has petitioned the Chief Justice to withdraw the membership of Mamponghe, the petitioners noted that the actions of Nana Osei Bonsu II had made it necessary for the Judicial Council to purge itself of the embarrassing presence of Dasebre Nana Osei Bonsu II.

The petitioners contended that the numerous legal suits in which the chief was embroiled in casts a continuing slur on the integrity of the Judicial Council.

They mentioned a case currently pending before the court of the Asantehene in which one Mrs Rosina A.N. Mensah is alleging that Dasebre Nana Osei Bonsu¹¹ swindled her of a sum of 30,000 dollars promising to make her a queen mother.

(Daily Graphic July 17, 2003)

These above reports captured from the data exemplify the various anti-social acts engaged in by some chiefs which were given prominence by the three newspapers studied. It further showed that vices such as womanizing, fraud, embezzlements, corruption and lack of accountability were commonly associated with chiefs. These together with litigation and conflicts are endemic to the chieftaincy institution in the country and their combined effect has given chiefs a bad reputation. All the three are interwoven as chiefs who indulged in anti-social vices create fertile grounds for litigations which sometimes crystallise into conflicts.

The data revealed that almost all the acts of anti-social vices committed by chiefs which were given prominence by the three newspapers were often accusations by factions usually embroiled in long standing litigation over a stool and a skin and purists of chieftaincy who want to protect the institution from being corrupted by charlatans as exemplified by *the Ghanaian Times* story in the illustration above in

which the Okyehene Amoatia Ofori Panin is on a cleansing crusade to rid the chieftaincy institution of bad chiefs. All the concerns are based on what Arhin(1985) captured as the chief being the embodiment of the moral purity of his people.

The dominance of anti-social vices as a news frame for newspapers is clearly underlined by its position as the third largest frame, coming after the two most dominant frames, litigation and Conflict. This trend also reveals that newspapers have some affinity for issues that relate to corruption, and other social vices among high ranking members of society. Framing chieftaincy stories in this regard is likely to trigger public outrage and thereby attract readership.

4.4 Framing Chieftaincy as Destoolment issue;

The findings also revealed that Destoolment was another prominent theme or frame in the reportage of chieftaincy by the three newspapers. It constituted a significant portion of the frames. All the three newspapers used it widely, and a total of 286 thematic spaces were recorded among the three newspapers.

This represented 14.85 per cent. *The Ghanaian Times* used 115 accounting for 40.21 per cent while *The Daily Graphic* utilised 98(34.27 per cent) with *The Daily Guide* allotting 73 thematic space to the frame. This translated into 25.52 per cent.

Examples of the use of Destoolment as frames among the three newspapers are produced below:

The Chief of Gomoa Mankoadze, Nana Osew Adabraku 11 has been destooled by Kingmakers of the town, the Yoko (Anona) family. At a ceremony to announce his destoolment a white ram was slaughtered and libation was poured to seal the decision.

A resolution signed by four elders of the Yoko family accused Nana Adabraku 11 of weakening the unity that existed in Gomoa Mankoadze during his over five years rule. (*The Ghanaian Times* June 20, 2003).

The Daily Guide has a story with a similar frame as follows:

Dark clouds hang over this year's celebration of the Homowo by chiefs and people of La in Accra, This follows divided opinions by various factions in the town on the celebration of the festival, a development which was borne out of an age-old chieftaincy dispute

The dispute according to Numo Odoi, was as a result of the destoolment of the La Mantse some seven years ago.

The reports stated further: Numo Odoi said about seven years ago, some of the elders of the elders of La solicited his assistance to destool the La Mantse, to which he obliged by performing certain rites.

The La Wulomo said later he regretted his action. After realising that the elders were only interested in the sale of La Stool lands and therefore, decided to reconcile of the La Mantse.

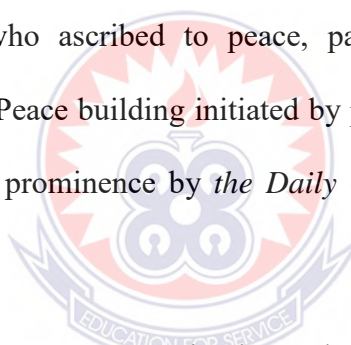
(*The Daily Guide*, August 11, 2004).

The two reports are illustrations about how the frame on Destoolment was used to connect chieftaincy issues. It further revealed that Destoolments are usually the ultimate consequences of factional disputes or litigations which are often characterised by accusations of corruption, fraud, womanizing and other social vices. It's frequency in the stories published by the three newspapers indicates that the media place high premium on chieftaincy issues that evokes controversy and this

showed in comparative terms that apart from Litigation, Conflict and Social Vices and Destoolment, the other frames identified were rarely given prominence.

4.5 Framing Chieftaincy as Promotion of Peace and Conflict Resolution:

Another frame that was discovered in the study was Promotion of Peace and Conflict Resolution. It was used by the three newspapers in their narratives. A total of 83, representing 4.31 per cent of the total thematic space were used. Out of the total, *The Daily Graphic* used 36 thematic spaces. This represented 43.37 per cent of the total frame, the highest among the three newspapers. *The Ghanaian Times* used 29(34.94 per cent) while, *The Daily Guide* used 18(21.67 per cent). Relatively *the Daily Graphic* placed some value comparatively on Peace and Conflict Resolution and prominence to chiefs who ascribed to peace, particularly after major conflicts. Conflict Resolution and Peace building initiated by popular chiefs who control larger polities were also given prominence by *the Daily Graphic*. Below are some of the illustrations:



Paramount chiefs in the Upper East Region have pledged to promote and sustain the prevailing peace in the Region.

The chiefs have realised how peace was crucial to development in the Region and resolved not to tolerate “any act that would spark off conflict to the detriment of the region and its future”.

“The chiefs, including the paramount chiefs of Bawku, Zebilla, Builsa, Pusiga, Garu Tempene and Bolgatanga, asked politicians in particular and Ghanaians in general not to use abusive language, derogatory remarks and divisive tendencies in their campaigns before, during and after this year’s elections (*Daily Graphic* April 4, 2004).

The Chiefs and people of Beposo in the Sekyere West District of Ashanti, have organized a special reconciliation durbar to foster unity among the people in the town.

It was to purposely reconcile the Kyidomhene of the town, Nana Kwadwo Anin and a section of the youth who demonstrated against the Chief over the execution of some development projects in the town.

Nana Anin advised the youth not to be instigated by anybody to undertake unwarranted demonstrations.

(Ghanaian Times, February 12, 2004)

The above illustrations underline the use of Peace and Conflict Resolution as a frame in news stories involving chieftaincy. It also confirmed an earlier assertion in the findings that prominence is given to issues of peace and conflict resolutions related to chieftaincy mostly in the aftermath of a major conflict resolution. The use of this frame by the newspapers exemplifies the fact that peace is the basis of Ghanaian culture and a source of discursive frame that newspapers sometimes use to attract audience. However, the quantitative representation of Peace and Conflict Resolution as a frame from the study reveals that chieftaincy issues or news stories in newspapers are not usually linked to Peace. Thus in terms of value or relevance, Peace as a frame does not compare with dominant frames such as Litigation, Conflict, Social Vice and Destoolment.

4.6 Framing Chieftaincy as Development issue:

The findings also revealed that the newspapers used Development as a frame or theme in their narratives. This echoes Bob-Milliar (2009) stated earlier in the literature review in which he underlined a new phenomenon whereby chiefs

compliment the development role of the state in the areas of education, health, industry among many others

A total of 72, representing 3.74 per cent of the thematic space was used with *the Daily Graphic* leading with 38(52.78 per cent) while the *Ghanaian Times* followed with 24 (33.33 per cent) 29.55 with the *Daily Guide* using only 10(9.09 per cent). The use of Development as a frame for news stories is a common phenomenon among newspapers, particularly as it serves as catalyst for development. It is generally considered that news about development projects are usually attractive to readers who desire development for their communities. Thus editors and journalists usually place value on issues of development as a means of construction of news. The stories that were published by the three newspapers, particularly *the Daily Graphic* and *the Ghanaian Times* portrayed chiefly involvements in projects such as clinics, agriculture such as fishing and crop farming as well as social marketers in the crusade against HIV/AIDS. Indeed in all the instances that chiefs were presented by the newspapers as agents of developments, they came up as willing and enthusiastic partners in the developmental agenda.

However, the results of the study showed that Development as a frame was restricted to prominent chiefs notable among them were the Asantehene , Otumfuo Osei Tutu 11, the Okyehene Amoatia Ofori Panin and Togbe Afede XIV, the Agbogbomefia of the Asogli Traditional Area. This implies that news stories on chieftaincy that are linked to Development.

From the figures recorded,, it was evident that Development was not a dominant frame in the narratives of the three newspapers, even though the three newspapers

framed some prominent chiefs like the Otumfuo Osei Tutu 11, Torgbui Afede, and Amoatia Ofori Panin through the prism of development.

A graphic illustration is *the Ghanaian Times* front page report below:

The Asantehene Otumfuo Osei Tutu 11 secured a \$30million for water and sanitation project which will also benefit communities in the Brong Ahafo, Central and the Volta Regions.

“ The Otumfuo announced this when he paid a courtesy call on The President J. A. Kufuor at the Castle Osu , on his return home from a meeting with World Bank President , James Wolfensohn, Otumfuo said the decision was reached during a discussion with the World Bank president.

The above report reflects the rare examples of development consciousness of some of the chiefs which the media the newspapers used to frame some prominent chiefs. Indeed throughout the study Development as a theme in the reportage of chieftaincy was often restricted to prominent chiefs such as the Asantehene Otumfuo Osei Tutu 11, Togbe Afede, the Agbogbomefia of the Asogli Traditional Area and the Okyehene Amotia Ofori Panin.

Also on occasions such as the above story captured by *the Ghanaian Times*, stories were linked to the frame of Development to make it significant.

4.7 Framing Chieftaincy as Promotion of Culture issue:

One of the frames that emerged in the findings is Promotion of Culture. A total of 39 thematic spaces were recorded in the course of the study. This represented 2.02 per cent. It thus showed from the count and analysis that Promotion of Culture as a frame compared to Litigation, Conflict and Social Vices is not too prevalent in the

narratives on chieftaincy among the three newspapers. The *Ghanaian Times* led in the use of the frame and devoted 25 thematic spaces for it, which represented 64.10 per cent of the frame among the three newspapers, while the *Daily Graphic* followed with 10 (25.64 per cent). *The Daily Guide* used 4 (10.26 per cent). The above analysis depicts a scenario of low usage of the frame in comparison with other identified frames in the study and this suggests that chieftaincy or chiefs are hardly framed in the media by the way they promote culture or their stools. Thus even though chiefs as stated in the study by Valsecchi (2007) „are consciously engaged in an effort to harness new media to advertise their jurisdictions and their images through festivals, rituals among others“, the three newspapers did not consider it a strong theme to link chieftaincy to their readers.

4.8 Framing chieftaincy as Installation

The study also revealed that the three newspapers sometimes used Installation as a frame. However, the indications provided by the three newspapers show that it is not one of the strongest themes in their narratives on chiefs and the institution of chieftaincy. It used a paltry 38 (1.97 per cent) to the thematic space. Out of the total, The *Ghanaian Times* utilised 28 (73.68 per cent). This was followed by the *Daily Graphic* with 6 (15.79 per cent), with the *Daily Guide* using 4 (10.26 per cent). The analysis on Installation as depicted above revealed that Installation is not a common frame for the interpretation of chieftaincy in the three newspapers.

4.9 Framing chieftaincy as Governance

The data revealed that chieftaincy stories have themes that reflect governance. As stated earlier by Valsecchi (2007) in chapter two of the study. Chiefs are concerned with governance issues and the media provides the forum on advocacy to reform the chieftaincy institution to compliment government or assume the centre stage of

statecraft. Even though Governance emerged as one of the themes in the framing of chiefs and chieftaincy in the three newspapers it was not one of the strongest themes that wielded editorial influence. Thus Governance is not a common frame in the three newspaper in terms of linking chieftaincy to their readers.

This is reflected in the frequency of usage in the various stories on chieftaincy that were studied. In all only 15 (0.78 per cent) thematic spaces were recorded . *The Daily Graphic* recorded 5(33.33 per cent) out of the total, the *Ghanaian Times* 8(53.55 per cent) and *the Daily Guide* used only 2(0.78 per cent) .

4.10 Placement

Placement of stories is important in the analysis of news stories because it is the most important editorial decision in the packaging of news to readers. Placement of stories determines the value of the stories (Banhurst and Nerone, 2003). Generally, front page stories emphasise salience and is effective in setting agenda. It is usually the gateway or the window through which the newspaper is viewed. Additionally, the economic or social value of a story is determined by its placement on the front pages (Allen 2006).

Stories with less value are usually placed on the back or inside pages and determined the salience that editors placed on them during the selection process (Banhurst and Nerone 2003). Thus the journalist or the editor's way of assessing the value of news is determined by the various pages he assigns to news stories. In determining the image of chiefs, attempts were made to look at the emphasis or value given to the various frames in the stories on chieftaincy through the placement of the stories.

Consequent to the above analysis was the consideration of the number of stories on chieftaincy that were placed on the front pages as crucial in the analysis. As depicted

by the figures and the illustrations, 257 out of 977 stories representing 27.14 per cent were the only stories on chieftaincy that made it to the front page during the period January 2002 to December 2005. Generally, chieftaincy stories from the above revelations showed that slightly above a quarter of these stories were placed on the front page. *The Daily Graphic*'s front page stories accounted for 92 out of the 336 stories it published during the period, the *Ghanaian Times* which published the highest number of stories on chieftaincy, 461 stories only placed 118 of those stories on the front page. While only 47 of *the Daily Guide* stories on chieftaincy during the period under study merited front page placement.

It shows that chieftaincy is not a prominent feature in the editorial direction of the newspapers. Indeed despite the impression created by Nungent (1996) that chieftaincy is a serious issue in the social fabric of most Ghanaians, the placement pattern that emerged during the study suggests that chieftaincy issues were often subsumed by other issues such as politics, human interest stories such as rape, fraud and armed robbery among others. It means that if there are stories with varying subject areas competing for the front page, chieftaincy stories usually lose out in the competition for the front pages. Such stories are usually consigned to the inside or the back pages

A further explanation about the trend was provided when the headlines and the themes of the stories were analysed. It was discovered that stories on chieftaincy that were connected to Litigation, Conflict, Social Vices and Destoolment emerged on the front pages of the three newspapers which incidentally were the themes or frames that made strong showings in the earlier analysis on the various frames that were used by the three newspapers studied.

Only one headline on a chieftaincy story connected with Development found its way on the front page of *the Ghanaian Times* and that was about the initiative of the Asantehene, Otumfuo Osei Tutu to access a World Bank loan for his educational initiatives which was referred to earlier in the analysis. However, in the case of *the Daily Graphic* the story was placed in the inside pages specifically the centre spread. It could be suggested that the decision to feature the story on the front page of *the Ghanaian Times* is due to the prominence of the Asantehene in Ghana and the global stature of the World Bank. The rest of the chieftaincy stories which were linked to Development, Peace and Conflict Resolution, Installation, Governance and Promotion of Culture were either consigned to the inside or the back pages even though *the Daily Graphic* featured two stories on chieftaincy relating to Conflict Resolution on the front pages.

These findings reinforce the earlier trend and the argument that chieftaincy stories flavoured with Disputes or Litigation, Conflict, Social Vice and Destoolments were attractions for newspaper actors and thus always reflected in the prominence given to them on the front pages of the three newspapers studied. Below are the Graphical Representations of the placements of chieftaincy articles:

Table 4

**FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION FOR THE PLACEMENT OF STORIES USED
BY THE THREE NEWSPAPERS**

Placement of Stories	Daily Graphic	Ghanaian Times	Daily Guide	Total	Percentage
Front Page	92	118	47	257	27.14%
Inside and Back pages	269	333	88	690	72.86%
Total	361	451	135	947	100%

Figure 9: Placement Of The Chieftaincy Stories By The Three Newspapers

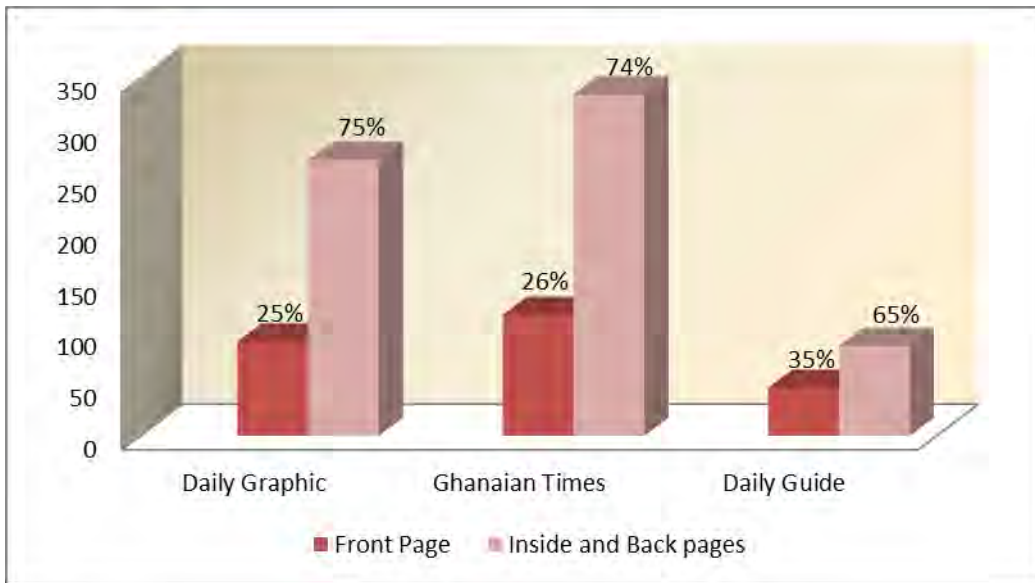
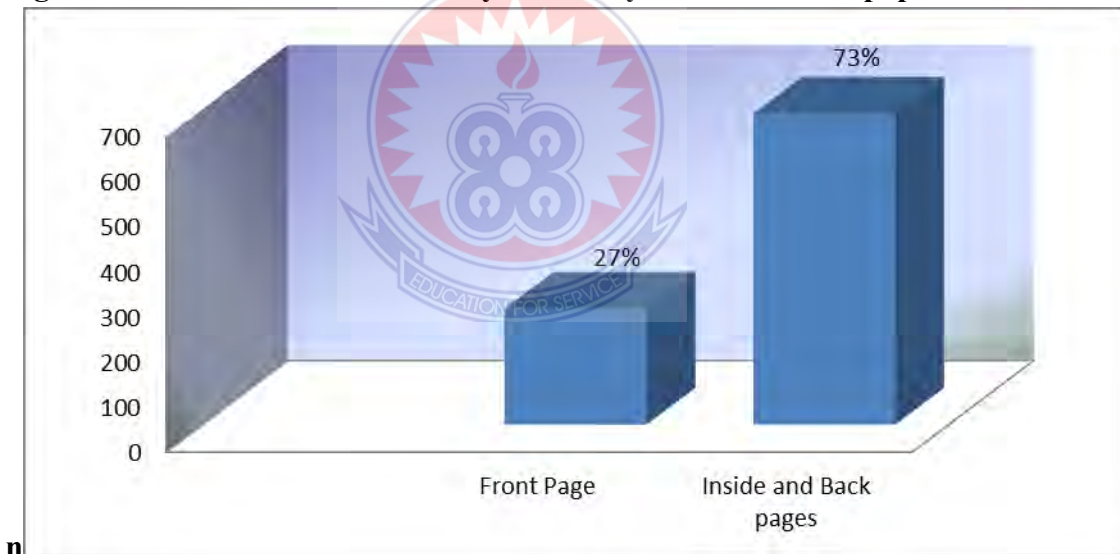


Figure 10: Placement of Chieftaincy Stories by the Three Newspapers



The second part of the study was qualitative and the analysis based on the results from the in-depth interview conducted to answer the stated objectives and the following research questions:

- 1) What are the reasons behind the frames from the perspectives of journalists?
- 2) What are the perceptions of chiefs towards these media frames?

4.11 Journalistic Perspective

The issues that arose from the interviews with the four journalists were related to the frames that emerged in the initial content analysis of the three newspapers. The frames were Litigation, Conflict, Promotion of Cultures, Social Vices, Installation, Promotion of Peace, and Development. Governance and Destoolment.

These frames emerged because in the view of (Scheufele 1999: Shoemaker & Reese, (1996: Biaggi 2002), the packaging of news stories including chieftaincy is influenced by several factors, namely socio- cultural and organisational factors. These factors include personal experiences and perspectives of journalists which according to Arjournch (1988) are key in the shaping and the creation of their news.

The data gathered from the various journalists of the three media houses showed that though they have some modicum of respect for chiefs and the chieftaincy institution very little premium is placed on chieftaincy stories due to personal experiences of the journalists. This is the case with respondents A and B , who are often not in a hurry to place so much value on chieftaincy stories and run along with it.

They insist that due to the fierce litigations generally associated with chiefs, chieftaincy stories are potential minefields which often drag their organisations to the law courts. According to respondent B, in the many years that he had reported on chieftaincy issues he was often tempted by factions of chieftaincy disputes that pretended to be reliable sources, but managed to display some degree of circumspection in his reportage and not cajoled by his sources.

But the real challenge has always been how journalists are able to resist the temptation from sources who are linked to factions which invariably create credibility problems for our newspaper and which may end up in the law courts. Even though we trust our reporters on the beat, we are

often not in a hurry to go to bed with chieftaincy stories, particularly with those that come with controversies. For the avoidance of doubt we do double checking with both reporters, correspondence on one hand and the sources before publications, respondent B averred.

This view is corroborated by respondent A who said the chieftaincy institution had been bastardised by challenges of litigation **and** *his* newspaper has a history of involvement in courts litigations by factions who were dissatisfied with the reportages by his newspaper. He cited the protracted litigations that rocked the Ga Mashie Stool in recent times and said succession disputes have sometimes made publications of chieftaincy issues a very dangerous undertaking.

In my career as a reporter and now the Editor, I have come to realise that such prominent chiefs such as the Asantehene, the Okyenhene, Agbogbomefia, and until recently, the Dagbon chief, Ga Mantse and the Awomefia have courted very little problems for journalists due to the authority they wield in their various jurisdictions and the elaborate and time- tested system of succession put in place by these traditional authorities, may have accounted for this development. For me the Ga Stool controversy and the Dagbon chieftaincy crisis were out of the ordinary, respondent A added.

To respondent A who has a more radical view of chieftaincy,

The institution of chieftaincy has outlived its usefulness and needed to be reformed to be consistent with the current democratic culture of Ghana. The worst part is that the institution has in recent times been infiltrated by some charlatans who have debased the institution with their anti-social activities with the collusion of undesirable politicians.

But respondent B and respondent C are not in a hurry to call for the abolition of chieftaincy, they are upbeat about its usefulness to local governance, if some of its structures are reformed to conform to modern democratic culture.

It is obvious from the views of respondents A, B and C who though reserve some reverence for chiefs and the institution of chieftaincy that the perception of journalists about chieftaincy is reflected in their narratives in their newspapers. Due to these reasons, chieftaincy is hardly regarded by the various news organisations as a reliable source of news.

According to respondent B,

Unlike the Courts, Parliament House, Metropolitan Assemblies, the Police, the President and Vice President Offices and a host of them which are regular news beats for journalists, chieftaincy issues are not put in the regular pool and therefore not considered as important and as a journalist I realised that chieftaincy issues were not the items that would attract the headlines in my newspaper.

The earlier analysis on the frequency of chieftaincy stories further explains this position. As pointed out in the content analysis of the stories used by the three newspapers, namely, *the Daily Graphic*, *the Ghanaian Times* and *the Daily Guide* between January 2003 and December 2005 only produced 997 stories on chieftaincy with only 180 of them representing less than a quarter making it on the front pages and thus being given the needed prominence.

The perception of the journalists is further mirrored by the organisational position of what constitute news that emanate from chieftaincy issues. It is obvious from the analysis of the in-depth interview of the journalists that a chieftaincy issue becomes news only when it is associated with violence and scandals and rarely when the issue involved peace and conflict resolution. The analysis further revealed that the overriding factor in the determination of news in the various news organisations is linked to the prominence of the chief or stool. The prominence of a chief according to

the journalists interviewed is dependent on the stool, skin, or the jurisdiction of his authority or the title he holds prior to his ascension to the throne and this include academic titles and the economic power he wields.

This is a reinforcement of the characteristics or elements of news and as stated by Boyd(2001) prominent personalities make news and the bigger the name the more likely that a higher news value is placed on it. Such prominence, he stated, are usually placed on big royalties, politicians and entertainment or sports personalities in their evaluation of news. It is evident from the interviews that journalists and their media organisations have affinity for chieftaincy news with touchstones for violence or conflict and scandals.

Respondent B who drew experience from his days as a reporter and currently as the news editor of his newspaper, revealed that there was always the likelihood that issues of conflict involving various claimants of a particular stool or skins that are always violent as well as scandals such as theft, corruption, womanizing and other anti-social vices have always attracted the headlines.

According to him,

The only caveat is that such stories must conform with the basic principles of news gathering such as accuracy and objectivity. In reporting chieftaincy stories for my newspaper, I was often guided by objectivity and accuracy so it was always important for me to crosscheck facts from sources and give hearings to all the parties involved and at the desk such stories are subjected to rigorous checks to avoid bringing our organisation into disrepute.

Newspaper products are descriptions of reality that influence the perceptions of the public at large (Allern 1997). This influence the attitude of media professionals towards

the coverage of chieftaincy in their bid to make their readers or audience appreciate or make sense of their reportages. As stated earlier in the review of related literature conflicts and litigation are common features of chieftaincy and their pervasiveness have been underlined by studies by Abotchie (2006) and Tonah (2009). Thus in their construction of chieftaincy stories the newspapers appreciate the deficiencies in the institution of chieftaincy to attract the stakeholders, government and the public at large to make the relevant interventions to redefine the institution and make it relevant to the development aspirations of the country through the dissemination of knowledge.

And this was amplified by respondent A when he stated,:" From my experience, I realised very early in my practice as a journalist that chieftaincy stories that border on conflict and violence as well as scandals were hot points that would make the headlines on any day even though there was no deliberate policy towards that , I was therefore compelled to go for them.

Respondent C said even though he shared the same views, however, insisted that chieftaincy stories that evoked conflicts and scandals were not automatic choices in the final editorial decision of the day, especially when such issues had become synonymous with a particular stool or skin. He revealed that such stories may be consigned to the regional pages rather than attract banner headlines¹.

Moreover, there were situations where some reporters or our stringers were parties to various claimants of some stools or skins and their reportages were likely to create problems, such stories were either dropped entirely or further investigated to avoid falling into a landmine, he stated.

¹ Pages devoted for stories from the regions of Ghana

For him, even though premium is placed on the oddities of chieftaincy issues such as violence, conflict and anti-social vices, a chieftaincy story that has a strong political flavour, that is when political personalities such as the President, Minister or even a parliamentarian are involved, is generally considered a strong story to merit a strong placement or banner headline in the final editorial decision of his newspaper.

This is in consonance with Hasty (2005) who had concluded that in Ghana news stories that pass through political personalities gives such stories legitimacy and also considered worthy of social discussion and public discourse.

For all the respondents, the overriding motivation for placing value on the odd and controversial issues or matters that tend to be negative with respect to chieftaincy is purely economic, that is to attract profit margins. Indeed commercial considerations are strong in the selection process of news that are published by the various newspapers and Allern (1996) in an earlier study underlined the pervasiveness of commercial considerations in the selection process of news for publications and further stated that even editors have that in mind on their assumption of office and their decisions are driven by profit motives.

According to respondent B, oddities or bad stories about chieftaincy make the desired sales and cited the clashes at the Gbewaa palace leading to the death of the Ya Na Yakubu Andani in 2002 and the controversies that rocked the Ga Stool in 2010² as moments that sales soared considerably by over 30 per cent.

In the words of respondent A, journalism thrives on controversies and therefore scandals associated with chieftaincy would always find prominence on the pages of his newspaper, because they set the agenda and generate intense public discourse

² Claims from rivals of the Ga Stools after the death of Nii Amugi V

more than for instance chieftaincy stories that hinge on development, peace-building and installation or outdoorings of chiefs, such stories are often muffled or relegated to less prominent pages. Stories associated with development, peace and conflict resolution as well as installation associated with chieftaincy are elevated only when it involved chiefs with larger jurisdictions or areas that have emerged from a major conflict or protracted chieftaincy litigation, he added.

These disclosures corroborate the earlier findings in the analysis which showed that the three newspapers placed stronger emphasis on stories with themes such as Litigation, Destoolments, Conflicts and Social Vice which crystallised into the pervasive use of these frames.

4.12 The Perspective of chiefs

The in-depth interview with the respondent D revealed three thematic areas. They are as follows;

- 1) Negative Representation of chiefs
- 2) The Ghanaian media has a disdain for chiefs borne out of a lack of appreciation for culture.
- 3) The lack of appreciation for the traditional role of chiefs in his jurisdiction and society as a whole.

4.13 Negative Representation of chiefs

According to respondent D³, the media has contributed immensely to the negative image of chiefs in society, as it continually put premium on the negative aspects of chieftaincy and ignores or muffles the exemplars of the institution.

In his words, “The media is always in a hurry to portray things that are negative about chieftaincy without making the effort to understand the core issues. They hurl all

³ Nana Kobina Nketsiah is the chief of Essikado Traditional Area

kinds of allegations, from corruption, womanizing, litigation to sometimes thievery against chiefs.”

To him, the media sometimes use few isolated cases of social vices committed by chiefs to generalise and label the entire chieftaincy institution either as corrupt or full of litigants. Respondent D’s position on the media is best explained by Tettah and King (2011) in their work on framing. In their view framing is about the way an issue or a personality is presented. This according to Chyi & Macombs (2004) is achieved by the media when it emphasises „the different attributes of events, consciously and unconsciously in order to keep a story alive“.

Indeed earlier research on framing by Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) explains that such characterisation of events in news reports always impact on the consciousness of readers of the newspapers. Thus through their role as gatekeepers of events (Manning 1950), journalists are able to determine what is salient or news for public consumption depending on their interpretation of the events. In presenting their news stories on chieftaincy, the three newspapers through organisational norms and the orientation of journalists and editors select stories with themes that border on Litigation, Social Vices and Destoolment to reach their readers and as the earlier analysis indicated these the frequency of these themes in the news stories on chieftaincy.

Secondly, as stated by Arjournch (1998), the personal perspectives of a journalist is key in the construction of the news stories. In his view, key to the process of shaping the events for publication include the personal experience and the orientation of journalists. Thus the various journalists who worked on chieftaincy issues on the three newspapers were conscious of the social reality about chieftaincy which bordered on Litigation, Social Vice Destoolments and Conflict

This explains the position of respondent D who attributes the negative reportage on chiefs to the lack of understanding of the institution of chieftaincy on the part of the media which he described as the product of the colonization of the various indigenous institutions including the institution of learning. For instance many of them do not understand why chiefs wear gold or even pour libation or hold custody of our lands” and are quick to describe that as the display of ostentation or primitive.

He uses two common accusations against chiefs—bribery and corruption to reinforce his perception that the media are often blurred by the fundamental issues that drive the institution of chieftaincy and influence the actions of chiefs in his stoic defence of the institution.

Chiefs perform many functions that require money. For instance during festivals they receive guests and in some cases leading politicians and foreign dignitaries and are responsible for their keep. In some cases, chiefs in the community are called upon to make contributions towards the upkeep and development of his area. That is not all, social events such as funerals and outdoorings require of chiefs to make personal contributions. All these are pecuniary activities that require money.

4.14 The Ghanaian Media’s Disdain for Culture.

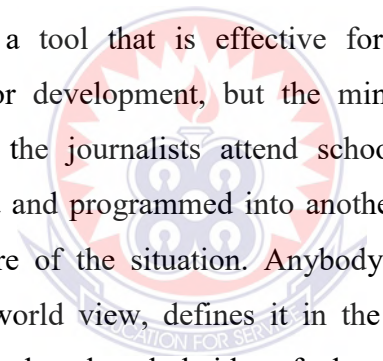
The above reasons create the impression that journalists do not have a deep insight about chieftaincy. In the belief of respondent D, the negative image often portrayed by the Ghanaian media is rooted in the disdain that media practitioners have for African culture. Culture has been defined by Giddens, etal (2005) as “ consisting of the values the members of a given group hold, the languages they speak, the symbols they revere, from tools to clothing”. According to Giddens, etal(2005), culture could

be viewed on the basis of the beliefs and expectations people have about each other and the world they inhabit which are component of a social relations.

Respondent B argues that, “Chieftaincy is the navel of our indigenous culture but which was colonized by the West and the media is expected to spearhead the process of decolonisation of the institution as that will mean returning power to the people”.

But as he explains, Ghanaian journalists have been trained to look down on African culture and his or her perspective is controlled by a certain mind set which is alien to the culture of Africa.

He stated,



The media is a tool that is effective for creating awareness and mobilization for development, but the mind that controls it is not African. Once the journalists attend school he is indoctrinated to abandon Africa and programmed into another existence without he or she being aware of the situation. Anybody who defines your space controls your world view, defines it in the interest of the image he wants to persist, thus the whole idea of education is to be like the white man and abandoned your tradition.

Apart from the mode of indoctrination of journalists which is skewed to abandon what is Africa, respondent B also attributes the media’s disdain for African culture to the mind set of those who controls the media industry. For him, those who control the media are interested only in perpetuating western ideas and a culture steeped in the ideals of capitalism in their quest for profit and not the cultural truth.

We seem to have forgotten that the one who controls yourself image controls your behaviour. The Ghanaian media are puppets of a universe caged in rampant and wanton consumerism and materialism. It is a media divorced from indigenous

perspectives and values. If the media were to be an African cultural tool it will reflect the Africa cultural aspirations and tradition.

The basis of consumerism and materialism were established earlier in the in-depth interviews with the journalists who were respondents in the data gathering process. It established that connecting chieftaincy stories with issues such as litigation, conflict, corruption, fraud among other negatives guaranteed wider readership and ultimately boosted sales. Thus reporters and the journalists who take the decision on which chieftaincy stories appeared on the pages are motivated by the organisational culture and goals of consumerism and materialisms which respondent D consider problematic.

4.15 The lack of appreciation for the traditional role of chiefs in his jurisdiction and society as a whole.

As stated in the related study chiefs have been linked to corruption and other social vices such as thievery and womanizing. Indeed earlier works by Addo Fenning (2006) and newspaper reports earlier reviewed have established that corruption and thievery have long been associated with chiefs. The media thus underlined this social canker associated with chiefs in the various reportage of the newspapers as a reflection of social reality. As revealed in the earlier analysis one of the commonest themes in the stories was on social vice with corruption coming out as the strongest in that regard.

Of course Busia (1962) earlier in this work on related literature in Chapter Two explained that the issue of corruption arose among some chiefs because as traditional rulers they were expected to be benefactors of their subjects. This appears not to be appreciated by many such as respondent D.

He stated: “The lack of appreciation of the traditional role of chiefs also accounts for the negative image of chiefs in the media. According to him, despite losing some of its traditional functions during the era of colonialism, chiefs still play crucial roles in the development of their communities.

First and foremost, chiefs are repository of the culture of the nation and partners of development in the community and most of them are still called upon to perform functions that ensure the well-being of their subjects.

Even though as a chief I receive gifts occasionally, my palace is routinely besieged by people who need one assistance or the other, ranging from transport to appear before courts, money to pay the school fees of their wards, outdoorings , funerals and many more.

The media seem oblivious of all these significant roles that are intrinsically linked to chieftaincy and rather choose the few negatives to paint a bad image for the institution. For me, the Ghanaian media is still under a spell of colonialism and working for their commercial interest “Our ancestors did not create chieftaincy to be blemished by litigations, corruption, conflicts and the so called anti-social tendencies, but the intrusion of politics and political influence into institution have been the bane of chieftaincy in Ghana. In fact the politicians are to blame for the cases of corruption within the chieftaincy institution ”.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

5.0 Introduction

The media as a powerful element and institution has long been established by researchers which has been elucidated earlier in this work. Its role as a purveyor of information enables it to shape opinions and exert an influence on society and its institutions. How society perceive individuals and institutions depend largely on how the media shape these institutions and individuals. Thus the media is crucial as it provides prominence and the lens for the assessment of these institutions. The chieftaincy institution as part of society has always been the focus of the media and ultimately what image the chieftaincy institution is able to carve for itself largely depends on how the media tilt its lenses on the institution..

Indeed if the assertion by Rathbone (2000) that chieftaincy issues are given wide prominence by the media then it must reflect positively on the institution to make it gain wider acceptance in the consciousness of Ghanaians. However, the media has emerged as a double edged sword that has impacted both positively and negatively on the institution of chieftaincy. At one stage the media has been a catalyst for the protection and rejuvenation of the institution through advocacy and at another end as purveyors of issues that have caricatured chiefs in the eyes of those who consumes media products.

In a bid to investigate the image of chiefs that persists within the media, there was an attempt to study the patterns of reportage by the newspapers which was used for the research to understand how chiefs and their roles are perceived by the public at large. This was sufficiently informed by the view that the media mirrors society and therefore the print media distils the perceptions and expectations of society. The line

of the investigations on the major issues that formed the basis for the research and the analysis were derived from the research questions which provided various conclusions.

The first part of the research identified the various frames that the three newspapers, *The Daily Graphic, the Ghanaian Times and the Daily Guide* employed in their reportages on chiefs. Within this crucible, efforts were made to observe the various frames; those that were dominant and prominent in the narratives of these newspapers. In all 10 frames were identified as key to the narratives and used as analytical tools in the research. How the stories were placed in the newspapers was considered because placement of stories is an integral part of newspapers as it determines the emphasis, salience and the importance they place on a particular story and therefore key in any analysis of the print media. From the study it was observed that the media framed chiefs around litigation, conflict, social vice, Installation, Destoolment, Peace and Conflict Resolution, Development issues, Promotion of Culture and Governance issues.

While, it appeared that the media relied on virtually all the frames identified above, the study showed that chiefs are more likely to be associated more with litigation or disputes, violent conflicts and social vices rather than with development and governance issues. It emerged from the study that the media has greater affinity for frames such as conflict or violence, social vices, destoolments in their narratives and will usually frame chiefs with these framing devices. On the other hand the media will hardly frame chiefs with such devices as development and governance. This is further exemplified by the placement of stories on chiefs as news stories on the various pages as those framed on litigation, conflict, destoolment were often placed on the front pages which is the window of any newspaper to underline their

prominence. On the other hand news stories about chieftaincy which were framed on Governance, Peace and Development, Promotion of Culture and Peace and Conflict Resolution, hardly found a place on the front page as , they are often relegated to the inside or back pages Thus for the three newspapers studied the news stories on chiefs and the chieftaincy institution were dominated by those associated with litigations, conflict and social vice. Thus the image of chief is one that is associated with negative tendencies.

The second part of the research transcended the identification and the dominance of the frames and delved into the reasons behind these frames, basically to understand why the patterns identified prevailed as well as the editorial motivations that drive them. It sought the views of the Journalists on the institution of chieftaincy and their affinity with particular frames in their narratives on chiefs and the institution of chieftaincy. The overall conclusion is that even though journalists reserve some respect for the chieftaincy institution in general, they associate chiefs with such negative issues as litigation, conflict, social vices or scandals such as womanizing and corruption as well as destoolments. However, these negatives are relished by the journalists who concluded that such issues attract sales.

The last part of the research dwelt on the views of a chief which centred on the last research question: the perspectives of the chiefs. It concluded that journalists are in a hurry to condemn chiefs and thus often presented chiefs in a bad light. The study also concluded that the media and its operatives lack the understanding of the traditional roles of chiefs in their jurisdictions. Another conclusion reached by the study was that the Ghanaian media has disdain for the culture of the nation.

5.1 Limitations

The study suffered some limitations and one of such was time constraints which made it impossible for the work to adopt more variables. Indeed the study would have been enhanced if news sources were examined.

Secondly, the absence of an elaborate literature on chieftaincy and media was another source of challenge. Though it is conceded that there were a plethora of literature on chieftaincy by local and foreign scholars the linkage of chieftaincy with the media was lacking and it made the task of reviewing literature for the study quite a herculean one. In the end, the study had to rely on pieces of related research from European and American researchers.

Another limitation emanated from the newspapers that were sampled. Indeed the sampled newspapers provided a critical understanding to the issues that were studied. The newspapers used cut across both the state-owned and the privately-owned spectrum, but in the end the analyses and generalisations which emerged from the study reflected that of the state-owned media which churned out more chieftaincy stories and articles than the privately owned, *Daily Guide* which was used.

5.2 Recommendations

The expected to inspire a comprehensive studies on the media and chieftaincy and its contributions to the advocacy of protecting and promoting the institution. To this end, there is an imperative need to involve a larger sample of newspapers as well as the electronic media for wider generalisations on the Ghanaian media with respect to chieftaincy. Also more chiefs and journalists must be involved through the application of an enhanced data collection instrument such as questionnaires.

Future works must also consider news sources of journalists or reporters to unveil the basis of their information on chieftaincy.

Also, it is recommended that African journalists appreciate the culture of their respective countries and commit themselves vigorously and fervently to the promotion of the values and ideals of the people of the continent. This was succinctly proclaimed by Nana Kobina Nketsiah, Chief of Essikado, who lamented the disdain that African journalists have for their culture. Indeed one of the observations made during the research is that almost all the media houses have taken steps to create desk which specializes in various areas of news reporting. These areas of specialization which include politics, features, court and legal matters, parliamentary reporting, sports, metropolitan and regional news, lifestyle, gender and children, education among others act as news beats for journalists. Missing in the list of desks is that of chieftaincy and culture. However, there is a preponderance of political content in the news stories to the extent that even chieftaincy issues are often elevated when they are flavoured with politics. It is against this background that media training in Africa must include culture and chieftaincy studies in their curricular to enable journalists to specialize in culture and chieftaincy reporting.

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APPENDIX: A

!) Title of Article _____

2) _____ Newspapers

1=The Daily Graphic 2=The Ghanaian Times.

3=The Daily Guide.

3 _____ Date of Article

4 _____ Location of article

1=Front page

2= Inside

3=back page

5) Thematic Categories

1=Yes

2=No

_____ Succession problems

-----=====Controversy, confusion

_____ Rival claimants to stools, skins etc.

_____ Court litigations and actions

_____ Conflicts

_____ Violence



.....**Court actions and litigations**

_____ War ethnic and violence

_____ Bribery and corruption

_____ Womanizing

_____ Thefts or thievery

_____ fraud and lack of transparency

_____ Festivals and durburs

_____ International promotion of culture

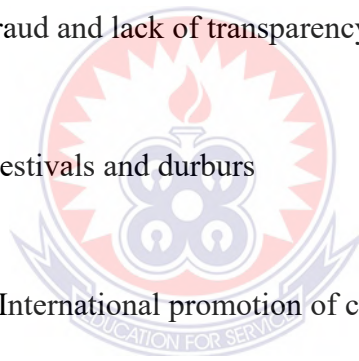
-----Development and commissioning of development

-----Community Development

.....Promotion of education, health and
tourism.

-----chiefly campaigns

.....Peace and Reconciliation



=====local government, democracy. Workshops and conferences.

6----- Frames

1= Litigation,

2= Conflicts,

3= Development,

4= Promotion of Culture,

5= Governance,

6= Promotion of Peace and Conflict Resolution

, 7= Social Vices

, 8) = Destoolment

9) =Installation



APPENDIX B: CODING PROTOCOL

Instructions

Please find below explanation for expressions and symbols used for the various on the coding sheet, please read each of the item carefully. Beside each item is an answer space. Please indicate your answer in the space provided by indicating the corresponding digit/number beside the item.

Title of Article

Write down or type the title of the article exactly as it appears in the newspapers.

Newspaper: Choose the number besides the name of the newspaper that is being coded. If you are coding for the Daily Graphic indicate “1” in the blank space. For Ghanaian Times indicate “2” and for the Daily Guide indicate “3”,

Date of Article: This indicates the newspaper article published. The date should be designated as Month followed by Day and then Year.

This is shown in the sample below

Date of Article: 01/20/02

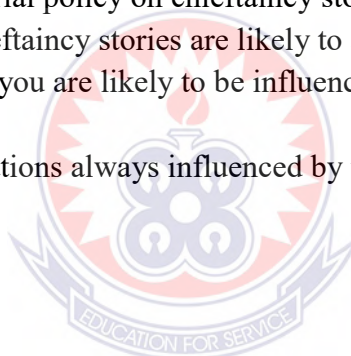
Location of the Article: Indicate where the article is located in the newspapers. You have three options. Please indicate the number “1” for the articles on the front pages, “2” for article in the inside pages and “3” for articles on the back pages.

Frames: This item corresponds with the frame under the thematic category discussed. Once you have identified thematic category check the frame cluster which the category belongs and indicate the frame by choice listed. Indicate in the blank space the digit that corresponds to the frame choice. For instance, for the frame of litigation indicate “1”, Conflict “2”, Development “3”, Promotion of culture “4”, Governance “5”, Promotion of Peace and Conflict Resolution “6”, Social Vice, “7”, Destoolment “8” and Installation “9”.

APPENDIX C : INTERVIEW GUIDE

Please kindly introduce yourself and tell me about your background as an official journalist in this organisation and department.

- 1) What is your position on chieftaincy in Ghana?
- 2) What are the parameters that you use to define chieftaincy in Ghana?
- 3) Why are most chieftaincy stories associated with violence, scandals and other anti-social vices?
- 4) What are the problems that militate against the preservation of the chieftaincy institution?
- 5) What are the considerations that you take into account to determine the importance of a chieftaincy story?
- 10) Is there any editorial policy on chieftaincy stories?
- 11) What kind of chieftaincy stories are likely to attract public attention?
- 12) Is it possible that you are likely to be influenced by their sources of information?
- 13) Are your presentations always influenced by the position that a particularly chief occupy in Ghana?



APPENDIX D: PROFILE OF JOURNALISTS INTERVIEWED

Name	Organisation	Position
K.K. Inkoom	Graphic Communications	Deputy Editor
Nehemia Owusu Achiaw	Graphic Communications	News Editor
Dave Agbenu	New Times Corporation	Editor

