THE DEVELOPMENTAL THEORY OF THE PRESS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC AND GHANAIAN TIMES

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

General

The primary purpose of this study is to investigate the developmental theory of the press as it pertains to Ghana.

It is not easy to give a short, general statement of an emerging body of opinions and prescriptions appropriate to the press situation of most developing countries because of the great variety of economic and political conditions and the changing nature of situations.

Yet, it is important from the standpoint of understanding to make some effort at classifying the press systems in developing countries. Although much is left out in such a classification process, much also is gained in terms of establishing the general patterns of the workings of the press in developing countries.

Background of the Study

With the increasing prominence of the countries of the so-called Third World, whether as developing or nonaligned nation-states, the mass media find themselves in a crucial position. The differing perceptions about the nature and role of journalism and mass communication are rooted in

divergent political systems and historical traditions which are reflected in four political concepts of the world's press system: 1) Authoritarian, 2) Libertarian, 3) Social Responsibility, and 4) Soviet-Totalitarian. (1)

In recent years, there has been an attempt to conceptualize another kind of press theory, known as the developmental theory, for the developing countries. This recent theory is, in some ways, a variation of the authoritarian theory.

According to Hachten in The World News Prism, the developmental theory "is an amorphous and curious mixture of ideas, rhetoric, influences, and grievances." (2)

The basis of the developmental theory is that the communication process is central to the achievement of national integration and economic development.

According to Hachten, the concept generally holds that all the instruments of mass communication must be mobilized by the central government to aid in the great tasks of nation building. The media therefore should support authority, not challenge it; information (or truth) thus becomes the property of the state. (3)

Altschull points out that the ideology of the developing press is derived from two sources. One is acquired--learned from the models of the market and the socialist press; the other is indigenous--rooted in the history and culture of the new nation-states. The first is frankly imitative and the second is natural. (4)

However, talking about the press system in the developing countries, Altschull believes that the system is entirely acquired.

> ... the press in the contemporary sense of that word does not seem to have existed in the advancing world before the colonial conquests arrived and imposed their own press systems. (5)

Of course there were no "mass media" in these countries in the usual sense of the term. The communication patterns that existed before the arrival of colonial masters were primitive and local, devoted almost entirely to the daily needs of the people. News, as we understand the term today, did not exist. Therefore, all the press institutions are acquired.

When the colonial order collapsed, there was a division of political, economic and military power into two great blocs, and this brought about what is often said to be a communications revolution. In the countries that gained their independence from their colonial masters in the twentieth century, the preoccupation of their leaders was inevitably with development.

Altschull believes that the theorists and practitioners of the press borrowed extensively from the belief system that had grown up in capitalist and socialist societies, however, they introduced major modifications with emphasis on nation-building. (6)

Kwame Nkrumah, the influential first president of Ghana, opening the 1963 Pan-African Union of Journalists Conference said,

> It is part of our revolutionary credo that within the competitive system of capitalism the press cannot function in accordance with a strict regard for the sacredness of facts and that it therefore should not remain in public hands. (7)

"The press," he said, "does not exist merely for the purpose of enriching its proprietors or entertaining its readers." He added,

> It is an integral part of the society, with which its purpose must be in consonance. It must help establish a progressive political and economic system that will free men from want and poverty... It must reach out to the masses, educate and inspire them, work for equality and the universality of men's rights everywhere. (8)

Nkrumah rejected private ownership of the press. After independence, he gave a high priority to mass communications and brought Ghana's media more and more under direct government ownership and control.

At independence, Ghana had four daily newspapers, which are still the only dailies in existence there. According to Hachten in Muffled Drums, the most widely read newspaper was and still is the Daily Graphic. (9)

> It was founded in 1950 by the Overseas Newspaper, Inc. As a privately-owned paper, its success in both circulation and advertising was an embarrassment to the government's Evening News and Ghanaian Times. (10)

The government-and-party-controlled Guinea Press, Ltd., at that time published two daily newspapers, the Evening News and the Ghanaian Times. (11)

In 1963, Cecil King sold the Daily Graphic to the Nkrumah government, which placed it under government trust and appointed a new board of directors favorable to the

government. (12)

The fourth daily and the only independent paper in Ghana is the Ashanti Pioneer. It was founded in 1939 by John and Nancy Tsiboe. It was very critical of Nkrumah's administration and, beginning in 1960, was subjected to intermittent government censorship. (13)

Statement of the Problem

The major danger in categorizing developing countries is the tendency to rely on previously conceived theories of the press that are based on Western values and concepts. All too often, attempts are made to force developing countries into models of Western development and experience.

Sommerland, an Australian journalist who studied the press in developing countries, wrote:

> It is inappropriate to judge governments and press in Africa by the same criteria one would apply in the United States ... Africa is in a transitional state, experimenting with new forms of democracy and building new political structures. (14)

It is for these reasons and others that the press in developing countries cannot be adequately explained within the context of commonly accepted press philosophies. The best-known work is Four Theories of the Press by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm, first published in 1956. (15) This book, now in its fifth edition, was the first to deal adequately with four identifiable press philosophies--authoritarian, totalitarian, libertarian and social responsibility.

The failings and drawbacks of many ideas advanced in Four Theories of the Press prompted the McBride, et al, report of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). This report by UNESCO's International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems has provided a forum and sounding board for the expression of the developmental concept. (16)

The Commission was interested in knowing what blocks the free flow of information from the north to the south. UNESCO sponsored a number of regional conferences to try to check the imbalance of the flow of information. Most of these conferences were centered on the use of the media to help build modern nations in developing countries.

According to McQuail in Mass Communication Theory,

> The starting point for a separate "development theory" of mass media is the fact of some common conditions of developing countries that limit the application of other theories or that reduce their potential benefits. (17)

Basically, the purpose of the press is to serve the people. However, this service may be described in different terms. In the Western countries or so-called capitalist nations who believe in the market system of economics, the purpose of the news media is to support the system. In the Eastern countries or so-called socialist nations, the purpose of the media is to support socialist doctrine.

In the capitalist system, the press operates as a watchdog of the government and even sometimes as a kind of adversary of the government. In the socialist system, the

press is a "puppet" of the government and it endorses the actions of the government.

However, among the developing countries, the image of the press is different. The purpose of the media is to work hand-in-hand with the government to aid national development and also for the autonomy and cultural identity of the particular national society.

In order to understand the relationship of the press to the society it serves, it is necessary to attempt a classification of the press system in the developing countries. This attempt is urgent because of the inapplicability of the classical four theories of the press and the great attention now focused on developing countries, including their mass media.

Purpose of the Study

The overall purpose of this study is to validate the developmental theory of the press as it pertains to Ghana. Devising and supporting a definition of this concept requires study of each potential variable and locating the data for appropriate indices.

According to McQuail, while it is hard to find individual cases of national media systems that clearly exemplify the developmental theory of the press, the main principles can be stated as follows:

1. Media should accept and carry out positive development tasks in line with nationally established

policy.

2. Media should give priority in their content to the national culture and language.

3. Media should give priority in news and information to links with other developing countries which are close geographically, culturally or politically.

4. In the interests of developmental ends, the state has a right to intervene in, or restrict, media operations. Devices of censorship, subsidy and direct control can be justified. (18)

The purpose of this study, therefore, is to systematically compare the two Ghanaian national newspapers to show in what ways the Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times exemplify the developmental theory of the press in terms of the principles.

Need for the Study

Very little media research has been done on developing countries such as Ghana, where the mass media have a vital role to play in national development. Collectively, the mass media are an institution that permeates all facets of the people's daily lifes. The immense contributions of the mass media in the future of any country are difficult to overemphasize. The concept of national development has troubled and intrigued scholars in several disciplines ever since attention first focused on the emerging nations.

It is necessary to encourage further scholarly research to accumulate knowledge about the policies and direction of

the mass media in developing countries. It is hoped that this study will add strength to the developmental theory of the press and also provide data for future research by journalists, educators and theorists in studying the media in developing countries, especially with respect to national development.

This study seeks to understand the interlocking roles of newspapers, political leaders and readers in developing countries. If the findings arouse a greater assumption of responsibility by the Ghanaian press in their purpose of nation-building, it will have made a contribution to national development as well as press history.

Limitations and Assumptions

This study is limited by lack of prior literature on the mass media in Ghana. The few articles that deal with current issues about Ghana are scattered among newspapers, journals and magazines difficult to come by outside of Ghana.

The People's Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times were selected for analysis because they are the nation's highest circulation newspapers. The Graphic, which started as an independent paper, has a circulation of 200,000. The Times, which started as a government-owned newspaper, has a circulation of 150,000.

This study does not profess to adequately cover all the principles of the developmental theory of the mass media as

they pertain to Ghana since current literature on the fourth principle could not be found. However, there is an assumption that this study's analysis of news items in the Graphic and Times is sufficiently representative of Ghanaian newspapers overall.

Organization of the Study

Chapter II reviews the literature covering the history, origins and workings of the classical four theories of the press as well as the developmental theory. The chapter also notes any modifications that other theorists have made to the above theories. It reviews research articles dealing with the developmental theory of the press as well as the history of the press and daily newspapers in Ghana.

Chapter III focuses on a description of research methodology or approach, selection of population and sample, statistical tests used, and methodological assumptions as well as limitations or weaknesses of the methodology.

Chapter IV presents analyses and discussion of the data collected. Finally, Chapter V offers a summary and the conclusions drawn from the study, as well as recommendations based on the findings.

ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

To facilitate understanding of the problem under study, this chapter first discusses studies related to mass media and national development and the mass media as a tool of national development in African countries. It then discusses four theories of the press and evaluates them in terms of the needs of developing countries. Next, the origins and workings of the developmental theory of the press, as these relate to developing countries, are assessed. Other models of the world press system that apply to any country at any given time also are presented. Finally, the origins of the press in Ghana and the history of the Ghanaian daily newspapers are discussed.

Studies Related to the Mass Media and National Development

The spread of mass communications across the cultures of man is one of the dramatic social changes of the present century. The inexorable shift from oral-traditional to mass communications systems has been extensively documented and explored. While it is clear that the United States has been

at the forefront of this "communication revolution," it is rapidly being joined by other developed nations of the world. And, at the same time, the developing countries are moving forward with increasing use of radio and television, film, newspapers, magazines and books.

According to Schramm, "The content of communication at any given time reflects the value pattern of society." (1) Hachten further contends that the nature of controls over the media in a given country is an important factor in that "...control of the news media determines the content of the news media." (2) Yet surprisingly little research has focused on the content of the messages communicated by the mass media in developing countries.

Schramm states that, "In the social change we call national development, development in one line can never get far in advance of development in others." He notes that in some developing countries,

> the typical history of communication development in countries where it is farthest advanced is a chain of interactions in which education, urbanization, national income, political participation, and the mass media have all gone forward together, stimulating each other. (3)

In a related study of an Andean village in Columbia with 420 inhabitants, Deutschmann found a significant relationship between media exposure and literacy, economics, and life expectancy factors. He noticed a higher correlation between media exposure and political knowledge among illiterates than among literates. Deutschmann concluded that mass media exposure runs concomitant with

interests in politics, concern about health, and level of aspiration for children among the rural dwellers surveyed. (4)

These results suggest that, even at the low development level represented by this Andean village, there are persons who are receiving messages from the modern mass media. Deutschmann provides support for observations that the mass media are changing not only the face of the towns but even the remotest parts of the countryside.

In a study of 109 countries using 54 variables that include 12 indices of mass media development, Farace found that media development is closely tied to many aspects of a country's development, and that a national development continuum underlies correlations among these variables. (5)

After a study of communication in 50 underdeveloped nations, Fagen also noted a positive correlation between mass communication growth and political participation as well as socio-economic development. (6)

Lerner obtained comparable data on 54 countries and developed the indices for the first four factors of his "Model of Modernization"--Urbanization, Political Participation, Literacy, Media Participation. He found that the other three variables were positively correlated at .84 with media participation. (7)

Several other studies have demonstrated that the interrelationships among mass media and other socio-economic indices of development are very strong. A UNESCO study of

50 underdeveloped countries, shows a correlation between radio receivers per capita income and daily newspaper circulation per capita income of .74. (8)

The Mass Media and National Development in Africa

At the beginning of the decade for independence, a Pan-African committee drafted a somewhat idealistic statement about the role of the press in emerging independent black African countries. According to its published resolution,

> The function of the press is to inform, to educate, to entertain and amuse, to examine fairly and critically and to make constructive contributions to thought and discussion on matters of public policy and to provide a forum for the airing of ideas and opinions, whatever their origin and however controversial. (9)

According to Cire Thiam of Senegal, a delegate to International Press Institute's (IPI) second Anglophone-Francophone meeting during 1971 in Cameroon, "All news is designed to assist national development. It begins and comes back to that." (10) For him and many other delegates, nation-building consists of creating a national consciousness and unity within a heterogeneous people.

Sommerland agrees, writing,

> They [the African leaders] need the press to help create a feeling of nationhood among people traditionally divided by tribal loyalties; to explain the objectives of a new socialist society; to spread information about new and better ways of living and farming; to obtain cooperation in community and national projects. (11)

This concept of using the press for nation-building

means a high degree of government direction and a corresponding decline in press freedom as defined by the Western countries. Indeed, the rationale for a controlled press is the fact that all segments of the society must be mobilized to realize national plans of development.

In 1963, at a meeting of the Pan-African Union of journalists in Accra, Kwame Nkrumah said,

> Our revolutionary African press must present and carry forward our revolutionary purpose. This is to establish a progressive political and economic system upon our continent that will free men from want and every form of social injustice and enable them to work out their cultural destinies in peace and at ease. (12)

A Zambian journalist, Titus Mukupo, also wrote,

> When governments need to explain policy, transmit their decisions, instructions, wishes, suggestions, or laws, or discuss new projects and ideas with their electorate, they must have a forum which is not antagonistic to the overall goals of national policy. (13)

In Kenya, President Jomo Kenyatta has said, "The press should positively promote national development and growing self-respect." Further, "The press in Africa can have tremendous influence in nation-building. It may constantly inspire, or could set out to frustrate the spirit of national unity which every young country needs as the fundamental of its progress." (14)

Four Theories of the Press

The best-known work on the theories of the press is Four Theories of the Press by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm, first published in 1956. This book, now in its fifth

edition, was the first to deal adequately with four identified press philosophies--authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility and Soviet totalitarian. (15)

This typology has modelled scholarly perceptions and guided academic inquiry into world press systems for more than 30 years. According to Shaw and Stevenson, "This typology soon powerfully fixed itself upon the Western scholarly mind." (16)

A brief discussion of the four theories of the press is appropriate here to help the reader understand why the press systems of developing countries do not fit easily into this static mutually exclusive systems.

Authoritarian Theory

The authoritarian concept of the press developed in 16th and 17th century England. It was widely adopted and is still practiced in many parts of the world. The authoritarian concept originated from the philosophy of absolute power of the monarch, his government, or both. The chief purpose of the press under the authoritarian state is to support and advance the policies of the government in power and to service the state. Not everyone has the right to use the media. The monarch grants royal patent or similar permission to whomever he pleases, and ownership could be private or public. Under the authoritarian theory, criticism of political machinery and officials in power is forbidden as the press is controlled through government

patents, guilds, licensing, and sometimes censorship. (17)

According to Merrill, Bryant and Alisky, a person in journalism, under the authoritarian theory is so engaged as a special privilege granted by the national leadership. He, therefore, has an obligation to that leadership and is subjected to the state authority and whims. (18)

Libertarian Theory

The libertarian press theory can be traced back to England and its American colonies of the 17th century. It originated from the writings of Locke, Mill, Milton, and the philosophy of rationalism and natural rights. (19)

The chief purpose of the libertarian press is to inform, entertain, and sell--but chiefly to help discover the truth, however splintered it may be, in a plurality of voices, and to check on government. It is impossible to do this if the press is controlled by someone outside itself. Thus the media are controlled by a "self-righting process of truth in a free marketplace of ideas, and by the courts." (20)

Ownership is thus chiefly private, and defamation, obscenity, indecency and wartime sedition are forbidden.

Social Responsibility Theory

The social responsibility theory of the press developed in the United States in the 20th century from the writing of W.E. Hocking's Freedom of the Press: A Framework of

Principle and Robert Hutchins' Commission on Freedom of the Press. It is also an outgrowth of media codes. The purpose of the socially responsible press is to inform, entertain, and sell, just like the libertarian press. However, it goes further by "raising conflict to the plane of discussion and assuming the obligation of social responsibility, both in its performance and in its treatment of societal values." (21)

Robert Hutchins' Commission on Freedom of the Press developed a set of recommendations for the "ideal press" and laid the groundwork for a more conscious awareness of a socially responsible press in the United States and elsewhere. The Commission recommended that the mass media:

> (1) give a truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day's events in a context that gives it meaning; (2) provide for the exchange of comment and criticism; (3) present and clarify the goals and values of the society; (4) give the public an opportunity to have access to the day's intelligence; (5) project a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society. (22)

Soviet Totalitarian Theory

The Soviet totalitarian theory developed in the Soviet Union and was practiced elsewhere by the Nazis and Fascists. This theory originated from the writings of Marx, Lenin and Stalin with a mixture of Hegel and 19th century Russian thinking. (23)

The chief purpose of this theory is to contribute to the success and continuance of the Soviet socialist system, especially the dictatorship of the party. Only loyal and

orthodox party members have the right to use the media, which is controlled through surveillance and economic or political action of government. The media are state-owned and criticism of party objectives is forbidden. (24)

Application of the Four Theories of the Press to Developing Countries

Authoritarian Theory

Although the press in developing countries has many elements of the authoritarian theory, many developing countries cannot truly be classified as having such a press system. The theory emphasizes the existence of a privately owned but heavily controlled press. However, the pattern existing in most of the developing countries is for the government to own and operate the press.

Libertarian Theory

The libertarian theory also seems inappropriate for developing countries. According to Wilcox, "It is based on the historical evolution of democratic concepts in Western Europe, which derived from universal literacy and the weakening of traditional monarchies." (27) The basic foundation of the theory is a financially independent press that can operate as a watchdog on government. To this end, this theory can only be an ideal in most developing countries because there is still massive illiteracy and a lack of private capital to support an independent press.

Social Responsibility Theory

The social responsibility theory is difficult to relate to developing countries. Instead of emphasizing "freedom," it emphasizes "responsibility" and therefore Wilcox suggests that what that means depends on who is defining it. (28) According to Merrill, "Assuming that a nation's socio-political philosophy determines the press system, then it follows that every nation's press system is socially responsible." (29)

Soviet Totalitarian Theory

The Soviet totalitarian theory in some ways better describes the situation in developing countries. Like the Soviet Union, many developing countries have a government-owned and party press, with major policy decisions being made by a single ruling party. Many developing countries also put major emphasis on the positive harnessing of the mass media outlets for achieving the goals of national development and social change.

Wilcox in Mass Media in Black Africa notes that the Soviet Communist theory is less than satisfactory to describe the press in developing countries. He points out that the theory is rooted in the ideology of Marx and Lenin and leaves out non-communist nations that also utilize the press as an agent of national development. (25)

For example, although countries like Ethiopia, Cuba, Guinea and Ghana (1957-1966) endorse selected concepts of

communism, most developing nations with a wholly owned government press express little or no ideological likeness to communism. Their press systems according to Wilcox are based on economics and practical choice, not Western concepts of political ideology. (26)

Developmental Theory of the Press

An attempt to conceptualize the emerging press philosophies of developing countries confronts researchers with different variables and sometimes arbitrary decisions. However, it is important to make some effort at conceptualizing information about the press system of developing countries for the purpose of understanding.

As the title suggests, Four Theories of the Press sets forth four mutually exclusive types by which press systems in various nations may be typed. Unfortunately, this typology excludes developing countries because their press systems do not fit neatly into any of these four categories.

The failings and drawbacks of the four theories of the press were noted by Hachten, who attempted to conceptualize another kind of press theory. According to Hachten in The World News Prism, the differing perceptions about the nature and role of journalism and mass communication are rooted in divergent political systems and historical traditions and are reflected in five political concepts of the press found in the world today: (1) Authoritarian, (2) Western,

(3) Communist, (4) Revolutionary, and (5) Developmental (or Third World). (30) He correctly identifies these as normative concepts that reflect how the media should perform under certain conditions and values.

According to Hachten, the authoritarian theory is the oldest and most pervasive concept which spawned the communist and developmental concept. The Western concept found in Western democracies represents an alternative to the authoritarian concept and contains elements of both 18th century libertarian views and 20th century views of social responsibility. The revolutionary concept has one trait in common with the Western, they both try to operate outside of government controls. The developmental concept is an emerging pattern associated with the new nations of the Third World. (31)

According to McQuail, the starting point for a separate developmental theory of mass media is that there are some conditions of developing countries that limit the application of other theories of the press or that reduce their potential benefits. (32)

A major international agency, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), has provided a sounding board for the expression of the developmental theory, which is an approach to mass communications of nations that are clearly lacking in newspapers and broadcasting facilities. (33)

According to Hachten, "The developmental concept is an

amorphous and curious mixture of ideas, rhetoric, influences, and grievances...there are concepts of Lenin and the communist concept of the press." (34)

Hachten contends that perhaps of greater importance are the influences of Western social scientists who have posited a major role for mass communications in the process of nation-building in newly independent countries. (35)

Again, Hachten contends that American scholars such as Wilbur Schramm, Daniel Lerner and others have argued that "the communication process is central to the achievement of national integration and economic development; in doing so, they may have unintentionally provided a rationale for autocratic press controls." (36)

According to Hachten, other more radical scholars such as Dallas Smythe of Canada, Kaarle Nordenstreng of Finland, and Herbert Schiller of the United States have echoed Marxist views and added a strong touch of anti-Americanism to the concept. While the concept is to some extent a critique of and reaction against the Western countries and their transnational media, it also reflects the frustrations and anger of poor and media-deficient nations of the Third World. (37)

Some critics say that central to the developmental concept is the rejection of the Western view of the press. As British journalist Rosemary Righter argues, there is a growing feeling that the Western model of the press is undesirable in itself. Instead of backing diversity and

free flow, the mass media adopt a didactic, even ideological, role of explaining to the people their part in forging a new social order. (38)

According to McQuail, the normative elements of the developmental theory have both negative and positive aspects.

> They are, especially, opposed to dependency and foreign domination... They are for positive uses of the media in national development, for the autonomy and cultural identity of the particular national society. (39)

The criteria presented by McQuail frame the main principles of the developmental theory as stated below:

1. Media should accept and carry out positive developmental tasks in line with nationally established policy.

2. Media should give priority in their content to the national culture and language.

3. Media should give priority in news and information to links with other developing countries which are close geographically, culturally or politically.

4. For the interests of developmental ends, the state has a right to intervene in, or restrict media operations, and devices of censorship, subsidy and direct control can be justified. (40)

According to Altschull, the fundamental articles of faith for the developmental theory include:

> ...belief in the press as a unifying rather than a divisive force, belief in the press as an instrument of social justice and a device for beneficial social change; and the presumption that

> the press is properly an instrument of two-way communication, with equal importance assigned to the writer and the reader. (41)

The one thing which gives the developmental theory of the press its greatest unity is the acceptance of economic development itself, and often the correlated nation-building as an overriding objective. To this end, certain freedoms of the press and of individual journalists are surbordinated to their responsibility of helping in this purpose. At the same time, collective ends, rather than individual freedoms, are emphasized.

Other Models of World Press System

The developmental theory of the press fits neatly in the press system of developing countries but there are other world press models that "work" for developed as well as developing countries. Other theorists have offered different approaches in describing press, government and societal relationship.

Lowenstein's Two-Tier Model

Lowenstein proposed a model with a different approach from that of the static and mutually exclusive four theories of the press. According to Lowenstein, press systems are better classified on one level by ownership and on another by press philosophy. Lowenstein's model is a two-tier concept which has more flexibility and descriptive quality than the four theories of the press. (42)

By separating the element of ownership from the press philosophy, Lowenstein gives a different interpretation of authoritarian press systems. The concept of the authoritarian theory in Four Theories of the Press was based on the premise that government controlled a private press system. In most developing countries, however, a country may be authoritarian even though no privately owned press exists. According to Loweinstein, the major factor is not ownership but how the government utilizes its press system. (43) In some developing countries, government ownership is a negative control because no attempt is made to harness the press for national development.

In the same way, removal of ownership considerations make it possible for nations with elements of a private press to be classified as having a social-centralist philosophy. (44) Again, the emphasis is not on ownership but how national leaders view the role and function of the press. If the press is perceived as an integral part of national development, its role is defined within the cultural framework.

According to Loweinstein, under this model it is possible that different media in a country will reflect different ownership and philosophies. (45) The print media may be privately-owned, operating under a social-libertarian philosophy, while the broadcasting services are government owned and operate under the social-centralist philosophy. England is a good example of this arrangement.

Schillinger's Dynamic Theory of World Press Motivation

Schillinger's dynamic theory of world press motivation addresses the dynamic and interactive nature of the world's press system. Under this theory, therefore, the behavior of the press system of any one country can be studied at any time.

According to Schillinger, Four Theories of the Press presents static models and, therefore, although the four types are chronologically presented, the authors do not suggest how a press system might evolve or deviate from its designed type. In her theory, the four traditional press systems could be better organized by addressing the dynamic and interactive nature of the world's press systems. (46)

Schillinger acknowledges the utility of Four Theories of the Press in exploring world press systems, but finds that its value is limited to describing "what is" with ever-proliferating categories;

> Derived from and defined by historical and geographical boundaries, both real and artificial, typologies fail to provide a theoretical model which enables us to probe into "why?" and "what will be?" Implicit in this argument is the assumption that the function of theory is not only to describe, but also to explain, relate, and and predict. (47)

Schillinger proposes three premises for a dynamic world press theory:

> (1) Press behavior and values are determined and identified by primary motives. The same motives are shared by the people, the government, and other national institutions. (2) Nations and their

> press systems subscribe to three primary vocabularies of motive--survival, ideology, and market, one of which predominates at any time. (3) Nations and their press systems vacillate continually from one prevailing motive in the direction of one or both or the other two. (48)

To illustrate these theoretical premises and their interaction, Schillinger proposes a visual model consisting of a triangle of primary motives, whose three defining points represent survival, ideology and market. The motive triangle provides an analytical framework that takes into account the constant fluidity and frequent ambiguity of press policy and behavior. Thus, a motive triangle represents a comparative appraisal of press system behavior for any one country at a given time. (49)

Press Origin in Ghana

A crucial element in the development of mass communication in Ghana--both past and present--is the nature and extent of British influences. Some authorities hold that the strongest institution of colonial heritage is not the civil service, as is generally assumed, but the press. (50)

According to Hachten in his preface to Muffled Drums:

> Colonial rule was by and large, the source of each country's modern political institutions and the peculiar economic conditions still markedly inhibiting local media growth. What happened before independence profoundly affects the news media today even though new African governments have tried to shuck off all vestiges of colonialism. Since independence the Africans have been converting these "foreign" communication instruments to their own uses and purposes. (51)

According to Udofia in the World Press Encyclopedia, the beginning of print journalism in Ghana was marked by the founding of the Royal Gold Coast Gazette, in 1822 by Sir Charles McCarthy, the first British governor of the then Gold Coast settlements. (52)

Ghanaian initiative came in 1852, when the Bannerman brothers ran the West African Herald, which went out of business in 1873. Another African venture during the same period was the Gold Coast Times. Other Ghanaian initiatives, mostly small polemical news sheets, appeared and disappeared during the period. A majority of the newspapers that appeared in the 19th and early 20th centuries were weeklies. Udofia wrote that the most sustained Ghanaian effort was shown by Dr. J. B. Danquah, who founded the first daily, the Times of West Africa, in 1931. (53) Since then the number of dailies has increased steadily.

The press everywhere is obviously involved with government and efforts to attain political power. During the colonial era in Ghana, there was greater opportunity for journalists to use the printed word to gain political power, and they did.

Press history in Ghana also serves as a history of Ghanaian nationalism. Editors and nationalists were one in the same, and leading journalists were nearly always leading nationalists.

Omu in his Press and Politics in Nigeria, 1880-1937,

argued that,

> ...the African press appeared because of a denial of Africans' effective participation in the government and their desire to influence the trend of events and to realize the dreams of greater racial identity and dignity. There arose then the demands for political and national persuasion and propaganda. (54)

Several scholars who studied African affairs bear this out. Coleman wrote,

> African-owned newspapers and presses were the media through which the nationalist ideas of educated Africans found an outlet; they were responsible partly for the ever-growing number of Nigerians predisposed to a nationalist ideology. There can be little doubt that nationalist newspapers and pamphlets have been among the main influences in the awakening of racial and political concious-ness. (55)

Drake wrote,

> More than anything else, perhaps, it was the constant plugging by the little African-run papers of the case of self-government that hastened the end of colonialism in Commonwealth West Africa. (56)

And Schwarz wrote,

> There was a tradition of hard-hitting fearless and independent journalism in colonial days when the press was the spearhead of nationalism. (57)

One writer called these newspapers "mouthpieces of politicians in search of a party." Earlier, perhaps, they might have been described as mouthpieces of nationalists in search of an issue. (58)

According to Hachten, the press gave to nationalism its prime means of diffusion, surviving as the media through which the idea could be disseminated. Nationalism gave to the press its principal message, the reason for extending its circulation. (59)

Daily Newspapers in Ghana

At independence, Ghana had four daily newspapers which are still the ones in existence--the Daily Graphic, which is now called the People's Daily Graphic, the Evening News, the Ghanaian Times, and the Ashanti Pioneer.

The most widely read paper was and still is the Daily Graphic with a circulation of 200,000. It was founded in 1950 by Overseas Newspaper, Inc. According to Hachten, as a privately-owned paper, its success in both circulation and advertising was an embarrassment to the government's Evening News and Ghanaian Times. (60)

Cecil King in 1963 sold the Daily Graphic to the Nkrumah government, which placed it under government trust and appointed a new board of directors favorable to the government. (61)

The government-and-party-controlled Guinea Press, Ltd., at that time published two daily newspapers, the Ghanaian Times and Evening News. The Evening News has a circulation of 40,000. Hachten wrote that the Evening News was both a party paper and a scandal sheet which lived up to its promise to "titillate, scintillate and scandalize." As the organ of the Convention People's Party (CPP), it acted as the official sounding board of the CPP and the government Its masthead carried a silhouette of Kwame Nkrumah and the slogan, "The Party is Supreme." (62)

The Guinea Press' second daily was the Ghanaian Times, the first Ghanaian newspaper established with public funds

in 1956. It has a circulation of 150,000. According to Hachten, the Ghanaian Times was another mouthpiece, but published more news and was less sensational than its sister paper. (63)

The fourth daily is the Ashanti Pioneer. Founded in 1939, this independent paper was published in Kumasi by John and Nancy Tsiboe. It has a circulation of 50,000. The Ashanti Pioneer was very critical of Kwame Nkrumah's administration and, beginning in 1960, it was subjected to intermittent government censorship. (64)

After independence, Nkrumah espoused a neo-communist theory of the press under which the mass media are an integral part of the state--an instrument to further the purposes of the party and the state. He rejected private ownership of the press. Opening the 1963 Pan-African Union of Journalists Conference Nkrumah said:

> It is part of our revolutionary credo that within the competitive system of capitalism the press cannot function in accordance with a strict regard for the sacredness of facts and that it therefore should not remain in public hands. (65)

Nkrumah's approach to mass communication closely followed that of the developmental theory of the press. He gave a high priority to mass communication and brought Ghana's media more and more under direct government ownership and control for the purposes of nation-building.

Summary

This review emphasized the inapplicability of the four

theories of the press to developing countries and the applicability of the developmental theory of the press. Other models of world press systems were reviewed. These models fit the press system of any one country at a given time. However, the purpose of this research is to stress a concept or theory that fits neatly into the press system of developing countries. To this end, this research effort stressed the developmental theory of the press.

Literature on the origins of the Ghanaian press and the mass media as a tool of national development in African countries also was reviewed.

The research findings on the mass media and national development point to the conclusion that the mass media in developing countries are both an index and agent of national development and modernization. Many of the developing countries are in the midst of rapid change and, therefore, government ownership of the press is related to the concept of harnessing the press for promotion of national development plans.

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CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study was designed to gather and analyze information on the two national dailies in Ghana over a four-month period. Based on the findings of the study, an attempt was made to test the four-element developmental theory of the press as it pertains to developing countries.

This chapter focuses on the research design and methodology employed in the study. The chapter elaborates on operational definitions of variables, the population under study, the sample drawn, statistical tests used as well as methodological assumptions and limitations.

Description of Research Approach

According to Berlo, communication involves the sending of a message from a source (stimulus) through a channel to a receiver (response). (1)

In this fast-developing society, there are all kinds of communication taking place. People engage in verbal as well as non-verbal communication, consciously or unconsciously. They can even communicate on different levels and with a number of people at any given time.

Many mass communication researchers have analyzed

media content and have concluded that the content of the media can be philosophical, artistic, religious or deal with contemporary attitudes. However, the choice of mode or method of analysis depends on how suitable or effective it will be for the chosen purpose or direction. This study focuses on the content of the message embodied in the communication and, therefore, the tool of frequency content analysis was used.

As is true of any subject, content analysis has been subjected to different kinds of definitions. Kerlinger wrote that content analysis is

> ... a method of observation. Instead of observing people's behavior directly, or asking them to respond to scales, or interviewing them, the investigator takes the communications that people have produced and asks questions of the communications. (2)

Further, Budd, Thorp and Donohew contend that content analysis is a

> ... systematic technique for analyzing message content and message handling...the analyst is not concerned with the message per se, but with the larger questions of the process and effects of communication. (3)

According to Denis McQuail,

> It is much more defensible to use content analysis as direct evidence about its makers than about its audience or about effect. At least it is something which is purposefully made and distributed by identifiable individuals and organizations. (4)

McQuail says the most commonly quoted definition of content analysis was given by Berelson in 1952 as "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of

communication." (5)

Purpose of Analysis

This study was designed to answer the following questions in regards to the developmental theory of the press.

(1) Do Ghanaian newspapers carry news in line with positive national development tasks?

(2) Do Ghanaian newspapers give priority in their content to national culture and language?

(3) Do Ghanaian newspapers give priority in news and information to links with other developing countries which are close geographically, culturally or politically?

(4) In the interests of national development, does the government intervene to restrict media operation and employ devices of censorship, subsidy or direct control?

The first three questions will be answered by content analysis. The fourth question cannot be answered by content analysis and therefore will be inferred through qualitative analysis.

(5) Does the content of the Ghanaian Times differ from the content of the Daily Graphic in terms of exemplifying the developmental theory of the press?

Operational Definition of Variables

The variables identified in the study are:

Ghanaian Newspapers:

(a) People's Daily Graphic--A government daily newspaper published in Ghana with a circulation of 200,000.

(b) Ghanaian Times--A government daily newspaper published in Ghana with a circulation of 150,000.

Categories of News

(a) National Development Tasks--May be defined as news items or topics dealing with national or rural construction projects, trade and international relations topics dealing with economic sanctions, matters dealing with science and technology, education, etc.

(b) National Culture and Language--May be defined as news items or topics dealing with traditional Ghanaian culture, such as chieftaincy and traditional languages, eg., Akan.

(c) Links With Other Developing Countries--May be defined as news items or topics dealing with other countries in Africa, South America and Asia to include Nigeria, Ethiopia, Venezuela, Philippines, Pakistan, India, etc.

(d) Other--May be defined as any news items or topics that do not fall under national development tasks, national culture and language, or links with other developing countries such as news items on sports, legal and criminal activities, human interest, miscellaneous, etc.

Sample Selection

Six issues of the People's Daily Graphic and six issues of the Ghanaian Times were randomly selected from March, April, May and June 1989, for a total of 12 issues, using a table of random numbers. Each day in the study period was assigned a number and issues examined were selected randomly.

Stempel, in an article titled "Sample Size for Classifying Subject Matter in Dailies" wrote that

> A sample size of 6, 12, 18, 24 and 48 does an adequate job and that increasing the sample size beyond 12 does not produce marked differences in the results ... we would at least like to suggest the possibility that increasing sample size may be a poor investment of the researcher's time. (6)

The unit of analysis in this study was the individual news items in each newspaper. According to Pool,

> The smallest segment of content counted and scored in content analysis is the coding unit. The most common coding units are a word; a theme or assert-ion; paragraph; an item; a character group, object, or institution; and space or time. (7)

TABLE I

INTERCODER RELIABILITY

	Between Coder Coder 1 and 2	Between Coder 1 and 3	Between 2 and 3
Newspaper			
Times	r=0.85	r=0.80	r=0.95
Graphic	r=0.80	r=0.75	r=0.95

As a pretest, 20 news items from the Graphic and Times (10 from each newspaper) were given to two independent coders who analyzed and coded each item according to written coding procedures. The author coded the same material and all coded work was scored for reliability, in terms of coders, measuring instrument, and categories of news items.

The intercoder reliability is shown in Table I on the previous page. Generally, there was high intercoder reliability. The reliability coefficient ranged from 0.75-0.95.

According to Pool, a pilot study is necessary for the researcher to be sure that his or her coders understand coding procedures and make similar judgements.

> When the analyst has drawn up a set of preliminary rules for classifying direction, his next step is to conduct a pilot study on the material to be analyzed. The pilot study will also indicate whe-ther the prescribed coding and recording systems are functioning properly and may suggest changes or alterations in the initial plan. (8)

The rule followed throughout the coding process is that given by Stevenson and Shaw: "The overall rule is that the theme or reference in question should be quite clearly present in the news item in a way that would be recognized by almost anyone." (9)

Statistical Analysis

The data collected called for the use of chi-square tests. The complex chi-square test tells if there is statistically significant relationship between the

independent variables but does not tell the strength of the relationship. Therefore, another statistical test, the contingency coefficient, was used to measure the strength of the relationship. The simple chi-square test was also used to test for the differences between and within variables.

The author set the level of significance at 0.05 A significance level of 0.05 simply indicates that the relationship or difference has a probability of occurring by chance no more than five percent of the time or no more than five times in a hundred tests. (10)

Limitations and Assumptions

This method of content analysis used in testing the four-element developmental theory of the press as it pertains to Ghanaian newspapers had some limitations.

One major disadvantage of nominal data quantification is its inability to express the exact nature of the content. The method of content analysis obscures much of the true nature of the data. Because of this solid inferences from the data analyzed will be limited.

In his book on content analysis, Holsti lists three uses of the method: describing message characteristics, inferring information about causes, and inferring information about effects. He warns against making assumptions about a source's reasons, values, motives, or intentions from content alone. "It is hazardous indeed to assume, without corroborating evidence from

independent, non-content data, that inferences about the author may be drawn directly from content data." (11)

McQuail endorses this point and further contends that:

> The result of content analysis is a new text, the meaning of which may, or even must, diverge from the original source material. This result is also based on a form of 'reading' of content which no actual 'reader' would ever, under natural circumstances, undertake ...the new 'meaning' is neither that of the original sender, or of the text itself or of the audience, but a fourth concept which has to be interpreted with care. (12)

Thus the author did not seek to show the working of the developmental theory only through empirical findings, but also through qualitative analysis.

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CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

General

The primary purpose of this study was to test the developmental theory of the press as it pertains to Ghanaian newspapers. The survey population was the People's Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times. The survey sample of 812 news items was drawn from newspaper issues over a four-month period beginning March 1 through June 30, 1989. Survey dates are listed in Appendix A.

In the following section, data generated from the study are presented to answer the research questions posed. Chi-square analysis was used in testing the relationship and differences between observed and expected frequency occurrences for the different variables.

A total of 812 news items were examined and coded as to content by three independent coders. Of these, 464 were from the Times and 348 were from the Graphic. The System for Statistics (SYSTAT) was used to analyze the data obtained from the 812 news items. The following deals with the overall relationship between the variables, differences among the variables and differences within the variables.

TABLE II

OVERALL NUMBER OF ARTICLES IN DIFFERENT NEWS CATEGORIES, BY BOTH NEWSPAPERS

	Newspaper		
News Categories	Times	Graphic	Total
Development	222(48%)	189(54%)	411(51%)
Culture	33(07%)	9(03%)	42(05%)
Links	98(21%)	80(23%)	178(22%)
Other	111(24%)	70(20%)	181(22%)
Total	464(100%)	348(100%)	812(100%)

X^2 =11.127, df =3, p =<.05

Overall, the relationship between the distribution of articles among news categories by the Graphic and the Times was positive but weak. The contingency coefficient value resulting from the data is .1171 as shown in Table II above.

Out of the 812 news items sampled, the Times contained 464 or 57 percent and the Graphic contained 348 or 43 percent. Of the items, 411 or 51 percent were devoted to national development tasks, 42 or 5 percent were devoted to national culture and language, 178 or 23 percent were devoted to links with other developing countries and 181 or 22 percent were devoted to other news items.

Further analysis was done using simple chi-square to determine where the differences were. Overall, the Times

reported more news items than the Graphic.

Overall, a significant difference was shown between news items on national development tasks and national culture and language. Both newspapers reported more news items on national development tasks than on national culture and language.

Overall, a significant difference was shown between news items on national development tasks and links with other countries. Both newspapers reported more news on national development tasks than links with other developing countries.

Overall, a significant difference was shown between news items on national development tasks and "other" news items. Both newspapers reported more news items on national development tasks than "other" news items.

Overall, a significant difference was shown between news items on national culture and links with other development countries. Both newspapers reported more news items on links with other developing countries than national culture and language.

Overall, a significant difference was shown between news items on national culture and "other" news items. Both newspapers reported more news items on "other" than national culture and language. Finally, the study revealed no significant difference between news items reported on links with other developing countries and "other" news items for both newspapers.

TABLE III

OVERALL NUMBER OF ARTICLES ON NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT TASKS, BY BOTH NEWSPAPERS

	Development	Non-Development	Total
Times	222(48%)	242(52%)	464(100%)
Graphic	189(54%)	159(45%)	348(100%)
Total	411(51%)	401(49%)	812(100%)

X^2 =3.4 df =1 p =>.05

Overall, the study revealed no relationship between the distribution of articles on national development tasks and non-national development tasks as shown in Table III above. Out of a total number of 812 news items for both newspapers, 411 or 51 percent was devoted to national development tasks and 401 or 49 percent was devoted to non-national development tasks.

TABLE IV

NUMBER OF ARTICLES ON NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT TASKS, BY EACH NEWSPAPER

	Times	Graphic	Total
National Development Tasks	222(54%)	189(46%)	411(100%)

X^2 =2.64 df =1 p =>.05

The study revealed no significant difference between the number of news items the Times and the Graphic reported on national development tasks as shown in Table IV on the previous page. Out of a total number of 411 news items on national development tasks, the Times reported 222 or 54 percent and the Graphic reported 189 or 46 percent.

TABLE V

OVERALL NUMBER OF ARTICLES ON NATIONAL CULTURE AND LANGUAGE, BY BOTH NEWSPAPER

	Culture	Non-Culture	Total
Times	33(07%)	431(93%)	464(100%)
Graphic	9(02%)	339(98%)	348(100%)
Total	42(05%)	770(95%)	812(100%)

$X^2 = 8.31$ df =1 p =<.05

Overall, the relationship between the distribution of articles on culture and non-culture was positive but weak. The contingency coefficient resulting from the data is 0.101 as shown in Table V above. There was significantly more news reported on non-cultural items than cultural items. Out of a total number of 812 news items for both newspapers, 42 or 5 percent was devoted to national culture and language and 770 or 95 percent was devoted to non-national culture.

TABLE VI

NUMBER OF ARTICLES ON NATIONAL CULTURE AND LANGUAGE, BY EACH NEWSPAPER

	Times	Graphic	Total
National Culture and Language	33(79%)	9(21%)	42(100%)

X^2 =13.7 df =1 p =<.05

A significant difference was shown between the number of news items reported by the two newspapers on national culture and language as shown in Table VI above. Out of a total number of 42 news items on national culture and language, the Times reported 33 or 79 percent and the Graphic reported 9 or 21 percent.

TABLE VII

OVERALL NUMBER OF ARTICLES ON LINKS WITH OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, BY BOTH NEWSPAPERS

	Links	Non-Links	Total
Times	98(21%)	366(79%)	464(100%)
Graphic	80(23%)	268(77%)	348(100%)
Total	178(22%)	634(78%0	812(100%)

X^2 =0.47 df =1 p =>0.5

Overall, the study revealed no significant relationship between number of news items on links with other developing countries and non-links with other developing countries as shown in Table VII on the previous page. Out of a total number of 812 news items for both newspapers, 178 or 22 percent was devoted to links with other developing countries and 634 or 78 percent was devoted to non-links with other developing countries.

TABLE VIII

NUMBER OF ARTICLES ON LINKS WITH OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, BY NEWSPAPER

	Times	Graphic	Total
Links with other Developing Countries	98(55%)	80(45%)	178(100%)

X^2 =1.82 df =1 p =>.05

The study revealed no significant difference between the number of items the Times and the Graphic reported on links with other developing countries as shown in Table VIII above. Out of a total of 178 news items on links with other developing countries, the Times reported 98 or 55 percent and the Graphic reported 80 or 45 percent.

TABLE IX

OVERALL NUMBER OF ARTICLES ON "OTHER" NEWS ITEMS, BY BOTH NEWSPAPERS

	"Other"	Non-"Other"	Total
Times	111(24%)	353(76%)	464(100%)
Graphic	70(20%)	278(78%)	348(100%)
Total	181(22%)	631(78%)	812(100%)

$X^2 = 0.49$ df =1 p =>0.5

Overall, the study revealed no significant relationship between the number of news items on "other" news items and non-"other" news items as shown in Table IX above. Out of a total number of 812 news items for both newspapers, 181 or 22 percent was devoted to "other" news items and 631 or 78 percent was devoted to non-"other" news items.

TABLE X

NUMBER OF ARTICLES ON "OTHER" NEWS ITEMS, BY EACH NEWSPAPER

	Times	Graphic	Total
Other News Items	111(61%)	70(39%)	181(100%)

$X^2 = 9.28$ df =1 p =>.05

The study revealed no significant difference between the number of items on "other" news reported by the two newspapers as shown in Table X on the previous page. The Times reported more news items on other than the Graphic. Out of a total of 181 news items on "other", the Times reported 111 or 61 percent and the Graphic reported 70 or 39 percent.

TABLE XI

NUMBER OF ARTICLES IN DIFFERENT NEWS CATEGORIES, BY GHANAIAN TIMES

	Development	Culture	Links	Other	Total
Times	222(48%)	33(07%)	98(21%)	111(24%)	464(100%)

X^2 =159.24 df =3 p =<.05

A significant difference was shown between the number of news items reported in the different categories by the Times as shown in Table XI above. Out of a total of 464 news items reported by the Times, 222 or 48 percent were devoted to national development tasks, 33 or 7 percent were devoted to national culture and language, 98 or 21 percent were devoted to links with other developing countries and 111 or 24 percent were devoted to other news items.

Further analysis was done to find out where the

differences were. A significant difference was shown between news items reported on national development tasks and national culture. The Times reported more news items on national development tasks than national culture and language.

A significant difference was shown between news items reported on national development tasks and links with other developing countries. The Times reported more news items on national development tasks than links with other developing countries.

A significant difference was shown between news items reported on national development tasks and "other" news items. The Times reported more news on national development tasks than "other" news items.

A significant difference was shown between news items reported on national culture and links with other developing countries. The Times reported more news on links with other developing countries than on national culture and language.

A significant difference was shown between news items reported on national culture and "other" news items. The Times reported more news on "other" news items than national culture and language. The study revealed no significant difference between the news items the Times reported on links with other developing countries and "other" news.

TABLE XII

NUMBER OF ARTICLES IN DIFFERENT NEWS CATEGORIES, BY PEOPLES'S DAILY GRAPHIC

	Development	Culture	Links	Other	Total
Graphic	189(54%)	9(03%)	80(23%)	70(20%)	348(100%

X^2 =193.39 df =3 p =<.05

A significant difference was shown between the number of news items reported in the different categories by the Graphic as shown in Table XII above. Out of a total of 348 news items overall reported by the Graphic, 189 or 54 percent were devoted to national development tasks, 9 or 3 percent were devoted to national culture and language, 80 or 23 percent were devoted to links with other developing countries, 70 or 20 percent were devoted to other news items.

Further analysis was done to find out where the differences were. A significant difference was shown between news items reported on national development tasks and national culture. The Graphic reported more news items on national development tasks than national culture and language.

A significant difference was shown between news items reported on national development tasks and links with other developing countries. The Graphic reported more news items

on national development tasks than links with other developing countries.

A significant difference was shown between news items reported on national development tasks and "other" news items. The Graphic reported more news on national development tasks than "other" news items.

A significant difference was shown between news items reported on national culture and links with other developing countries. The Graphic reported more news on links with other developing countries than on national culture and language.

A significant difference was shown between news items reported on national culture and "other" news items. The Graphic reported more news on "other" news items than national culture and language. The study revealed no significant difference between the news items the Graphic reported on links with other developing countries and "other" news items

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The overall purpose of this study was to validate the developmental theory of the press as it pertains to Ghana. The author systematically compared the two Ghanaian national newspapers to show in what ways the People's Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times exemplify the following four-element developmental theory of the press.

1. Ghanaian newspapers carry news in line with positive national development tasks.

2. Ghanaian newspapers give priority in their content to national culture and language.

3. Ghanaian newspapers give priority in news and information to links with other developing countries which are close geographically, culturally or politically.

4. In the interest of national development the government intervenes to restrict media operation and device censorship, subsidy or direct control.

The first element suggests that Ghanaian newspapers give significantly greater space to news items about national development tasks than any other news item. Comparing the four categories of news content, it was

determined that the quantity of news items on national development tasks was significantly greater than any other news for both newspapers. This supports the first element, that Ghanaian newspapers carry news in line with positive national development tasks.

The second element suggests that Ghanaian newspapers give priority in their content to national culture and language. Comparing the four categories of news content, it was determined that the quantity of news items on national culture and language was significantly less than any other news item for both newspapers. This fails to support the second element, that Ghanaian newspapers give priority in their content to national culture and language.

The third element suggests that Ghanaian newspapers give priority in news and information to links with other developing countries which are close geographically, culturally or politically. Comparing the four categories of news content, it was found out that there was no significant difference between news reported on links with other developing countries and "other" news items for both newspapers. This fails to support the third element, that Ghanaian newspapers give priority in news and information to links with other developing countries.

The fourth element suggests that in the interest of national development, the government intervenes to restrict media operation and employ censorship, subsidy or direct control. This element could not be tested through content

analysis. During the four-month period for which data was collected, there was no literature available to support this element.

However, earlier literature tends to support this element. According to Udofia, Ghanaian newspapers and journalists have experienced various forms of harassment, from civilian and military regimes alike. (1)

Beginning 1960, the Ashanti Pioneer, an independent newspaper, was subjected to intermittent government censorship during the Nkrumah regime. The city editor spent four-and-a-half years in detention for "destructive criticism" of the government. The Pioneer resumed publication only to be shut down in July 1972 by General Acheampong for being critical of the government. The paper resumed publication after its two top editors were forced to resign, but it was denied a license for the importation of newsprint. (2)

Dr Kwasi Abrefa Busia, President of the second Republic, dismissed the editor of the government-owned Daily Graphic in 1970 when the latter opposed the government on the issue of the need for African countries to have a dialogue with South Africa. (3)

The editor of the independent weekly, the Echo, was detained more than once by the military authorities. This, and problems over permission to obtain an import license for newsprint, forced the Echo to close down. The biweekly Legon Observer was similarly compelled to cease publication

in July 1974. (4)

Finally, the content of the Times does not differ from the content of the Graphic in terms of exemplifying the developmental theory of the press, although there were more news items reported in the Times than the Graphic. Also, the Times reported more news items on national culture and language and "other" news items than did the Graphic.

Conclusions

The findings of this study suggest that the content of the newspapers in Ghana has much to do with national development tasks. This finding was predictable considering the fact that the two daily newspapers used in the study are both government-owned and the government needs the press as an aid to national development. The mass media in developing countries have often been expected to lead the country to an increase in the literacy rate, public awareness and national economic development.

Although the results of the analysis fail to support the element that the two newspapers should give priority in their content to national culture and language, the results were not surprising. This is because the official language in Ghana is English. The literacy rate in Ghana is 25 percent and the national newspapers are written in English. It obviously would be difficult to support this element by using the national newspapers. Moreover, traditional festivals are normally held in the months of July, August

and September and so data collected during those months may be able to support this element of the developmental theory.

Even though it was expected that the study would discover more news items about links with other developing countries than would be found on "other" news items, it is not surprising that there was no significant difference between the two categories. This is because most of the news items that fell under the "other" news items were from human interest and sports stories which increased the quantity of news in this category. It is interesting to note that the newspapers devoted about 22 percent of their space to human interest and sports stories. It might be expected that more serious news would be reported in the Monday through Saturday editions of the newspapers while the sports and human interest stories would be reserved for the Sunday editions of the newspapers.

However, one must consider the possibility that the emphasis upon human interest and sports during the week is a matter of editorial strategy. This emphasis might well be designed to increase overall readership, thus increasing the likelihood that national development news would get greater esposure and, thus, more readership.

Moreover, although the difference between the two categories was not statistically significant, it is interesting to note that about 22 percent of the news content of both newspapers was devoted to news and information on links with other developing countries.

The qualitative findings that support the element that in the interests of national development, the government intervenes to restrict media operation and employ censorship, subsidy or direct control must be viewed only as inferential. The author has no primary research data to suggest that the government in power genuinely controls media operations for the interest of national development or for political reasons.

Recommendations

The main shortcoming of this study was its limited scope. The study was limited to government-owned newspapers in Ghana. The findings may not reflect the true nature of the newspapers in developing countries, but they could serve to stimulate further research.

However, it is recommended that further research should be done to:

1. Redefine the variables used in this study in such a way that the "other" category of news items would not be susceptible to bias and misinterpretation.

2. Redefine the third element of the developmental theory used in this study so that a comparison could be made of news reported on the First world, Second World and Third World countries.

3. Replicate this study with a much better representative sample of newspapers from different years should be used to replicate this study to show if there are

any significant differences that might exist between the newspapers during a military regime and during a civilian regime.

4. Replicate this study using radio in order to test the second element that the mass media in developing countries give priority in their news content to national culture and language.

5. Bring to bear other research methods eg., historiography to add another dimension to the four-element developmental theory of the press.

Finally, it is recommended that a comparative study of other countries at similar developmental stages should be done to validate the four-element developmental theory of the press.

Concluding Statement

The basis of the developmental theory is that the communication process is central to the achievement of national integration and economic development. The concept generally holds that all the instruments of mass communication must be mobilized by the central government to aid in the great task of nation-building. The media, therefore, should support authority, not challenge it.

Although some of the elements raised in this research were not supported by the data, the results in general suggest that there is a high degree of correlation between mass communication and national development.

The study was exploratory, designed in part to test the efficiency of this particular research approach. Continuing, more detailed investigation is needed before one can begin to draw a satisfactory picture of the manner in which the press in developing countries operates. If this study suggests a set of relevant questions and a possible means of answering them, it will have served its purpose.

ENDNOTES

[1] Callix Udofia in George Kurian, (ed.) World Press Encyclopedia, Vol. II (New York, New York: Facts on File), p.393

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE NEWSPAPERS USED FOR THE STUDY

TABLE XIII

SAMPLE DRAWN FROM PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC

Month	Date	Year	Day of the Week
March	7	1989	Tuesday
March	10	1989	Friday
April	11	1989	Tuesday
May	15	1989	Monday
June	27	1989	Tuesday
June	26	1989	Monday

TABLE XIV

SAMPLE DRAWN FROM GHANAIAN TIMES

Month	Date	Year	Day of the Week
March	7	1989	Tuesday
March	10	1989	Friday
April	11	1989	Tuesday
May	15	1989	Monday
June	27	1989	Tuesday
June	26	1989	Monday

APPENDIX B

BASIC STATISTICAL DATA ON GHANA

GHANA

By Callix Udofia

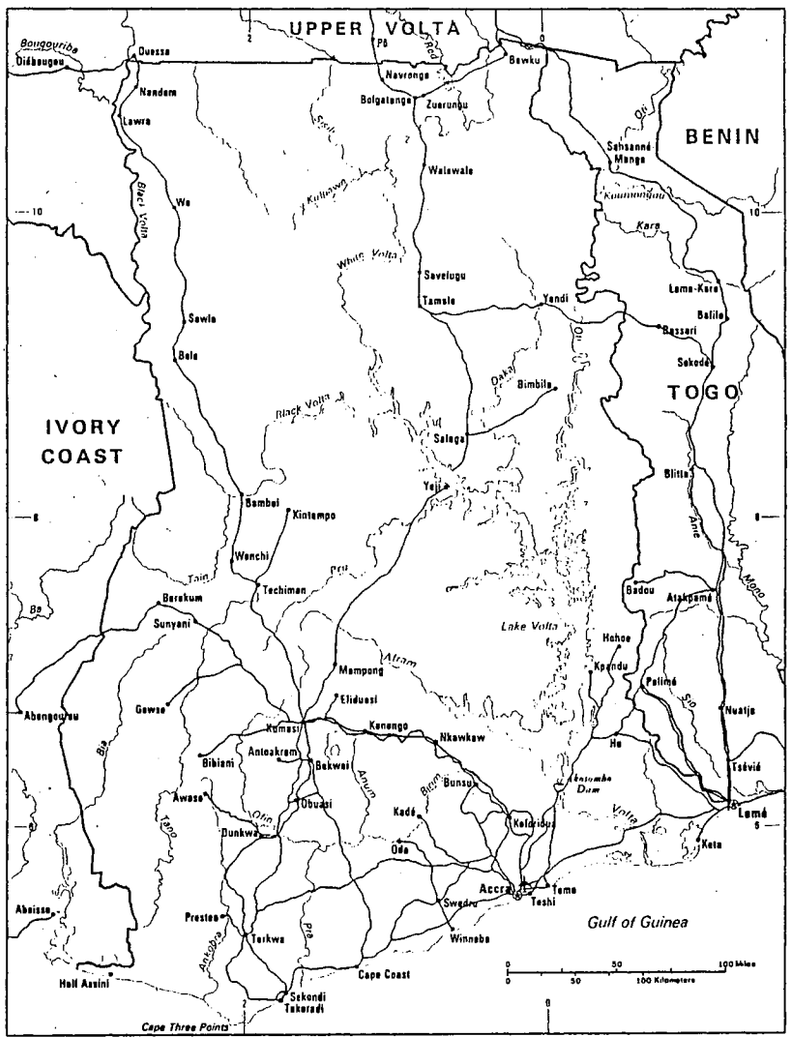
BASIC DATA

Population: 11,936,000
Area: 238,280 sq. km. (92,000 sq. mi.)
GNP: 12.48 billion cedi (US$4.54 billion)(1979)
Literacy Rate: 25%
Language(s): English
Number of Dailies: 4
Aggregate Circulation: 435,000
Circulation per 1,000: 42
Number of Nondailies: 6
Aggregate Circulation: 597,400
Circulation per 1,000: 58
Number of Periodicals: 74
Number of Radio Stations: 23
Number of Television Stations: 4
Number of Radio Receivers: 1.8 billion
Radio Receivers per 1,000: 164
Number of Television Sets: 35,000
Television Sets per 1,000: 3
Total Annual Newsprint Consumption: 7,300 metric tons
Per Capita Newsprint Consumption: 0.7 kg. (1.5 lb.)
Total Newspaper Ad Receipts: 7.15 cedi (US$2.6 million)
As % of All Ad Expenditures: NA

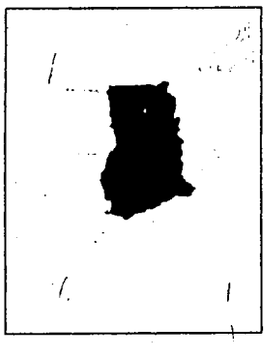
APPENDIX C

MAP OF GHANA

Ghana



Lambert Conformal Projection
Standard parallels 8° and 32°
Scale 1 : 3 450,000



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