

Media Reportage and the Perceived Attitudes of Electorates: A Case of the 2020 Presidential Elections in Ghana

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Abstract The communication skills of politicians determine the attitudes of electorates towards the outcomes of national elections. However, media news framing of presidential elections affects and shapes the electorate's perceived attitudes toward elections. This study employed a comparative experimental design to test the hypotheses by varying the valence and types of frames (i.e., positives vs. negative frames \times thematic vs. episodic frames) to evaluate how these news frames affected the perceived attitudes of Ghanaian electorates towards the 2020 presidential election in Ghana. Stratified sampling approach was used to enroll 2,702 participants for this study from nine regions. The findings showed that the framing effects were few, weak, and not robust among the electorates in the nine regions. The findings further indicated that the perceived attitudes of electorates toward the elections were not consistent. The perceived attitudes towards the election were influenced by a single news frame and the effects of the news frames were not determined by a single news frame. Finally, the perceived attitudes of Ghanaian electorates toward the 2020 elections were found not to be determined by a particular news frame.

Keywords: Communication, Media, News, Positive frame, Negative frame

1. Introduction

G hanaians went to the polls on December 7, 2020, to elect their president and members of parliament. This marked the eighth general election after 28 years of multiparty democracy; the first one was held in 1992. The creation and development of political parties marked the turning point in 1992 after the restoration of multiparty democracy by the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) junta (Constitution of Ghana, 1992; Osei, 2013). This was after a lot of pressure from the international community as well as other domestic pro-democratic forces (Morrison, 2004; Thompson, 2021). All the general elections had been carried out peacefully and were free and fair. As a presidential and unitary republic with a unicameral legislature and a strong independent judiciary, Ghana appreciates the significance of its various regions and districts (Thompson, 2021). The regions have their assemblies under strong local units of government.

http://dx.doi.org/10.56632/bct.2023.2106

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Received: January 2023 Revised: February 2023 Accepted: February 2023 Published: March 2023

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This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (CC BY). In the 2016 general elections, the NPP's Nana Akufo-Addo defeated incumbent John Mahama from the NDC following a contentious campaign. Eleven parties competed in the general elections, but only the NPP and the NDC won seats, with the NPP winning a majority (Gyampo, 2017). The 2020 general elections were a rematch as the NPP had nominated Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo for re-election, and NDC had nominated John Dramani Mahama. This will be their third consecutive match-up.

The press is considered the 4th estate of Ghana's democratic appellation and points to the fact that Page | 65 media acts as a watchdog over the other three branches of government as provided for in Ghana's 1992 constitution (Constitution of Ghana, 1992; National Communications Authority Ghana, 2020). The allocation of frequencies to several private television and radio stations that happened after the privatization of airwaves in the country by the government has resulted in the establishment of many TV and Radio stations (National Media Commission, 1993; National Communications Authority Ghana, 2020). Over the past two decades, two big media groups have received a high-concentration audience. These dominant media outlets are the Multimedia group (Joy News) and Despite group of companies (UTV) (Communications Authority Ghana, 2020; Media Foundation for West Africa, 2020). These two private media outlets represent 67.39% of all TV consumers, and with it is an assumed potential to influence public opinion in Ghana (Media Foundation for West Africa, 2020). This study, therefore, aims to analyze the effects of news frames by the media on the presidential elections and how these news frames affected citizens' attitudes towards the over conduct and participation of the elections of 2020 in Ghana. Deducing from the gaps in the theoretical perspective and related literature, the researchers propose the following hypotheses;

H1_a: News that is more negatively framed will lead to the electorate developing more negative attitudes toward the 2020 presidential elections.

H1_b: more positive News frames will lead to the electorate developing more negative attitudes toward the 2020 presidential elections.

H2_a: Negative episodic news frames will lead to more negative electorates' perceived attitudes toward the 2020 presidential elections than negative thematic news frames.

H2_b: Positive episodic news frames will lead to more positive electorates' perceived attitudes than positive thematic news frames.

2. Theoretical Framework

The theory of framing is depicted in a particular way in terms of the image and the storyline (Scheufele, 1999). Nevertheless, it is the responsibility of the media to frame every issue accordingly, be it social, political, or cultural (Scheufele, 1999; Scheufele & Iyengar, 2014). The framing theory tries to give the distinctive appeal of framing news reports. These aspects have different effects on the viewership or readership of political and social problems (Borah, 2011). A clear understanding of social matters is effectively communicated through the unique frames of media, and by doing so, the impacts created in society are quite significant (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2014). According to Iyengar (1996), political issues are mostly framed using episodic and thematic frames.

Episodic and thematic frames are very important and influential in television news and how audiences and viewers assign duty bearers with the responsibility for pertinent political issues (Borah, 2011; Iyengar, 1996). In an attempt to give further explanations and insight between episodic and thematic framing, Iyengar (1996) made some distinctions. According to Iyengar (1996), when news stories have their central focus on individuals, then such a news story is described as being framed episodically. Iyengar (1996) again cited the representation of an individual for a specific issue, such as terrorism. On the other hand, the in-depth, broader, and interpretative insight provided on issues of national concern is what Iyengar (1996), Scheufele (1999), and Scheufele and Iyengar (2014) termed thematic framing.

Scheufele and Iyengar (2014) suggested that when issues such as terrorism are interpreted and discussed from the perspectives of religion and historical backgrounds, then the issues are framed from the thematic approach. The thematic frame places more emphasis on the public, the environment as well as other institutions of the public (Aarøe, 2011). The thematic frames can be used to cover issues through

the use of the method known as a wide-angle lens (Aarøe, 2011; Theorin et al., 2021). As time goes by, there is a need to keep the focus on developments and clear explanations regarding the various contexts. In most cases, a portrait is demonstrated in the frame of episodic, while the frame of thematic indicates

the landscape picture (Aarøe, 2011).

It can also be noted that the episodic frame defines the ways through which the issue of an individual can be handled, while the thematic frame revolves around the causes of the issues that can be fixed (Hart, 2011). The episodic frame generally focuses on a single event, while a thematic frame maintains its focus on trends and relies more on time. It can also be noted that episodic framing simply means stories focusing on individual actors, while the thematic frame revolves around the causes of the issues that can be fixed (Hart, 2011). The studies by Hart (2011), Iyengar (1996), and Theorin et al. (2021) point out that the episodic frame mainly revolves around the attitudes of people. Through comprehensive and continuous research, Iyengar (1996) and Scheufele and Iyengar (2014) revealed that episodic TV reportage tends to be more socially responsible than issues that are closely related to thematic stories. Iyengar (1996) and Scheufele (1999) further contended that thematic stories have fewer chances of examining individuals responsible as against episodic news stories watched.

The media background and reference points enhance and are very key determinants for the explanations of issues for framing (Borah, 2011; Scheufele & Iyengar, 2014). Other factors, such as individual differences, might result in seminal work leading to dispositional attributions, and other individuals might stick to external attributions (Scott et al., 2018). An individual that holds external attributions dearly usually assigns concrete, contemporary events in describing the behavior of others, which also directly impact the individual negatively (Tabesh et al., 2019). Concerning individuals with dispositional attributes, Iyengar (1996), and Tabesh et al. (2019) cited that any news story framed episodically mostly centers on the person that it epitomizes or represents. Also, thematic frames are generally abstract and could be more persuasive than episodic frames (Aarøe, 2011; Borah, 2011; Hart, 2011).

Cornelissen and Werner (2014) have criticized framing theory for the short-sighted inclination for frame reductionism. Wood et al. (2018) highlighted a highly logical way of recognizing stable and efficient sets of schemas or frames. Consequently, a regular approach gives a convenient availability of media texts. However, it risks reifying them by locking them in a given place. Frames serve specific interests and change over time (Asghar et al., 2019; Thompson, 2021; Van Aelst & Walgrave, 2017). Asghar et al. (2019) agree that the variety of options provided in selecting how to narrate and develop news reports can be subjected to analyses as certain unique features. Depending on the prevailing events and subjects, many frames can be pertinent, negative, or positive. The positive and negative kinds of frames can be termed issue-specific frames (Howard-Grenville & Hoffman, 2003). Based on the various news frames, some based on different cultural aspects and contexts (Hart, 2011; Howard-Grenville & Hoffman, 2003).

Although the initial inquiries were related to the phenomenon of a particular set of frames or interpretation schemes in different cultures, the previous studies have classified framing terms along with unique dimensions and analyzed the effects of the same frame on audience responses. Generally, it entails sets of frames such as episodic vs. thematic frames and gains vs. loss frames, among others (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2014). There are also the frames of dispute, economic repercussions as well as human interests (Asghar et al., 2019; Matthes et al., 2017). According to Howard-Grenville and Hoffman (2003), past studies have found out about the distinctive elements of frames through a clear understanding of inductive research. However, the painless attention to the identification of what several researchers referred to as master frames or cultural themes, as well as framesets, can be applied in solving several problems. These kinds of frames are referred to as generic frames (Zhang & Jin, 2017).

Further, Ksiazek et al. (2019) discussed that the critical analysis of many mainstream US newspapers revealed four significant frames, that is, fight, talk, stalemate, and crisis. The four frames point to the sequence of events in the development of news. Similarly, Lewandowsky et al. (2020) and Sahly et al. (2019) recognized three frames during the 2016 election period, which led to the election of Donald

Trump as the US president. These are the behavioral scandal of Donald Trump, the controversy of the conservative attack, and the propaganda of liberal response. Furthermore, Valenzuela et al. (2017) observed five new news frames, that is, attribution of liability, conflict, economic repercussions, morality, and human fascination. The frame of conflict compels disputes between many agencies, individuals as well as groups (Liu, 2019). To be specific, the face of a human or a given angle of emotions is well presented in the frames of human fascination. Any form of occurrence is depicted in the frame of liability or responsibility in a manner that attributes the eventual responsibility for solving a government, a group, or an individual issue (Chong & Druckman, 2007). An event or a problem is portrayed based on a religious point of view and the associated moral values within the frame of morality. Consequently, in the frames of economics, an event or problem dwells on the economic implications it will create in a group, organization, or on an individual basis (Feezell et al., 2021). According to the findings of a study by Godefroidt et al. (2016), the frame of attribution of both liability and responsibility is believed to be one of the highly used frames. On the other hand, the frames of conflict and economic consequences come second in terms of usage (Canetti et al., 2019).

3. Methodology

In this experimental design, the study changed the frame's valence, the frame's characteristics, and the behavior of the Ghanaian electorates. Random 1 and 2 indicate the specific experiment (thematic vs. episodic frames) \times 2 (positive vs. negative frame), which is indicated by the subjects' design and a control state (Allen, 2017). Extracts are provided in Table 1.

The experimental design gave the researchers a chance to assess the effects of the given frames on the attitude of the electorates towards the 2020 presidential elections, therefore providing a better understanding of how media plays a bigger role in influencing attitude. When the participants are exposed to the same experimental stimulus, the research avoids the problem brought about by the effects of media, such as comparing different media outlets with Ghana, the context, and the media content. Investigating the resultant effect of other background factors that are likely to trigger framing effects on electorates' attitudes towards the 2020 presidential elections is beyond the scope of this study; however, the researchers aimed to create variations based on contextual factors to create an impact on the levels of education (literate vs. illiterate), attitudes toward presidential elections, political culture, and the media systems. Through testing the hypotheses in the diverse factor, the researchers can explore whether there exists some form of media effects or in case the effects are definite to different regions in Ghana.

3.1. Participants

The experiment was carried out through the use of the intercept survey method, which was conducted between January 2020 to November 2020 within nine out of sixteen regions in Ghana. In every region, there were quota definitions that were informed on gender and age as a way of making sure that accurate estimations of the population are taken into consideration. A number of 2,702 participants took part in the study. The sample was taken from across nine regions in Ghana, taking into consideration the age, gender, and level of education. However, the highly educated were slightly more compared to others.

3.2. Stimulus Materials

The new stories (audio or video) either addressed negative activities of political parties, personalities of the presidential candidates, party manifestoes, or any positive news stories, for instance, improved good governance, development, creation of employment, low inflations, and rural law. Furthermore, the news stories (audio or video) either framed in an episodical manner mainly focused on the personal experience of individuals in Ghana or thematically gave information from the field of study regarding the general effect occasioned by the general elections. It was already indicated in various headlines of each news segment whether the news story was either positive or negative and thematic and episodic.

3.3. Measures

Electorates' attitudes toward Ghana's presidential elections were gauged through the use of four items linked to the stimulus material. The focus was directed towards good governance, rule of law, the

neutrality of the electoral commission, improved living standards of the electorates, and political party manifestoes (political ideology). Through the use of the items, there was the construction of an index whereby a higher value was an indication of favorable attitudes (α = .70. M = 4.50. SD = 0.80).

3.4. Procedure

To start with, the participants responded to the questions regarding the variables. In this case, the knowledge of the political system and the level of participation were determined. Each respondent was then assigned to watch or listen to a fictional Radio and TV news story (audio or video) about the 2020 presidential elections randomly. As a way of avoiding associated risks, the participants proceeded with the survey before they were permitted to watch the news story assigned to them.

To avoid occasioned risk, respondents were made to watch the news that they were assigned before the survey proceeded. The news story was watched at an interval of 20 minutes before the next button was pressed. Measures on the perceived attitude toward the 2020 presidential elections after watching or listening to one of the news stories were introduced to the participants. This was followed by a debriefing.

3.5. Manipulation Checks and Randomization

Proof for randomization made by the researchers discovered that there is no substantial difference between the participants in different groups in terms of age (p = .211; f=1.21), gender (p = .121; f = 2.12), education (p = .411; f = 0.80), and political ideology (p = .711/ f=.41). Comparing how the participants responded to the questions regarding a news story (audio or video) they had just watched or listened to (1) If the audio or video news story was positive or negative, and (2) If the news story (audio or video) focused on the 2020 general elections guaranteed manipulation check the demand of this study. The outcome for all questions revealed that there was a remarkable difference within the groups (p < .001). Thereafter, a credibility check was done. In general, it was found that the participants perceived all audio or video news stories to be worthwhile and interesting. They were also convincing and credible enough. It is important to note that the respondents who received positively framed news stories regarding the 2020 elections perceived them as highly authentic and credible. The pattern was the same when the answers were compared on different credibility questions as well as when an index was through the use of varied credibility questions. Table 1 illustrates the effects of positive and negative frames on attitudes toward the 2020 presidential elections.

Table 1

Effects of Positive and Negative Frames on Attitudes toward 2020 Presidential Elections

DV: Ghanaian electorates perceived attitudes toward 2020 presidential elections	Model 1	Model 2
Negative frames (vs. positive frames)	032 (.012)	
Negative frames (vs. control)		.014 (.031)
Positive frames (vs. control)		.022 (.011)
Adjusted R-square	.221	.021
N	2,702	2,702

Note. Standard errors are in parentheses. The scale (1=negative attitudes to 5=positive) was used for the dependent variable Ghanaian electorate's perceived attitudes toward the 2020 elections. OLS = ordinary least squares; DV = dependent variable.

p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

We compared respondents in the nine regions of Ghana and found out that they rated the news stories (audio or video) similarly. However, there existed some remarkable inter-regional differences. Generally, news stories (audio or video) were perceived as most credible in Greater Accra, Ashanti, Northern, Oti, and Bong East Regions and least credible in Upper West, Upper East, Western, and Central Regions. Overall, it can be concluded that although there existed some clear variations in terms of credibility between experimental groups, it was quite modest. To add to that, it is not a surprise that there exists some form of variation because the discourse about general elections between regions in Ghana slightly differs. To test the hypotheses and provide the answers to the research question, further statistical analysis was carried out on news framing results on attitudes towards the 2020 general

elections in Ghana. There was a sequence of Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) which led to the performing of regression analysis, and all other analyses were done through SPSS.

4. Results

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Table 1 (Model 1) indicates that the participants who were exposed to some form of negatively framed audio news stories did not show any form of negative attitude compared to those who were exposed to video news stories that were positively framed. To add to that, Model 1 indicates that both the participants who were exposed to positive frames and those who were exposed to negative frames differed from those who were in the control condition. This, therefore, is a clear indication that $H1_a$ and $H1_b$ are not supported.

The analysis of $H2_a$ and $H2_b$ showed that negative episodic could result in a highly negative attitude towards Ghana's presidential election 2020. Compared with the positive attitudes, the thematic news frames led to positive episodic news frames than thematic news frames. As indicated in Table 2, both negative episodic frames and negative thematic frames were similar.

Table 2

Episodic Vs. Thematic Frames Effects on Ghanaian Electorate's Perceived Attitudes toward 2020 Elections

DV: Attitudes toward presidential elections 2020	Model 1	Model 2
Negative episodic frames (vs. negative thematic frames)	021 (.013)	
Positive episodic frames (vs. positive thematic frames)		.018 (.014)
Adjusted R-square	.111	.103
N	2,702	2,702
		10 1 1 1

Note. Standard errors are in parentheses. The scale (1=negative attitudes to 5=positive) was used for the dependent variable Ghanaian electorate's perceived attitudes toward the 2020 elections. Ordinary Least Squares=OLS; Dependent variable=DV.

p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

The outcome (Table 2) is a clear indication that there were substantial effects in Upper East Region but not in the other regions. Respondents who watched and listened to negative news stories were discovered to be exhibiting negative attitudes compared to those who watched and listened to positive news stories (B = -.021, p = .011). It is also notable that the participants who were exposed to negative frames showed a highly positive attitude more than those in control groups (negative conditions) (B=.112, p = .011). The participants who acquired positive frames were different from those of the control group (B = .211, p = .002). This is a clear indication of how positive frames led to stronger effects compared to the negative frames in the Upper East region, contradicting $H1_b$. The thematic effect was not experienced, and neither was it observed in other regions. In general, there existed some form of cross-regional differences. However, the overall pattern of the outcome did not change because few framing effects were experienced.

As a way of finding out the level of robustness, all analyses were carried out, but without including participants who did not pass the checks. They included participants who were unable to know the voices of the gender of personalities reading the new news stories. Overall, 1023 participants were not included in the analyses. On average, there were 114 participants per region. This sample did not have any effect on the outcome of the study, but there were two exceptions which include the difference between positive and negative frames. It was found that the control group was more prominent in the Upper East. However, negative frames still led and resulted in substantial negative attitudes of electorates, while (B = -.121; p = .046) represented positive frames. The other exception was that news frames that were positive episodic could easily result in some more positive thematic news frames (H2_b). These were well supported in Greater Accra Region (B = .301, p = .001).

5. Discussion

This study was conversant with the fact that through the utilization of their framing, media was expected to play a role in influencing the attitude of the citizens during the 2020 presidential election in Ghana. Though the hypotheses were mainly based on framing theory together with initial findings, the study

concluded that the effects of framing were weak and not as robust as initially expected across the various regions sampled for this study in Ghana. More specifically, some effects pointed out that negatively framed news stories resulted in unacceptable and negative attitudes compared to news stories that were framed positively, especially in the Upper East region, where episodic news stories promoted negative attitudes compared to negative thematic news stories in the Upper East region. It is also worth noting that news stories that were framed negatively about elections resulted in a highly negative attitude among those who were not educated in Ashanti Region. However, there was no such moderation effect attached to thematic frames, even though it did not affect the overall pattern.

One other answer can be put this way, although several studies point to the fact that it is not always true that media can change the perception and attitude of the public (Theorin et al., 2021). Citizens are always fortified with all manner of sources of resistance to the influence of media (Strömbäck et al., 2020). Based on the findings stipulated in this study, it is worthy of deducing that strong attitudes tend to minimize media effects possibilities (Hopmann et al., 2015). News media framing of issues tends to influence citizens' attitudes, as well as interpretation of the issue at hand, which has not yet been settled (Newman & Fletcher, 2017). The fact that the general elections within Ghana started about three decades ago and have been debated upon for some time limits the scope for framing effects. This can also be interpreted that citizens might be considerably acquainted with debates for and against democratic elections and might reduce the possibilities of going through a new story to influence their general attitudes.

Moreover, the high political interest and the development of multiparty democracy among Ghanaians are likely to make the citizens resistant towards media coverage, especially on issues to do with general elections in Ghana, as opposed to media coverage about elections in other countries of the world. It is essential to note that this does not mean that media frames have no effects on citizens during electioneering periods in those countries. Shehata (2014) points out that if a previous attitude reduces the effects of framing during measurements, it is not outright knowledge that framing has weak effects because prior attitudes themselves can be a result of the earlier media frames diffusion. To learn more about such implications, the researchers recommend future studies to broaden the perspective analyses of the long-term effects of media frames and their resultant effects on the opinions of the public.

There is a likelihood that one may ask about the high level of inconsistencies in the research results on the attitudes of the citizens towards elections. Publication bias is one of the possible explanations because, according to Newman and Fletcher (2017), publications of studies are mainly influenced by the directions of the findings. Newman and Fletcher (2017) again point out that studies that show no effects cannot be easily published. Though it is uncommon to find such biased publications, research on framing effects that are related to the attitude of the citizens and elections, in general, cannot be overlooked.

Also, the contradictions that are visible with research work that was carried out before can be brought about because of a wider definition of emphasis frames. According to Theorin et al. (2021), the emphasis-based definition of frames can play a role in influencing framing effects to appear as though it is more powerful compared to the way they overlap with other media theories. The researchers such as Theorin et al. (2021) also concur that the comparison between several studies regarding the subject would be simplified. Conversely, as pointed out before emphasis, frames are nearer to journalist news coverage compared to equivalent frames. This is the reason why most research has mainly focused on the emphasis frame (Scheufele, 1999).

It is important to note that the absence of hypothesized effects and the unpredictable outcome cannot be compared to the lack of results. This particular study mainly focuses on how media influences elections and electorates-related attitudes. The study explains how news framing does not easily change opinions. There was no support for the estimate, which stated that negative frames tend to give some little stronger effects compared to positive frames. Among the possible explanation for the above occurrence is that issues that are related to elections are, in most cases, negatively framed. Therefore, citizens might have become more accustomed to these frames leading to a decrease in the impact on attitudes. This is in line with research that was carried out on habituation, which revealed that repeated

exposure to the same environment is likely to reduce the level of response to that stimulus (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2014).

One other outcome which needs further study is the inconsequential outcomes of episodic vs. thematic frames, especially when undertaking analyses. This relates to studies on elections which point to the fact that election attitudes of people are mainly based on how they perceive political, social, and economic influence on the country as a whole and not on the perception of how elections change their living conditions (Asghar et al., 2019). Even though research points to exemplars as an important feature of episodic frames being a likely influencer of the perception of people of the general conditions, as pointed out by Matthes et al. (2017), the participants may have recognized that thematic news stories gave more information about the national outcome. This may play a role in the cancelation of the stronger effects that are experienced by exemplars, given that only one moderating effect of education was the fact that election attitudes are mainly based on the level of perceptions of the general nation and not personal consequences.

The result of the inability of the present study to identify framing effects cannot be misconstrued as that framing effect must at all times be created on the elections and citizens' attitudes. For example, it might be that a stronger reinforcement effect can be experienced in case the participants decide to either listen to or watch positive or negative news stories. Significantly, the few news frames effects were exposed within the same frame were experienced. If it happens, it would be in line with the outcome of a previous study regarding the nature in which media played a role in influencing the opinion of the public about elections (Zhang & Jin, 2017). To be specific, the researchers discovered a significant level of a single-sided flow of news, either positive or negative, which swayed the opinion of the general public, leaving out a more mixed flow of information.

In conclusion, although several moderating effects of education were discovered, it is essential to note that other factors are likely to impact new frames and the perceived attitudes of electorates in Ghana. For example, it is likely to be interesting to find out the significance of knowledge of the politics of an area. This is because this knowledge forms the most crucial individual-based moderators used in the moderation effects (Hart, 2011). It has also been proved that those who have little knowledge about specific issues of interest are easily swayed by news regarding citizens' perceived attitudes and elections (Asghar et al., 2019). Zhang and Jin (2017) suggested that while perceived attitude is likely to influence moderating roles, our findings showed that negative and positive perceived attitudes regarding the 2020 presidential elections could be reinforced by electorates who demonstrated negative or positive attitudes about elections. It is also expected that the stronger perceived attitude is more resistant to change. Since general elections are constitutional rights of Ghanaians and other developing countries across the globe, research carried out on the role of media in shaping the known attitudes towards elections is regarded as something that is of high societal significance. Therefore, any other research that will look into these issues will be appreciated.

Disclosure Statement

The authors claim no conflict of interest.

Funding

The research did not receive any specific grants from any funding agencies.

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