Topic:

The Representation of the OTHER in Not Explicitly Polarised Issues:
An Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis

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Abstract

This project report aims at investigating whether in Ghana politics unequal relations can be identified in political news discourses in a state-owned newspaper on not explicitly polarised issues. The project is based on the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), particularly, the textual dimension of Fairclough’s three-dimensional model.

In the project, I conducted an analysis of samples of Ghanaian news articles in one of the state-owned newspapers, the Daily Graphic, on politics in Ghana as a case study, focusing on how the representation of the “Other” is enacted in the text, as an epitome that CDA can be applied to “alternative” settings. Here, “alternative” settings refer to contexts in which a conflict is not the topic of the discourse. As shown by the analysis, unequal power relations are reflected in political news discourses in a state-owned newspaper on not explicitly polarised issues in the politics of Ghana, and this demonstrates that the scope of CDA can be broadened to include “alternative” settings.
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Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

The representation of the Other in political news discourses in the world over is not a novel and unprecedented phenomenon. On the contrary, beginning with, at least the latter part of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century\textsuperscript{1}, the representation of the Other in political news discourse has increasingly become prominent, synchronised with demographic and political developments of individual countries in the world as well as a trend towards a more globalised world order\textsuperscript{2}. In this context, the quest for exploring the weight and power of Other-representation in political news discourses, being undertaken by this project, can be seen as challenging, and yet central in terms of generating epistemological contribution.

Developed against the backdrop of the idea of Otherness and its implications for representation in political news discourses this project aims at investigating whether news discourses on a political or, in alternative terminology, not explicitly polarised issues, are reflective of unequal power dynamics in the politics of Ghana. One of the main conceptions that would penetrating the project report and thus, a comprehensive analytical tool to consider these unequal power relations dynamics with, is the theoretical and methodological dichotomy of Us versus (vs.) Them, developed by a number of scholars and delineated in the subsequent chapters. In the framework of this project, the differentiation between Us and Them becomes significant in the way it empowers the objective (of the project) to uncover unequal power relations in political news discourses in the politics of Ghana, thus sharpening the focus of the analysis. In general, it could be argued that this conceptualisation is tailored for a dual application with CDA\textsuperscript{3}, the approach adopted in this project, since the latter too emphasise unequal power relations, and regards them as maintained by discursive practices (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002: 64).

Naturally, one way in which my approach to CDA diverges from the mainstream, is in its shift in attention towards exploring Otherness in alternative contexts (alternative to the contexts usually depicted by CDA scholars). In this connection, I refer to the literature review of issues treated by CDA analysts over a period of time. In my case, an epitome of an alternative setting, presented as a case study in the project report, has been the representation of the Other and in most cases, vice versa in the politics of Ghana\textsuperscript{4}, which have been covered extensively by Ghanaian – based state-owned (or state-controlled) newspaper the Daily Graphic\textsuperscript{5}.

\textsuperscript{1} Teun van Dijk (1988) among others reviewed the earlier studies of news discourses
\textsuperscript{2} For instance, see Stubbs and Underhill (eds.) 2006: Political Economy and the Changing Global Order
\textsuperscript{3} Critical Discourse Analysis is an inter-discipline approach to the study of discourses. It considers language to be a form of social practice and focuses on how power relations are reproduced in, among others, text.
\textsuperscript{4} Political Parties participation in Ghana since 1992
\textsuperscript{5} A state-owned newspaper with outlets in all 10 administrative regions and the 138 districts of the country
In accordance with the terminology outlined above and given the theoretical framework of my research on *Us* vs. *Them*, power relations are represented in my project by the ruling political party in Ghana as *Us* and the political party in the opposition as *Them*. To make these ideas operationalized and to illustrate my case study, a sample of the Daily Graphic of Ghana news articles have been analysed, based on a theoretical framework adapted from the approaches of CDA analysts Norman Fairclough and Teun van Dijk.

The analysis, presented in detail further in the project, shows that representation of the *Other* in political news discourses on not explicitly polarised issues reflects a clear differentiation between *Us* (the ruling party) and *Them* (opposition party) and this trend is reversed any time there is a swing of political pendulum, instances, can be drawn from January 7, 2001 and January 7, 2009 respectively when there were change of governments in Ghana politics. This is enacted in the text through different constructions based on negative other-presentation and positive self-presentation. Hence, the negative characteristics of *Them* tend to be emphasised and fore-grounded, while their positive features are usually de-emphasised and back-grounded. *Us* on the hand, is predominantly implicitly constructed and presented in a sharp contrast to *Them*.

Although in modern democracies and based on globally shared notion of the press which translate into the assumption that newspapers report political events and social developments truthfully and thus control those in power, reflect the state of being in society and allow citizens to understand and act appropriately to the socio-political complexities they found themselves. But, in Ghana politics ideological biases are linguistically embedded in the written reports of the ruling political parties in the Daily Graphic newspaper thus buttressing the assumption that the state-owned newspaper provide a perspective that is far free from subjective interpretation of events in Ghana politics, on the contrary, it tends to construct reality in a manner congruent with underlying ideological and political functions.

And, the consequences of these biased coverage in Ghana politics are that the state-owned newspapers discourses are biased, skewed in favour of the ruling political parties, even when the opposition parties are given voice, they are not given the same speaking space and these reveal the asymmetrical reproduction of unequal power relations between the political parties and operation of *Us* vs. *Them* framework by the Daily Graphic when reporting political news event in Ghana politics. Secondly, the actions of the state-owned newspaper any time or when there are swings of political pendulum translate into the assumption that it did not give important and correct information about matters of public interest to the Ghanaian citizens when reporting on political events. Finally, the Daily Graphic is rather part of the problem of the unequal power relations and the, *Us* vs. *Them*, polarisation than part of its solution in Ghana politics since 1992 due to its ideological and political functions.

Based on the analysis, it can be concluded that the given texts reflect unequal power relations as well as wider structural inequalities in general, leading to the overall conclusion that unequal power relations are indeed identified in political news discourses on not explicitly polarised issues, which is the case with politics in Ghana. Furthermore, these discourses contribute to the reproduction of unequal power relations since they, both, report and reflect
on *Us vs. Them* ideological polarisation. Nonetheless, at the same time, it should be emphasised that the analysis also reveals that although the selected texts overwhelmingly draw on the *Us vs. Them* paradigm, some of them reflect slightly different discursive tendencies, aiming at bridging the *Us vs. Them* polarisation and emphasising solidarity and commonality, rather than difference, and negotiation and consensus rather than conflict in Ghanaian politics. Moreover, tendencies were detected in the political news articles which would be geared towards accepting the possibility of a meaningful social change and inclining towards diminishing social inequalities. With these specificities in mind, I now turn to delineating my research area.

### 1.2 Motivation

The idea behind this project was an outcome of a desire to investigate how the media in Ghana, represent political parties in opposition different from the ruling political parties, guided by the question “do state-owned newspaper articles in Ghana, in their political reportage become fraught with tribal/ethnic connotations and/or prejudicial statements when the subject in question is in opposition?”

I was born in Ghana, a country that had experienced two most repressive and draconian military dictatorship in 1979 (from June 4 to September 24, 1979) and from December 31, 1981 to December 31, 1992 all through the hands of one man, Flight Lieutenant (Flt. Lt.) Jerry John Rawlings. In those instances, political party activities were banned, constitutions suspended, people, including (three) former military head of states, were executed by firing squad and the media were cowered to play a “lapdog” role for the fear of their live. Then on January 7, 1993 Ghana returned to constitutional democracy after international and domestic pressures were brought to bear on the ruling military regime at that time and the country had ever since enjoyed and experienced a peaceful changed of governments from one ruling political party to an opposition party on 2 occasions, live in an atmosphere of peace and the media are now fulfilling its mandated role as watchdogs to the best of its ability.

In the past five years, I have spent a lot time debating and discussing a social canker, that is, the representation of the *Other* in Ghana politics, which has the potential to derail the democratic gains achieved so far, both for personal and also for intellect reasons. Even though I am talking about the country of my birth and where I have spent almost all my life, I am puzzled and alarmed about these tendencies because these are most of the justification used by power-hungry Ghanaian soldier or soldiers to stage coup d’états. Why are politicians representing their opponents negatively? Where did, these negative representation of the

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6 This is based on the findings of the analysis

7 He attempted a coup on May 15, 1979 which he failed and was being court martialled when the June 4, 1979 was staged. Rawlings is known in Ghana politics as a “serial coup d’état maker”

8 Soldiers in Ghana had the tendency of overthrowing democratically elected government, even when they do not have the basis for that action
Other for cheap political gains come from?⁹ And where are these negative tendencies leading us to as Ghanaians in our political journey?

Based on the above, my motivation to write this project stems from two (2) basic notions about the representation of the Other in the politics of Ghana. The first motivation involves the belief that politics in the 21st century had become increasingly important in our globalised world, thus becoming a catalyst of a better communication where democracy and rule of law prevail and curbing or reducing tribal/ethnic tensions, which in most part of Africa had the tendencies of resulting in civil or tribal wars, massacre or genocide. Examples can be drawn from Rwanda, Liberia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, La Cote d’Ivoire and Nigeria, just to mention a few.

The second motivation is related to the weight of communicative power of the media, in the sense that the media have the power, resources and the ability to influence how individuals, institutions and societies shape their political identities, and how to represent the Other, that is, the opposition political parties different from the ruling political parties, mostly in the African continent. This second motivation has its basis on an eagerness to learn about and explore the possibilities of analysing language in use as it is conceptualised by the field of discourse analysis.

Taking this as a point of departure, the project aims at investigating whether unequal power relations can be traced in political news discourses about issues in Ghana politics, in which there is no explicit polarisation of powers. The combination of the above stated motivations would culminated in the interest in a particular school of discourse studies, where the main aim of which would be to relate the study of language in use to its social implications in the maintenance and reproduction of social and power inequalities: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

1.3 Research Area

We live in a globalised society, which makes it difficulty either in the developed or developing countries to live a life oriented solely towards one’s own citizenship, religion, culture, economic and political orientation. This is so because the economic, political and social dynamics of our world are inserted into a complex matrix of relationships between individuals, organisations and institutions originated in different politics in this 21st century.

However, it is clear that these dynamics involve relations of power in which inequality is usually the rule, with some nations, organisations and institutions prevailing over others. In this context, the representation of different political parties (or groups) within particular discourses - and, consequently, its study - have increasingly become significant. Many researchers concerned with this matter argue that “language” plays an important role in the

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⁹ It seems Ghanaian politicians, have not learn any hard lessons and come to terms with why the military always take over since 1966
maintenance or rejection of state affairs, or as Richardson puts, there are some features of language that make it particular relevant to study power and social relations (2007: 10-14):

1. Language is social (ibid: 10): language represents social realities and contributes to the production and reproduction of social reality or social life.

2. Language use enacts identity: people project themselves as a certain type of person, and the identity that a person projects is related, partially, to the activities that they seek to accomplish, including communicative activities. In other words, the understanding of a communicative act is shaped, partially, by who is speaking or writing and the context in which this occurs.

3. Language use is active: language use is always directed at doing something and the way in which language achieves this activity is always related to the context in which it is being used. In this way, language use should be regarded as an activity or as a social activity.

4. Language use has power: this is not a democratic: some individuals’ speech is more powerful than others and, equally, some ways of communicating have more power than others.

5. Language use is political (ibid: 13): this is the logical outcome of assuming that language use is social and has power. Language is an instrument shaped according to material circumstances and according to the purpose that I want it to serve. It is also a medium of power that can be used to settle inequalities of power and legitimate iniquitous social relations by presenting facts in such a way that minimise the presence of inequalities.

The assumption that language (or discourse) plays a part in producing and reproducing social inequalities comes from the recognition that language represents social realities, which has been the main preoccupation of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) since its early stages. The overall aim of CDA has been “to link linguistic analysis to social analysis” (ibid: 26) and its interest lies particularly in relationships of disempowerment, dominance, prejudice and, or discrimination. In short, CDA aims at uncovering the role of discursive practices in the maintenance of unequal power relations. Another characteristics of CDA is its commitment to progressive social change, in the way language acts in resistance to hegemonic ideologies.

The work of language in the maintenance of social and power inequalities is usually related to how competing social groups manage ideologies in order to establish and maintain hegemony. One aspect of the struggle for hegemony, as put by Hall (1997), is the process of stereotyping, which leads to the classification of people and groups according to norms and constructs that exclude the Other (those who diverge from the world view, value system and ideology of the dominant group). The process of Othering implies a polarisation between Us (the dominant group) and Them (the outsiders or those deviant from “normalcy”), which has received increased interest from researchers working on the field of CDA.
Returning to the argument that language use has power and that this power is not democratically distributed, I could also argue that journalism is a powerful genre of communication, meaning that “it can help shape social reality by shaping our views of social reality” (Richardson 2007: 13). Acceptance of this view, consequently, implies the recognition of the importance of studying the discourse of journalism (as a type of media discourse) in order to uncover “the power of journalistic language to do things and the way that social power is indexed and represented in journalistic language” (Ibid).

This statement gains even more relevance when taking into consideration the view of one of the main theorists of CDA, Norman Fairclough, according to which, the media industry is a highly elite field, dominated by those who have economic, cultural or political power (Fairclough 1995a) and in Ghana the media with the highest patronage are state-owned; thus, media texts tend to represent the world according to the status quo.

Many researchers have applied CDA with an aim to unravel the ideology behind media discourse. However, by looking at the works of two (2) main theorists of CDA – Norman Fairclough and Teun Van Dijk – one can identify a tendency towards investigating the role of language in contentious contexts, such as discourses about race and immigration (in the case of Van Dijk) and politics and economy (especially related to the capitalist discourse; in the case of Fairclough). This could be related to the fact that, inspired by social theory, CDA takes its point of departure in the recognition of a social problem and then studies the role of language in the maintenance and reproduction of this problem.

My project does not seek to minimise the importance and relevance of such studies, nevertheless, I would argue that a substantial amount of problematic (and ideological) uses of language in the media have been disregarded by the field of CDA, with little attention given to issues in which it is not possible to identify an explicit polarisation, such as representation of the Other in politics by the media and other types of less politicised issues. In order to investigate whether this perception corresponds to reality, I proceeded with a literature review focused on two important scientific publications that deal with the matter of discourse, the journals: Discourse and Society and Discourse Studies.

### 1.4 Literature Review

I conducted a thorough research and review on issues published by two journals which are bi-monthly publications: (1) Discourse and Society – from January 2009 to November 2009 and (2) Discourse Studies – from December 2008 to October 2009. Excluding book reviews, I examined abstracts and key words in order to build a table of contents in which I identified the title of the articles, the authors and the main themes, including the methodological framework applied and the context of the analysis. I have to point out that a full text was only

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10 The aims and the framework of CDA will be discussed in depth as the project progresses
11 Refer to Appendix 2, page 94
examined when the abstract and the key words were not clear or specific enough. In this way, I examined a lot of articles however I narrowed down review to a few articles, which dealt specifically with CDA, to this end other methodologies which appeared in a large number in the articles reviewed, such as those on discourse analysis, conversation analysis and discursive psychology, did not receive much and careful attention because CDA was not central in them. But, in those articles in which CDA was central were categorised in terms of type of data source and themes addressed.

In terms of data source, I identified 5 types and these include: qualitative interviews (1); media – including television (TV) and image banks (12); internet forums (2); official – government or institutional – documents (4); and political speeches (2) while in terms of themes, I identified 12 different themes and these are: political campaigns (2); race, including slavery (2); gender (2); immigration/refugees (3); civil war (1); cultural conflicts (1); national identity (1); disability (1); and environment (1). In the review of the articles, I identified that, in the majority of them, the themes were analysed in a rather contentious contexts, in which there was an evident conflict or polarisation, nonetheless, I will illustrate the following examples to buttress the point:

1. An article “Defending whiteness indirectly: a synthetic approach to race discourse analysis” which appeared in the Discourse and Society journal, November 2009, deals with the theme of race through interviews in which white college students are stimulated to talk about race,

2. Another article “It’s not a matter of inhumanity: a critical discourse analysis of an apartment building circular on ‘homeless people’ that appeared in the Discourse and Society, May 2009, deals with the theme of social exclusion by analysing how an apartment circular addresses the “problem” of homeless people living close to the building,

3. The article which appeared in the Discourse and Society, March 2009 edition titled “Press 1 for English: textual and ideological networks in newspaper debate on US language policy” deals with the theme of race and immigration by analysing how newspapers portrayed a debate about changes in language policy in the United States,

4. In January 2009 edition of the Discourse and Society “Telling-it-like-it-is: the de-legitimation of the second Palestinian Intifada” deals with the theme of civil war, that is the conflict between the Palestinians and Israelis, by analysing how columns by Thomas Friedman in The New York Times represented the conflict,

5. Another article in Discourse and Society which appeared in January 2009 “Inter-textuality and national identity: discourse of national conflicts in daily newspapers in the United States and China” also deals with the theme of national identity by analysing the two newspapers, one American and the other Chinese, about two moments of conflicts between the United States and China – the NATO bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia in May 1999 during the Kosovo war and the air collision between a US military warplane and a Chinese jet-fighter in April 2001.

12 This will be illustrated at the table of contents in the Appendix 2, page 94
In the articles reviewed, only 3 dealt with themes in contexts in which there were no explicit conflict, and these are shown below:

1. The article “Language and ideology: gender stereotypes of female and male artists in Taiwanese tabloids” which appeared in November 2009 edition of Discourse and Society journal, deals with the theme of gender – specifically, gender stereotypes – by examining how a gossip in a tabloid Taiwanese newspaper represented female and male artists,

2. In March 2009, the article “Entrepreneurial identities and the problematic of subjectivity in media-mediated discourses” that appeared in the Discourse and Society journal also deals with the theme of gender, but by focusing on how articles from Indian newspapers and magazines portrayed women entrepreneurs in relation to discourses of patriarchy and femininity,

3. In an article that appeared in the Discourse Studies journal in December 2008 “Visually branding the environment: climate change as a marketing opportunity” deals with the theme of the environment by analysing how the image bank Getty Images promotes its archive of “green issues” through associating it with marketing opportunities.

If the abstract of my project is assessed, one could argue that the above 3 articles aim at revealing how unequal power relations are reflected and reproduced by discourses in which a conflict is not the main theme, that is, discourses which draw on a setting in which a polarisation is not explicit but still present, for instance, a polarisation between male and female in the first 2 articles and between an environmentalist discourse and a capitalist discourse in the third. Notwithstanding that, one could also argue that these articles belong to a “grey zone,” in other words, the way they differ from the usual approach of CDA is not easily conceptualised.

The literature review presented above, although, cannot be given quantitative importance and does not allow extrapolations and further generalisations, I would argue that it gives an indication of the main tendencies in CDA. Based on this consideration and also taking into account the limitations of the articles cited above, I would like to point out that the 3 aforementioned articles are to a degree in line with my claim that CDA could profit from a broadening of scope by focusing on less polarised discourses. As shown or illustrated by the articles, discourses on not explicitly polarised issues could contribute significantly to analysis on power relations, ideology and hegemony.

In order to crystallise the terminology which I would be employing throughout this project, it is significant for me to outline that the expression “not explicitly polarised issues” would be used to refer to issues in which there are no evident of polarisation, dichotomy or conflict between the different competing or opposed groups, or group’s ideologies, and more significantly, in situations where polarisation, dichotomy or conflict is not the topic of the discourse or more specifically, of the text in question.
Chapter Two

2.1 Background to the Project

This project is being undertaken in order to have a critical discourse perspective on Africa politics, particular in the case of Ghana politics since 1992, how they evolved, their characteristics and the relation between ruling political parties and their opponents in the opposition. This would be developed as the project progresses against the backdrop of the idea of Otherness and its implication for representation in political news discourses. This, I think, would allow investigation to be conducted to see whether news discourses on politics or on not explicitly polarised issues are reflective of unequal power dynamics in Ghana politics.

To unfold this, I would apply Van Dijk’s (1998: 33) concept of the ideological square, which is characterised by positive in-group description and negative out-group description in order to have a plausible explanation for my analysis of the selected 10 newspaper articles from the Daily Graphic of Ghana and I would also use the theoretical and methodological dichotomy of Us and Them as the two would empower the objective of the project to uncover whether news discourses on politics or on not explicitly polarised issues are reflective of unequal power relations in political news discourses in Ghana politics or not. It would also allow me to unearth and conclude the project on the basis of the representation of the Other in Ghana politics since 1992.

Africa as a continent is made up of fifty-four (54) countries with diverse cultural, political, economic and social backgrounds; and these characteristics always have the tendencies of creating potential tension or social unrest, detrimental, one way or the other, to the people or citizens in each of the 54 countries in the continent before and after independence. Also, the role of political parties in today’s democratic or political participation sweeping through the African continent and the representation of the Other in Africa politics by political leaders of their opponents in opposition, particularly, in Ghana politics cannot be over emphasized.

The late 1950s heralded what is described as the so-called years of African independence, because most African countries gained independence from their colonial masters, notably from Britain, France, Portugal and Belgium, with prospects and high expectations by their citizens of good life, provisions of social amenities, whetting up patriotism, fostering of national unity, good governance and social cohesion. However, these independence came with their own problems as most of the leaders whom fought for the independence became so power drunk that they turned out not to abide by the dictates and the norms of constitution they sworn to up-hold, used every means to hold on to power for life and to perpetuate their self interest, used divide and rule tactics to divide the population along tribal/ethnic and party (political) lines, and also represented their political opponents in negative terms, thus paving

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13 This ‘ideological square’ would be explained fully in subsequent pages
ways for arbitrarily arrest, torture, imprisonment and in some cases, assassination of political opponents on frivolous charges and unfounded accusations.

The map of Africa

These tendencies brought in its wake nepotism, tribal/ethnic tension, tyranny, dictatorship, bribery and corruption, harassment, torture and imprisonment of political opponents and stifling of rule law and freedom of speech. The end result of these tendencies were the numerous tribal/ethnic tensions resulting in civil wars, genocides and military coup d’états that swept across the continent in the latter part of the twentieth (20th) century, and their echoes still resonates at the start of the twenty-first (21st) century. Basically, these political and social problems stated above were, and still, based the representation of the Other in African politics. In light of the above assertion, some instances will be given to illustrate the point:

1. It was the representation of the Other in Nigeria politics that sparked the Nigerian Civil War from 1967 to 1970 in which the Ibos/Igbos under the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel Emeka Ojukwu proclaimed the independence of the new state of Biafra, thus the name “Biafra War.” (Meredith 2005: 193-205).

2. Again in Rwanda it was the representation of the Other between the Hutus and the Tutsi that sparked the civil war in 1990 and ended up with unprecedented genocide, which began on April 4, 1994, in the history of Africa (Meredith 2005: 485-523).
3. In Cote d’Ivoire (Ivory Coast), it is the representation of the Other that disintegrated into a civil war after a failed coup d’état on September 12, 2002, and this, has since, divided the country with 2 parallel governments (Nugent 2004: 478-480).  

4. Also it was the representation of the Other in Liberia between the ruling class (the freed slaves from America) and the indigenous that led to the first military coup d’état in 1980, and the protracted civil war which was a conflict in Liberia from 1989 to 1996 (Meredith 2004: 467-471).  

5. In Sudan, it was the representation of the Other between the South and the North that sparked the decades of armed conflict between the Sudanese People Liberation Army (SPLA) and the Khartoum government (the 1st was from 1955 to 1972 and the 2nd was from 1983 to 2005), which accounts for one of the highest civilian death of any war since World War 2 (Nugent 2004: 445-448).  

6. And in Ghana, all the military coup d’états in which the armed forces and the police staged successfully (in February 24, 1966; January 13, 1972; June 4, 1979; and December 31, 1981) which suspended the various republican constitutions and abrogated the rule of law were all due to the representation of the “Other” (Meredith 2004: 211-216 and Nugent 2004: 218-219), despite reasons given by the coup leaders.  

For the purpose of this project, I would limit myself to the representation of the Other in the politics of Ghana since the return of democratic rule in 1992 after years of brutal, repressive and the longest military rule; but I would start with its geographical position, history, political agitations during colonial period or before independence and after independence and the role of the media, particularly, the state-owned mass media.  

2.2 The History of Ghana  

The official country name is the Republic of Ghana. Ghana means the “Warrior King” (Jackson 2001: 201) and was derived from and was the title accorded to the Kings of the medieval West Africa (Stearns (ed.): 2001: 813; 1050). The Republic of Ghana before independence from the United Kingdom was called the Gold Coast, a name given by the British merchants because of the gold resources they found when they started to trade in the area by the middle of 17th century. It is a country located in West Africa and is bordered by Cote d’Ivoire to the west, Burkina Faso to the north, Togo to the east, and the Gulf of Guinea to the south. Geographically, it covers an area of 238,538 square kilometres (92,100 square millimetres) and is only a few degrees north of the Equator.  

The climate in Ghana is tropical. The eastern coastal belt is warm and comparatively dry; the southwest corner is hot and humid; and the north is hot and dry. There are two (2) distinct rainy seasons in the south of the country, that is, from May to June and August to September, and in the north, the rainy seasons tend to merge. A dry, north eastern wind, called the

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15 Even the just conducted election (2010) had compounded the division and the political problem further as two parallel Presidents have been sworn in  
16 Also known in West Africa as Charles Taylor’s civil war
Harmattan, blows in January and February every year and the annual rainfall in the coastal zone averages 83 centimetres - 33 inches (Bureau of African Affairs: 2010).

Ghana is divided into ten (10) administrative regions and sub-divided into a total of 138 districts, each with its own District Assembly. The regions with their capitals are as follows: (1) Upper West-capital-Wa; (2) Upper East-capital-Bolgatanga; (3) Northern-capital-Tamale; (4) Brong-Ahafo-capital-Sunyani; (5) Ashanti-capital-Kumasi; (6) Western-capital- Sekondi-Takoradi; (7) Central-capital-Cape Coast; (8) Eastern-capital-Koforidua; (9) Greater Accra-capital-Accra; and (10) Volta-capital-Ho. Below the district are various types of councils, including 58 towns; 108 zonal councils, 626 area councils and 16,000 unit committees on the lowest level. Ghana is also home to Lake Volta the largest artificial or man-made lake in the world by surface area built in 1965 to generate electricity, provide inland transportation and is a potential valuable resource for irrigation and fish farming (Ghana News Agency, Accra, Ghana).

Ghana has a population of twenty-four (24) million (according to 2010 estimate by the Ghana Statistical Service) and the population is concentrated along the coast and the principal cities of Accra (the capital) and Kumasi. Ghana is divided into small groups speaking more than fifty (50) languages and dialects. Among the more important groups are the Akans, which include the Fantis along the coast, the Ashantis in the forest region north of the coast, the Akyems and the Akwapims on the eastern coast, the Guans on the plains of the Volta River, the Ga and Ewe speaking peoples of the south and southeast, and the Moshi and Dagomba speaking tribes of the northern and upper regions of the country. Notwithstanding that English is the official language, taught in all the schools and it pre-dominates government and business/commercial affairs.

Ghana is the second largest producer of cocoa after in the world and it remains one of the world’s top gold producers. Other exports such as timber, electricity, bauxite, manganese and diamond are another source of foreign exchange for the country. An oilfield which is reported to contain up to 3 billion barrels (480,000,000m3) of light oil was discovered in 2007 and this is expected to bring in tremendous inflow of capital into the economy begin the last quarter of 2010 when the country starts producing to be sold through licensed counter-parts in commercial quantities. An Accra based radio station, Citi (Frequency Modulation) FM, broadcasted on Wednesday, December 15, 2010 that officially Ghana has become oil producing nation after the President, John Evans Atta Mills turned the valve to pump the first oil in one of the world’s biggest recent oil-field discovery. The Jubilee oil field’s production is pegged at 120,000 barrels per day according to the FM station.

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17 Ghana leader: Oil reserves at 3B barrels-Yahoo! News
2.3 Historical Development of Political Parties in Ghana

In August 1947, two years after the Second World War, the first political party in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) was formed and it was named the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC). Its motto or slogan was “self government within the shortest possible time” and the leaders invited Dr. Kwame Nkrumah home after 12 years of study and radical politics in the USA and Britain to become the full-time General-Secretary of the party. The UGCC which
awakened fervent national consciousness in the Gold Coast was what might be described as a “liberal group” and this attitude did not please Dr. Nkrumah, so following disagreement of ideologies, Dr. Nkrumah left the UGCC and formed a radical and nationalist party – Convention People’s Party (CPP) on June 12, 1949 with its slogan “self government now” (History of Ghana: 2010).

After all the disagreement over form of government that independent Gold Coast needed to fashion, it turned out that the choice of Dr. Nkrumah and the CPP for a unitary administration, as opposed to ethno-regionalism or federation in 1956 (by the opposition) was more efficacious for the size and population of the Gold Coast and the British accepted. Also, on the road to independence the CPP, led by Dr. Nkrumah won national elections in 1951, 1954 and in 1956 – in which CPP won 71 out of the 104 contested seats. The British Togoland was part of a former German colony administered by the United Kingdom from Accra, Ghana as a League of Nations mandate after 1922. In December 1946, British Togoland became a United Nations (UN) Trust Territory, and in March 6, 1957, following a plebiscite, the UN agreed that the territory would become part of Ghana when the Gold Coast achieved independence (now the Volta Region of Ghana). This action opened the way for Ghana’s independence and on the March 6, 1957, thus becoming the first country in Africa, south of the Sahara to gain independence. Ghana however became a republic on July 1, 1960 with Dr. Nkrumah becoming the first president (ibid: 2010).

To varying degrees political parties up to date expressed different identities, especially, in the transition from colonial rule to independent nationhood. Some of the political parties were formed to express sub-national or ethnic, for example, the opposition National Liberation Movement (NLM) which was ethno-based party that argued for secession and announced the idea on November 20, 1956; regional, religious or supra-national identities, for example the CPP of Dr. Nkrumah, which advocated for “total liberation of Africa” else the independence of Ghana was meaningless. Invariably however, all of them were guided by a single dynamic logic: namely, the burning desires to exercise the democratic rights which people all over the world cherish: namely, the right to free choice, to self-determination, to association, and the right to associate freely.

Invariably also, the emergence of political parties was linked to elections through which the core values of democracy were affirmed. That is, the struggle for the franchise was linked closely to the struggle for political and civil rights – of freedom and self-determination (Ninsin: 2006).

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18 This action of the opposition-National Liberation Movement (NLM) and the subsequent announcement of succession idea at a political rally in Kumasi in November 20, 1956 in the pre-independence of Gold Coast plunged the country into chaos and violence unprecedented in the political history of the country

19 This statement was made by Dr. Nkrumah at his independence speech at Old Polo Ground in Accra
2.4 Reasons for Military Take-overs/Coup d’états

About half of Ghana’s life as independent country has been spent under military rule (through coup d’états) and during those periods: 1966 – 1969; 1972 – 1979 and 1981 – 1992, suspension of republican constitutions, encroachment of fundamental human rights of the citizens and banning of political activities always come with them. There are factors that always led to these coup d’états in Ghana and to put them into right perspective I would start with the first coup in Ghana. In 1958, Dr. Nkrumah used the “Prevention Detention Act,” which provided for detention without trial for up to 5 years (later extended to 10 years) to silence the voice and imprison the opposition leaders due to their alleged political tactics; in August 1960, Dr. Nkrumah was given authority by the Legislative Assembly to scrutinise newspapers and other publications before publication and this political evolution continued into the early 1964 when a constitutional referendum changed the country to a “one-party state” and subsequently declared himself a ‘Life President.’ Thus, on February 24, 1966, while he was in Beijing on his way to Hanoi, vainly attempting to mediate in the Vietnam War (Meredith 2005: 192), the Ghanaian Armed Forces and the Police overthrew him, The new military regime – the National Liberation Council (NLC) – headed by Lieutenant General (Lt. Gen.) J. A. Ankrah, cited Dr. Nkrumah’s flagrant abuse of individual rights and liberties, corruption, oppression, dictatorial practices and the rapidly deteriorating economy as the principle reasons or justification for its action.

Ghana returned to civilian rule under the Second Republic in October 1969 after a parliamentary election in which the Progress Party (PP) led by Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia won. Dr. Busia government’s problems started when his economic management was called into question when trade liberalisation policy he introduced led to a flood of imports and a foreign exchange squeeze; his attempt to impose austerity measures did not go down well with urban workers and, following a head-on confrontation, his government dissolved both the Trade Union Congress (TUC) and the National Union of Ghanaian Students (NUGS), although he had always presented himself as a committed democrat, gradually revealed an unexpected willingness to transgress the rules of the democracy. Thus following a decision to dismiss over 550 civil servants in 1970 (a disproportionate number of whom were alleged to be Ewes (from the Volta Region) he launched an ill-considered attack on the judiciary when it ruled against him (Nugent 2004: 213). His government doom was sealed when he tried to impose austerity on the Armed Forces which the army saw as a step too far, thus on January 13, 1972, the military intervened for the second time – on this occasion without the assistant of the police. The new military regime the National Redemption Council (NRC) and later Supreme Military Council (headed by Colonel/General I. K. Acheampong justified the coup d’état on various grounds: authoritarianism of the PP government, its mismanagement of the economy, blatant tribalism and, most disarmingly of all, the complaint that Busia was removing the ‘few small amenities’ which the officer corps had enjoyed (ibid: 213).

20 A party from the Danquah tradition: Dr. J. B. Danquah was one the prominent founders of UGCC and stood against Dr. Nkrumah in 1960 as a presidential candidate and lost
By 1975, corruption was on high ascendency and life was becoming unbearable for Ghanaians, thus, students of the country universities were the first to Gen. Acheampong’s bluff and the various campuses were raided, attacked and closed over 1975 – 1976; then the Ghana Bar Association demanded a rapid return to civilian rule in September, 1976; the next to follow suit in June 1976 was the Association of Recognised Professional Bodies (ARPB) which went a step further by openly criticised the corruption and mismanagement of the SMC and gave the regime until July 1, 1976 to resign – this ultimatum was followed by a strike. On June 4, 1979, the SMC was overthrown and an Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) was set up under the chairmanship of Flt. Lt. Rawlings. The AFRC carried out a “house cleaning” exercise (Hasty 2001:350) in the armed forces and the society at large, resulting in the execution of 8 senior officers, including 3 former head of states, namely: Gen. Akuffo, Acheampong, and Gen. Afrifa, by firing squad, while restoring a sense of moral responsibility and the principle of accountability and probity in public life. True to their words, elections were conducted, in the parliamentary elections and on September 24, 1979, Ghana was ushered into the Third Republic and Dr. Hilla Limann of the People’s National Party (PNP) was sworn in as President.

The issues that faced his administration were the economy, inflation, which already exceedingly high when he took office and more than doubled during his term in office and coupled with sharp decline in the value of the Ghanaian currency, the cedi and the growing national debt, led to the slowing of the economy. These factors crippled his administration’s ability to deliver on its promises and by early 1980, the first ripples of discontent started to become apparent when students and workers began to strike, and in extreme cases, riot. The final blow that his administration received was a condemnation of its performance, when for the first time in Ghana’s history, a government’s proposed budget failed to gain parliament approval. The opposition PFP slammed the budget, calling it out as unsatisfactory to curb the country’s urgent economic problems. Also, based on official bribery and corruption in the government circles and Flt. Lt. Rawlings’s continued political activities doomed the Limann government. On December 31, 1981, Flt. Lt. Rawlings overthrown the government, becoming the Chairman of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) (ibid: 350).

2.5 The Role of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana Politics

He suppressed sectarianism and ethno/tribalism in Ghana, brought a sense of national unity among Ghanaians and infused the spirit of oneness and pride into Ghanaians and within ten years of his government was able to undertake developmental projects such as building of schools, hospitals/clinics, a harbour and a modern city, new international airport, ironically, named after one of the coup leaders who overthrew him (Kotoka International Airport, Accra), established free qualitative education, free medical service of the highest standard to every Ghanaian, etc, unequal by any of his predecessors. Thus, one can argued that it was due to his “good fortune” (Barreca (afterword) 2008: 10) which he has no controlled over as said by Machiavelli and for a better historical reputation for posterity that the February 23, 1966
coup d’état occurred so as not obliterate his achievements, else he could have, maybe, ended up like Idi Amin of Uganda and Mugabe of Zimbabwe whom people, debatably, despise.

He has now become large-than-life and towers above every politician even in death; Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park (a historical park), which houses Nkrumah Mausoleum and a Museum, has been built in Accra as tourist centre and as a honour to him; secondly, his birthday (September 21) has been instituted as “Founder’s Day” by parliament and celebrated as a national holiday; thirdly, one of the two universities he built has been renamed after him – Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Kumasi; fourthly, in a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) Listeners’ polls conducted in December 1999 to select the “Greatest African” of the 20th century and “Africa’s Man of the Millennium” listeners voted for Dr. Nkrumah; and, finally, in September 2010 as a part of activities to 50 years of African Independence, BBC African Services decided to conduct a poll and 50 African personalities, including Dr. Nkrumah, were chosen as the continent’s Most Iconic Figures/Personalities, just to mention a few, all for his role in the formation of the Organisation of Africa Unity (OAU) today called the African Union (AU) in 1963 (Ghana News Agency, Accra).

2.6 Political Party Systems under the 1992 Constitution

The 1992 Constitution under which democratic rule was restored guarantees various political and civil rights, including the right to form political associations, speak freely, choose who to govern the country, and the right to participate in the government of the country in other forms. Like their predecessors, the political parties that currently exist have been driven by the core values of democracy. The country’s history of military dictatorship and abuse of human rights were compelling reasons for insisting on the freedom to form political parties which, from experience, are regarded as the embodiment of the basic freedoms that are core to democratic political practice. Thus, since the restoration of democracy and the introduction of the 1992 constitution Ghana has maintained continuous progress towards strengthening fundamental freedoms and rights and developing a multi-party democracy (1992 Constitution of Ghana).

A highly competitive political environment and an electoral commission with strong reputation and a good track record in organising elections provided the backdrop to all the presidential and parliamentary elections. Elections are held for president, who is elected head of state for a maximum of two-year terms and 230 parliamentary members in which the parliamentarians are popularly elected for a four-year term in a single seat constituencies using the first-past-the-post election system. Periodic general elections have taken place since 1992 to date – the last held one was in December 2008 (Electoral Commission of Ghana). Hence, between May 1992 (Ninsin: 2006), when the ban on political parties was lifted and November of the same year, 13 political parties were registered, but the two largest political parties that dominate contemporary politics in Ghana are the National Democratic Congress (NDC), founded by Flt. Lt. Rawlings and the National Patriotic Party (NPP).
2.7 Political Ideologies of the Two Largest Political Parties in Contemporary Ghana

Whilst the two largest political parties the NPP and NDC claim to have divergent ideological or political views, their manifestos for all the elections when scrutinised closely are fundamentally similar with little to differentiate the two parties in terms of policy directions. The NPP, presently the party in opposition, had emerged from an old political tradition dating back to UGCC (of the Danquah-Busia tradition), hence regarding itself as a “liberal party.” NPP as a political party claims credentials as epitome of liberalism among the political parties; emphasizes its dogmatic attachment to free enterprise as the foundation of social progress, thus adopting “the private sector is the engine of growth” as its economic policy slogan. For the NPP, the overriding economic policy objective is to achieve macro-economic stability through fiscal prudence, low inflation rate, low bank interest rate, and so on. In general, it believes that creating the enabling environment for the private sector to flourish is the only way to encourage the growth of a dynamic private sector, and create wealth; because it is only the private sector that can create wealth and engineer national progress and prosperity (NPP Manifesto: 2008).

On the other hand, the NDC, presently the governing party, claims to be a social democratic party (“social democrats”), the same ideology espoused by Dr. Nkrumah’ Convention People’s Party (CPP). Based on its manifesto (NDC Manifesto: 2008), it seeks, according to its ideology, to harness the power of the free market in order to protect workers’ rights and reduce poverty, while supporting the rule of law and up-holding basic human rights.

These ideological labels notwithstanding, the differences in terms practical policies are minimal. The NDC, which was in power from 1993 to 2000 originated from the PNDC, the military regime at the period which was headed by Flt. Lt. (later President) Rawlings for 11 solid years. In fact, the NDC was formed in 1992, and led by Rawlings and his supporters when the ban on party politics was lifted to win both the presidential and parliamentary elections of 1992 and 1996. When the party was launched in 1992 it declared its resolve to continue the policies of the PNDC. Therefore from January 1993 to January 2001, the NDC followed the neo-liberal economic policies implemented by the PNDC from 1983 to January 1993 under the dictate of the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and the donor community (Ninsin 2006).

It is significant to note that, during election campaigns in Ghana, none of these two leading political parties, the NPP and NDC, espouses economic policies or strategies that reject the neo-liberal policy framework dictated by the IFIs and the development partners. In fact they hardly campaign around policy issues. The only economic issue that distinguishes one from the other is the success or failure of the neo-liberal economic policies in eradicating the harsh economic conditions of the masses of the people when one or the other is in power. The non-ideological posture and the non-issue election campaigns of the political parties explain why Ghanaian voters are most likely to succumb to irrational and material factors used as bait for their vote. What then encourages these political parties to present themselves in two contrasting ideological terms? The difference between the NDC and NPP - the two parties
that have alternated in the exercise of state power since January 7, 1993 – is indeed marginal. It is a question of the degree to which one or the other political party has implemented the neo-liberal prescriptions of the IFIs (ibid. 2006).

The NPP may be described as doctrinaire in implementing neo-liberal economic policies. For it, getting the price right or getting the economic fundamentals right is the ultimate attribute of successful free market reforms. The end justifies the means. Therefore the social implications of public policy are secondary to the achievement of the objectives of free market reforms. In contrast, even though the NDC implemented the same economic policy package when it was in power it was more inclined to balance the pursuit of tough macro-economic stabilization policies with social concerns: it pursued human-centred market reforms. This was dictated by its populist past which was firmly rooted in the politics of the military PNDC government.

2.8 The Electoral System

The 1992 Constitution and the Electoral Commission Act of 1993 (Act 451) establish the Electoral Commission as an independent body with responsibility for the conduct, management and supervision of all public elections in Ghana and in accordance with Article 43 of the Constitution a board of 7 commissioners is responsible for oversight of the Electoral Commission’s work in all the 10 regions. The body is comprised of a chairman, 2 deputy chairmen and 4 non-executive members. Each of the executive members of the Electoral Commission is responsible for elections in 2 of the 10 regions of Ghana and non-executive members 1 region each. The President on the advice of the Council of State appoints the members of the Electoral Commission for an unspecified period in accordance with Article 70 of the 1992 Constitution (the 1992 Constitution of Ghana).

The Electoral Commission is organised into 2 main departments; first, the Operations and Finance and the second is Administration. At the pinnacle of the decision making structure are the Chairman and the 2 Deputy Chairmen while the 2 departments undertake a range of activities including accounts, information technology and data control, voter registration, public affairs and education, research, evaluation and training. The Electoral Commission also has regional and district electoral representatives and executive officers and all 10 regional capitals are managed by directors and the 166 district offices are headed by district electoral officers. These district electoral officers are largely responsible for organising elections on the district level (Electoral Commission of Ghana).

For each parliamentary constituency the district electoral officer of the Electoral Commission appoints a returning officer and 2 deputy returning officers; a point to note is that the position of returning officer is a temporary post and positions are filled from applicants responding to public advertisement for these posts and individuals can challenge these appointments at the

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21 A Presidential appointed consultative body of 23 members required by the 1992 Constitution
Electoral Commission on grounds of suitability. Presiding officers are also appointed by the Electoral Commission to supervise individual polling stations/centres. The Electoral Commission has an estimated 1,000 permanent staff and approximately 110,000 temporary staff complementing these during presidential and parliamentary elections period. The 230 returning officers are responsible, under the direction of the district electoral officers, for the single member constituency based parliamentary election while the Chairman of the Electoral Commission is the returning officer for the presidential election (ibid).

The president is elected by popular vote in a single national constituency and to be elected president a candidate must receive 50 per cent of valid votes cast and in the event that any single candidate fails to receive the number of votes to cross this threshold in the first round election, which by law is held on December 7 every four years, a second round presidential run-off election is called by the Electoral Commission between the two candidates whom received the largest of votes cast in the first round of the elections. The parliament of Ghana is unicameral and has 230 members plus a speaker, elected for a four year term in single seat constituencies (1992 Constitution of Ghana). In pursuant to Article 47 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana the Electoral Commission has responsibility for the demarcation of constituency boundaries and exercised this power by increasing the number of constituencies from 200 to 230, which entered into force for the 2004 presidential and parliamentary elections (1992 Constitution of Ghana).

Currently, the 230 single seat constituencies are: Greater Accra – 27; Central Region – 19; Western Region – 22; Eastern Region – 28; Ashanti Region – 39; Volta Region – 22; Brong-Ahafo – 24; Upper West Region – 10; Upper East Region – 13 and Northern Region – 26. Although constituency boundaries are drawn up based on a combination of population, demography and geography there are marked differences in the sizes between some constituencies, for instance, the number of registered voters varies from 13,689 in Nadowli East constituency in the Upper West Region to 162,646 in Weija constituency in Greater Accra Region (Electoral Commission’s 2008 General Elections Report).

2.9 General Elections in Ghana from 1992 to 2008

In the presidential elections held on November 3, 1992, Flt. Lt. Rawlings (now retired from the army) who stood on the ticket of the NDC garnered 58.8% of the 3,989,020 votes cast to beat to second place his closest rival Prof. Albert Adu-Boahen representing the NPP who polled 30.4% of the votes and in the parliamentary elections held on December 29, 1992, the NDC won 189 out of the 200 seats. The Fourth Republic was inaugurated on January 7, 1993 with the swearing-in of Flt. Lt. Rawlings as President (Electoral Commission: Elections 1992). In December 7, 1996 general elections, the opposition, notably the NPP, contested fully both in the presidential and parliamentary elections and the incumbent president

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22 See Representation of the People (Parliamentary Constituencies) Instrument (C. I. 46), 2004
23 Refer to the map of Ghana, page 15
Rawlings was re-elected with 57.40% of the popular vote in the presidential election as against Mr. John Agyekum Kufuor of the NPP had 39.60%. In addition, Rawlings’ NDC party won 133 of the Parliament’s 200 seats, just one seat short of the two-thirds majority needed to amend the 1992 Constitution (ibid: 1996).

In the December 7, 2000 elections, Mr. Kufuor of the NPP, won the largest share of the presidential vote with 48.17% of the vote, compared to 44.54.% for Rawlings’ vice-president and hand-picked successor, Prof. John Atta Mills of the NDC. The NPP also won 100 out of the 200 parliamentary seats, while the NDC won 92 seats. In the December 28 run-off election, Mr. Kufuor defeated Prof. Mills by winning 56.73% of the total vote cast. Mr. Kufuor took the oath of office on January 7, 2001, becoming the first democratically elected president in Ghana’s history to succeed another elected president – the first swing of political pendulum in Ghana politics. (ibid: 2000).

Thirty new constituencies were created in the period between 2000 and 2004 general elections, resulting in a 230-member Parliament. In December 7, 2004, President Kufuor was re-elected for a second four-year term as a president with 52.45% of the vote cast against former Vice-President Prof. Mills of the NDC who had 44.64%, thus becoming the first civilian president (without a military background) to fully serve his tenure and go ahead to be re-elected. His party also won 129 of the parliamentary seats while the NDC won 91 of the seat and the rest won by the other small political parties and an independent candidate(ibid: 2004).

As the incumbent president, Mr. Kufuor of the NPP reached his two-term limit established in the 1992 Constitution he was not eligible to stand for election for presidential office, the ruling NPP therefore selected Nana Akufo-Addo, as their presidential candidate to face a strong challenge from Prof. Mills of the NDC, who has stood in the previous presidential elections in 2000 and 2004 (and lost on both occasions to President Kufuor). So in the December 7, 2008 general elections, since none of the candidates achieved over 50% of the votes cast for the presidential election, a second presidential run-off was called between Nana Akufo-Addo of the NPP and Prof. Mills of the NDC on December 28, 200824. After voting was conducted in the last voting district on January 2, Prof. Mills emerged as the winner with 50.47% of the total vote cast (a margin of just over 40,000 votes - 0.46%) as against Nana Akufo-Addo’s 49.53%. The NDC won 113 parliamentary seats while the NPP won 107 seats – the second swing of political pendulum. Prof. Mills was sworn into office on January 7, 2009 (ibid: 2008).

From the above one would notice that whenever NDC or NPP wins general elections, it also wins a workable parliamentary majority this is based on the fact that apart from the NDC and NPP the other political parties could not field candidates in all the constituencies even for the parliamentary elections because the paucity of funds and other material resources have been the biggest problem for them and thus explain why they are organizationally too weak to

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24 Another run-off was held for the two leading contestant of NPP and NDC in the presidential election
engage fully in electoral politics. Practically, the system of government in Ghana also contributes to the weakness of the smaller political parties.

The constitution does not make it obligatory for a presidential candidate to be nominated by a registered political party, however, from the 1992 general elections it has become the norm for a presidential candidate to be nominated by a registered party; so that the successful presidential candidate would always exercise executive power together with his party which will be in the majority in parliament. Thus since the 1992 general elections the president’s party has always formed the majority in parliament. In other words, a presidential candidate and his political party go to the polls determined to win the presidency as well as the majority of parliamentary seats. Article 78(1) of the constitution provides that the president must choose the majority of his ministers of state from the elected members of parliament, and with prior approval by parliament. This means that invariably the president will choose his ministers from among members of his party who are also members of parliament (Ninsin 2006). This Article in the constitution makes it possible for the parties in power to categorise the opposition parties as outsiders which need not to included in the ruling parties developmental projects, thus the constitution in relation to that Article is part of the Us vs. Them dichotomy.

These constitutional provisions irrevocably tied the electoral fortunes of the president to those of his political party, and vice versa. Inevitably therefore the policies of the president become the policies of his parliamentary party; and, the president’s policies are driven by his belief in the free market and a calculated strategy to win the next elections – both presidential and parliamentary. Projects and programmes are executed within the perimeters and patrimonial relations forged within the framework of state politics (McLennan, Held and Stuart (eds.): 1984). It is arguable then that the system of government creates opportunities for the governing party to stuff its elections chest in preparation for the next elections while denying opposition political parties, including the largest opposition party, access to such slush funds which are concealed in the patrimonial relations that the president and his ministers construct within the structure of state power (Ninsin 2006).

The strong bond between the president and his party in parliament creates a virtual monopoly over the decision making apparatus of the state, i.e. the president (together with his cabinet) and the legislature are able to control these two critical decision-making structures within the state system. Though members of parliament could propose an independent members’ bill, Article 108 of the Constitution vests in the president the sole authority to propose bills that have financial implications. Essentially the president and his cabinet, all of whom have so far come from the same political party, exercise exclusive responsibility for development policy. When a development policy issue gets to parliament for approval the president uses his party, which is in the majority, to get it approved. Studies have shown that the majority party in parliament tends to be less democratic when major national issues come before parliament for

\[25\] See for example the studies conducted by the Institute for Democratic Government, Accra, under its Parliamentary Studies Programme, especially the one entitled “Executive – Legislature Interface: Synergy of Power?”
consideration. It has turned parliamentary deliberation on such issues of national interest into partisan contests for hegemony in the legislature. Such partisanship has often forced the opposition party or parties to bring the issues outside the domain of parliament in order to mobilize a wider public to press their viewpoint, such as, boycotting of parliamentary debates. But the majority party in parliament has always had its way on such highly contested policy issues (ibid. 2006).

2.10 Tactics Employed by Political Parties

Political parties employ a wide range of tactics to mobilize voters for their course. The tactics include appeal to political tradition, ethnic identity and religion, appeal to other identities such as settler versus indigenes, as well as the use of money and other material incentives. The weight of these factors in any election varies from one community/constituency to the other and from region to region. But especially in parliamentary elections, all politics is local politics - when local factors are mobilized to influence the choice of the electorate. In presidential elections such local factors are weighed, often heavily, by national issues - especially economic trends and how these affect the welfare of citizens.

This makes one to ask if Ghanaian voters necessarily make a rational choice – determine their government and policies for the next 4 years - at the polls. No one can give a definite answer because, in a country where illiteracy and ignorance remain primary human development indices, it will surely be problematic for the average citizen/voter to comprehend issues in the complex world of politics where information about the economy, for example, is both complex and voluminous, with the clarity and sophistication required of the educated post-modern citizen.

Second, there is the problem of poverty which affects about 40% of Ghanaians. Poverty does not, only disempowered the average citizen/voter; it also traps him or her in a web of patron-client relationship. In electoral politics poverty exposes clients in such patron-client relationships to manipulation by political party entrepreneurs who easily use money and other material inducements to secure their vote in advance of voting day. Also, there is a widespread political culture of patronization which ruling political parties liberally exploit through the vector of development policies to capture middle class voters as well. Finally, ruling political parties in Ghana are also known to manipulate the election process to their advantage through the use of power of incumbency and the resources at their disposal (2010 Ghana Statistical Service estimates).

Notwithstanding the imperfection, the freedoms of choice, expression and association promoted through the activities of political parties may be, Ghanaians are able to make periodic choices about who should govern them; they are able to express their opinions freely about political and related issues; and they are able to associate freely. For people who have been deprived of the right to self-determination for decades, the freedoms which political
parties embody and manifest in the context of electoral politics, despite their limitations are important\textsuperscript{\text{26}} (Ninsin 2006).

2.11 How the Media is organised in Ghana

Ghana has a vibrant media that plays a key role in political discourse, national identity and popular culture. Emerging in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, the news media have given voice to popular campaigns for independence, national unity, development and democracy throughout the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, thus establishing a distinguished history of political activism for Ghanaian journalism. Also, the media of Ghana, now one of the most free in Africa, has previously undergone a series of government overthrows by military leaders and periods of severe restriction. Chapter 12 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana guarantees freedom of the press and independence of the media, while Chapter 2 prohibits censorship.

The media in the Gold Coast first emerged in the 19th century with the publication of \textit{The Gold Coast Gazette and Commercial Intelligencer} from 1822 – 1825 by the governor of the British Gold Coast settlements (it was hand-written). The paper had several functions: to provide information for civil servants and European merchants; and to help promote literacy rates and rural development amongst the local population - whilst encouraging unity with the colonial British government. In the mid nineteenth century, a diverse number of African owned newspapers appeared which were largely unrestricted by the colonial government and this lead to a surge of anti-colonial press, which in part, lead to the independence of Ghana (History of Ghana).

Following the March 6, 1957 declaration of independence by Ghana from the United Kingdom, there were only around 4 newspapers, but Dr. Nkrumah eventually controlled all them because he saw the press as an instrument of state authority, which can be used to provide propaganda encouraging national unity, thus he created a hierarchal system of state apparatus, after he had eventually purchased the Daily Graphic in 1963, to manage the media. A series of repressive laws, public intimidation and harassment, censorship, bans on oppositional publications and arrests and detention of “dissident journalists” by Dr. Nkrumah had a chilling effect on the media, for example, the opposition Ashanti Pioneer newspaper which had operated since the 1930s was shut down by Nkrumah after being subject to censorship and its editor sent to prisons. After Dr. Nkrumah’s overthrow in a coup, many state outlets changed hands, though still under the control of the military regime of NLC. The NLC also imposed stricter controls on domestic private outlets, for example the Rumours Decree in 1966 which prevented anyone from suing government or the state-owned newspapers over any publication in relation to the interest of the regime (ibid).

\textsuperscript{\text{26}} Jonah, Kwesi has analyzed Ghana’s political parties using the concept “party as tradition” in his “Political Parties and the transition to multi-party politics in Ghana” in Ninsin, Kwame A (ed.) 1998: 72-94, Ghana: Transition to Democracy. Legon, Freedom Publications
In 1969 (2nd Republic), the democratically elected civilian government of Dr. Busia that followed the NLC was left with a large number of media outlets under state control. Dr. Busia repealed various newspapers acts in an effort to promote free expression, but later dismissed the chief editor of the state-owned Daily Graphic for opposing him when he (the editor) appealed for African dialogue with the apartheid government in South Africa. However, when Gen. Acheampong overthrew the Dr. Busia government, he reinstated strict media control and clamped down on opposition outlets, however, a number of opposition media remained unimpeded during the General Acheampong’s military regime, and by 1978, had grown in their calls for a multi-party democracy in Ghana (ibid).

The regime of Acheampong was overthrown in a palace coup in May 1978 by Gen. Akuffo, who reversed some of his predecessor’s repressive media policies and released jailed journalists. Gen. Akuffo’s regime was short lived, ending in another coup d’état by the AFRC headed by Flt. Lt. Rawlings, who repealed some of the press laws that were passed by Gen. Acheampong, but later replaced the chief editor of the state-owned Daily Graphic who criticised the military AFRC regime’s executions of 8 people including 3 former military head of states. After 3 months of the AFRC regime, power was returned to the president-elect, Dr. Limann of the PNP on September 24, 1979 (ibid).

Dr. Limann was an advocate of liberal media reform, thus he established a 12 member Press Commission (PC) on July 25, 1980 to act as oversight body of the media in the country so as to ensure freedom of expression. The PC as enshrined in law, were to investigate complaints about the press, uphold press freedom and provide necessary regulation and licensing to media outlets. During his rule, he respected the new 1979 Constitution and accepted criticisms from the media, but this did not last long however, as Flt. Lt. Rawlings once again seized power through a military coup d’état 1981, and under the PNDC repealed the liberal media reforms started by Dr. Limann (ibid).

Rawlings passed laws that prevented criticism of the government or its policies, dismissed editors critical of him, such as, the Preventive Custody Law and Newspaper Licensing Law, PNDC Law 211 (or the “sedition and criminal libel law”) which allowed indefinite detention without trial of journalists, and stifled private media development respectively. The policies not only affected print media but also the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) and Ghana Television (GTV), with several dismissals or premature retirement of state editors, journalists and broadcasters. As a result, some media, particularly, the private ones who do not want to play the role of a lapdog27 to the military regime avoided all discussions of politics altogether and focused on other topics like sport or entertainment instead. In summary, the private media in Ghana lived under a regime characterised by a culture of silence, a situation that curtails the cultivation and the nurturing of free expression from 1981 to 1992 (ibid).

In 1992, Ghana returned to a democratic rule with a new Constitution (4th Republic), thus

27 Newspaper outlets who were under the control of the military regime
President Rawlings of the NDC (now retired as a Flt. Lt.) liberalised the media by repealing previous media laws the PNDC signed in, but not the “sedition and criminal libel law” – PNDC Law 211. The private media, which had previously been silenced under the regime for the past decade, used the new press freedom laws to voice criticism at Rawlings of the years of strict laws and published several accusations of violent authoritarianism and drug abuse, however, the state media maintained a favourable image of President Rawlings and his ruling NDC government. This ideology and favourable representation of ruling presidents and their parties in power have continued from 1992 to date by the 2 daily state-owned newspapers, the Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times. A new 15 member National Media Commission (NMC) was set by an Act of Parliament (NMC Act 1993) that was independent of government and tasked to promote free and independent media, quality in standards as well as ensuring that the state-owned media are independent from government control, but despite these new reforms, President Rawlings and his NDC government remained critical of the private press, calling it “politically irresponsible and motivated by profit” (ibid).

After the election in 2000 the tensions between the private media and government decreased because President Kufuor of the NPP was a supporter of press freedom and repealed the “sedition and criminal libel law” in 2001, though maintained that the media had to act responsibly. However, his liberal policies were challenged by a national state of emergency in April 2002 involving the assassination of the Dagomba traditional ruler and 28 others in the northern city of Yendi when the Minister of Defence, who is also his brother, came under criticism in the midst of the crisis for requesting that journalists clear their stories on the Yendi tragedy with the Ministry of Information in the interest of caution, circumspection and wisdom. Generally, the Ghanaian media now operate with little restriction on private media and the private press often carries criticisms of government policy and stories of criticisms of corruptions or scandals of political corruption involving government ministers, but frequently these stories are based on rumours and speculations (Hasty 2001: 354).

Currently, more than 40 newspapers are published in Ghana. The state-owned 2 dailies, the Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times are printed and published by the state-funded the Graphic Communications Group Limited and Times Corporation all in Accra respectively and around 16 independent/private newspapers provide national political coverage and the 4 most influential among them are the Ghanaian Chronicle, the Independent, the Free Press and Public Agenda, thus creating a diverse media environment in Ghana now. With few exceptions, private newspapers are published in Accra, the capital, and circulation is concentrated there as well. The commonality of English, higher literacy rates and urban wealth all contribute to a reliable audience for independent newspapers in the capital. Ghanaian journalists are not unionised, but the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) founded in 1949, brings all media practitioners together for programmes, lectures, and workshops designed to promote press freedom and professionalism and is active regionally and globally.
Because in Ghana the 2 state-owned daily newspapers are pro-government and their journalists (state journalists) are quite concerned to protect their mutually rewarding relationships with the party in power, they hardly ever publish critical or oppositional stories about the ruling government, but generally speaking, the newspaper sphere in Ghana in terms of editorial stance, is polarised between two opposing camps: those who support the government and those supporting the opposition. Notwithstanding these factors, the media has helped to open up channels of communication, thus, enabling the public access to government and its structures leading to the creation of platforms for public involvement and discussion of government activities. Also, the media are now the monitors (watchdogs) of the extent to which Ghanaian’s rights to free speech, free expression, free movement, free association, equal opportunities in employment and education, among others are respected in constitutional democracy and the deepening of the democratic processes in the country.

Identifying and describing the type of politics in Ghana since 1992 and what the constitution entails, and the achievements the media in Ghana had chalked since returning to constitutional democracy eighteen (18) years ago alone cannot solve the problem or eradicate the negative tendencies of the representation of the Other in the politics of Ghana which is now rearing its ugly head in news discourses. These tendencies, according to political commentators and analysts are creating unease tension during and after general elections, and had the potentiality of affording a group of disgruntled and power hungry Ghanaian military officers the chance to stage a coup d’état as past experiences are the best teachers in the politics of Ghana. This calls for a critical look at the situation and do something positively about it before it is too late. Also, based on the above stated point on the representation of the Other in Ghana politics, I believe there is the need to write a project on *the representation of the Other in not explicitly polarised issues: an approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)* in order to demonstrate that the scope of CDA can be broadened to include “alternative” settings.

Furthermore, there is the need to make Ghanaian political leaders or actors aware of the effect of the negative other-presentation of the opponents whenever they assume office, especially by the 2 largest parties, NDC and NPP, that dominate contemporary politics in Ghana as it has the potentialities of derailing the gains as a stable democracy and enjoying peace and tranquillity so far achieved. Because underneath these qualities of democratic conditions Ghanaians are enjoying are undercurrent negative tendencies being undertaken by our political leaders and actors that need to be point out in order to avoid the pitfalls of coup d’états as in the past. Secondly, despite the promising start of democratic achievement made so far there is an intense power struggle between the NDC and NPP, for hegemony and control, thus any time one is in power, it makes use of one of the Daily Graphic newspaper to represent its opponent negatively through manipulations of facts, exaggerations and turning of debates on issues that are of national interest into petty partisan debate, although there are other newspapers, mostly, the private media, which give voice to other views.

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28 It changes whenever there is a swing of political pendulum after elections or a change of government
Thirdly, these struggle for hegemony and control are now turning into ethnic/tribal combat between the NDC and NPP and, politicians on both sides whipped up ethnic fear, suspicion and jealousy for their own advantage so as to entrench themselves in power (Meredith 2005: 194), thus tribalism is also becoming an ideology in Ghana politics. An example can be inferred from Ghana’s voting patterns and ethnic perception associated with the 2 parties. NDC is perceived as a party for the Ewes of the Volta Region while the NPP as a party for the Asantes of the Ashanti Region. And, this is the most dangerous and fearful aspect of it all, in that in 1956, a whipped up ethnic sentiments on a political platform in the Ashanti Region accounted for the violent clashes, shootings, burning of cars and breaking up of political rallies when one of the opposition parties announced a secession of the Ashanti Region from Ghana. Again looking at what had happened due to tribalism in Nigeria from 1967 – 1970 (the Nigeria Civil War); Rwanda 1990 - 1994 (the civil war and the genocide) and what had and is still happening in Ivory Coast) all due to ethnicity and the representation of the Other in their political settings, then Ghanaian politicians should learn lessons from the trappings of ethnic/tribal-centred politics as they have the negative tendencies of sparking civil wars and genocide of monumental proportions as examples in some Africa countries show.

Hence it is imperative that as political leaders and actors in Ghana politics to eschew hypocrisy, petty partisan pursuits based on their political ideology (such as boycotting of parliamentary debates on deals or developmental projects of national interest), protect the truth, stop manipulating news items to their advantage in the state-owned newspapers and finally, stop the representation of the Other irrespective of their political, social or ethnic background whenever they are in power. This, if Ghanaian political leaders or actors endeavour to apply the above stated points, then Ghana’s young democracy, peace and tranquillity its citizens are enjoying and experiencing will be a blessing, not a curse.

2.12 An Analysis of the Mediatization of Politics in Ghana

I think it is appropriate at this point to introduce the article of Jesper Stromback (2008: 228-243) which analyzes the concepts of mediated and mediatized politics from a process-oriented perspective and also argues that mediatization is a multidimensional and inherently process-oriented concept and that it possible to make a distinction between four phases of mediatization. According to Stromback, when each of these phases is analyzed, the conclusion is that as politics becomes increasingly mediatized, the important question no longer is related to independence of the media from politics and society, but it becomes the independence of politics and society from the media. This is will help to understand how the media in Ghana is structured and at what phase(s), especially the state-owned media, it is or can be categorized. Although, the Stromback’s article makes it clear that the analysis is mainly restricted to western democracies in the period after the Second World War; national cultures of which I am not fully familiar with, but I think it can be related to Ghana (the

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29 Refer to the map of Ghana, page 15
national culture I am totally familiar with) since its 1992 constitution/democracy is modeled after western democracies, notably, the U.S. and the U.K.

The first aspect equates mediatization of politics to the degree-to-which the media constitute the dominant source of information on politics; and society and this reached whenever the mass media in a particular setting constitute the most important source of information and channel of communication between the citizenry and the political institutions and actors. The second aspect talks about the degree-to-which the media is independent from political institutions in terms of how the media are governed; and this is attained when the media have become largely independent of governmental or other political parties, and consequently, when the media have begun to be governed according to the media logic rather than according to political/party logic.

The third aspect talks about the degree-to-which content is governed by a political or by media logic; and this is attained when the media continue to be the dominant source of information and channel of communication between the different sections of society. Finally, the fourth aspect talks about the degree-to-which institutional actors, such as political parties are governed by a political or media logic; and this also attained when political and other social actors not only adapt to the media logic and the predominant news values, but also internalize these and, more or less, consciously, allow the media logic and the standards of newsworthiness to become a built-in part of the governing processes.

It is unlikely that a society that has reached the 2nd phase will return to the 1st phase, but it is possible for a society to go from the 3rd to the 2nd or from the 4th to the 3rd phases. It is important to note that the four phases of mediatization identified are somewhat idealized, and as in all processes, the distinctions between the phases are less clear in reality than in theory (ibid: 241). At a general level, it can be argued that the media in democratic countries are always positioned somewhere between the political system and the economic system (Crotean and Hoynes 2001; Hallin and Mancini 2004). Also, the political system forms the institutional and regulatory boundaries within which the media are required to operate, whereas the markets and the dynamics between supply and demand shape what is possible for commercial media enterprises to do to survive or be profitable (Hamilton 2004). So the more independent the media are or become from politics, the more independent they become on market forces.

It is undeniable fact that democracy requires some kind of system in which there should be a flow of information from the governors to the governed and from the governed to the governors, for public discussions and deliberations, and for watchdog function that is independent of the state (Bennett 2003). In other words, the freedom of the press is not an end in itself, but also a means towards helping democracy work (Baker 2007) There is the need to note that, the degree to which politics becomes mediatized is likely to vary across countries, depending partly on whether different countries belong to the liberal, the democratic corporatist or the polarized pluralist model of media and politics.
To reiterate a point already made, the success story of Ghana has been made possible by major roles played by both the state-owned (public) and private media – newspapers, televisions and radio stations (the old media), but there are clear related instances of the 1st and the 2nd phases of mediatization and on lesser extent the 3rd phase. The reason(s) deduced from the 1st phase in the Ghanaian media setting stem from the control/ownership of its public newspapers, broadcasting – television and radio stations. These stations are the two national daily newspapers, the Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times, their weekly newspapers – The Mirror and Spectator – other publications; Ghana Television (GTV) and Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) with its FM stations across all the ten regions of Ghana. Couple with this is the fact that it is the ruling government that appoints the board of directors and managing directors for these public entities and allocates subventions to them to function, thus making them a pro-government in the reportage of political news. This makes the degree of the Ghanaian public media independence from political actors very low, thus their reportage and dissemination of information always favors the government of the day; a fact that had been criticized by the International Observing Teams from E.U., A.U., etc, which have been coming to monitor the country’s elections every four years. This explains why the state media is pro-government on all issues and its journalists also write political news articles based the media’s ideological and political functions.

In relation to the 2nd phase, there are private television, broadcasting and newspaper networks, such as TV3; Joy FM and Peace FM Stations and The Crusading Guide, The Independent and The Free Press newspaper outlets that can be classified into that phase because their reportage and dissemination of information are totally different. They broadcast, disseminate and publish based on their own mode of operation and never allow the political system/ institutions control or unconditionally used them to further their own interest; they believe that, that goes contrarily to democratic principles and the choice Ghana. These stances have resulted in numerous confrontations with the ruling governments of the day. These semi-independent nature of the above networks, allow them to control their own content and possess resources that they utilized in what Cook (2005) has termed “the negotiation of newsworthiness” against the political system or institutions and actors whom have attempted (and still attempting) to control and influence their news reportage.

On a lighter note, there is television network, Metro TV and one or two private newspapers, for instance, The Dispatch and The Chronicle that have relationship, at least, with the 3rd phase of mediatization. This is because they have become so independent and important that political and other social actors have to adapt to them rather than the other way around. In other words, political and other social actors in the Ghanaian political and institutional setting not only adapt to their media logic and predominant news values, but also internalize these and consciously allow their media logic and standards of newsworthiness to become a built in part of the ruling governing processes. Their criticisms of government of the day’s policies and how they will have a profound effect on the government during general elections are statistically correct; and their opinion polls, especially The Dispatch, conducted since 1992, allow the political and other social actors and Ghanaians in general to know the next elected president in waiting.
Chapter Three

3.1 Case Study

In order to sustain my argument that: “can unequal power relations be identified in political news discourses in state-owned newspapers on not explicitly polarised issues?” I would focus on one particular case study, which will be illustrative of the topic in question. The case study will involve an analysis of political news articles published by one of the state-owned Ghanaian newspapers the Daily Graphic on the representation of the Other in Ghana politics.

The case was selected based on a multitude of considerations. Firstly, instead of newspapers in Britain or the United States of America (USA), I decided to focus on a newspaper from Ghana. Secondly, given a common interest in textual analysis, I decided to focus on a newspaper in Ghana as the source of data for my analysis. Furthermore, another consideration involved the fact that articles from a newspaper are easier to collect and document than TV and radio broadcasts. Finally, the articles were selected from the newspaper because of its large circulation and its distinct ideological stances, which makes it representative of the Ghanaian mainstream quality press and the mass media as a whole, both in quantitative terms (that is, number of readers) and in qualitative terms (that is, range of views held by readers).

The Daily Graphic is the leading quality national newspaper (state-owned), with a daily average circulation of 200,000 copies in 2010, established along the UK based Sunday Mirror by Cecil King30, a British newspaper magnate in 1950 and considered to be a Ghanaian institution. It is owned by Graphic Communication Group Limited, printed and published in Accra, and dominates the morning market with no serious competition at regional and district level.31 This explains why the newspaper is a central source of information and considered to be credible by its larger readers, and it is often the main reference for other media and for public opinion formation, and interacts as an essential platform for political actors in the country. As a well-established newspaper, which claims to give thorough coverage of different issues and to base its contents on facts, its style is less likely to create open polemics and conflicts, as opposed to other types of newspapers that draw their appeal on sensationalist coverage, thus making it an interesting source of data in relation to my argument about the existence of polarisations in the representation of the “Other” even in contexts in which there is no open conflict. Furthermore, it is possible to access the whole news archives online and free of charge, unlike some of the newspapers initially considered as possible sources of data.

In my quest for a representative and appropriate subject which could address my analytical goals and simultaneously, be related to my primary interest of understanding the representation of the Other by the media, I decided to focus on Ghana Politics. The fact that the country had been and continued to be scrutinised by concerned-citizens and other media,

31 The Daily Graphic is the largest national newspaper in Ghana with offices in all the 10 administrative capitals and the 138 districts
both internally and internationally, contribute to making this study a challenging case to be analysed in relation to my argument. Moreover, given the present distribution of political power in Ghana, according to which the ruling political party and the party in opposition are positioned in different categories in terms of the respective political power and control, my case study seems particularly relevant and compelling. It could be further argued that the aforementioned political power and control division operates as a trigger to the Othering in politics within discourses produced in Ghana. Thus, this dimension maximises the relevance of the case study in the context of my argument. Based on the above considerations, the research questions which will guide my project are presented below.

3.2 **Cardinal Question**

Can unequal power relations be identified in political news discourses in state-owned newspapers on not explicitly polarised issues?

3.2.1 **Research Questions**

In order to answer the cardinal question, I have articulated research questions that I will like to have answered throughout the project. This will help me narrow down the analytical materials while at the same time focusing on the issues that I consider being most important to the project; and the questions are:

1. Can CDA be productively applied to an alternative setting in which there is no explicit polarised issues?
2. Can the scope of issues addressed by CDA be broadened by including not explicitly polarised issues?
3. Does the selected sample of articles reflect unequal power relations between Us and Them (the ruling party and the party in opposition in Ghana)?
4. Does the selected sample of articles reflect to any extent, openness to difference and an acknowledgement of the possibility of social change?

3.3 **Theories**

As the previous discussion outlines, the topic of this project clearly underscores the fact that I am dealing with the representation of the Other, the representation of an out-group\(^{32}\). Therefore, it is very likely that the articles I will examine in my analysis will present, at least to some extent, the polarisation of Us and Them. In this way, it is necessary to establish a theoretical framework of the representation of the Other in order to deepen understanding of this type of signifying practices and sharpen my analysis.

\(^{32}\) This concept is considered in opposition to the concept of in-group as presented by Van Dijk in his discussion about ideology and will be contextualised in the later part of this section.
Also, as I have already presented, I will be dealing with the representation of the Other within the field of CDA, to this end, I proceed with a presentation of the theoretical framework of CDA as proposed by Fairclough, which is incorporated in the project as a way to bind my understanding of language and discourse.

3.4 Us and Them

My case study involves the examination of how a particular group (the ruling political party in Ghana politics, in particular, as influenced by the wider political/social reality in which it is embedded) has power and control over shaping the representation of the Other in the country’s political arena. Taking that into consideration, I may say that the samples of articles I am going to analyse deal with the representation of the Other, a complex matter which has to be better conceptualised in order to be productively applied to this project.

Representation, according to Hall (1997: 226), is a complex business and, especially when dealing with “difference”, because it engages feelings, attitudes and emotions and mobilises fears and anxieties in the receiver, at deeper levels than one can explains in a simple, common-sense way. There are several points to make about the way in which the representation of Otherness works in texts which have more connotative or thematic meaning and, within this meaning it is the sub-theme of “difference”. Hall (1997) points out that, although newspaper texts are very powerful, their meanings are always highly ambiguous in that they can carry more than one meaning. Because there is no one true meaning in this type of text, fixing its “floating” meanings has to be done through the work of a representational practice, which intervenes in the many potential meanings of a text in an attempt to privilege one (ibid: 228).

Accordingly, this brings to light how people who are in any way significantly different from the majority are referred to as Them rather than Us and are frequently exposed to this binary form of representation. Such people seem to be represented through sharply opposed, polarised, binary extremes, such as: good/bad, civilised/primitive, ugly/excessively attractive, repelling-because-different/compelling-because-strange-and-exotic, and they are often required to be both things at the same time (ibid: 229). At the broader level of how difference and otherness are represented in a particular political arena (such as in Ghana politics), for example, one notices similar representational practices and figures being repeated with variations from one text of representation to another.

And, this accumulation of meanings across different texts, where one image refers to another or has its meaning altered by being “read” in the context of other images is called inter-textuality (ibid: 232). With this, I can explain that the whole repertoire through which “difference” is represented at any one historical moment as a “regime of representation” (ibid: 232). There is also ambiguity in the messages produced by newspapers and this ambiguity is amplified whenever texts are compared with other texts, thus bringing into play the stereotypes we always notice of Otherness in the press, and according to Hall (1997), these stereotypical meanings are inter-textual, that is, they have to be read “against the grain”.
From the above, four different theoretical approaches can be looked at briefly and these are:

1. Linguistic approach: is associated closely with Saussure and the use of language as a model of how culture works; and the main point here is that “difference” is significant in that it is essential to meaning, without it, meaning could not exist (Hall: 1997: 234). Saussure argued that everyone knows what “black” means, practically, not based on the essence of “blackness” but because comparison can be made with its opposite “white”, thus, according to him, meaning is relational and it is the “difference” between “black” and “white” which signifies and, which, also carries meaning and messages. Hence, meaning depends on the difference between opposites, and there is always a relation of power between the poles of a binary opposition (Hall: 1997: 235).

2. The theories of language: this emanates from a different school of thought and the point here is that we need “difference” because without that, we cannot construct meaning through a dialogue with the Other (ibid: 235). This explanation is based on Mikhail Bakhtin’s study of language as not an objective system, but in terms of how meaning is sustained in the dialogue between two or more speakers. To this end, everything we say and mean is modified by the interaction and interplay with another person, thus indicating that meaning arises through the “difference” between the participants in any dialogue where the Other is essential to meaning, that is the positive side of Bakhtin’s theory while the negative side is that meaning cannot be fixed and that one group can never be completely in charge of meaning (ibid: 236).

3. Anthropological: the point here is that culture depends on giving things meaning by assigning them to different positions within a classificatory system. The marking of “difference” is thus the basis of that symbolic order which we call culture (ibid: 236). Practically, social groups always order and organise things into classificatory system by imposing meaning on the world the live, this then makes a point that symbolic boundaries are central to all cultures in which a political system is embedded. Marking “difference” leads us, symbolically, to close ranks, shore up culture and to stigmatise and expel anything which is defined as impure or abnormal. Paradoxically, it also makes “difference” powerful, strangely attractive, precisely, because it is forbidden, taboo and threatening to cultural order. Thus, “what is socially peripheral is often symbolically centred” (ibid: 237).

4. Psychoanalytic: this fourth point is closely associated with Sigmund Freud’s theory of Oedipus complex, and it relates to the role of “difference” in our psychic life. The basic point here is that the Other is fundamental to the constitution of the self, to us as subject, and to sexual identity.

From the discussed four approaches, two clear points can be deduced: first, that the question of difference and otherness deducing from different directions and within many different disciplines has come to play an increasing significant role; and second, “difference” is ambivalent which can be both positive and negative and it is both necessary for the production of meaning, the formation of language and culture, for social identities and a subjective sense of the self as sexed subject; and at the same time, it is threatening, a site of
danger, of negative feelings, of splitting, hostility and aggression towards the Other (ibid: 238).

In as much as stereotyping is seen as a signifying practice which is central to the representation of difference, there is the need to make a clear distinction between the terms “typing” and “stereotyping” as explained by Dyer (ibid: 257). He explained that, without the use of types it would be difficult, if not impossible, to make sense of the world because we understand the world by referring individual objects, people or events in our minds to the general classificatory schemes into which, according to our culture, they fit. So, for example, we decode a flat object on legs on which we place things as a “table”, in other words, we understand “the particular” in terms of its “type”, in this sense, “typing” is essential to the production of meaning.

He argues that we are always able to “make sense” of things in terms of wider categories. In real sense, our picture of who a person “is” is built up out of the information we accumulate from positing him or her within these different typifications. In broad terms, “a type is any simple, vivid, memorable, easily grasped and widely recognised characterisation in which a few traits are fore-grounded and change or “development” is kept to minimum” (ibid: 257). To put it simply, stereotypes get hold of the “simple, vivid, memorable, easily grasped and widely recognised” characteristics about a person, reduce everything about the person to these traits, exaggerate and simplify them, and fix them without change or development to eternity” (ibid: 258).

Stereotyping, clearly demonstrates three basic characteristics and they are as follow:

1. It reduces, essentialises, naturalises and fixes.
2. It demonstrates a strategy of “splitting”. This is where there is a clear division between the normal and the acceptable from the abnormal and the unacceptable. In other words, stereotyping can be seen as part of maintenance of social and symbolic order that sets up a symbolic between the “normal” and the “deviant”, the “normal” and the “pathological”, the “accepted” and the “unaccepted”, what “belongs” and what does not or is Other between insiders and outsiders, us and them. It also facilitates the “binding” (or bonding) together of all of us who are “normal” into one “imagined community” and send into exile all of them (the Others) who are in some way different – “beyond the pale” (ibid: 258).
3. It tends to occur where there are gross inequalities of power. This is so because power is usually directed against the subordinated or excluded group and one aspect of this power, according to Dyer is ethnocentrism, that is, “the application of the norms of one’s own culture to that of others” (ibid: 258). If we take the binary opposition like us and them into consideration, then “we are not dealing peaceful coexistence but rather a violent hierarchy. One of the two teams governs the other or has the upper hand” (ibid: 258). This is what Foucault and Grasci called power/knowledge, which classifies people according to norms and constructs that excludes the Other, and as an aspect of the struggle for hegemony.
Hegemony is a form of power based on leadership by a group in many fields of activity at once, so that its ascendancy commands widespread consent and appears natural and inevitable. In support of this, Dyer observed that normalcy, that is what is acceptable as “normal”, is usually established socially with stereotypes being “one aspect of the habit of ruling groups....to attempt to fashion the whole society according to their own world view, value system, sensibility and ideology”. He continued by stating that “so right is this world view for the ruling groups that they make it appear (as it does appear to them) as ‘natural’ and ‘inevitable’ – and for everyone – and, in so far as they succeed, they establish hegemony” (ibid: 259)

In this way, I can relate the establishment of hegemony through managing the representation of the Other to matters of ideology as pointed out by Van Dijk (1998). According to him, ideologies reflect the fundamental social, economic, political or cultural interests of, and conflicts between, Us and Them. In Van Dijk’s approach, ideologies are considered systems which occupy a place in the symbolic field of thought and belief (cognition); they are clearly social and mostly associated with group interests, conflicts or struggles; and, finally, can be associated with language use in the way that ideologies are typical expressed and reproduced in and through language. Or, as Fairclough puts it, “ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation” (Van Dijk 2000b: 9). In this way, discourse is needed and used by different social groups in the contexts of acquisition, argumentation, ideological conflict and persuasion as well as those of conveying ideologies to other in-group members defending them against or concealing them from out-group members. This therefore shows that the investigation of how Us and Them as, a social group, is represented can be revealing about the ideological conflicts between the two categories.

With regards to the analysis of the representation of us and them, the social identity theory suggests that society is hierarchally structured into different social groups that stand in power and status relations to one another and this social categories provide members with a social identity; the categorization of people into groups involves self-concept and in-group bias as a result of motivation to enhance one’s self-esteem through social comparisons; this is achieved by making the in-group positively distinctively from the out-group (Oktar 2001: 317-318). Therefore, there is a tendency towards employing the contextual strategy of positive self-presentation and negative-other-presentation. Put bluntly, people are generally inclined to hold favourable ideas about the groups to which they belong, which motivates them to describe group’s characteristics positively and emphasize positive traits as typical for their own group, but to depict the negative traits as typical for the other group (ibid: 319).

In line with the above, Van Dijk (1998: 33) presents four points of which consist the strategy used for the construction of the discourse for ideological communication (the ‘ideological square’) and these are:

1. Emphasise our good properties/actions.
2. Emphasise their bad properties/actions.
3. Mitigate our bad properties/actions.
4. Mitigate *their* good properties/actions.

It is important to state that these presentations are not focused on participants as individuals, but participants as social groups. Turning to the role of the media in the operation of ideology, if we conceive of ideology as ways in which the meaning conveyed by symbolic forms serves to establish and sustain relations of power and domination, then, mass communication has considerable consequences for the propagation and diffusion of ideological phenomena (Thompson 1990: 226). In order to highlight the linguistic and discursive nature of media power, Fairclough suggests that we turn to the analysis of media language. The focus is then, upon how events, situations and people are represented in media texts, which are considered to constitute versions of reality through choices of representational processes at various levels in the production of texts depending on social positions, interests and objectives of those who produce them (Oktar 2001: 322). In order to examine the role of the media, especially, of political news discourses, in the operations of ideology related to the representation of the Other, I shall now delineate CDA as a theoretical framework which seeks to analyse the relations between language in use and power, and social inequalities.

3.5 CDA: A Brief Historical Development of CDA

It is possible to trace the origin of discourse analysis to the period of classical rhetoric, closely associated with figures such as Aristotle, who outlined the various structures of discourse and pointed to their role in the process of persuasion within a public context (Van Dijk: 1988: 18). Only in the latter part of the twentieth (20th) century did rhetoric become “rediscovered” as a fertile ground to those interested in the works of language. In this way, the development of discourse analysis is “closely tied to the emergence of structuralism”, which “grew from anthropology, linguistics and literary studies, later often unified under the label of semiotics” (ibid).

This emphasises the point that, from the latter part of the 20th century, (to be precise, in the 1960s), discourse analysis has gone through a lot of changes to the present era, that is, from the Russian Formalism to the French Structuralism; Sociolinguistics and Ethnography of Speaking; Conversation Analysis; Text Linguistics; Integration and New Development; Psychology and Artificial Intelligence and other disciplines (ibid). Within this field, one particular approach has been drawn from social theory and took on an interest in the relations between language and the social reality, thus given birth to what is called Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Norman Fairclough is accredited as the first theorist to develop CDA in the late 1980s, contributing with a three-dimensional framework for analysing discourse, which links the analysis of texts to the analysis of discursive practices and social practices,33 but he build his theory mostly on the shoulders of others, such as, Trew, Saussure, Halliday, Foucault, Baktin, etc, who in the 1970s developed critical linguistics as influential early school of discourse analysis.

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33 Fairclough’s three-dimensional model will be presented and discussed in more detail later
The approach was able to document a close relationship between the linguistic details of media texts and the production of ideology and, by implication, to substantiate that media ideology contributes to the reproduction of a social order founded on inequality and oppression (Schrøder 1999). Furthermore, its epistemology was a somewhat heavy-handed linguistic constructivism according to which words construct a mental grid and that words are conventional, but constitutive of the reality they designate, so that, for instance, newspapers inevitably construct the social states and events they describe. These notions of critical linguistics were influenced by Saussure, Foucault, Fowler, Halliday, etc (ibid).

In the framework proposed by CDA, social theory – with special focus in the works of theorists like Karl Marx, Louise Althusser, Jurgen Habermas, Michael Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu – is combined with linguistics in order to examine the relations between ideologies, power relations and discourse, connecting language to the social dimension by taking the former as being a site of power struggles and, at the same time, having a role in such struggles. It is also worth mentioning the works of Teun A. Van Dijk and Roth Wodak in the psychological version of CDA, which assumes that social structures and discourse structures are connected through socio-cognitive interface.

### 3.6 The Aims of Critical Discourse Analysis

The starting point for CDA is social issues and problems, and indeed any type of semiotic material, but does not begin with texts and interactions. It begins with issues which preoccupy sociologists, or political scientists, or educationalists (Fairclough 1993: 133-168). Therefore, CDA is inherently inter-discipline, opening a dialogue between disciplines concerned with linguistic and semiotic analysis (including discourse analysis) and disciplines concerned with theorizing and researching social processes and social change (ibid: 30).

CDA is not just concerned with analysis but critical in three aspects. First, it seeks to discern connections between language and other elements in social life which are often opaque - such as how language figures within social relations of power and domination; how language works ideologically; the negotiation of personal and social identities, pervasively problematical through changes in social life – in its linguistic and semiotic aspect.

Second, it is committed to progressive social change, that is, it has an emancipator “knowledge interest” (ibid: 133-168). For instance, an analysis of language in the neo-liberal global order would focus on how language figures in resistance to the detrimental effects of the new order (such as widening of the gap between the rich and the poor or the causing of huge environmental damage). Thirdly, it also includes an assessment from a language perspective of possibilities and strategies for strengthening and broadening struggles against these effects (ibid: 133-168).

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34 Semiotic is a meaning-making process through language, body language, visual images or any other way of signifying
3.7 Discourse

The concept of discourse is generally used to refer to the treatment of a subject in writing or speaking, but with CDA, discourse takes on an additional meaning where one can distinguish between many different discourses, for example Marxist discourse, feminist discourse and medical discourse, just to mention a few. According to Fairclough, discourses are social and cultural processes that are actively shaping social structures while in the other way around being shaped by them. Thus, a particular discourse contains within it a corresponding set of values (2003b: 3-4). It is also believed that, within a certain “order of discourse”, some discourses are in the ascendency whilst others are not and those who use these dominant discourses generally try to maintain the status quo once they have obtained this dominance (Jørgensen and Phillips: 2002: 74-76). The “order of discourse” refers to the sum of all genres and discourses that have been used in a social context or situation, in other words, it is all discourses within a social institution or field. It is also a kind of system that forms and is formed by specific instances of language usage (ibid: 83).

CDA is a theoretical and methodological instrument that enables the user to investigate how discourse, social and cultural development are interrelated. As suggested by Fairclough’s CDA framework, any communicative event, that is, an instance of language use, should be analysed in terms of the discursive practice (text production and consumption), the text (linguistic and inter-textual analysis) and in terms of the wider socio-cultural practice (the political, economical and cultural setting the communicative event is a part of). To this end, Fairclough emphasises the dialectical interplay of social practices, discursive practices and their influence on a particular text. According to that perspective, discourses are both constituted and constitutive of the social world, thus text analysis can illuminate systems of knowledge (representation or hegemony), social identity (identity and group formations) and social relations (links of equivalence or difference.)
Fairclough’s three-dimensional model illustrated above is an analytical framework for empirical research on communication and society, and all three-dimensions should be covered in a specific discourse analysis of a communicative event. His framework has some points of convergence with the work of another important CDA theorist, the Dutch scholar, Teun van Dijk. Van Dijk has long been a leading theorist and advocate of discourse analysis as an interdisciplinary approach to the analysis of texts in social context (Bell and Garrett: 1998: 6). Even applying a different terminology, Van Dijk’s approach to CDA has critical points of convergence with Fairclough’s approach, mainly in his insistence on the importance of linking textual analysis to the “broader” dimensions of social reality. Accordingly, he differentiates between two levels of analysis, namely: “micro” and “macro” structures of discourse. On the micro level, one analyses language use, discourse, verbal interaction and communication while on the macro level, power, dominance and inequality between social groups are typical terms to be analysed. Hence, in his view, one of the main functions of CDA is to theoretically bridge the “gap” between the “micro” and “macro” structures of discourse (Van Dijk: 2001: 352-371). It is also important to note that, in a series of studies, Van Dijk developed a framework in which he applied his conception of CDA in analysing news, especially in newspapers, as discourse.

3.8 The Media

Van Dijk’s analysis of practices of news production and news comprehension has an emphasis on process of social cognition, i.e. how cognitive “models” and “schemata” shape production and comprehension. Basically, his main motivation for linking news texts to context is to show in detail how social relationships and processes, for example, the reproduction of racism, are accomplished in a micro-level through routine practices. His framework actually analyses news texts based on what he calls the ‘the structure of news’, processes of news production and processes of news comprehension. (Fairclough: 1995a: 28-29), which aims to show relationships between texts, production processes and comprehension processes, and between these and the wider social practices they are embedded within. These works constitute another point of convergence between Van Dijk and Fairclough, especially in relation to the latter’s conception of media discourse.

To Fairclough, media texts provide an interesting field of study as the mass media has gained a significant and influential status within contemporary society. Thus, according to him, any media text or communicative event constitute “sensitive barometers of socio-cultural change, and they should be seen as valuable material for researching change” (ibid: 52). Although Fairclough’s general framework of CDA has to be applied when analysing media texts, it is important to note that, communicative events in the order of media discourse differ from other types of communicative events. First, he points out that, media communicative events are marked by three things, namely: temporal, spatial and cultural disjunction, and second, one-way communication processes mainly constitute media discourse; thus media discourse can be defined as “mediated quasi-interaction” (Thompson 1990: 228).
This feature of the media raises the question of access and power relations. Who actually has the possibility to use the media as a field of representation and expression? According to Fairclough, the media industry is a highly elite field, dominated by those who have economic, cultural or political power (Fairclough 1995a: 40). Due to this limited access, media texts tend to represent the world according to the status quo while the marginalised views hardly enter the discourse. To this end, the media discourse can often be regarded as ideological, taking into consideration Fairclough’s conceptualisation of ideology as “meaning in the service of power” (ibid: 14). Interestingly, the ideological elements of a specific media communicative event often arise from other pre-constructed texts and sources. This conception leads up to Fairclough’s understanding of a chain of communicative events, as most discourses presented in the media have been developed through different stages, and these transformations can result from internal institutional practices, i.e., set of institutional routines within a newspaper, for example, like editorial procedures or from re-contextualisation of source-media/editorial texts or messages.

In this way, Fairclough’s understanding of the media constitutes a useful perspective to guide my analysis, however, the point to which I want to draw attention is the dialogical conception of discourse pointed by him as “a form of social practice which both constitute the social world and is constituted by other social practices”. The assumption that discourse exists in dialogue with society and that “language simultaneously reflects reality (‘the way things are’) and constructs (‘construes’) it to be in a certain way” (Richardson: 2007: 26) is one of the general principles of CDA. It is drawing on this assumption that my analysis will focus on the textual dimension; and will examine the power struggle in which CDA is interested as being reflected and constructed in the text.

In order to justify the choice of an analytical framework based on Fairclough’s dimension textual analysis, there are two points that I need to clarify. One, the adoption of the analytical framework proposed by Fairclough is consistent with the central aim of this project, that is, to engage critically with the discipline of CDA in order to propose a different application of its tools. I argue that, this choice is consistent with my aim because in order to review the usual practices of CDA and propose a different application, it is necessary to remain within its ‘mainstream’ lines and work with tools that are generally accepted by researchers working in the field. In this way, the choice for any alternative approaches could minimise the strength of my claim. Thus, the fact that Fairclough is considered to be one of the main theorists of CDA and represents one of the main lines of the field makes his analytical framework relevant to the context of this project.

Two, although I acknowledge the importance of the three-dimensions of Fairclough’s model and I sustain that the analysis of all of them is necessary for a complete critical discourse analysis, I also have to consider that Fairclough admits the separation of the three-dimensions for analytical purposes. He also points to textual analysis as his preferred method “to capture socio-cultural processes in the course of their occurrence (Fairclough: 1995b: 186) and as a means to develop and spread “critical awareness of language as a factor of domination” (ibid). Also in the course of this project, I had to recognise the impossibility of isolating the three-dimensions, meaning that textual analysis has raised issues related especially to social
practices. In this way, a natural development of this project would consist of moving from the
textual analysis to the analysis of discursive practices and social practices, which, however
was not included due to time and resources restrictions.

Another point to be made in favour of textual analysis has to do with the main argument of
this project. When I decided to focus my argument on issues in which there is no explicit
polarisation (in other words, no explicit social problem), I began my research from a different
starting point than the one adopted by traditional researchers in the field of CDA. That is,
while CDA traditionally has its point of departure in the recognition of a social problem and
then moves to the analysis of discourses related to that problem, this project has its point of
departure in the analysis of discourses about issues in which there seems to be no social
problem; and it is this analysis that uncovers the presence of a social problem.

3.9 Textual Analysis

Textual analysis involves the analysis of the way propositions are structured and the way they
are combined and sequenced (Richardson: 2007). In a critical textual analysis, the analyst
examines the text in terms of what is present and what could have been but is not present. In
other words, the analyst is concerned with the choices involved in a text. The analysis of
these choices in texts covers traditional forms of linguistic analysis - analysis of vocabulary
and semantics, the grammar of sentences and smaller units and the sound system
(‘phonology’) and writing system. But it also includes analysis of textual organisation above
the sentence, including the ways in which sentences are connected together (‘cohesion’) and
things like the organisation of turn-taking in interviews or the overall structure of a
newspaper article (ibid: 38).

According to Richardson (ibid: 46-47), we can rely on three main concepts as key issues to
the analysis of texts, and these are:

1. The inter-related nature of textual form and textual content, meaning that texts written
   or laid out in different ways mean different things.
2. The notion of level of analysis; as Fairclough puts, there are two major aspects of
texts to be considered during analysis: “the structuring of propositions” (which
concern the representation of individuals and other social actors, actions, processes
and events) and “the combination and sequencing of propositions” (which concern the
organisation of the single clauses into a coherently structured whole); in this way, our
linguistic analysis of news-text should move away from the small-scale analysis of
words, through sentences and onto larger-scale analysis of the organisation of
meaning across a text as a whole.
3. The assumption that texts are multi-functional, performing simultaneous tasks (in
accordance with the theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)\(^{35}\); texts
simultaneous represent aspects of the world (“ideational function”), enact social

\(^{35}\) This is usually associated with the work of M. A. K. Halliday
relations between participants in social events (“inter-personal function”), and coherently and cohesively connects parts of texts together as a united whole (“textual function”).

From this perspective, I should not consider elements of vocabulary, grammar and semantics to be significant in themselves “rather it is the function that such elements serve in the moment of their use that is of interest” (ibid: 38-39).

3.10 Functions

The establishment of three different functions performed by texts is one of the fundamentals of SFL, which is the linguistic theory that has most commonly been used to inform CDA, relationship between language and other elements and aspects of social life, and its approach to the linguistic analysis of texts is always oriented to the social character” (Fairclough: 2003a: 5), making it a valuable resource for CDA. He also adopts a multi-functional view of texts, but he puts it in rather different terms. He again, argues that discourse figures in three main aspects in social practice, and these are:

1. Genres: the relationship of the text to the event; different ways of (inter)acting discursively.
2. Discourses: the relationship of the text to the wider physical and social world; ways of representing the material world, other social practices, reflexive self-representations of the practice in question.
3. Style: the relationship of the text to the persons involved in the event; ways of being, particular social or personal identities (ibid: 26).

Associating the multi-functional view to the distinction between genres, discourses and styles as the three main ways in which discourse figures as part of social practice, Fairclough prefers to talk on three major types of meaning, which he names: action, representation and identification. He explained that representation corresponds to Halliday’s “ideational” function: Action is closest to his “interpersonal” function; though it puts more emphasis on text as a way of (inter)acting in social events, and it can be seen as incorporating Relation (enacting social relations); Halliday does not differentiate a separate function to do with identification – most of what I include in Identification is his “interpersonal” function. I do not distinguish a separate “textual” function, rather I incorporate it within Action (ibid: 27). There is an evident correspondence between “action and genres”, “representation and discourses” and “identification and styles”.

Based on this, Fairclough states that, when we analyse specific texts as part of specific events we are both “looking at them in terms of the three aspects of meaning Action, Representation and Identification, and how these are realised in the various features of the texts (their vocabulary, their grammar and so forth)”, and at the same time, we are “making a connection between the concrete social event and more abstract social practices by asking, which genres, discourses and styles are drawn upon here, and how are the different genres, discourses and
styles articulated together in the text?” (ibid: 28). He also emphasises on the point that the three aspects of meaning and also the genres, discourses and styles are not totally separate rather, they are dialectically related. Schematically, discourses (representational meaning) may be enacted in genres (actional meanings); discourses may also be inculcated in styles (identificational meanings); and actions and identities (genres and styles) may be represented in discourses (representational meanings) (ibid: 29). However, he emphasises that the distinction between the three aspects of meaning and between genres, discourses and styles is necessary for analytical purposes.

As I am engaging with the methodology proposed by CDA and proposing that it can be applied to “alternative settings”, I believe that it is relevant to the context of this project that I adhere to the “mainstream” lines of CDA and apply an analytical framework developed and proposed by one of the main theorists of the field. Thus, as Fairclough represents one of the main lines of CDA, I am adopting his approach to textual analysis, guided by the distinction between genres, discourses and styles. I will explore these three aspects of Fairclough’s multi-functional view of discourse in the next section.

3.11 Critique of Fairclough’s Dimensions of CDA

In the words of Jørgensen and Phillips (2002: 69-70) the aim of CDA is to explore the links between language use and social practice. The focus is on the role of discursive practices in the maintenance of social order and in social change. Explaining further, they stated that broadly speaking, CDA is a social-constructivist approach maintaining that representations of the world are partly linguistic-discursive where meanings are holistically and culturally specific and knowledge is created through social interaction while social construction of knowledge has social consequences (ibid: 4-6). Hence, what differentiates CDA on one hand from social and cultural theory is its aim at a close linguistic reading of texts. But, on the other hand, CDA differs from pure linguistic models in its understanding that text analysis is not alone sufficient for discourse analysis, as it does not shed light on the links between texts and societal and cultural processes and structures, and thus an inter-disciplinary perspective is needed in which one combines textual and social analysis (ibid: 66).

But, in Fairclough’s three-dimensional model for CDA, he differentiates between text – speech, writing, visual image or a combination of these, discursive practice which involves the production and consumption of texts, and which is a social practice. Practically, Fairclough’s model is an analytical framework for empirical research on communication and society and in a specific discourse analysis of a communicative event all the three dimensions should be covered, although no empirical attention is given to the middle range of the discourse practices (Schrøder 1999). Fairclough himself states that it is important to be aware that analysis of the linguistic features of the text inevitably will involve analysis of the discursive practice, and vice versa (1992b: 73) to support the above assertions, nevertheless, text and discursive practice represent two different dimensions in Fairclough’s model and, consequently, should be separated analytically (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002: 69).
Based on the above, my reasons for doing this critique on Fairclough’s model is that my empirical material for the project is newspaper articles, thus to be practical, I need to examine newspaper production conditions in relation to what kinds of processes does a text go through before it is printed and know the changes it undergo during those processes. Doing this would have helped me to trace an inter-textual chain of texts where the “same” text can be seen in a range of different versions, because when analyzing an inter-textual chain, one can see how structure and content are transformed, and can start to formulate a hypothesis about the kinds of production conditions to which the different versions are subject (Fairclough 1995b: 77ff). Secondly, I could have carried out audience research at the consumption end in order to find out how readers interpret the texts.

But, in his three-dimensional model, Fairclough does not sociologically examine the ways in which texts are produced or decoded, but works from a linguistic starting point in concrete texts, identifying what discourses they draw on – inter-discursivity and how they inter-textually draw on other texts (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002: 83). Thus leading me to read into, rather than out of texts, making me ideologically bias, which is further compounded by the fact that I selected only those texts which will confirm my belief; and finally, the distinction between my interpretation and that of the lay reader is ignored.

Hence, if everything is analyzed as being relative to the person or audience reading it, or to the discourse(s) that he/she adheres to, then nothing is certain; and if this is the case, then it seems contrary to the purpose of the Fairclough’s dimensions, as such relativism questions the validity of the dimensions own universality or applicability.

3.12 Genres and Actions

Genres are the specifically discursive aspects of ways of acting and interacting in the course of social events. When we analyse a text in terms of genre, “we are asking how it figures within and contributes to social action and interaction in social events” (ibid: 65). He approaches the analysis of genres from the semantic, grammatical and lexical features of text and presents some aspects of the organisation and various features of texts which are primarily shaped by and dependent upon genre as (ibid: 67):

1. The overall (“generic”) structure or organisation of a text,
2. Semantic (logical, temporal, etc.) relations between clauses and sentences, and over larger stretches of text,
3. Formal, including grammatical relations between sentences and clauses,
4. At the level of the clauses (simple sentence), types of exchange, speech function, mood,
5. The mode of inter-textuality of a text, the way in which other texts and voices are incorporated.

Fairclough (2003a) also refers to genres in relation to the types of exchange they enact, which may be differentiated into knowledge exchange (exchange of information) and activity
exchange (focus on people doing things or getting people to do something). On the basis of this distinction, he differentiates a number of primary speech functions, a concept he uses in a similar way to what linguistic philosophy and pragmatics call ‘speech acts’, referring to major things people do with words. These primary speech functions, which can be elaborated and differentiated in terms of many different speech acts, are: statements, questions, demands and offers. Speech functions are realised in “grammatical mood” which can be differentiated into declarative, interrogative and imperative.

Another feature of texts that is relevant to the study of genres refers to the way in which other texts and voices are incorporated, that is, inter-textuality. Fairclough views inter-textuality not only as the presence of actual elements of other texts within a text in the form of quotation, but also reported speech and elements incorporated without attribution. He also links inter-textuality to the idea of assumptions by using the concept of assumption to include types of implicitness which are generally distinguished as presuppositions, logical implications or entailments and implicatures – referring to what is “unsaid” in a text, but taken as given. He places assumptions along with inter-textuality as connecting one text to others and to the “world of texts”, but distinguishes them in terms of attribution – where the former are not generally attributed or attributable to specific texts.

3.13 Discourses and Representations

Fairclough sees discourses as ways of representing aspects of the world, that is, the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the “mental world” of thoughts, feelings, beliefs, etc. and the social world. To him, different discourses are different perspectives on the world and they are “associated with different relations people have to the world, which in turn depends on their positions in the world, their social and personal identities, and the social relationships in which they stand to other people” (ibid: 124). He also stressed that discourses are part of the resources people have at their disposal to both relate to one another (keeping separate from one another, complementing one another, cooperating, competing, dominating, etc.) and trying to change the ways in which they relate to one another.

He argues that in talking about discourses as different ways of representing, we are implying that, to some degree, they are shared by groups of people and staple over time, however, he claims discourses differ in their degree of repetition, commonality, stability over time and scale, that is, how much of the world they include and in the range of representations they can generate. Again, he says “different texts within the same chain of events or which are located in relation to the same (network of) social practices, and which represent broadly the same aspects of the world, differ in the discourses upon which they draw” (ibid: 127), and this can be done by choices of lexicon, agency, verbal processes, assumptions, etc. Texts also set up dialogical or polemical relations between their “own” discourses and discourses of the others; at the same time, texts are often mixed or hybrid. In this way, an inter-discursive analysis of texts is partly concerned with identifying which discourses are drawn upon and how they are articulated together. That said, he suggested two points in order to identify different
discourses within a text when doing textual analysis (ibid: 129): (1) identify the main parts of the world (including areas of social life) which are represented – the main themes (2) Identify the particular perspective or angle or point of view from which they are represented.

According to him, the representation of social events can be seen as ‘re-contextualisation’, incorporating questions of exclusion/inclusion/prominence and abstract/concrete/representation; from the representation of specific social events to the representation of social practices or structures (ibid: 138). From the perspective of representational meanings, clauses can be seen as having three main types of elements: processes, participants and circumstances. Processes are generally realised as verbs; Participants as subjects, objects or indirect objects of verbs; Circumstances as adverbial elements (ibid: 135). The theory of SFL also states that, processes can be divided into “actional processes” when they are representing actions, events and relationships perceived in the physical world (the world of thought and perception), which include verbal, mental and material processes – and ‘rational processes’ – when they are representing states of mind or states of being, which includes “identifying”, “attributive” and “circumstantial” processes (Halliday 1994).

In similar terms to Halliday’s, Fairclough (2003a) distinguishes between material, verbal, mental, existential and two types of relational processes. According to him, what characterises each type of the processes is the participants and the circumstances associated with them. Because, both approaches also draw attention to the fact that actional processes (including verbal, mental and material processes) can be transitive (actor + process + affected) or intransitive (actor or affected + process); and, transitive actional processes can be presented in active or passive form (with the option to have or not a passive agent). Just as in the same way that processes can be managed, there are also choices in the representation of social actors or participants. Thus, Fairclough states that, these choices can be seen in terms of variables such as inclusion/exclusion, pronoun/noun, grammatical role (participant or possessive noun or pronoun), activated/passivated, personal/impersonal, named/classified, and specified/generic (Fairclough: 2003a: 145-146).

3.14 Styles and Identities

Styles are the discursive aspect of ways of being (identities), and according to Fairclough (ibid: 159) styles are linked to identification using the nominalisation rather than the noun “identities”. He argues that even though identification does involve the constitutive effects of discourse, it should be seen as a dialectical process in which discourses are inculcated in identities. According to him one consequence of this dialectical view is that, Identificational meanings (as well as Actional meanings) in texts can be seen as presupposing Representational meanings – the assumptions on which people identify themselves as they do. He continued by saying that, styles are realised in a range of linguistic features, such as, phonological features, vocabulary and metaphor and interplays between language and body language (ibid 162).
Thus, one way to approach Identification, according to Fairclough, is through modality, in the sense that what one commits oneself to is a significant part of what one is, in this way, “modality choices in texts can be seen as part of the process of texturing self-identity” (ibid: 166). He also links modality to exchange types and speech functions, and argues that, there are different types of modality which can be associated with different types of exchange and speech functions. He continues by saying that in modalised clauses one can distinguish different levels or degrees of commitment to truth on the one hand and obligation/necessity on the other hand. Fairclough also points to the fact that, another way of approaching identification is through evaluation, that is, statements about desirability and undesirability, what is good and what is bad; and continued by saying that in most cases, evaluative statements are realised as relational processes, in which the evaluative element is in the attribute that may be an adjective or a noun phrase, but may also be realised as other processes in which the evaluative element is the verb or an adverb.

3.15 Inter-textuality and Assumptions

As already discussed, inter-textuality is a feature mostly relevant to the study of genres. Fairclough takes inter-textuality as part of the “external” relations of texts (as opposed to “internal” relations of semantics, grammar, lexicon and phonology) and also links inter-textuality to the idea of assumptions and sets out two main differences between them, and these are: one, assumptions are not generally attributed or attributable to specific texts; two, inter-textuality “broadly opens up differences by bringing other ‘voice’ into a text”, whereas assumption “broadly reduces difference by assuming common ground” (ibid: 41). He furthermore argues that we can schematically differentiate five scenarios of orientation of texts (as elements of social events) to difference, below are the five scenarios:

1. An openness to, acceptance of, recognition of difference; an exploration of difference, as in “dialogue” in the richest sense of the term,
2. An accentuation of difference, conflict, polemic, a struggle over meaning, norms, power,
3. An attempt to resolve or overcome difference,
4. A bracketing of difference, a focus on commonality, solidarity,
5. Consensus, a normalisation and acceptance of differences of power which brackets or suppresses differences of meaning and norms.

However, he emphasises that the above is not a typology of actual social events and interaction, rather, social events and texts may combine these scenarios in various ways, and this includes also texts of which the production does not include dialogue, as written texts because “all texts are addressed, have particular addressees and readers in view, and assume and anticipate differences between ‘author’ and addressees’ (ibid: 42). In this way, Fairclough points to a scale from most dialogical to least dialogical formulations as follows: attribute – quote - modalised assertion - non-modalised assertion - assumption. Although he makes a distinction between inter-textuality and assumptions in terms of openness to
difference, he acknowledges that even with direct reporting, the different forms it can assume can also distance it from openness to dialogue and difference. Thus, in order to investigate matters of inter-textuality, I should ask “Which texts and voices are included? Which are excluded? What significant absences are there?” It may not be possible to identify the answers to these questions with full and accurate precision, but they are analytical useful (ibid: 47).

When texts are inter-textually incorporated to other texts, they may or may not be attributed, that is, the original “author” or “source” may not be in the text, may not be referred to or may be “elsewhere”, but when inter-textuality is attributed, it may be specifically attributed to a particular people, or non-specifically (vaguely) attributed (ibid: 48), which can be done in four different ways, namely: direct reporting, indirect reporting, free indirect reporting and narrative report of speech act. According to Fairclough, inter-textuality is a matter of re-contextualisation, that is, a movement from one context to another, entailing particular transformations, and in this way, the analyst should address both the relationship between the report and the original, and the relationship between the report and the rest of the text in which it occurs, that is, how the report figure in the text and what work it does (ibid: 51). The second point is related to the activity of ‘framing’, that is, the choices about how to contextualise the voice incorporated, in terms of other parts of the text (relation between report and authorial account) and this can be achieved, for instance, through the reporting verbs chosen. Framing also brings to light, questions about the ordering voices in relation to each other in a text – antagonist-protagonist structuring, prominence, use of specific sentence connectors, etc.

On assumptions, Fairclough point that no form of social communication or interaction is conceivable without some common ground, some meanings which are shared and can be taken as given, on the other hand, the capacity to exercise social power, domination and hegemony includes the capacity to shape the nature and the content of this “common ground”, which makes implicitness and assumptions an important issue with respect to ideology (ibid: 55). He applies the concept of “assumption” in a similar way to what linguistic pragmatics call ‘presuppositions’ by distinguishes between the existential assumptions (assumptions about what exist), propositional (factual) assumptions (assumptions about what is, can be or will be the case) and value assumptions (assumptions about what is good or desirable). On the basis of Fairclough’s argument, then, assumptions can be triggered by linguistic features of a text, but not all assumptions are triggered or marked in the text.

In a way which is very relevant to the context of this project, Fairclough argues that value systems and associated assumptions can be regarded as belonging to particular discourses and that assumed meanings are of particular ideological significance. In this sense, relations of power may be said to be best served by meanings which are widely taken as given and the ideological work of texts may be said to be connected to hegemony and universalisation (ibid: 58).
3.6 Field Work

Back home in Ghana between July and September, I did a field work in relation to the project. Through that I was able to make contact with two functionaries of the two largest political parties in the Western Region for classification of issues pertaining to their respective parties. They are Mr. Amemoh, the Procurement Officer/Lecturer at Takoradi Polytechnic and a leading NDC activist and Mr. Eric Bruce Amartey, also a Lecturer at Takoradi Polytechnic and NPP Youth Organiser – Effia-Kwesimintim Constituency. Without them it would have been difficult having access to their various national executives. In addition to the above, I did some cross-examinations with non-executive members but card bearing members of both parties to verify issues in relation to tactics employed by their parties, particularly, before elections to win votes or make people vote for their parties.

Furthermore, I contacted Professor Kwame Ninsin of the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon, on political party systems in Ghana and read through a study he did on behalf of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in 2006 to acquit myself of the political situation prevailing. Since it was a problem for the top management of the state-owned media to freely give out information, I was fortunate to meet Madam Juliana Amoah of the Daily Graphic Regional Office in Koforidua, Eastern Region, who supplied me with the needed information about the newspaper and the photo-stat copies of the political news articles for the project.

Mr. George Naykene of the Ghana News Agency, Western Region, also helped me historical documents on how the media has been structured before independence to date. Finally, I made a contact with a presenter of one of Ghana top radio stations, Joy FM (99.7) in Accra, Pastor Mike Abossey on media coverage, especially when the country entered into the 4th Republic nineteen years ago. And an official at the Electoral Commission head office in Accra who wants to remain anonymous took through the work of the Commission, procedures for elections and showed me statistical documents of each election from 1992 to 2008.
Chapter Four

4.1 Methodology

As already mentioned, in order to investigate my proposition that might profit from a shift of gaze and a broadening of the scope of issues addressed in its attempt to uncover the role of discursive practices in the maintenance of unequal power relations, my methodological strategy will be based on applying the analytical tools usually associated with CDA to a particular case study, especially the framework of textual analysis proposed by Fairclough, as already outlined in the previous section. This section will present and discuss how I intend to achieve my purpose.

4.2 Sampling

To epitomise my argument that critical discourse analysis could be used to capture conflict/negotiation in alternative settings, a range of Daily Graphic political news articles on the representation of the Other in Ghana politics was selected through purposive sampling. First, the time-frame within which the articles were published was specified and concretised to limit the scope of the analysis, hence, the sample of the articles on the representation of the Other embraces some periods from 2005 to 2010, basically involving two different ruling political parties in Ghana. Second, articles primarily engulfed political-related information, such as accounts of political parties internal structures and congresses to select electable candidates in elections, were ignored, since such type of data did not deal with the representation of the Other, and it is also not central to my research. At this point, I had twelve articles.

Finally, given the focus of my project, I conducted sampling based on a thematic approach in order to exhibit the inter-textual dimension in the analysis. Thus, articles were selected on the basis of a specific theme – in my case, their reflection about the undercurrent tendencies of the representation of the Other by political leaders and actors in a daily newspaper. Articles which were left aside dealt mostly with providing the readers with background and contextualising information on Ghana, such as history, sports and political figures, and as a result of this process, ten articles were eventually selected for analysis.36

4.3 Analytical Framework

In order to build a coherent connection between the theories that I am discussing and reviewing and the analytical strategy that is applied in the analysis of the Daily Graphic articles, I adopt two main lines of inquiry on the basis of what has been presented in the previous section, and these are:

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36 Refer to Appendix 3, page 95
1. I am examining the texts by looking at them in terms of how the three aspects of meaning (action, representation and identification) are realised in the various features of the texts and by asking which genres, discourses and styles are drawn upon and how they are articulated together in the text.

2. I am also examining the texts in terms of the representation of the other and the ideological square, and how the various features of the text contribute to build a polarisation through the contextual strategy of *positive self-presentation* and *negative other-presentation*.

There are numerous tools that can be applied to textual analysis and there would be no purpose on presenting every possible tool. In this way, in the next subsections I am going to present a selection of some of the most usual tools applied to text analysis in the context of CDA. The selection has been done with regards to the usefulness of the tool to the context I am working in, with particular attention to features which have been associated to revealing the play between *Us* and *Them*. That said, it is important to emphasise that every tool will be applied taking into consideration the two major theoretical standpoints mentioned above - a multifunctional view of texts and the ideological square.

### 4.4 Lexical Analysis

The most common first stage of any text or discourse analysis is the analysis of particular words used in a text, because words “convey the imprint of society and of value judgements in particular” (Richardson: 2007: 47). All words, but particularly nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs carry connoted and denoted meanings.

When analysing the play *Us* and *Them*, the analysis of pair of words used to refer basically to the same kind of people, group, action, institution or event, but in relation to *Us* and *Them*, can be particularly revealing. As Richardson states, “the words used to communicate the message(s) of a text [...] frame the story in direct and unavoidable ways”. He continues by presenting an example of such pairing through referring to a study of the words used by journalists during the 1991 war against Iraq (ibid: 47-48):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>They have</th>
<th>We have</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A war machine</td>
<td>Army, Navy and Air Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Censorship</td>
<td>Reporting restrictions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Propaganda</td>
<td>Press briefing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td>We</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroy</td>
<td>Suppress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kill</td>
<td>Eliminate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kill</td>
<td>Neutralise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They launch</td>
<td>We launch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sneak attacks</td>
<td>First strikes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without provocation</td>
<td>Pre-emptively</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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37 Refer to Chapter Three, page 38
Their men are                Our men are
Troops                      Boys
Hordes                      Lads
Saddam Hussein is           George Bush [Snr] is
Demented                    At peace with himself
Defiant                     Resolute

The same strategy can be applied to the analysis of the selected articles by identifying the pair of words used to refer to the same kind of people, group, action, institution or event, but in relation to the ruling party and the party in opposition, I will be examining if this pairs of words are performing the contextual strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

4.5 Transitivity Analysis

A way to practically examine the types of meaning (action, representation and identification) and aspects that relate discourses to social practices (genres, discourses and styles) in the context of the polarisation Us vs. Them can be extracted from the transitivity analysis developed within the broader framework of Halliday’s (Oktar: 2001) systemic-functional theory of language. As suggested by Oktar, a transitivity analysis can be employed in an attempt to describe the representational processes in the presentation of Us and Them in media discourse by closely relating the communication of meaning to what options within the linguistic system which are chosen and not chosen, with “the selection of options constituting meaning potentials” (Fairclough: 1995b: 210).

In the systemic-functional view of language, the term “transitivity” refers generally to how meanings is represented in the clause, that is, how language users encode in language their mental picture of reality and how they account for their experience in the world around them (Oktar: 2001: 323). On the linguistic plane, transitivity analysis is concerned with propositional meanings and functions of syntactic elements. On the social plane, transitivity analysis provide the ground for uncovering what social, cultural, ideological and/or political factors determine how a process is signified linguistically in a particular type of discourse or in a particular text (ibid: 324). The investigation of transitivity deals mainly with examining the processes represented in the clauses and the way the three components of processes (the process itself, the participants and the circumstances) are changed and managed. In the subsections that follow, I will explore these components further in order to try to clarify the changes that they can suffer in the context of the clause and how that can be significant for my analysis.

4.6 Processes

As already presented in the previous section, there are different types of processes that can be present in a text in different forms. Presenting a process either as a transitive or as an
intransitive construction is a matter of the way in which the process is integrates into the ideological system of the text producer, and the manner in which such a process is therefore articulated in a specific discourse (Ibid: 336). A transformation from an active construction to a passive construction can go as far as to delete the actor, leaving a passivised verb without agent and can be applied to verbal, mental or material processes. As Richardson (2007: 55) states, such transformation removes a sense of specificity and precision from the clause. Fairclough (cited in ibid: 56) also states that transforming an active process into a relation can remove important political implications. In this way, by applying an analysis of transitivity, it is possible to bring attention to how the writer attributes agency and process to the various participants in the text, serving to uncover the way language represents reality in terms of how dominant actors are categorised, characterised and constructed, what they do to whom and with what consequences (ibid: 325-326). By exploring the choices among different types of processes present in the text, it is possible to identify to what extent these choices contribute to the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

According to Oktar’s (2001) finding about the presentation of Us and Them in the context of the conflict between “secularists and sheriatists” in Turkey, the opposition between Us and Them is more expressed by “actional processes”; what they do is explicitly articulated negatively while what we do is implicitly reflected in positive terms. He also points out that a typical negative other-presentation is the choice of transitive structures in the active voice which explicitly displays what they are doing with a direct negative effect on Us, on the other hand, a typical contextual strategy of positive self-presentation is back-grounding the real agent by means of associating generic agent roles/institutional agents with concrete activity types that are typically agentive-verbs. It is also possible to change the circumstances associated with the process either by additional contextualisation (with adverbial or prepositional phrases) or through the structuring or framing of a process meaning relations (Richardson: 2007).

4.7 Participants – Naming and Reference

In relation to the participant, it is important to note that people simultaneously possess a range of identities, roles and characteristics that could be used to describe them equally accurately, but with different meanings. According to Richardson, the way people are named in news discourse can have significant impact on the way in which they are viewed and he buttresses this point by saying “journalists have to provide names for the people in the events they report. And logically, by choosing one social category over another, they include them within a category and exclude them from other different categories – or perhaps, choose to foreground one social category over other equally accurate alternatives” (Richardson: 2007: 49).

Reisigl and Wodak (2001) have called these naming options in texts as “referential strategies” and have pointed out that they “can serve many different psychological, social or political purposes”. The chosen referential strategies perform a function within the text: they
do not only project meaning and social values onto the referent, they also establish coherence relations with the way that other social actors are referred to and represented. Van Dijk proposes the ideological square as a conceptual tool to analyse referential strategies, as it determines choices between referential strategies. Richardson (2007) explains further that, the ideological square predicts that outsiders will be represented in a negative way and insiders will be represented in a positive way by emphasizing (foregrounding) their negative characteristics and social activities and de-emphasizing (back-grounding) their positive characteristics and social activities; and at the same time, our positive characteristics and social activities are fore-grounded while our negative characteristics and social activities are back-grounded. However, Oktar (2001) claims that the assignment of positive properties to Us is done in a rather implicit manner, which can be achieved in two main ways: firstly, by focusing predominantly on the negative presentation of Them, leaving Us implicit, presupposed and much less identified, and secondly, by emphasizing the desirability of values supported by Us without referring to Us directly.

4.8 Participants and Processes – Predication

Yet another relevant feature of textual analysis in relation to participants is the choice of words used to represent more directly the values and characteristics of social actors and this aspect is closely related to the “attributive relational processes”. Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 54) call this feature “predicational strategies” and define them as “the very basic process and result of linguistically assigning qualities to persons, animals, objects, events, actions and social phenomena”. They further explain that, predication strategies are mainly realised by specific forms of reference (based on explicit denotation as well as on more or less implicit connotation), by attributes (in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctival clauses, infinitive clauses and participial clauses or groups), by predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns, by collocations or explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures [...] and by more or less implicit allusions, evocations and presuppositions/implications (ibid).

According to Oktar (2001), the use of attributive referential, the activities presented are usually of judgement, enabling the writer to be more judgemental about the polarities presented, therefore, the explicit assignment of negative attributes to Them in polarised terms and the implicitness of Us serve to highlight the ideological conflict. Predication, according to Fairclough (2003a), can also be linked to matters of identification as a process of evaluation; and evaluation is present in statements about desirability and undesirability, what is good and what is bad.

4.9 Modality

According to Simpson (Richardson: 2007: 59), modality refers to the attitude of writer “toward, or opinion about, the truth of a proposition expressed by a sentence. It also extends
to their attitude towards the situation or event described by a sentence”. As already explained in the previous section, modality is usually indicated via the use of modal verbs, such as, may, could, should, will and must, or through adverbs, and it may be expressed in two principal forms, namely; truth modality and obligation/necessity modality.

Categorical modal claims usually appear more authoritative, while more cautious claims can bring ambiguity to a statement, with striking effects on shaping the understanding of an event or possible event, and being used as a propagandistic technique. However, in general, adding a modal verb usually weakens a claim. Fairclough (2003a: 166) links the use of modality to the process of texturing self-identity and claims that it shows the extent to what one commit oneself to something, which is a significant part of one’s identity.

4.10 Assumptions

Recalling what has already been discussed in the previous section regarding assumptions (the term that Fairclough uses similarly to what linguistic pragmatics call presuppositions), I have decided to say that they point to the common ground shared by participants of social communication or interaction, meanings which are shared and can be taken as given. In short, what is said in a text is always said against the background of what is unsaid, thus the capacity to shape the nature and content of this common ground is closely related to matters of exercising social power, domination and hegemony. Also, presuppositions are relevant to how the text positions its readers, that is, how a text positions the reader is a matter of the common-sense assumptions it attributes to the reader.

Assumptions are in three forms – existential assumptions, propositional assumptions and value assumptions. Each of them may be triggered or marked by different linguistic features, but not all assumptions are triggered. An example of assumption which is not explicitly marked is the bridging assumptions, that is, assumptions which are necessary to create a coherent link between parts of a text, so that a text makes sense. I may say, in more clear terms that, assumptions are very much related to the world-view and value systems that text adopts, which has to be shared, or at least recognised, by the reader in order for him to make sense of the text. When assumptions are marked in the text, it is possible to link them to some linguistic features, such as:

1. Certain verbs such as change of state verbs (stop, begin, continue), implicative verbs (manage, forget, remember) invoke presupposed meanings in their use,
2. The definite article (the) and possessive articles – which is associates with existential assumption,
3. Wh-questions (why, when, who, etc.)

In addition, nouns and adjectives used to qualify or modify noun phrases can also trigger presuppositions (nominal presuppositions); for example, in the headline Denmark’s asylum seekers takes new hammering, - new presupposes past hammerings.
4.11 Rhetorical Tropes

Journalism is an argumentative discourse genre in which a report “should aim to persuade the audience that his or her description and interpretation is the rational and appropriate one” (Richardson: 2007: 64). One of the rhetorical strategies journalists may apply in an attempt to persuade their audience rests on the use of rhetorical tropes. A trope is a deviation from the principal signification of a word. Richardson (ibid) points to some specific tropes as being the most common in journalist discourse, and these are: hyperbole, metaphor, metonym, neologism and puns.

From the above, metaphors were significant in the context of the sample selected. Metaphor is a concept which involves perceiving one thing in terms of another, and metaphorical framework can be employed or used to hide true negative aspects of an event or process.

4.12 Combination and Sequencing of Clauses

All the features of textual analysis presented above are mostly related to the first level of analysis, that is, the structuring of propositions. However, when analysing a text, one should move from this small-scale analysis onto larger-scale analysis of the organisation of meanings across a text as a whole. According to Fairclough (1995a: 104-105), when analysing the combination and sequencing of clauses, choices are available at different levels and these levels are:

1. Local coherence between clauses, in terms of how clause are combined together into sentences, which relations of cohesion are set up between sentences and what forms of argumentation are used within different texts,
2. Global text structure, in terms of choices between different types of genres and activities available.

In this way, an analyst needs to know not only which social practices are represented in a text, but also what relative weight or importance is attached to different elements within a representation (ibid: 121). Thus, one notices some recurrent patterns that are identified in the combination and sequencing of clauses, especially in relation to media texts:

1. In sentences, main clauses generally foreground information, whereas subordinate clauses generally background it, this is especially when the main clauses precedes a subordinate clauses,
2. The way sentences relate to each other may also contribute to the relative salience of propositions, that is usually realised through linking words, although it is also possible that the relation is not explicitly worded,
3. The element at the beginning of the clause (the “theme”) is usually the topic of the clause and is in a prominent position in terms of informational structuring, it is often the subject of the clause, but not always, the initial position in a paragraph is also prominent,
4. The element at the final position of a clause (the “information focus”) is also prominent, especially if it comes at the end of a sentence.

4.13 Questions for Analysis

In order to give emphasis to the main issues of textual analysis discussed in the previous section but not directly connected to the tools of analysis, I present a series of questions which will also be taken into consideration during text analysis. These questions both drawn on my discussions so far and were also inspired by Fairclough (2003a) and Richardson (2007).

4.13.1 Inter-textuality Level: Discourse Practice

1. Which texts and voices are included? Which are excluded? What significant absences are there?
2. Of relevant other texts/voices, which are included, which are significantly excluded?
3. Where other voices are included, are they attributed, and if so, specifically or non-specifically?
4. Are attributed voices directly reported (quoted) or indirectly reported?
5. How are other voices textured in relation to the authorial voice and in relation to each other? What effects does this have on reader perceptions of the source and his/her viewpoint?
6. Does the order in which sources are referred to have any effects on our view of their opinion? How is this achieved? Are contrastive words like “but”, “however” and “yet” used to undermine a source?

4.13.2 Relations of Power and Social Inequalities Level: Socio-cultural Practice

1. How does the reporting relate to and reflect wider structural and social inequalities?
2. How, if at all, does the report deal with power abuse such as discrimination, dominance and exploitation?
3. Does the report deny the possibility of meaningful social change? Is the “historical transient” political social order “represented as eternal, natural, inevitable or “rational” (Richardson: 2007: 225).

4.14 Implications of Case Study and Objectives

The assumed implicitness of the polarisation Us vs. Them in the case chosen has significant implications to the course of analysis. First, it is likely that the polarisation between Us and Them will be rather implicit, as the topic of the text does not include a conflict between two groups, as already stated, and, in this way, there is no explicit reason why there should be a polarisation between Us and Them. Secondly, Us part of the polarisation (the ruling p party) is also not a part of the topic, probably resulting in its representation to be even subtler in
comparison to Them (the opposition party), which are the actual explicit topic of the articles. Third, the chosen topic is a topic in which the main power struggle is not directly related to an actual dispute over something concrete (territory, resources, fortune, etc.); the power struggle in this case is much more abstract, it lies in the prevalence (or rejection) of a particular world view, namely the division between the ruling political party and the party in the opposition, the ideology between the two political parties and hegemony each party wants to gain.

Recognising these three characteristics of the case chosen means recognising that the analytical tools at my disposal will have to be pushed to their limit in order to uncover a conflict which is not explicit, which is not part of the topic of the texts, which is abstract and, ultimately, should not even be in the text. This brings along a higher risk of bias, the risk of scrutinising the text in order to identify features that confirm my hypothesis, the risk of extrapolating the meaning of features that have no actual significant ideological implications, and the risk of find meaning everywhere.

Therefore, the interpretation of the evidences will be done by weighing them and examining their balance in connection to other evidences rather than considering each of the evidence as individually significant. In this way, I am aware of the challenge I am imposing to myself and I recognise the limitations of the chosen case. By doing so, I expect to conduct the analysis in a conscious way, by being systematic and giving a fair treatment to the texts, paying careful attention to all features, whether they signal to confirm or denying my initial assumptions.

With the analytical framework outlined in this section, I expect to be able to identify patterns of use of language in the articles published by the Daily Graphic that can reveal the ideology that sustain the representation of a the Other put through by the journalists/reporters. As I investigate the play Us vs. Them in the discourse of the Daily Graphic, I expect to be able to uncover the hegemonic world (or political)-views it relies on when establishing the common ground shared by its readers. By identifying the cited patterns, I expect to be able to argue that the hegemonic world-views (or political-views) that sustain social inequalities, as examined by CDA, are a critical matter which can also be traced in less contentious contexts, such as political activities or events, making the analysis of this type of texts a relevant issue to CDA.
Chapter Five

5.1 Analysis and Discussion: Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the ten news articles published by the state owned Daily Graphic on the representation of the Other in Ghana politics with the purpose of answering my cardinal/research question(s) as well as epitomising my approach to CDA. Also, it will look at the ideological struggle and power relations that govern the production of political texts in news articles and analyse the variety of texts on the representation of the “Other” in Ghana politics based on a multi-dimensional approach of CDA.

The presence of the representation of the Other in Ghana politics or political discourse has particularly increased since 1992 when the country returned to democratic/constitutional rule after a long rule of military dictatorship, this analysis, therefore is concerned with the different use of discourse resources in an ideological charged frontal clash between two different political parties – NDC and NPP – visions of the world in Ghana. Political discourse, according to Chilton (2004: 200) is the use of language in ways that humans, being political animals, tend to recognise as “political”. This is because, since 1992, these two political parties have been engaged in a linguistic war with far more undercurrent tendencies than physical confrontations.

And because politics involves reconciling differences through discussion and persuasion, thus making communication central to politics both political parties (NDC and NPP) have effectively recruited “language” to cause maximum damage to the Other whenever each party is in power. In other words, different discursive practices have been used by both parties to make “language” more effective in influencing the decisions taken by each party and one of these practices is inter-textuality, whereby different genres, discourses and voices are mixed or combined in a political text. This combination, as this analysis and discussion show, can be used as a strategy to produce effective political discourse, although, combination of different genres and discourses marks off social practices and ideologies and voice is an indication of who the participants of the discourses are and what identity they assume.

In this section I will analysis the practice of inter-textuality in texts related to the representation of the Other. Inter-textuality, both vertical and horizontal, will be highlighted in an attempt to explore the ideological interactions manifested through the use of prior texts in new ones. Two discourses of two political actors (from the two leading political parties in Ghana – NDC and NPP, who have taken turns to wrestle power from another and rule Ghana since 1992) will form the core of the discussion. Political-historical references will be highlighted in extracts from the selected articles by the two political actors and reactions to these references will also be included in the analysis. All these examples will be analysed within a multi-disciplinary framework of critical discourse analysis advocated by discourse

38 To see or consult these articles, refer to Appendix 2, page 94
analysts such as Fairclough, Van Dijk, and others. A discourse-historical approach is also deemed necessary to shed light on the origins of the references made in the texts.

The analysis will be concerned on how political discourse of the representation of the Other is enacted in texts in newspaper articles by these political actors. The assumptions of purpose, code of behaviour, and audience (Fairclough 1999) will be highlighted in the analysis. The following questions related to these aspects, derived from van Dijk's (2003) heuristics method of ideology, are to be answered in the analysis of each example:

1. **Purpose**: Why are the political actors saying what they are saying? What do they want to achieve politically? What do they have politically that others do not?

2. **Code of Behaviour**: Which of the political actor is speaking? What is the political actor doing?

3. **Audience**: Who is the political actor speaking to? Who are the political actor’s “enemies” on the political platform?

Based on the above and in relation to these questions, van Dijk's (2003, 2005) strategies of ideological representation (that is, ideological square) in the analysis of discourse, namely, positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, as well as in terms of how the three types of meaning namely: action, representation and identification are enacted in textual features, constructing certain discourses will also be highlighted in the analysis. A point to note is that although all the texts in the news articles I analysed in detail are spoken by politicians, it is through the authorial voices of state journalists/reporters of the Daily Graphic newspaper that the political news articles appeared for consumption. Simply put, the politicians are the originators of the news, but the journalists animate them in news articles.

### 5.2 News Article 1

“Celebration of 50th Independence Anniversary US$20m NOT FOR MERRY-MAKING: Chief of Staff declares.” (Daily Graphic, Friday, September 22, 2006. Pages: 1 and 3.

On Thursday 21, 2006, at a press briefing on the 50th anniversary celebrations of Ghana in Accra, the Chief of Staff and Minister for Presidential Affairs, Mr. Kwadwo Mpiam39 under President Kufuor’s government made the above comment on the US$20 million allocation for the celebration and a state journalist, Timothy Gobah, wrote the press briefing as a news article which appeared in the Daily Graphic with the headlines as indicated above. He explained that the US$20 million allocated for the celebration would be invested in monuments, such as, building of jubilee parks across the 10 regions of the country and rehabilitation and renewal of core infrastructure, particularly, historical monuments like Dr. Nkrumah’s Park, the building of new presidential office (Jubilee House) and completion of

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39 He was also the Chairman of the National Planning Committee for the 50th Anniversary
an abandoned structure (Job 600)\textsuperscript{40} as offices for parliamentarians in pursuit of the work, of which would become landmarks which could be traced to the anniversary.

He went on to say that anniversaries and special occasions provide opportunities for countries to regenerate and modernise their infrastructures. To support his argument, he quoted three examples to illustrate his points that: “during the Jubilee Year of the Queen in the United Kingdom (UK), a new underground rail line was build to make travel in London easier for commuters”, “in the Millennium Year, special projects were undertaken all around the UK and in London,” and “Germany, although, had excellent infrastructures, it seized the opportunity of hosting the last World Cup to undertake a wholesale regeneration of the infrastructure of the country.” So, he does not understand why the allocated amount for these celebrations should raised a lot of noise and taken a partisan shape, making it appear as if the money is to be used for merry-making. He added that “We have tried not to make the celebration partisan but a national one which will encompass all.” This comment presupposes that the celebration has taken partisan shape and this is based on the fact that in the planning stages the National Planning Committee failed to invite the opposition on the committee or asked for their input for celebrations with a national dimension.

Quotation is usually resorted to, in most cases, in order to substantiate a “proposition” made by the text producer. Although it is used in the academic context to add objectivity and avoid plagiarism, it can still be used as an ideologically-charged-discursive practice. The choice of using quotation by Mr. Mpiani is intentional because it is risky for him to say things directly as his own in that giving negative comments with implied accusation of the opposition would be seen as a sort of verbal attack and by commenting on or accusing the opposition of its criticisms he also run the risk of being seen as aggressive and offensive. So to avoid this risk, he said what he wanted to say indirectly by quoting others. As Gadavanij (2002: 9; 35-55) argues: “borrowing another person’s voice to make the point can achieve two goals at the same time: one can attack the opponent without having to be the responsibility for the act.”

Although Rojo (1993: 43-80) describes this practice as creating “moral ambivalence,” because some of his audience see the quotations as a deliberately provocative references and representation of the Other in a negative way at a time in Ghana political history when there is the need for the ruling NPP government to foster oneness and togetherness among Ghanaians by making the planning of the 50\textsuperscript{th} Independence anniversary celebration a holistic national one by inviting the opposition party and making it part of the planning processes, not where only NPP political actors and functionaries being appointed and planning the whole programme. But for his discourse community, the quotations are what they need to hear, read and appreciate so as to demonstrate and reinforce the unequal power relations between the ruling NPP and the opposition NDC, that are already inculcated in the mentality of Ghanaians, and so there is nothing new in the his comments at the press briefing and his quotations are accepted by his audience as it corresponds to the negative other-presentation of the opposition NDC.

\textsuperscript{40} The structure was started by Dr. Nkrumah in the 1960s
Based on the above, the question is; why did Mr. Mpiani quoted those instances in his press briefing? The answer is, although to “quote” can, either, be a verb or noun, he choose the verb form to list the above three examples in order to support what he is saying to his audience so as to appeal favourably to the emotions of his audience and their understanding logic, and implicitly represent the Other negatively. Also, quoting others makes him seem neutral and objective before his audience, hence giving the impression that he is talking about those things as a fact when in fact, he is intentionally conveying ideological message of the NPP. Therefore, this kind of inter-textuality is never innocent politically, because it hides implicitly ideological meanings and it is a strategy used by him to save the face of the ruling NPP government through alienating the ruling NPP government from the proposition made originally in other news articles by the opposition concerning the celebrations.

He believes that through combination of the audience feelings, emotions and politics in his discourse, he is drawing on Us vs. Them discourse and in this way reflecting and reproducing unequal power relations between the two parties. Hence, it could be argued here that the text reports on wider social inequalities based on the media resources available to the ruling NPP government (as it happens any time there is a swing of political pendulum) and also draws upon the ideological square, depicting the opposition NDC as outsiders who needs to be excluded from the planning of the 50th Independence anniversary celebration, thus he believes he is performing his domestic political and ideological functions.

The word “partisan” used in the press briefing was used later by the opposition to criticize his expression and examples given to illustrate his point during the press briefing. Although, this inter-textuality was observed in many other news articles related to the preparation towards the 50th independence anniversary celebration, but in terms of constitutive inter-textuality, this creates some sort of ambivalence to the open-minded audience who is not aware of the original use of the expression in Ghana’s political discourse. An example is taken from a paragraph in the press briefing: “We have tried not to make the celebration partisan but a national one which will encompass all.” In the example given, no marks of manifestation are used, although his use of “partisan” is part of a new discourse creating more subtlety to the open-minded Ghanaian audience and a lot of excitement to the entire Ghanaian discourse community, but the sarcastic tone of the use of that expression is evident, and understanding that particular expression too, is not a problem for members or audience of the his political discourse community.

He uses the noun “merry-making” in a significant way in order to interact with the Ghanaian audience and further his political agenda. His usage of the word is done skilfully and implicitly, as he succeeded in removing or disassociated his party in power (NPP) from the comments being made by the opposition that the allocated US$20 million is for merry-making by the members of NPP as well as outlining his party’s anniversary celebration agenda. Here, the emphasis on positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is also reflected in the order of the paragraphs in the text and this could be related to Richardson’s understanding of media discourses as constitutive of certain social categories, by among others, choosing to “foreground ones social category over the other equally
accurate alternative” (2007: 49). Moreover, this could also be related to Halliday’s perception of “actional processes” (which encapsulates both verbal and material processes) according to which, the negative other-presentation can be indicate by a display of what They are doing with direct negative effect on Us, in this case, it could be argued that the prospect of the opposition to convince Ghanaians that the allocated money is for merry-making, endangers our responsibility as the ruling party to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the first sub-Saharan country to gain independence.

On pronouns, he uses the word “we” to interact with his audience and further his government’s political agenda. The usage of the pronoun “we” is very significant because of its diversity from an analytical and sociological standpoint. According to Fairclough (2001: 106) there are an inclusive “we” and exclusive “we”. An inclusive “we” means that the writer or speaker is including the audience to whom he is speaking to, thereby uniting himself with them and creating a sense of a common purpose, while the exclusive “we” is when the writer or speaker is addressing one or more persons but not including the addressee(s). He uses the pronoun “we” three times in his press briefing, always in the same manner by using it to represent “we” the (NPP) government. He uses the exclusive “we” to refer to his government in the following expressions: “if we have money, we should think big and undertake projects which will become great landmarks” and “We have tried not to make the celebration partisan but a national one which will encompass all”. Here one could see that he is speaking on behalf of the NPP government and this type “we” he uses to stress his government’s agenda for the celebration and highlights what his government intends to do towards the 50th Independence anniversary celebration.

This therefore in all probability makes it clear that ruling government has its own political agenda over the impending 50th Independence anniversary celebration. Once again it could be argued that this representation enacts unequal power relations in the sentences and also draw upon the ideological square, depicting the opposition as outsiders who should not, implicitly, be part of NPP government’s agenda for the celebration, and emphasising their negative characteristics while foregrounding our positive characteristics.

5.3 News Article 2: Unsavoury remarks about Presidency: IT’S TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE says Prez Kufuor. (Daily Graphic, Saturday, March 19, 2005. Pages 1 and 3)

On Friday, March 18, 2005, President Kufuor made this remarks when a high-powered delegation from the Presbyterian Church of Ghana (PCG) paid a courtesy call on him at the Christiansborg Castle41 to introduce the new Moderator of the church, Rt. Rev Dr. Yaw Frimpong-Manso to the president and also to congratulate him on his re-elections for a four-year term. The event which were covered and written by journalist, Nehemia Owusu Achiaw, as a news article appeared in the Daily Graphic, Saturday, March 19, 2005 with the above

41 Also known as the Osu Castle – the seat of the Government of Ghana
caption. His audience were the religious bodies and Ghanaian in general, irrespective of religious and socio-political background.

It was during this courtesy call that the president took the opportunity to draw attention to an aspect of Ghanaian traditional society which subjects to sanction, any person who did not accord a leader his due respect and called on all religious, traditional and community leaders to come out to speak against any derogatory remarks by political leaders. This was in reaction, apparently, to remarks made by some leaders of a pressure group called “Wahala”\(^{42}\) had made during a demonstration to voice out concerns of the hardships in the country because of the rise in petroleum prices by the government on Thursday, March 17, 2005.

Among the leaders of the demonstration was the former President Rawlings and according to some radio station broadcast, the former President was chanting slogans like: “Kufuor nie, Ataa Ayi nie; Kufuor nie, Ewi nie” and “Kufuor nie, Ya-Na ti nie.\(^{43}\) The above remarks associate the president (Kufuor) with armed robbery (Ataa Ayi, a notorious armed robber who had been arrested by the police a fortnight before), stealing (of national properties and assets by the President) and murder (the murder of the King/Overlord of the Dagbon, Ya-Na Yakubu Andani II between March 25\(^{th}\) to 27\(^{th}\), 2002 in Yendi in the northern region of Ghana).

The called by the President on the religious, traditional and community leaders to come out and speak against any derogatory remarks by political leaders when the PCG delegation paid a courtesy call on him paid off and within a couple of days issued Pastoral Letter by all the religious bodies in Ghana urging the Rawlings to apologise was issued and appeared on Saturday, April 9, 2005 edition of the Daily Graphic as a news article. Thus, notwithstanding the imputation of the opposition NDC’S stand that the religious bodies were playing a central role in the reproduction of the dominant ideology between the ruling NPP and NDC and went further to impute ethnicity/tribalism into the meanings in the Pastoral Letter that because President Kufuor was their kinsman and Ashanti tribesman that was why they were showing evidences of a systematic othering and stereotyping between Kufuor and Rawlings.\(^{44}\) Because, according to the opposition NDC, President Kufuor did the same when in opposition and even when he became President in 2001, for example, when he described former President Rawlings and his government in 2002 as evil forces during a GIMPA Workshop for NPP Ministers; and nothing was heard from them.

But in contrast to the other articles, this draws on a different ideological discourse. As an overall defining characteristic of the text, it should be outlined that while it exhibits the features of the ideological square and reflects on Us and Them power relations, nonetheless, the main emphasis seems to be on negotiation rather than conflict and the predominant discourse here is of solidarity and mutuality. Since the text accentuates commonality rather

\(^{42}\) ‘Wahala’ in the Ghanaian language means ‘trouble’ or ‘hardships’ and that particular one was the second one to drum home to the government the social and economic hardships the citizens are going through

\(^{43}\) Metaphorical statements to indicate that President Kufuor has the same qualities as a notorious armed, a thief and murderer

\(^{44}\) See Wednesday, April 13, 2005 Palaver (a private) newspapers
than difference, I shall first consider this tendency in the text. The most illustrative of this accentuation is the following paragraph: “Some political leaders might not like a person but once such a person is elected President, it is important for all citizens to accord him the necessary respect without which the high office of the land would be undermined and demeaned.” Here, a very powerful analogy is drawn between an ordinary person and that same person being elected president in a political setting and the need for all citizens at that material period to accord such a person the necessary respect because of his high office. This analogy is particularly striking since it is the president of the country saying it through the voice of a state journalist; it could be argued that this account contributes to a certain personification of the text, thus creating a personal connection with the situation by drawing on identification.

This is in line with Halliday’s (1994) concept of relational attributive processes, in this case, the assignment of positive attributes to Them, simultaneously assuming the implicitness of Us, which serves to bridge the ideological gap and bracketing the differences. This could also be related to Fairclough’s understanding of orientation of texts to difference, according to which, difference could be viewed in terms of a bracketing of difference and a focus on commonality. It is also noteworthy that the expression “political leaders who make derogatory remarks about the presidency [...] such actions could turn the country’s liberalism into chaos” is de-constructing Van Dijk’s ideological matrix and inclining towards positive other-presentation. This is so because the remarks made were for the whole institution, the presidency or the high office of the land, not for a particular or a single president.

Likewise, the expression “He called on religious, traditional and community leaders to come out to speak against any derogatory remarks by political leaders” emphasises solidarity and mutuality as a key to consensus (normalisation and acceptance of differences of power) and promotes the possibility of meaningful socio-political change; meaning that by accentuating commonality, one simultaneously suppresses differences between Us vs. Them. Although the Us vs. Them power relations are still very relevant in the discursive framework of the text; nonetheless, the ideological conflict as such is not central, and instead, negotiation is paramount.

Throughout the text, negotiation is enacted and represented by interplay of statements or remarks by the president, emphasising both negative and positive other-presentation, and predominantly positive self-presentation. This negotiation is achieved through the order and structuring of clauses and paragraphs, in effect, reflecting higher-level semantic relations in the text, thus playing with relations of equivalence and difference. For instances, the remarks “we need to move forward as a nation...” was reasonably well expressed. This is to urge the citizens of Ghana, irrespective of political background, to understand that politics of revenge and retaliation could only lead to national ruin, which should be avoided by leaving the past behind and focus on a bright future.

As emphasised previously, another defining characteristics of the text is its inclination towards solidarity and commonality. This is especially illuminated in remarks like “the country has reached a stage where its citizens should be single-minded in its development”
and “since Ghanaians and not strangers had the onerous responsibility to build the country.” Here too, the discourse of solidarity is built upon the phrases “single-minded” and “Ghanaians,” a discourse which neither eliminates nor equalises on Us vs. Them power relations but merely acknowledges the possibility and the potential of positive other-presentation. Hence, it could be argued that the Us vs. Them power relations exist in this solidarity discourse but only to a degree where they contribute to consensus, defined by Fairclough as normalisation and acceptance of difference of power. In general, the text reports wider social and structural inequalities as well as reflects unequal power relations, at the same time, it draws on a different discourse (the negotiation discourse), accepting the possibility of a meaningful socio-political change, and presenting discrimination (othering) and dominance (hegemony) as inhibiting multi-vocality.

5.4 News Article 3: 5To refund GHcedis45 94, 080 (Daily Graphic, Thursday, May 13, 2010. Pages 1, 16/49)

As it has become the stock-in-trade of both NDC and NPP whenever there is a swing of political pendulum to vilify and represent the Other (the party in opposition) negatively to reinforce the ideological separation between Us and Them; a request was made by the Office of the President,46 by a letter dated March 29, 2010 to the Auditor-General (A-D). The letter requested the A-D to conduct an audit verification of Emoluments for Ex-Ministers and Members of Parliament (MPs) in order to advise on whether there were shortfalls in payments made by the Office of the President, whether there were any over-payments by Parliament and whether there was a basis for reconciliation of the various payments. On Thursday, May 13, 2010, the Daily Graphic carried a story written by one of its journalist, Timothy Gobah, with the above headline. The headline is a directive by the A-G follows his Report on the Verification of Payments of emoluments for ex-ministers and MPs.

This request by the Office of the President is a political tactics by new NDC President to hid behind the A-G to perform its domestic political and ideological functions for it so as to appeal to the Ghanaian electorate and audience’s notion of truth and logic to prove the party’s case that, though implicitly, there were a lot of malfeasances during former President Kufuor’s administration. Also to show that there are improprieties or over-payments made to 4 ex-ministers in Kufuor’s administration and a top NPP member who is now a Minority Leader in parliament; and as a prudent administration which believes in accountability and probity, the above 5 people will have to refund the said amount (GHcedis 94,080) as directed by the A-G.

It could be true that there was impropriety and over-payment made, but argument here is that the request from the Office of the President, requested the A-G to conduct the audit verification holistically irrespective of political background, why then it was only 4 ex-

45 Ghana cedi, the legal and official currency used to buy, pay and transact business in Ghana
46 President Mills and his NDC are in power after the December 2008 general elections
ministers and a Minority Leader, all of whom are from the party in opposition (NPP) were ordered to refund the above stated amount as over-payment made to them in their ex-gratia computation? The answer is clear, the Office of the President aims to create disaffection for members of the party in opposition before the Ghanaian electorate and audience.

Secondly, the A-G was given a clear and specific assignment “to conduct an audit verification of Emoluments for Ex-Ministers and MPs to advise...,” the catch word here is “to advise” why then did the A-G “ordered” the 5 people to refund the amount? The possible answer is because the Office of the President didn’t want the Ghanaian audience and citizens to know explicitly that it is after the party in opposition; thus it uses behind-the-scene tactics (implicitly) and draws the A-G to do its dirty work for them in order to achieve an aim: negative other-presentation. So, the government is actually abusing its newly won power through manipulations while at the same time suppressing and de-emphasising information that is positive about Them. Practically, the A-G is always involved in malpractices and auditing of emoluments, ex-gratia and other payments in the country as an independent civil servant, not as a partisan political personality, but the vice versa is what happens whenever there is a swing of political pendulum, hence, it could be argued here that the text reports on wider social inequalities and unequal power relations whenever one political party is power.

In singling Mr. Osei Kyei-Mensah-Bonsu (NPP MP and the current Minority Leader in parliament) and the other 4 NPP ex-ministers for being over-paid their ex-gratia entitlements and ordered to refund by the A-G through the “behind-the-scene manipulation of the new government, it could once again be argued that this draws upon the ideological square, depicting the party in opposition, NPP, as outsiders and thus emphasising their negative characteristics. For example, as corrupt and only interested in over-paying their ministers and MPs when they were in power; while foregrounding our positive characteristics For example, as a government who believes in accountability and probity and will make the those cited for over-payment refund what they were not suppose to be paid during the time their party was in power. Again, one could see and identify unequal power relations tactics being used by the Office of the President through the A-G in their pursuit to reflect on Us vs. Them power struggle in the text. An example can be seen from this sentence: “Four ex-ministers in the Kufuo administration and the current Minority Leader in Parliament, Mr. Osei Kyei-Mensah-Bonsu, have been ordered to refund a total of GHcedis 94,080 as overpayment made to them in their ex-gratia computation.” As one of the opening paragraphs, this sentence immediately establishes a certain mood, representing the A-G as an institutional agent and drawing on relational attributive processes by assigning authority (agentive) attributes to the A-G (based on the request from the Office of the President) who ordered or directed the “5 To refund GHcedis 94,080.”

Here, positive self-presentation is promoted by, among others, employing referential strategies (Reisigi and Wodak 2001) and contrasting the specific A-G directives. In this context, “ordered to refund” is used metaphorically to imply that (though implicitly) there were overpayments made to ministers and NPP functionaries during President Kufuior’s administration and they have been detected after the audit verification conducted by the A-G
based on request made to him/her by the Office of the President and the 5 will refund the overpaid amount, thus emphasising the Us and Them polarisation. The word “refund” used in the A-G’s directive received a lot of criticisms and reaction from the party in opposition members in the public sphere, especially in the private newspaper, although the Daily Graphic gave a voice to the opposition which appeared as a reaction on Friday, May 21, 2010, but as usual, not as the speaking voice as the party in power. In a reaction to the A-G’s findings, Mr. Osei Kyei-Mensah-Bonsu (who was reacting on behalf of his party, the NPP) expressed surprise how the affected persons were all NPP members) added “We will react appropriately when the details are made available to us.” He further went to say that “The purpose of this prank is obvious but this cannot intimidate us” and will “challenged the government to cause the publication of the amount of paid as ex-gratia to each former MP from both sides of the House.”

Inter-textuality can be observed in political news articles related to the A-G’s directive ordering the 5 to refund the above stated amount, may create some sort of ambivalence to the open-minded Ghanaian audience who is not aware of and understands the original use. An instance can be drawn from a section in the news article: “Four ex-ministers in the Kufuo administration and the current Minority Leader in Parliament, Mr. Osei Kyei-Mensah-Bonsu, have been ordered to “refund” In the above instance, no mark of partisan directive is used, but the Auditor-General’s use of “refund” is part of a news discourse which creates more subtlety to the open-minded Ghanaian audience and a lot of excitement to the party in power’s discourse community. The politically manipulation tone of negative other-representation, thus illuminating unequal power relations, is clearly evident and the members of new government of NDC discourse community have no problem understanding what is going on and its political implications for the opposition.

In terms of ideological square, the president and his NDC government (including its MPs and ex-ministers) are represented in a positive way by emphasising, and thus, foregrounding Our positive characteristics – that neither our ex-ministers nor MPs were not over-paid so they are not being ordered to refund any amount by the A-G. This could be related to Halliday’s perception of “actional processes,” according to which the negative other-presentation can be indicated by a display of what they are doing with direct negative effect on us. In this case, it could be argued that the over-payment made to the 4 ex-ministers and the Minority Leader, all members of NPP, endangers our responsibility and ability as a new government to have the needed cash flow to solve economic and social problems. The Office of the President used the word “request” which can be a noun or verb. In the context of the political news article, it is being used in explicitly, politely and formally to ask the A-G by a letter dated March 29, 2010: “requesting the Auditor-General to conduct an audit verification of Emoluments for Ex-Ministers and MPs to advise...” in a explicit manner. But the intent of that “request” based on the above article, gives much room to point out that the Office of the President has a different political agenda concerning the audit verification. On that basis it could be argued that this representation enacts unequal power relations in the news article and also draw upon the ideological square depicting them the opposition as outsiders who should be blamed, explicitly, as national-coffer-plunders after the audit verification by the A-G.
5.5 **News Article 4:** Mills’s Govt Saves GHcedis 8 million annually (Daily Graphic, Monday, June 7, 2010. Pages 1 and 3)

It is an exclusive interview by the NDC Deputy Minister of Information (DMoI), Mr. Samuel Okudzeto Ablakwa with a state reporter, Timothy Gobah, on Sunday, June 6, 2010, which appeared as a written article on Monday, June 7, 2010 edition of the Daily Graphic newspaper to outline the government’s achievements so far. In fairness, members of the party in opposition could also appear in similar exclusive interviews in the state-owned newspaper, but the reality is that they would not be given the same speaking space as the party in power.\(^{47}\) The interview was directed at the Ghanaian audience and the Ghanaian electorate.

In the interview, the DMoI was quoted by the state reporter as saying: “the government has, for the first time, quantified the savings that have accrued since President Mills began implementing a series of prudent and cost-saving measures, having campaigned vigorously to eliminate profligate expenditure from public administration.” First, no manifestation marks could be linked to the text, so the audience knowledge of the DMoI’s use of the above expression in the interview depends entirely on how the texts are produced and appeared in the news article. Second, the structure of the text is more like horizontal inter-textuality where the DMoI is taking turns in an interview (as an interviewee) previously started by an interviewer. It also emphasises “positive self-representation” of the new President Mills of the NDC and the *negative other-presentation* of the immediate past Kufuo’s NPP government as reflected in the order of the first paragraph of the text and it is particularly noteworthy how the specific “President Mills” is drawn against the backdrop of “began implementing a series of prudent and cost-saving measures” explicitly presenting the new NDC government of President Mills resolve to eliminate lavish spending and cut out waste as compared to the opposition NPP when they were in power, thus, though implicitly, presenting the former as a prudent and cost-saving government who has the nation’s interest at heart.

The above could be related to Richardson’s (2007: 49) understanding of media discourses as constitutive of certain social categories, by among others, choosing to “foreground one social category over other equally accurate alternatives”\(^{48}\) It can also be related to Halliday’s idea of “participants” in terms of naming and reference, according to which, participants represented by name could be seen as fore-grounded and promoted. Furthermore, in terms of Van Dijk’s ideological square both President Mills and his government are presented in a positive way by emphasising, and thus, foregrounding our positive characteristics. As in article two, this can also be related to Halliday’s perception of “actional processes” (which encapsulates both verbal and material processes), according to which, the *negative other-presentation* can be indicated by a display of what they are doing with a direct negative effect on us, in this case, it could be seen from the DMoI’s interview that because of lavish spending and profligate expenditure “associated”\(^{48}\) with former President Kufuo’s government, prudent, cost-saving measures and waste were not cut out from public administration thus halting and not pursuing

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\(^{47}\) Refer to the Media in page 42 & 26

\(^{48}\) This has been the stock-in-trade of the NDC even in opposition and now in power
the development of the country. This clearly supports the notion of *us* vs. *them* ideological polarisation whenever, either, the NDC or the NPP is given the democratic mandate through general elections to rule.

The DMoI used the exclusive interview to recount the achieve within the 5 months of President Mills’s government through prudent, cost-saving and the resolve of the President to cut waste as compared to the eight (8) years rule of former President Kufuor whose government indulge in lavish spend and encourage profligate expenditure in public administration. Implicitly, he is playing on the logic understanding of his audience to see and appreciate the differences between *good* and *bad* government. This part of the text in the exclusive interview presupposes that of the 8 years that the opposition NPP was ruling Ghana, it never initiated and implemented any prudent and cost-saving measures to eliminate profligate expenditure from public administration, in other words, NPP only indulges in lavish spending and takes delight in creating, detrimental to the development processes of the country. This epitomises *negative other-presentation* by the DMoI of the opposition NPP which is reflected in the interview. To support his argument in the interview, he quoted an example to buttress point: “He stated, for example, that if one compared the presidential delegation to the opening ceremonies of the 2006 World Cup and the 2010 World Cup, whereas President Kufuor travelled with a 35-member delegation, President Mills would travel with a 14-member delegation”, this shows how President Mills is being represented in a positive by emphasising, and thus, foregrounding his positive characteristics and de-emphasising and suppressing information that is positive about President Kufuor.

Like article one, through the voice of the state reporter and to avoid the risk of being seen as aggressive, offensive towards and verbally attacking the party in opposition, the DMoI quoted in a skilful way to make him appear neutral and objective before the Ghanaian audience, hence giving the impression that he is talking about those things as facts when in fact, he is intentional conveying the ruling NDC government’s ideological message. Therefore, this kind of inter-textuality is not innocent, politically, as it appears to be in news articles because it hides implicit ideological meaning and it is this strategy he used to save the face of Mills’s (NDC) government through alienating it from the proposition made originally in other news articles by the opposition NPP.

Although this practice of DMoI created some moral ambivalence because some of his audience see his quotation as a deliberately provocative references and *negative other-presentation* at a critical period in Ghana political history (especially, from the members of the opposition) when there is the needs to preach tolerance, understanding and peaceful co-existence based on what happened and went on before, during and after the conclusion of the 2008 general elections; but not the old “good and bad government game” that has polarised and escalate hostility between the ruling NDC government and the opposition NPP since 1992. But, for DMoI’s discourse community, the quotation is what they need to hear and appreciate so as to reinforce the unequal power relations; thus his quotation is accepted by his audience as it corresponds to the *negative other-presentation* of the opposition NPP.
On the issue of “modality,” it is very significant to take note how the word *would* is used three times in the interview; it is a “modal verb” and according to Fairclough (2004: 165) modality is an important dimension of applying discourse analysis, thus the modality of the DMoI’s expressions shows how much he is willing to commit himself to what he is expressing, that is, the truth-value of his expressions (in epistemic modality). He uses a lot of categorical modality and in doing so he is claiming himself to be able to predict the future for President Mills’s government of which he is member with absolute certainty, as can be seen in the following: “At this trend, he said, over four-year term President Mills would have ensured a saving of GHcedis 23,076,000” and “[...] it would ensure that the benefits were channelled into the development of the country.” In using *would* which is used as the past form of *will* when reporting what the DMoI has said or thought, indicates his claim to be certain of his prediction and truth-value of his expressions based on his critical assessment of what is going on under President Mills’ government.

The DMoI, though, uses an adjective, a word that describe a person, “Mills” to let his audience knows which of the Presidents he is talking about, but by using “Mills’s govt,” metaphorically, he is practically using Mills adjectivally to make the differentiation clear and intentionally convey ideological messages of the ruling NDC; which is also (“Mills’s govt”) a context-bound, in the sense that, by using that he is referring to the opposition NPP and underlying personal attacks obviously (all done implicitly though) on the opposition. On verbs, the use of the word “saves” which can be a verb, noun, preposition or conjunction, the DMoI uses the verb (and the synonym) form to interact with his audience in order to further his political agenda. By using the word “saves” eight (8) times over short period of the interview, he is stressing on the importance the Mills’s government attaches to implementing a series of prudent and cost-saving measures to eliminate profligate expenditure from public administration associated, though implicitly, as compared with the opposition NPP.

5.6 **News Article 5:** “Govt will soon be vindicated on GT – Vodafone deal: President.” (Daily Graphic, Thursday, August 14, 2008. Page: 20)

The above was a reaction by President Kufuor to concerns raised over the sale of 70 percent of Ghana Telecom (GT) shares to Vodafone at the official opening of the 8th quadrennial delegate congress of the TUC in Kumasi. This was based on the fact that the deal had caused much uproar among Ghanaians with the party in opposition (NDC) pressure groups, such as, the Committee for Joint Action (CJA) coming out to with a statement that it is a bad deal and not of Ghana’s best economic interest, thus there was the need for the government to halt it until a careful evaluation is made as to the worth and value of GT. The president described comments being made by people, pressure groups and NDC, through the voice of the state journalist who covered the event, as “hypocritical especially looking at the way national assets like the Ashanti Goldfield Corporation, Ghana Cement and the Tema Dry-dock were

49 United Kingdom Telecommunication giant
50 Refer to August 19, 2008 state-owned Daily Graphic
sold in the past,” referring, implicitly, to the period when the Opposition NDC was in power. Reading through this part, one could argue that positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is being enacted in the text or is specific.

An important dimension of applying discourse analysis, according to Fairclough (2004: 165) is modality; and the modality of the president’s comment show how much he is willing to commit himself to what he is commenting on and can also show what his demands are. The president uses a lot of categorical modality and in doing so he is claiming himself to be able to predict the future with absolute certainty, as can be seen in the following: “Govt will soon be vindicated on GT – Vodafone deal [...]” In using “will soon” the President is claiming to be certain of his prediction and truth-value of his comment. It also support the fact that, in being categorical, the President seems to take his ability to predict the future and the truth-value of his comment for granted and thus making the expressions in his comment seem very strong and convincing because he was in a position of power. And a president who is able to achieve this obviously enhances his level of authority and hegemony in any political setting, though his party lost the December 2008 elections because Ghanaian voters felt manipulated. This has been the trend since 1992 of ruling presidents in Ghana so they resort to the above tendencies in order to create a conducive atmosphere for the continuation of us vs. them power struggle with much emphasis on positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

Also, the President used what is known as “naturalization” an ideological concept that enable political leaders to validate and maintain the dominance of an ideology while passing it off as neutral or commonsensical (naturalized discourse often used in political speech) and an example of this is the notion of democracy in the president’s comments: “the people of the country had accepted democracy as the only form of government”. By this, the President makes the advancement of democracy in Ghana as a good thing commonsensical and on his subconscious level, maybe, naturalising democracy simply because he looks at it to at a level of common sense that this is the best way to govern.

5.7 News Article 6: Reject NDC to avoid constitutional crisis – Solomon. (Daily Graphic, Tuesday, November 30, 2004. Page 17)

The purpose of this interview by the First Vice-Chairman and the Greater Accra Campaign Manager of the ruling NPP was to make the Ghanaian electorate aware, explicitly, of the intentions of the former President J. J. Rawlings in a situation where in the unlikely event of the opposition NDC Presidential candidate, Prof. Mills wins power from the ruling President Kufuor of the NPP based on what he claimed to be some statements attributed to the former President Rawlings. For instance, “it has been confirmed by former President Rawlings in his statements that if NDC won the December polls, he is coming back.” He also used the interview to highlight on what would happen if in an unlikely event Ghanaians vote the opposition NDC into power as in these instances: “Prof. Mills would not in charge of affairs
as former President Rawlings would lurk in the background and pull the strings” and thus “making the country to have de facto and de jure presidents in former President Rawlings and Prof. Mills”, hence creating constitutional crisis or conflict, according to him.

Here again one could see the “spinning” based on “communicative or symbolic” forms of manipulation as a form of interaction, which politicians used to manipulate voters that is, through some kind of discursive influence. So, the reason for this mechanism employed eight days to the elections by a leading political actor of the ruling NPP is to reach out to the Ghanaian electorate in order to sway them to vote massively and boost the re-election of President Kufuor and for the NPP and it worked because Kufuor was re-elected and his party NPP won majority in the parliamentary elections too. And this manipulation is acceptable and justifiable based on the NPP’s ideological stance. But, manipulation in politics not only involves power, but specifically abuse of power by incumbent presidents or prime ministers and ruling parties, that is, domination through the exercising of a form of illegitimate influence by means of discourse and also through the voters fear.

Explicitly, the campaign strategy adopted by Mr. Solomon was seen by the opposition NDC as a smear campaign for domination and hegemony through the use of illegitimate strategy (manipulation), for instance: “if the NDC won the December polls, he is coming back” because he knows the former president used the expression metaphorically in order to win vote for his party, the NDC in the upcoming elections. But he typically emphasised on the preferred agent of attack on the opposition NDC using the former president as a focal point, that is, a model that is consistent with the ruling NPP’s strategy of negative other-presentation of the opposition. Thus he makes sure that truthful information about the opposition NDC, such as what former president had on several occasions made it clear during forums and seminars that he is not interested taking power again is not given to the electorates but only misguided or biased knowledge, as in the above, are given to the electorate. But he used a good political strategy, arguably, that any political party aspiring to win power or entrenched itself democratically through elections will do in a political setting.

5.8 News Article 7: Kufuor happy for those named (Daily Graphic, Monday, September 27, 2010. Page 12)

This news report in the above stated article, was based on a poll conducted by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) African Services in 2010 as part of activities to mark 50 years of African independence for the Most Iconic Figures in the Africa continent; and some 50 people including Ghana’s two former Presidents Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Rawlings and Kofi Annan (the former U. N. Secretary-General) were chosen as the continent’s Most Iconic Figures. While this award to former President Rawlings and his NDC (now in power) discourse community sees this as a recognition of Rawlings contributions in the socio-politics

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51 This statement was made by the former President Rawlings appeared in Monday, April 11, 2004 news article where he rejected the idea of taking power again with this expression when asked: “It is not what I am interested in”
of Ghana and Africa in general, Kufuor and his NPP discourse community were asking why his name is missing from the list of 50 people whom BBC African Service released.

The fact of the matter is that at this point in time both Rawlings and Kufuor have served their two four-year terms as presidents as stipulated by the 1992 Constitution of Ghana so the question is: what at all did the journalist want to achieve by putting such a news article of contentious nature across the Ghanaian audience? Having already explained the ideological stance of the Daily Graphic, it is not surprising to see that political news written and produced as articles are skewed in favour of the ruling party whenever there is a swing of political pendulum in Ghana. This presupposes that the state journalist did to bring the good name and achievements of former President Kufuor into disrepute in a “comparison game” full of political manoeuvring; thus, emphasising Our (Rawlings) importance and iconic status in the African continent in contrast that with non-iconic attributes of the Other (Kufuor). To put it bluntly, through the voice of the state journalist, former President Kufuor is not happy or sad that his name didn’t appear in list released by BBC African Service.

This made Mr Frank Agyekum, the Spokesperson for former President Kufuor to come out and said: “the former President was not bothered about his failure to make the list of Africa’s most iconic figures [...] Mr. Kufuor is happy for those who made the list.” This statement immediately sparked a response from the ruling NDC, especially from the Spokesperson of former President Rawlings to issue a statement that Kufuor and NPP are being hypocritical, in that it is an attempt by them, if possible, to rubbish the award given by BBC African Service to great sons and daughters of African, because he (Kufuor) has failed to make the list when it matters most in the continent. Here, while the response illuminates positive self-presentation and the negative other-presentation it also shows clearly unequal power relations between the two former presidents and their parties – NDC and NPP. Hence, one can see that even an international award given to honour or in recognition of its citizens whom have risen to higher offices in the course of their lives generated and can generate unhealthy debate embedded with good and bad comparisons. Finally, even in retirement, political leaders of the NDC and NPP fight for domination and superiority over events, activities and awards both locally and internationally.

5.9 News Article 8: Haruna defends SIM card registration (Daily Graphic, Thursday, June 17, 2010. Page 14)

On Tuesday, June 15, 2010, the sector Minister of Communications (MoC), Haruna Iddrisu (of the ruling NDC) appeared before Parliament to respond to questions from the floor of the House and clarify some issues concerning the ongoing registration of SIM cards in the country. In fact, it is a common practice for Sectors Ministers and their Deputies to appear before Parliament to answer questions from MPs and clarify issues pertaining to well-being of the citizens. In a typical political strategy to undo one another and portray the positive self-

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52 Refer to Media, page 42 & 26
53 SIM is an acronym for ‘Subscriber Identity Module’
presentation and negative other-presentation syndrome whenever there is a swing of political pendulum, an MP for Bosomtwe (a constituency in the Ashanti Region of Ghana) from the opposition NPP side of the House, Mr. Simon Osei-Mensah was quoted by the reporter who covered the proceedings as: “wanted to know from the minister what legal framework had informed the ongoing registration of SIM cards in the country.” This question from the MP clearly shows that the us and them polarisation has, as an unhealthy canker, eaten deep into the fabrics of Ghanaian politicians so much so that no matter how laudable a national exercise is being undertaken, there would be criticisms motivated by one’s domestic political and ideological factors so as to create disaffection for the party in power.

The reason for saying this is that the exercise is ongoing, this presupposes that it was given parliamentary, cabinet and ministerial approval before it started, so why that hypocritical question from the opposition NPP MP? Explicitly, the opposition NPP MP’s question can be described as neutral and natural, but it was seen and assumed by the ruling NDC’s MoC as a tactics by the MP to emphasis negative things about the party in power (NDC) and emphasising positive things about the party in opposition (NPP) as the sarcastic tone of his question, implicitly, indicated, although the question looks as an innocent one to solicit answers to help ease anxieties and fears of the Ghanaian citizens about the registration.

In response, the MoC said registration of SIM cards was a common practice in the telecom industry worldwide and that it was mandatory in countries such as the United Kingdom, India, Nigeria and South Korea, among others. He went on further to say that in Ghana the requirement for the registration of SIM cards is provided for in Section 8 (2) of the Electronic Communications Act, 2008, Act 775, under the head notes “Obligations of operators of Electronic Communications Networks and Communications Services.” Thus, in that regard, the MoC stated that the rationale behind the registration exercise per Section 8 (2) and 68 of Act 775, was, therefore,: “to enable the operators obtain a database of their subscribers” which would facilitate the deployment of Mobile Number Portability, a technology which enables users to shift to different service providers while retaining their number and also help to eliminate or curtail the incidence of anonymous threats, insults, fraud and crime (a common phenomena in Ghana) perpetrated by unidentified callers and help enhance security.

5.10 News Article 9: STX deal expected to create 40,000 jobs (Daily Graphic, Saturday, August 28, 2010. Page 19)

On Wednesday, August 25, 2010, the Minister of Water Resources and Housing (MoWRaH) of the ruling NDC, Mr. Alban Bagbin paid a visit to the personnel of Ghana Prisons Service in a durbar Accra to explain the STX housing project in detail to them, prior to this, he had already interact with the Military, Police and the Ghana National Fire Service personnel because under the project, 30,000 housing units were expected to be constructed for the security agencies across the country. It was at the durbar that he announced the STX deal is expected to create over 40,000 jobs with the establishment of major cement, steel and power plants in the country. The importance of his visit was to help the beneficiaries of the project
appreciate and support what the ministry was bringing to their doorsteps he, therefore, appealed for co-operation and support of the security personnel to ensure the smooth take-off of the project and warned that structures like markets and churches on the lands which had been earmarked for the construction of the units would be demolished.

Although one can clearly how he is using manipulation as a discursive social practice of the ruling NDC towards the reproduction of its power through persuasion, education and providing information that out of the 30,000 houses to be built for the security agencies, 4,000 would be allocated to Prison Services; all aimed at influencing, implicitly, their knowledge and beliefs about the deal in order to win the support of the security agencies. This supports the argument that in Ghana politics, developmental projects, such as the STX housing project, of national interest are politicised and polarised on party lines. But as in article two, there is an inclination towards solidarity and commonality permeating through the text. This is explicitly notice in the remarks by the MoWRaH in his interaction with the personnel of the Ghana Prisons Service that: “all housing projects started by the previous administration would be continued.” This statement (if sincere) is a landmark in the political history of Ghana because no government either democratically elected or military dictatorship, had openly stated the continuation of a project that has been started by its predecessor.

So for an NDC ranking member and a minister to utter such a statement shows a clear change of political paradigm. In support of the above assertion, an instance can be drawn from the National Chairman of the opposition NPP, Mr. Jake Obetsebi Lamptey in June 30, 2010, Daily Graphic edition in which he emphasised NPP’s support for: “any well-intended effort to confront the housing deficit,” can be used to buttress the shifting political paradigm in relation to accentuating commonality and de-accentuating difference between the two political parties which have take turns to rule Ghana; notwithstanding the fact that the members of the party in opposition had voiced out their reservations about the deal in other news reports. This makes one to say that tendencies detected in the article presuppose that there is acceptance of the possibility of a meaningful social change by the political parties, especially, the NDC and NPP.

5.11 News Article 10: Assess gov’t based on achievements – UW NDC (Daily Graphic, Saturday, September 18, 2010. Page 13)

Some comments attributed to Nana Akufo-Addo, the flag-bearer of the opposition NPP for the 2012 elections, in Takoradi54 “that the NDC government had destroyed all the interventions brought about by the Kufuor administration aimed at bringing lasting relief to Ghanaians and mentioned some of the interventions as the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), the National Youth Employment Programme (NYEP) and the School Feeding Programme” and “that it was regrettable that the NDC had politicised the NYEP to the extent that people who were recruited during the NPP administration were being dismissed and

54 See the Ghana map and Wednesday, August 25, 2010 edition of the Daily Graphic
replaced with NDC supporters and sympathisers, a development which, according to him, undermine national unity.” Clearly, a negative other-presentation of the ruling NDC is outline and a comparison between a good government which initiated good interventions (NPP) and a bad government which is destroying those good interventions (NDC)

This necessitated a press conference by the ruling NDC in Wa and it was addressed by the Regional Propaganda Secretary (RPS) of the NDC, Mr. Yakubu Yahaya, purposely to respond to the comments and outline the achievements of President Mills’s administration. In the above stated press conference, the RPS of the NDC, said contrarily to what the opposition NPP is saying what had been achieved by the NDC in just 18 months far outweighed what the NPP did in 8 years and that the NDC could give only 45 per cent to the NPP should marks be awarded and anytime the NPP was in opposition, the country witnessed massive development and hope that the NPP would continue to be in opposition for more development projects to be undertaken. Touching on the NYEP, he said since NDC took power salary arrears for five months had been settled while a total of 56 ghost names were detected in the Wa East district alone and for the past 18 months a number of recruitments had been made under NYEP in the areas of Teaching Assistants, Community Police, ICT, hairdressing and people with disability and challenged ex-President Kufuo to let Ghanaians know whether he had been able to offer just a simple explanation for the numerous corruption allegations levelled against him and his government officials. One can see that the central discourse in the press conference/text is negative other-presentation, with illustration of Us and Them power relation being specific.

This is not surprising in political discourse because, as the name “propaganda” which is a noun suggests that Mr. Yahaya’s job is to spread ideas or statements that are false or exaggerated through the use of a lot “hyperboles” in order to cause disaffection for and discredit the opposition NPP by representing them as enemy of development projects and gain support for President Mill and his ruling NDC, which will boost and reinforce the President’s re-election in 2012 general election. In summary, the press conference was just a political strategy of the NDC to exaggerate our good things within a period of 18 months in power and emphasising their bad things during the 8 years of their rule in order to foreground NDC’s social category over other equally accurate alternatives of the opposition party.

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55 See the map of Ghana, page 15
CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

The objective of this project has been to investigate whether unequal power relations can be identified in political news discourses about not explicitly polarised issues in the state-owned media in Ghana politics, and whether these discourses contribute to the reproduction of unequal power relations. In addition, the project was interested in examining whether Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can be applied to alternative setting, hence, if the scope addressed by CDA can be broadened by including not explicitly polarised issues. This chapter aims at drawing a multi-faceted conclusion on the project.

To operationalise my considerations as emphasised above and to epitomise my case study, ten selected state-owned Daily Graphic newspaper of Ghana political news articles were analysed and discussed, and I have discovered how a sentence or expression worded linguistically has an important impact on its message and the perception of the message in a political setting. Thus, I could conclude that in Ghana politics the representation of the Other in political news discourses on not explicitly polarised issues reflects a clear differentiation between Us (the parties in power) and Them (the parties in opposition) and this differentiation is clear in texts through positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Hence, it can also be concluded that the texts published by the state-owned Daily Graphic as political news articles not only indicate or reflect unequal power relations, but they also reflect wider social, cultural, structural and ideological inequalities.

I also discovered that ideological biases are linguistically embedded in the written reports of the party in power in the Daily Graphic, thus supporting the assumption that the state-owned media provide a perspective, i.e. far from free subjective interpretation of events in Ghana politics, on the contrary, it tends to construct reality in a manner congruent with its underlying ideological and political functions. Thus making the state-owned media discourse biased, skewed in favour of the parties in power (and it changes whenever there is a swing of political pendulum), and even when the parties in opposition are given voice, they are not given the same speaking space. Hence, revealing asymmetrical reproduction of unequal power relations between political parties and the operation of Us and Them framework by the state-owned newspaper when reporting political news events in Ghana. In reality, the state-owned Daily Graphic is pro-government on all issues while its journalists are included in state sources and information by parties in power officials and relied heavily on the speeches and public statements of government officials, journalist with the private media are denied such facilities so they engaged with unofficial circuits of popular rumour and political talk, hence making their stories frequently based on rumour and popular speculation. But, generally speaking, the media sphere in Ghana in terms of editorial stance is polarised between two opposing camps – those in support of the ruling government and those supporting the opposition. And this buttresses the fact that the media, especially, the state-
owned Daily Graphic newspaper, is rather part of the *unequal power relations* and *Us* and *Them* polarisation than part of its solution in Ghana politics since 1992 due to its ideological and political functions.

The identification of unequal power relations in the texts is particularly evident when one applies Van Dijk’s (1995; 1998) notion of ideological square which is characterised by *positive in-group* and *negative out-group* description, provides a plausible explanation for my analysis and discussion. Van Dijk maintains that many group ideologues involve the representation of *self* and *other* and *us* and *them*. Many therefore seems to be polarised – *We are good* and they are *Bad*, and the ideological square functions to polarise *in-and-out groups* in order to present the, *we* group in a favourable light and the, *they* group unfavourably. This ideological polarisation may be implemented by a larger variety of forms such as choice of lexical items that imply positive or negative evaluations, as well as in the structure of whole propositions and their categories – as in active, passive, etc. Thus, looking at the textual elements in terms of *positive self-presentation* and *negative other-presentation*, as well as identifying types of meanings as enacted in textual features based on Halliday’s framework of processes, participants and circumstances and on Fairclough’s understanding of action, representation and identification, it could be concluded on the basis of a systematic and thorough analysis of the articles that the texts in the Daily Graphic articles overwhelmingly draw on the ideological square paradigm; emphasising the *Us vs. Them* polarisation in political news discourses.

The analysis has shown how political leaders in Ghana exploit readers of the Daily Graphic newspaper political discourses through the voices of state journalists whenever one party is in power taking into consideration how different people interact with political news discourses. Most of the exploitations are in relation to the representation of the *Other* which have the functions of criticising or blaming, either explicitly or implicitly, the party in opposition’s inter-texts. At the manifest level, prior texts of the party in opposition are referred to in a form of quotations and this type of inter-textuality is supposed to be an innocent practice whose purpose is to view the topic in question objectively from ‘others’ perspective to avoid plagiarism. However, the analysis has revealed that the inter-text used by the politicians, both manifest and constitutive, can be misleading. This occurs when the politician in question is using the text to express a negative idea about the party in opposition and its leaders by selecting quotations that serves his/her domestic and ideological purposes. This is because by quoting, he/she can attack the party in opposition and its leaders which would appear in the Daily Graphic through the voice of state journalists without having to bear the responsibility as he/she can always claim that he/she was quoting or merely quoting an opposition member to buttress a point. In a political context as in Ghana politics, even the most neutral way of manifesting inter-textuality, that is, quotations, may prove to mark an attack on the party in opposition without explicitly appearing to do so.

Also, Ghanaian politicians use expressions that are constructed to be direct and straightforward with little use of euphemistic language or agentless passives, although there are a few exceptions, rather they tend to use categorical modality extensively, indicating that they attached a strong truth-value to the statements. These along with the fact that they mostly
make demands, not request, making them as politicians who are not in position of power, but who are willing to them and also believe in the righteousness of the ideologies and political cause. Also the political parties use hyperboles in their discourses based on what they are achieving when in power rather than what their opponents or detractors are saying. Thus, I can conclude that political news articles written by state journalists that appear in the Daily Graphic are part of the struggle for hegemony that Fairclough describes as “creating the world in their own political image” by the political parties in Ghana.

It is important to emphasise that the notion of social change has not been the main focus of the project, but the idea of an openness towards a meaningful socio-political change has been evident in the texts, thus reflecting a bottom-up approach, rather than defined or pointed out as an analytical dimension prior to the analysis. This is so because some of the texts draw on slightly different discursive tendencies, crystallised in Fairclough’s approaches to differences and commonality, which aims at bridging the Us and Them polarisation and accentuating negotiating rather than conflict; commonality rather than difference and equality rather than inequality. Moreover, tendencies were also detected in the selected articles towards accepting the possibility of a meaningful social change and presenting Othering, manipulation and dominance/hegemony (and social inequalities in general) as thwarting multi-vocality and socio-political dynamism. On the basis of these findings, I can conclude that as a reflection on the process of the analysis, it is crucial to note that the evidences extracted from some of texts seems, in some instances to be in balance in the findings which supported and contradicted my initial assumptions when analysed and discussed, thus equally enriching the analysis.

My case study, resulting in the analysis of 10 selected political news articles published by the state-owned Daily Graphic from 2005 to 2010, can thus be considered as an alternative setting to subject matters usually investigated by CDA; not only because it diverges from issues typically addressed by CDA, but also because in the articles analysed, unequal power struggle was the main theme and the underlining subject matter that framed the events represented in the texts. Thus, one could notice from the articles analysed and discussed that unequal power relations are maintained in political news discourses, in the Daily Graphic newspaper, on not explicitly polarised issues. One could therefore conclude that CDA can be practically and productively applied to alternative setting, as well as the scope of issues addressed by CDA can be broadened to include not explicitly polarised issues. Because, the analysis of the articles points to the fact that unequal power relations and the polarisation between us and them in political news discourses, are not associated only with the contexts in which there is an explicit conflict between different political parties. Rather, it points to more pervasive phenomena and ideological differences in which parties in opposition are presented negatively as the Other in political discourses.

As a way to perspectives the findings to a broader context, it is interesting to note that the project seems to be in line with Fairclough’s understanding of the dialectical interplay between social practices, discursive practices and their influences on a particular text. And, it is particularly noteworthy that the analysis of the texts crystallised that discourses are both constituted and constitutive of the social world. By drawing on the Us vs. Them ideological
struggle, the texts replicated and thus reproduced unequal power relations in political news discourses in the Daily Graphic newspaper. Hence, they illuminate systems of knowledge and power (representation or hegemony), socio-political identity (drawing on identity and political group formation) and social relations (as enacted by the relations of equivalence or difference of the political group).

The motivation to write this project was based on two basic notions, namely: the representation of the *Other* and the weight of communicative power of the media in the politics of Ghana. The analysis of the ten articles have proved that the representation of the *Other* in political news discourses on not explicitly polarised issues based on a clear differentiation between *Us* (party in power) and *Them* (the party in opposition) in news articles published by the state-owned newspaper. Secondly, because the media have the power, ability and resources to influence how individuals, institutions and societies shape their identity, politicians of the two largest parties, NDC and NPP, manipulate the communicative power of the state media to their advantage whenever one is in power. Thus ideological biases are linguistically embedded in the written reports or articles of the party in power in the state-owned Daily Graphic hence it is not providing a perspective that is far free from subjective interpretation of political events in the country, on the contrary, it tends to construct reality in a manner congruent with its underlying ideological and political functions.

Journalists (state journalists) of the state media do write political news articles which are biased and skewed in favour of the parties in power, because of the way the state media is structured and used as an instrument of state authority. On paper, a 15 member independent National Media Commission (NMC) has been set up by an Act of Parliament (NMC Act 1993) under the 1992 Constitution to promote free and independent media, quality in standards, as well as ensuring that the state-owned media are independent or insulated from government control, but in practice, because of the manipulations by the two largest parties and favourable reportage they enjoyed when in power, none of them is ever prepared to put in place regulatory structures to ensure their independence, despite numerous petitions by the NMC since its establishment.

For the state-owned media to operate freely there should be an institutional measures and regulatory structures empowering the NMC to set up a body to see to the independence, public accountability of the state-owned media, and a clear monitoring mechanism introduced to guarantee impartiality and balance in reporting of political news. Furthermore, the NMC should be adequately resourced, especially, with secretariat to undertake management responsibilities, to adequately ensure editorial standards are maintained and deal with complaints of harassment, intimidations, denial of information, etc, against them in their line of duty.

On a lighter note, I think there is a fundamental problem with the provisions in Article 78: Clause 1 of the 1992 Constitution which irrevocably tied the country’s electoral fortunes of the ruling president to those of his political party, and vice versa. Because this system of government creates opportunities for the parties in power to stuff their election chest in
preparation for the next general elections while denying parties in opposition access to such slush of funds which are concealed in the patrimonial relations that the presidents and their ministers construct within the structure of state power. This is a major factor that makes parties in power to exclude parties in opposition in deals, development projects and practice in-group and out-group tactics (as the argument goes). To eradicate these tendencies there should be a constitutional review to change or review provisions in the above Article and clauses that go contrary to the spirit of democratic conditions.
Bibliography


The 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana


Appendix 1

Reflections/Analytical Commentary:

Ghana is being admired now by the international community as a stable and beacon of hope for entrenchment of democratic rule in Africa. This is based on its achievement in relation to five successful elections held since 1992 and the peaceful handing over of the ruling governments to the opposition twice, in January 7, 2001 and January 7, 2009 respectively, without any recourse to civil strife or violent agitation as had been happening in other countries on the Africa continent. This article explains how undercurrent negative tendencies permeating now in the country’s political setting had the potentialities of unleashing monumental catastrophes to the disadvantage of the citizens.

I am going to send the above article for publication in The Ghanaian Chronicle newspaper which offers daily, national and world news, as well as weather, sports, entertainment, business and travel coverage. The Chronicle is one of the major private newspapers in Ghana, and can be found in both print and online version, although the online version entails a subscription. It is considered to be credible and, arguably, not affiliated to any political party. The target group of the article is the Ghanaian audience, especially the politicians and the literate urban dwellers who are interested in politics, media language and discourse, as they are mostly the people who purchased the newspaper. This is because the commonality of English, higher literacy rates, and urban wealth all contribute to a reliable audience for The Ghanaian Chronicle in the capital of Ghana and the other 5 regional capitals it has offices – Cape Coast, Kumasi, Takoradi, Koforidua and Ho.

Based on the newspaper’s readership and their political sympathies, I conducted sampling of ten political newspaper articles based on thematic approach in order to exhibit the intertextuality dimension in the analysis. Thus the articles were selected on the basis of a specific theme, i.e. their reflections about the undercurrent tendencies of the representation of the Other by political leaders and actors in the state-owned newspaper. Although every analytic tool was applied but two major theoretical standpoints, i.e. multifunctional view of texts and ideological square were taken into consideration and applied. On the inter-textuality level, I looked at the discourse practice while at the relations of power and social inequalities level I looked at the socio-cultural practice.

Secondly, the article does not make use of many academic and professional discourse terms or jargons and thus not difficult to read and understanding by the readership of the newspaper who are not familiar with the discourse theory and linguistic processes; notwithstanding that, I also find the results of my research and the article to be relevant for the linguists and discourse analysts interested in the subject of determining the linguistics processes of the written media that reflect and contribute to the dominant discursive and socio-cultural norms of a political setting. Also, since the newspaper can be accessed online it is assumed that it will be read, possibly, by people with different political, social and cultural backgrounds, and interested in media and political discourses.
The Article:

The Representation of the Other in Ghana Politics since 1992

Last week I cried for mother Ghana in this article. After the publication on the existence of ethnocentric undertones in national politics and elections, and stated that Ghanaians could not continue to shy away from the issues of ethnicity as if it does not exist and expressed opinion that it should be brought to the fore for its positive attributes to used in national development. I received e-mail messages from some of my readers who echoed the sentiments I had expressed saying that I was not alone in my thoughts.

According to them, they do also cry for Ghana looking at the irresponsible way of representing one another by the two largest parties which have take turns to rule the country and the ethno-sentiments that is appearing again in our political landscape which accounted for the violent clashes, shootings, burning of cars and breaking up of political rallies due to whipped up ethnic sentiments on a political platform in the Ashanti Region in 1956.

Wiping Away of Tears

This week, I am wiping away my tears, at least for now, and hope that those who are reading this article will be waving their white handkerchiefs with me by the time they finish reading this piece. I feel elated this week for being a Ghanaian for a reason. My biggest glee is the opportunity to have had readership of an excellent article by Eric Kwadwo Amissah titled: The Representation of the Other in Ghana Politics since 1992. The article was conceived as an analytical commentary on tendencies in Ghana politics since 1992 that need to be pointed out in relation to their potential end results and what need to be done with practical examples.

Similar Incidents

The incident “STX deal expected to create 40,000 jobs” announced by the Minister of Water Resources, Works and Housing of the NDC at a durbar with personnel of Ghana Prisons Service in Accra and appeared in the Daily Graphic, Saturday, August 28, 2010, is one among many similar incidents analyzed in a recent report, which into the ways in which state-owned Ghanaian newspapers portray in extremely biased manner the affairs of Ghanaian politics, which can be said to approach political favouritism towards the party in government. A classical example which buttresses this fact is that on Thursday, August 14, 2008, President Kufuor of the NPP was quoted in the same newspaper as predicting that “Govt will soon be vindicated on GT – Vodafone deal.”

The article addresses political representation of the Other issues from neutral platforms, without politicising them and this will create a platform for an objective search for answers that we as a nation should build on and for our politicians to understand that it is through differences and values that common grounds are found in initiating a consensus and cooperative developmental projects and agendas beneficial to the citizens and the nation as a whole.
He articulates why journalist with the state media write as they do and echoes the silent misgivings buried deep in our hearts of the situation. He explains that because state journalists are included in state sources and information by parties in power officials, and relied on speeches and public statements of government officials, they are quite concerned always to protect their mutually rewarding relationships with the parties in power. That is why they hardly ever publish critical or oppositional stories of the ruling governments, thus making them pro-government on all political issues.

**Biases**

Secondly, the state journalists do write political news articles which are biased and skewed in favour of the parties in power, because of the way the state media is structured and used as an instrument of state authority. This is a contributing factor why ideological biases are linguistically embedded in their written reports and a perspective far from free subjective interpretation of political events, in other words, they tend to construct reality in a manner congruent with their underlying ideological and political functions.

**Toothless NMC**

This apart, the inability of the 15 member -independent National Media Commission (NMC) established by an Act of Parliament (NMC Act 1993) under the 1992 Constitution to promote free and independent media, quality in standards, as well as ensuring that the state-owned media are independent or insulated from government control, is a major obstacle impeding objective and impartial reportage. Due to manipulative tendencies the two largest parties, the NDC and the NPP, exhibit in relation to hegemony and negative representation of the other when one is in power none is ever prepared to put in place regulatory structures to ensure effective running of the Commission as stipulated in the constitution despite numerous petitions by the NMC to the effect.

**Blue Print**

Like a master craftsman totally in charge of his tools and fully aware of how his creation will turn out, Amissah makes a tangible and viable suggestion which if adhered to will be of great incentive to the media setting in the country. He said, for the state-owned media to operate freely there should be an institutional measures and regulatory structures empowering the NMC to set up a body to see to the independence, public accountability of the state-owned media and a clear monitoring mechanism introduced to guarantee impartiality and balance in reporting of political news. He went further to say that, the NMC should be adequately resourced, especially, with secretariat to undertake management responsibilities, to adequately ensure editorial standards are maintained and deal with complaints of harassments, intimidations, denial of information, etc, against them in their line of duty.

Looking at the communicative power of the media, he considers the above as pertinent in view of the useful lessons that as a nation and people can draw from media practices in other democratic countries where the media is seen as the 4th estate as this will minimise, if not eradicate, the representation of the Other in political news discourses on not explicitly
polarised issues based on a clear differentiation between Us (party in power) and Them (the party in opposition) embedded in the state-owned media publications.

**Exploitations and the Blame Game**

Many a time, we hear from our next door neighbours, Nigeria, Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso, where political leaders of the ruling class exploit the readers of newspapers to advantage, Ghanaians think we are far free from that situation. No, Ghanaian political leaders through the voices of state journalist and taking into consideration how different people interact with political news exploits readers of the state-owned Daily Graphic, which is national newspaper by all accounts.

He explains that most of the exploitations are in relation to the representation of the Other which they know have the functions of criticising or blaming the party in opposition’s inter-texts. Because at the manifest level, prior texts of the opposition party are referred to in a form of quotations and this type of inter-textuality, although, seems innocent, but in both manifest and constitutive, are misleading. Examples are these two political news articles published by the Daily Graphic on September 22, 2006 and June 7, 2010 respectively: “Celebration of 50th Independence Anniversary US$20 million NOT FOR MERRY-MAKING: Chief of Staff declares” and “Mills’s Govt Saves Ghcedis 8 million annually.”

Quite apart from that, he talks about the use of categorical modality extensively by the politicians to indicate their strong attachment to the truth-value of their statement, even if, they are lying, make demand on the electorate, when elections are due especially, and make use of hyperboles to push their political ideology and agenda through. Instances can also be drawn from two political news articles published by the Daily Graphic on November 30, 2004 and September 18, 2010 respectively: “Reject NDC to avoid constitutional crisis – Solomon” and “Assess gov’t based on achievements – UW NDC.”

**Playing Havoc with Ethnicity**

He is particularly worried about the recent events that point to the existence of ethnocentric undertones in national politics and elections, because Ghanaians continue to shy away from the issues as if it does not exist, but as evidenced in the voting patterns of the voters in the Volta Region for the NDC and voters in the Ashanti Region for the NPP. As these struggles for hegemony and control are now turning into ethnic/tribal combat between the two parties and both parties have the tendencies of whipping up ethnic fear, suspicion and jealousy for their own advantage so as to entrench themselves in power, then there is the need to bring the issues of ethnicity to the fore for its positive attributes to used in national development. With this trend permeating in our political landscape, Amissah said if care is not taken tribalism will fill the vacuum created by the absence of national political ideology.

**All Hands on the Deck**

He said a centre should be set up to give early warning signals on inter-ethnic conflicts as well as serve as a think-tank for government policies that affect inter-ethnic relations in the country. Furthermore, he said the National Commission on Civic Education should also take
it as a serious assignment to educate Ghanaians to consider national politics and elections as mediums of taking decisions on national issues and not for competing among ethnic groups and tasked the Ministry of Education and the government to strengthen formal education to instil the spirit of nationalism in the youth.

He said this feat cannot be achieved in isolation and calls for all hands on the deck, for instance, schools, churches, the security services and other patriotic organisations such as civil society associations should be made to teach the kind of curriculum and preach messages that serve as unifying themes which included democracy, freedom, equality, justice, self-reliance and co-operation in order to minimise ethnic prejudices; and warned leaders that these values should not be parroted, rather they should be internalised and made part and parcel of the people’s mind-set and system of behaviour towards one another for the general good of the nation.

On the tactics employed by political parties, especially, few months to elections, Amissah is of the opinion that the parties employed a wide range of tactics to mobilize voters for their course which, technical, amounts to vote buying, coercing and in some isolated cases, intimidations. These tactics include appeal to political tradition and religion, as well as the use of money and other material incentives, such as, footwear, cloths and food and roofing sheets, both in the parliamentary and presidential elections; although the weight of these factors in any election varies from one constituency to the other and region to region. He believes that voters and citizens should be educated by the National Commission on Civic Education, the Electoral Commission and the Ministry of Communication, backed by the media – television stations, radio stations and newspaper outlets, to know the rights, especially, voting rights in any elections. This he thinks will help do away with those tactics of the political parties.

**Review Needed**

Talking about the constitution, he is of the opinion that there is a fundamental problem with the provisions in Article 78: Clause 1 of the 1992 Constitution which irrevocably tied the country’s electoral fortunes of the ruling president to those of his political party, and vice versa. Because this system of government creates opportunities for the parties in power to stuff their election chest in preparation for the next general elections while denying parties in opposition access to such slush of funds which are concealed in the patrimonial relations that the presidents and their ministers construct within the structure of state power in areas like awarding of contracts, developmental projects, etc. This is a major factor that makes parties in power to exclude parties in opposition in deals, development projects and practice in-group and out-group tactics (as the argument goes). To eradicate these tendencies there should be a constitutional review to change or review provisions of the above Article and clauses that go contrary to the spirit of democratic conditions, he added. He concluded by saying that surely, Ghanaians do not expect the democratic conditions they are enjoying to be curse, but rather a huge blessing and benefit to our people, of which I concurred.
Appendix 2

Below are the table of contents extracted from 2009 issues of the journal Discourse & Society. The articles selected dealt directly with Critical Discourse Analysis.

### Discourse & Society

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<td>M. Mosheer Amer</td>
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<td>Inter-textuality and national identity: discourse of national conflicts in daily newspapers in the United States and China</td>
<td>Juan Li</td>
<td>CDA; national identity; newspaper discourse &amp; US – China conflicts</td>
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Appendix 3

Below are list of the titles of the ten (10) political news articles published by the state-owned Daily Graphic which I analysed and discussed and behind are the samples of the articles.

1. Celebration of 50th Independence Anniversary US$20 million NOT FOR MERRY-MAKING! CHIEF OF STAFF DECLARES”

2. Unsavoury remarks about Presidency: IT’S TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE say Prez. Kufuor
   Daily Graphic, Saturday, March 19, 2005, pages 1 & 3: Story by: Nehemia Owusu Achiaw

3. 5 To refund GHcedis 94,080

4. Millis’s govt saves GHcedis8 million annually

5. “Govt will soon be vindicated on GT – Vodafone deal: President
   Daily Graphic, Thursday, August 14, 2008, page 20: Story by: Kwame Asare Boadu

6. Reject NDC to avoid constitutional crisis – Solomon
   Daily Graphic, Tuesday, November 30, 2004, page 17: Story by: Ransford Tetteh

7. Kufuor happy for those named

8. Haruna defends SIM card registration

9. STX deal expected to create 40,000 jobs

10. Assess gov’t based on achievements – UW NDC