

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST



**A DISCURSIVE REPRESENTATION OF THE GITMO-2 AND THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GHANA AND AMERICA IN
GHANAIAN NEWSPAPERS**

WINNIFRED KWOFIE

2022

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RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GHANA AND AMERICA IN GHANAIAN
NEWSPAPERS

BY
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Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast, in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy degree in English

SEPTEMBER, 2022

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

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

Candidate's Signature..... Date.....

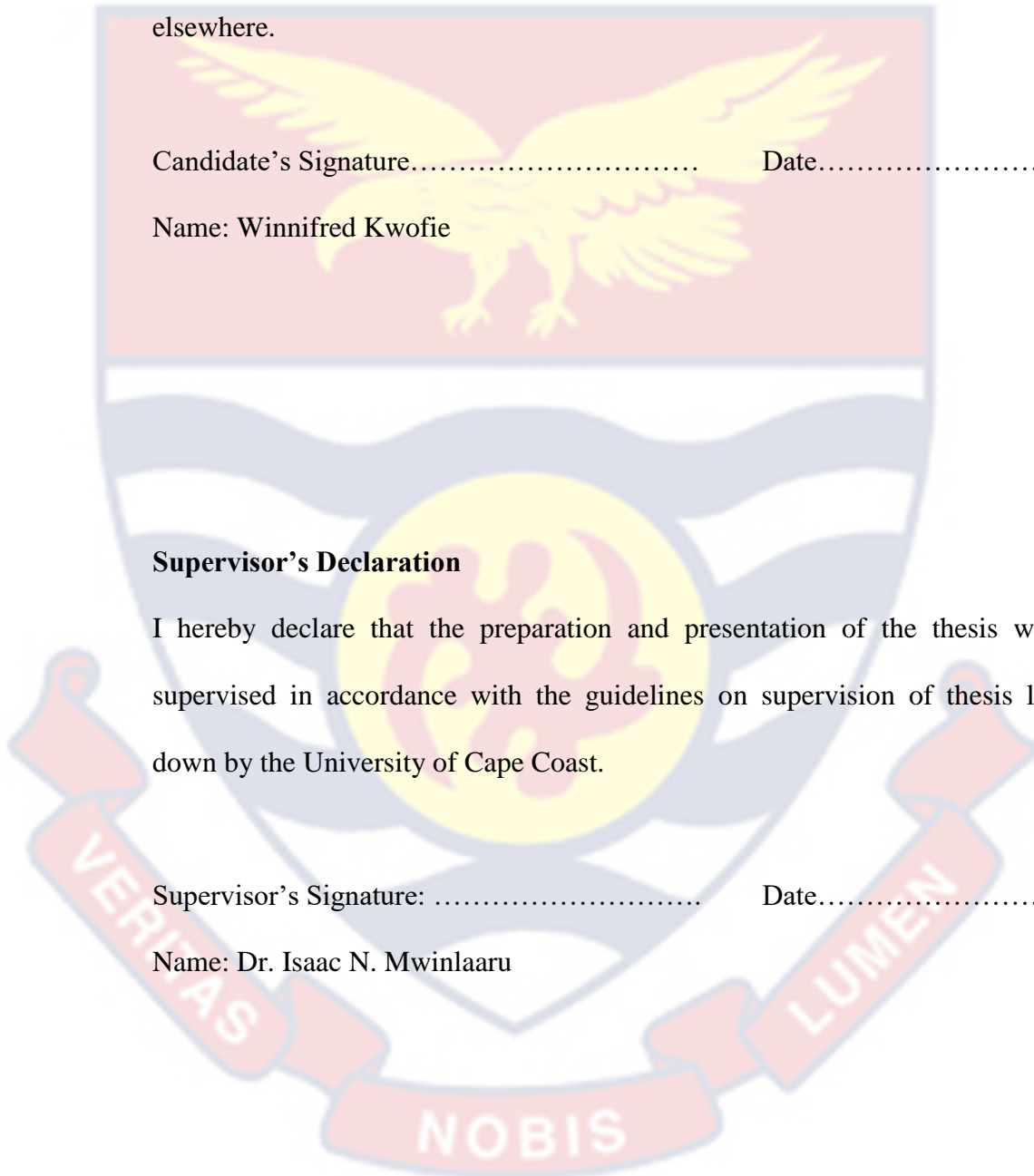
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Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Supervisor's Signature: Date.....

Name: Dr. Isaac N. Mwinlaaru



ABSTRACT

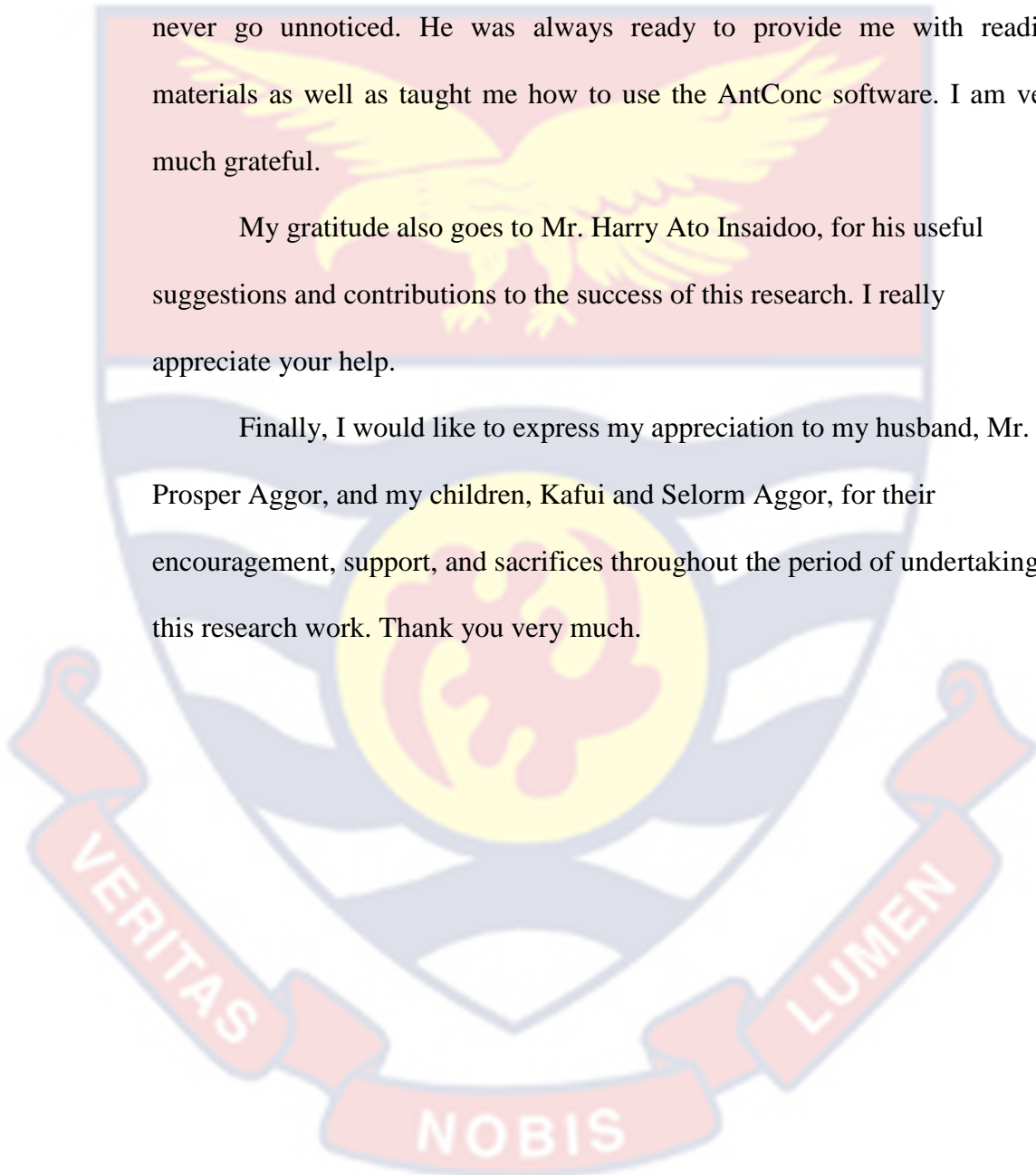
The main thrust of this study is to examine the linguistic resources that are used to represent the Gitmo-2 and to construct the Ghana-America relationship in Ghanaian media. The lack of research on modern forms of imperialism from the linguistic point of view in Ghana motivated the study. A corpus of 139,668 words of media articles and reports comprising editorials, opinion pieces, and Facebook posts and comments on the Gitmo-2 for the periods first quarter of 2016 and last quarter of 2018 was built. The CDA approach, DHA, together with Cohen's Moral Panic theory were employed in the analysis. The study reveals that discourses on the Gitmo-2 embedded other discourses such as political and religious issues. Again, grammatical forms such as nominals, adjectival modifiers, and parallelism, are employed to represent the Gitmo-2 as terrorists/criminals, a threat to Ghana's security, and undesirables; whereas nouns, adjectives phrases, and clauses are used to construct the complicated Ghana-America relationship. The study finds that resistance discourse in the media occurs subtly, therefore shedding some light on the language use in the media as not only performing the informative function but also as a manipulative tool. The findings and conclusions drawn from the study highlight the need to study language use in the media to unravel hidden ideologies.

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Finally, I would like to express my appreciation to my husband, Mr. Prosper Aggor, and my children, Kafui and Selorm Aggor, for their encouragement, support, and sacrifices throughout the period of undertaking this research work. Thank you very much.



DEDICATION

To my children: Kafui and Selorm

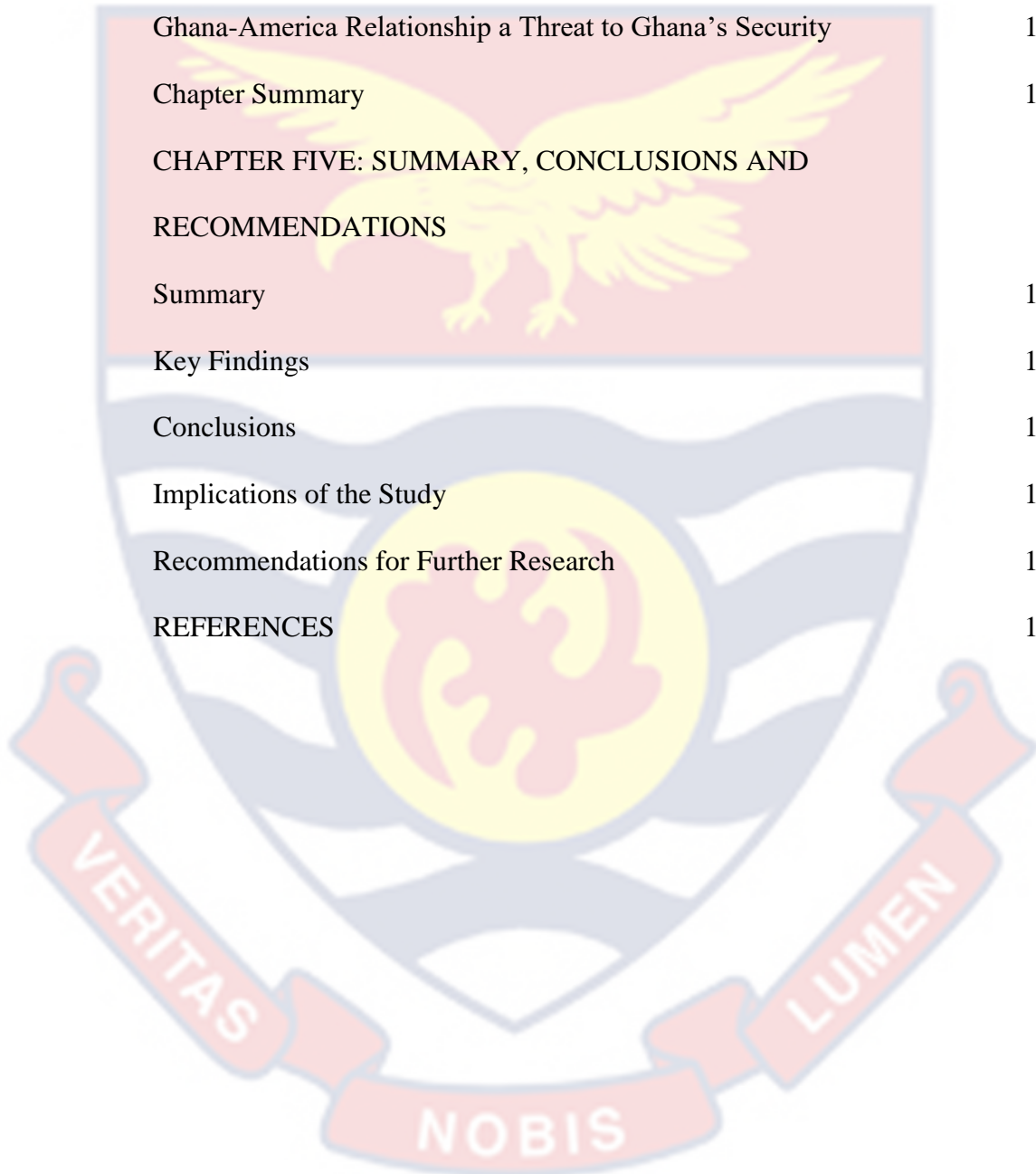


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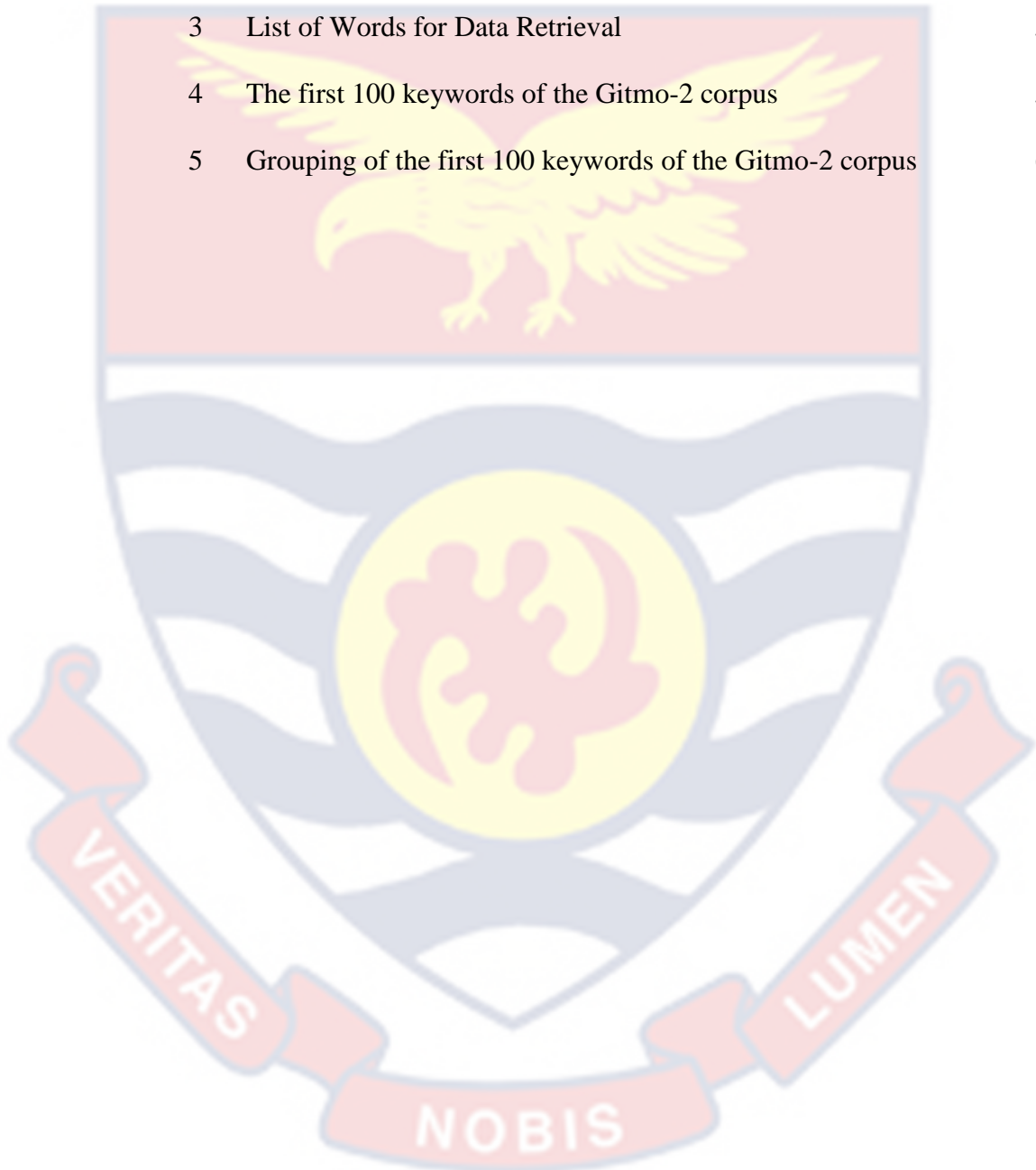
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Overview

Drawing insights from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this study examines the use of language in representing the resettlement of two former Guantanamo prisoners (Gitmo-2) in Ghana and the relationship between Ghana and America in the Ghanaian media. This chapter, therefore, provides the background to the study and states the research problem, and the research questions, the significance and scope of the study. Finally, it outlines the organization of the study.

Background to the Study

The Facility known as “Guantanamo Detention Camp” was established by the United States government to detain enemy combatants captured on the battlefields of Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Obama administration promised to close the facility amid questions over the legality of their detention. To close it down, the US authorities transported some of the detainees to other countries. Ghana was the first country to accept two detainees (Nyarko et al., 2019).

On January 6, 2016, “Mahmud Umar Muhammad Bin Atef and Khalid Muhammad Salih Al-Dhuby”, also known as "Gitmo-2," were relocated to Ghana for two years as part of an agreement between the US and Ghanaian governments to contribute to global peace. The two detainees were captured in Afghanistan in 2001 and held at Guantanamo Bay for 14 years as alleged Taliban and Al-Qaeda enemy combatants (Nyarko et al., 2019).

The news of the arrival of the detainees was broadcasted following a statement made in parliament on 24th January, 2018 by Shirley Ayorkor Botchway, the then Foreign Affairs Minister, granting the two former Guantanamo Bay detainees refugee status and are thus, the responsibility of the government of Ghana. According to her, there is no exit arrangement in the agreement entered into by the former Mahama-led administration with the government of the United States of America (Daily Graphic Online, January 24, 2016). The evacuation of the two detainees to Ghana sparked strong national discourse and outrage (Nyarko et al., 2019), because society's norms and interests appear to be in jeopardy. Franklin Cudjoe, the president of IMANI Ghana, for example, viewed this development as an "unwise decision" (Daily Graphic Online, January 7, 2016).

The majority of Ghanaians were terrified when the Guantanamo detainees were sent to the country. People's reactions on social media were a combination of outrage, astonishment, and fear. The fear stemmed from Guantanamo's poor image as a place where "hardened terrorists" are held (Bilgen, 2012; Owusu-Sekyere, 2016). The discourse on the Guantanamo, for example, came dangerously close to deteriorating the solid bond between Ghanaian Christians and Muslims. This is because while the Muslim community saw the hosting of the Gitmo-2 in the country as an act of compassion and a quest to give the Gitmo-2 another opportunity for them to reform, the Christian community saw it as an act of complacency, which could expose the country to terrorist attacks, thereby eroding the peace and security of the country.

Ghanaians also saw the agreement as undemocratic. Regarding the deal's undemocratic aspect, Ghanaians perceived the president as an autocratic leader for his failure to consult the people before making such a major decision. Therefore, civil society organizations sought that the case is referred to the Supreme Court to determine its legality (Daily Graphic Online, March 4, 2016). Also, there were issues of over-politicization, indicating that the detainees' transfer to Ghana devolved into a partisan political showdown. Nyarko et al. (2019) posits that because the arrival of the Gitmo-2 to Ghana coincided with the 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections, Ghana public sphere witnessed a "for" and "against" discourse in which objectivity lost its virtue. On the one hand, members of the opposition party criticized the government (Daily Graphic Online, January 26, 2016). They questioned why the government would place the country at the forefront of the fight against terrorism. On the other hand, government supporters maintained that the ex-detainees could not be called terrorists since they had not been found guilty of any crime. They also insisted that the government made that decision on humanitarian grounds (Daily Graphic Online, March 4, 2016).

Nyarko et al. (2019) further adds that the arrival of the detainees in Ghana heightened anxieties due to the proximity of afflicted states such as Nigeria, Cote D'Ivoire, and Burkina Faso. The readiness of Ghana to deal with complicated security circumstances as a major response assumes that the level of terror is determined by society's trust in its intelligence agencies. While the administration of Mahama stressed that accepting to host the Gimto-2 was the country's contribution to combating terrorism, the public contended that key legal frameworks were ignored during the evacuation. Although foreign policy

and security decisions were made behind closed doors, security agencies that are created constitutionally should not be ignored in making such decisions. The arrival of the detainees was interpreted by the public as the importation of "trouble" from the United States of America to an ostensibly "terror-free" and "calm" country. Though Ghana had not experienced terrorism before, rumours of its devastating effects on afflicted nations were enough to produce fear in the Ghanaian societies.

Even though the government at the time saw this agreement as a contribution to global peace, a section of Ghanaians saw it as an act of imperialism on the part of America. Amid these discussions in Ghanaian media, the two ex-detainees, who became popularly known in Ghanaian media space as the Gitmo-2, were viewed by Ghanaians as a bridge between Ghana and America by which terrorism and hostilities towards America will find their way into Ghana. The media space in Ghana was flooded with discourses on the Gtmo-2. The aim of the present study is to determine how the Gitmo-2 were discursively represented in Ghanaian media. The study also analysis how the relationship between Ghana and America was linguistically constructed.

Statement of the Problem

The issue of minority group representation has attracted a lot of attention in CDA literature both within Ghana (Ibrahim, 2016; Deladem, 2018; Nartey and Ladegaard, 2021; Nartey, 2022), and else where (Ameli et al, 2007; Fajri, 2019; Bednarek , 2020).

Ameli et al (2007) for instance, studied how British media represented Islam and Muslims. Employing both qualitative (interviews) and quantitative (questionnaires) research design, and a total of 1,177 participants, they

concluded that people have prejudiced opinion about Muslims and Islam and that reflected the way they were represented in the British media, generally as violent and terrorists. This observation is confirmed by Fajri (2019)'s study of how Indonesian Muslims and Islam were represented in American press, that there were extremely few positive representations of Islam and Muslims in American media as the rest were negative. Bednarek (2020) also studies another minority group, the Aboriginal Torres Straight Islanders (ATSI) in Australian newspapers and makes a similar observation, that the ASTIs are hardly mentioned in the media and when they did, they were given the deficit framing.

In the context of Ghana, media representation of Fulani Herdsmen as a minority group has been studied by Ibrahim (2016), and Nartey and Ladegaard (2021). They did content analysis and critical discourse analysis of media reports on the Fulani Herdsmen respectively. They both concluded that the herdsmen received prejudiced representation in the media as aliens and a danger to Ghanaians. LGBTQ people/issues have also been found to receive similar representation in Ghanaian media as proven by Nartey (2022)'s study. His study showed that LGBTQ people/issues were framed as undesirables through three main discourses: discourses of medicalization, societal destruction and alienation. Deladem (2018)'s study of the representation of Liberian refugees in Ghanaian media provides a similar conclusion including the refugees being viewed as criminals and a burden on Ghana. Together, these studies focused on issues that had national relevance.

The current study can be situated within the body of research on minority groups in the sense that it deals with how a dominant group

(Ghanaians) label a smaller group (Gitmo-2). The study, however, diverts from these previous studies in the sense that it examines an ‘ambiguous’ discourse that does not only represent a minority group but is also an enactment of genuine fear. Again, its complexity in terms of illustrating a triangle of international relations: Yemen,-US-Ghana gives the current study an international touch.

Research Objectives

The study seeks to undertake critical discourse analysis of the discourses on the Gitmo-2 in Ghanaian media to uncover the key issues in the Gitmo-2 corpus. Apart from identifying the key issues that were associated with the Gitmo-2 in Ghanaian media, the study also seeks to uncover the discursive resources that were used in giving various projections to the Gitmo-2 in Ghanaian media as well as identifying how the relationship between Ghana and America was curved in the Gitmo-2 discourses. Uncovering such knowledge, I believe, will share some enlightenment on how the ‘ambiguous’ nature of the Gitmo-2 discourse does not only represents a minority group but is also an enactment of genuine fear, and how language contributes to these.

Research Questions

The following questions are addressed to meet the study’s objectives:

1. What does the keyness reveal about the Gitmo-2 corpus?
2. How are the Gitmo-2 represented in Ghanaian media?
3. How has the relationship between America and Ghana been represented in Ghanaian media?

Significance of the Study

The study provides insight into how genuine fear is enacted in the media by looking at how Ghanaians reacted to the reception of the Gitmo-2, whose issue was related to terrorism at a time when terrorists activities were rift in neighbouring countries of Ghana.

Again, the study develops a sizable corpus of 139,668 words on the Gitmo-2 for future use.

As the study looks at how the Gitmo-2, a minority group, are represented in Ghanaian media, it adds to the body of research on minority groups.

Finally, the study sheds light on how issues of terrorism and international security are talked about in the media, especially with the growing concern of terrorism around the world and in the West African sub-region.

Delimitation

This study engages in an analysis of articles published in Ghanaian media on the Gitmo-2. It focuses on print media, online news sites, and social media, specifically Facebook and Twitter. These media sources were chosen over radio and television because they provided written data which was easier to come by compared to audio and visual data. Again, the data and the data collection period were restricted to items on the Gitmo-2 that were published or posted between the first quarter of 2016 and the last quarter of 2018. This is because the Gitmo-2 were relocated to Ghana in the first week of January 2016 so that spark some discussions in the media in the first quarter of the year 2016, the reason why this period was chosen. The opposition political

party at the time promised to repatriate the Gitmo-2 if it won power in the 2016 general elections. It did win which raised Ghanaians' expectations of them fulfilling their promise. In the last quarter of 2018, when Ghanaians heard that the Gitmo-2 were still in the country, discussions on the Gitmo-2 in the media resurfaced, the reason why the last quarter of 2018 was also chosen. Moreover, it restricts itself to articles that portrayed people's opinions and news reports on the reception of Gitmo-2 in Ghana.

Organization of the Study

This is a five-chapter study. The background of the study, the problem statement, the research questions, as well as the significance of the study and the scope are dealt with in the chapter.

Chapter Two is the literature review section. Generally, related literature on the study is reviewed, but precisely, it focuses on concepts like media representation, ideology and language. Furthermore, it reviews some studies related to the current study.

Chapter Three first describes the socio-political contexts of the Gitmo-2 event and concludes with a description of the data processing and analytical procedure.

The data obtained is analyzed and discussed in Chapter Four to answer the research questions.

Chapter Five of the study comprises a conclusion, a summary of key findings, implications of the study, and recommendations.

Chapter Summary

This chapter offers a general introduction to the study. It has provided the background to the study. A problem statement warranting the study was

established. Research questions, research assumptions, and the significance of the study were all addressed in this chapter.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The chapter provides a general review of literature related to the study. To do this, the chapter is organized under three sections: conceptual review, theoretical framework and empirical review. First is the conceptual review of the study. It sheds light on the concepts underlining the study as well as the approach to discourse analysis that was adopted for the study. Next is the pertinent theories in language and media studies that serve as the foundation for the study, and lastly, the empirical review that discusses the themes derived from the research questions to show how the current thesis interacts with the existing body of research. The chapter finally concludes by summarizing the discussions.

Conceptual Framework

This section first expands the concept of discourse and explains it as the language use in context, and this forms the basis for the current analysis. The section also discusses CDA as an approach to language analysis from the ideological perspective. The various approaches used under CDA are highlighted and the main CDA approach adopted for the current study, the Discourse Historical Approach, is also discussed. Since the study looks at the issue of representation, the section also discusses the concepts Ideology and media representation. The Gitmo-2 discourse bothered on terrorism around the world and especially towards America, and Ghana's support to America in the fight against terrorism. For that matter, the section takes a look at the

discursive construction of terrorism and the diplomatic relations between Ghana and America.

Discourse

Given that the present study is generally situated in discourse analysis, I find it critical to examine the term “discourse”. This section, therefore, provides a conceptual review of the term.

Attempts at defining discourse have often considered “Discourse” and “discourse” as distinct terms. For example, Gee (1996) distinguishes these two concepts based on the interconnections between social relations, social identities, settings, and specific language use scenarios. He, therefore, defines “Discourse” with a capital ‘D’ as “...a socially accepted association among ways of using language, other symbolic expressions, and artifacts, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing and acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or ‘social network’” (p. 131). This definition highlights ways of establishing oneself as a member of a discourse community. On the other hand, he defines “discourse” with a lower case ‘d’ as

‘any stretch of language (spoken, written, signed) which ‘hangs together’ to make sense to some community of people who use that language... making sense is always a social and variable matter: what makes sense to one community of people may not make sense to another (p. 131).’

This definition foregrounds the idea that meaning is embedded in how people perceive and experience life concerning the “community” they form part of.

Van Dijk (2006) states that discourse production involves language, talk, or text and the cognitions of the participants. He defines ‘cognition’ as a “person’s beliefs or intentions as well as mental processes in the production” (p. 160) or understanding of a speech. He talks of the notion of mental models.

Mental models could be said “to be representations in episodic memory of situations, acts or events spoken or thought about, observed or participated in by human actors” (van Dijk, 1997, p. 189). Mental models also embody values, beliefs, and ideologies shared by a group as well as individual knowledge of events which serve as a source of relevant information. In discourse or text processing, therefore, mental models form the basis of meaning-making and explain why “text recall does not seem to be based on the semantic representation of texts” (van Dijk, 1997, p. 193). Discourse, according to Richards, Platt, and Platt (1992), refers to larger chunks of language like paragraphs, conversations, and interviews. It is, therefore, important to throw more light on language, in terms of its usage, as a social practice, and as social action.

Discourse is sometimes conceptualized as language in use. Recent years have witnessed an increasing desire among scholars to study language use in context. This has been the focus of discourse analysis and pragmatics. Language is often defined as a system of communication that allows humans to express their feelings, thoughts, ideas, and experiences through sounds and symbols (Weiten, 2007). Montgomery (1995) extends the meaning of language to include interrelated relations that serve as a basis of communication. Montgomery also stresses the importance of meaning as the basic aspect of language. To Wittgenstein (1965), language is a system that

enables humans to cooperate. This definition highlights the social function of language. Using language as fundamental means of communicating one's thoughts is so natural that it is often difficult to realize what the functions of language are. Some of the roles of language are so ordinary that they are hardly noticed while others are grand or elevated and even abstract.

Halliday (1973) puts across three main functions of language. According to Halliday, language has developed into what he calls the meta-functions of language which are ideational, interpersonal, and textual, and all these functions work concurrently in a text to create meaning. The ideational function concerns how language is used to conceptualize our experience of the world. With the interpersonal function, language is used to interact and help establish and maintain relations with others. It is also used to please, infuriate, influence one's behaviour, and solicit help or sympathy among others. That is language serves as a medium between individuals. Thus, the interpersonal function has to do with the relationship between interlocutors. According to Halliday, the interpersonal function allows the speaker to express their attitudes and judgments and influence the attitudes and behaviour of others.

Finally, Halliday (1973) believes that language is a system for uniformly organizing messages so that messages logically adapt to other messages around and the broader context in which conversation or writing occurs. This function is related to our ability to construct text from words. This is what Halliday calls the textual meta-function. Language is, therefore, used to make the text a reality, and this function expresses the relationship between language and verbal and non-verbal context.

Some consider discourse as a social practice (Fairclough, 1995). According to Fairclough (1995), discourse is a part of society. He claims that discourse and society are interconnected. This means that our use of language and discourse in all its forms is influenced by society and social conventions. Sapir and Mandelbaum (1949, p.162) are of the view that “language is a guide to social reality”. They went on to say that although language is not usually considered essential by students majoring in social sciences, it strongly restricts all our thinking about social issues and processes. Human beings, he believes, do not only live in the objective world, but also in the popularly perceived realm of social activities, and are entirely dependent on a special language that has evolved into a medium of social expression.

When using the phrase “language as a social practice”, Kale and Marimyas (2003) believe that we do not study “language” and “society” as distinct entities. On the contrary, language is regarded as one of the mechanisms or strategies used by the speaker or a member of the society to regulate and reproduce the society and to command and control society. He went on to say that language learning is done relative to society, that is, the context of the situation and the cultural context.

Discourse is also considered a social action. Holtgraves (2001) views language or discourse as an action rather than as a symbol or an abstract system. He claims that “understanding what we are doing when we use language can aid our understanding of what it means to be a social being” (p. 8). He continues to say that people use language to accomplish various things such as requesting, complimenting, and criticizing. According to him, “to use language is to perform an action, and it is a meaning action, with

consequences for the speaker, the hearer, and the conversation of which it is part” (p. 5). Maynard and Perakyla (2002) believe that discourse is very important to social psychology because discourse is an important medium through which participants can communicate with each other and build common projects based on existing social arrangements. They view language and action as an aspect of a single process, and participants can organize collaboratively through their speech and gesture practices.

The present study examines the representation(s) of Gitmo-2 in Ghanaian media to uncover the hidden ideologies behind these representations. Concerning the hidden ideologies, the work is particularly interested in how such representations reflect the perceptions of Ghanaians towards the United States of America. Given this focus, the study is backed by critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a discourse analysis approach. Language is not a neutral tool, it can be used to convey hidden meanings, including the ideologies behind the representations of certain groups of people and issues in the media, and since CDA studies hidden ideologies behind language use, the use of CDA the current study is appropriate. Thus, in the present study, I will examine the representations of the Gitmo-2 in Ghanaian media to reveal what such representations portray about the perceptions of Ghanaians towards the relationship between the United States of America and Ghana.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA is a multidisciplinary approach to discourse analysis that draws on disciplines such as critical applied linguistics, education, anthropology, sociolinguistics, gender studies, psychology, sociology, politics, economics, and pragmatics (Catalano & Waugh, 2020). With this multidisciplinary feature

of CDA, discourse analysts who use it can investigate specific discursive practices and study the relationship between language, power, and ideologies in specific contexts. This approach is “critical” because it allows for an extensive, detailed investigation into the diverse aspects of discourse to investigate the hidden ideologies and relevance. In this study, this approach will allow for a detailed examination of the representations of the Gitmo-2 within the context of Ghanaian society to reveal the attitudes of Ghanaians towards Gitmo-2 as a form of resistance towards the United States of America.

As a discourse analytic approach, CDA considers language as a form of social practice. This approach empowers linguists with the ability to analyze specific discourses to understand the manifestations of power relations as well as ideologies in discourse. CDA is an ideal framework for discourse analysts to study the representations of social actors in discourse and the various meanings embedded in those representations. CDA is, therefore, perceived as an impactful way to evaluate the representativeness of Gitmo-2 in Ghanaian media.

Fairclough (1989, 1995, 2001) believes that in terms of meaning, a discourse has three levels: text, which captures the type, that is whether it is written or oral; interaction, that is the process of text generation and interpretation; and context, which captures the socio-cultural environment of meaning generation and how discourse is interpreted. Focusing on these three levels of meaning, Fairclough (1989, 1995, 2001) distinguishes three interconnected levels of discourse analysis: description, interpretation, and explanation. The first level, description, deals with the “formal properties of

the text” (Fairclough, 2001, pg. 26). The formal properties of the text include features of the language such as vocabulary and grammar. It is the description level that draws attention to analysis of the structures of meaning in the text. The second level, explanation, deals with the “relationship between text and interaction” (ibid), where the cognitive processes of participants in the text are studied. These include discursive practices involving the speaker, the channel and the listener. The third stage deals with “the relationship between interaction and social context – with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effects” (ibid). In analysing a text at this level, social events and structures are studied to uncover how they are shaped by events.

CDA is not a monolithic discourse analytic framework, given that there are diverse approaches to CDA, such as Fairclough’s (1995) three-dimensional model and van Dijk’s (1999) ideological square. According to van Dijk’s approach to CDA, ideologies can present themselves through a variety of social practices, with discourse being one of them (Putz, Van Dijk & Neff-van Aertselaer, 2004). Van Dijk believes that ideologies can be formed, maintained, and changed in discourse and communication, and discourse analysis is fundamentally ideology analysis. The 'Us against Them dimension,' where people assign favourable qualities to themselves while assigning unfavourable ones to others, is a key concept in Van Dijk’s work (van Dijk, 1991, 1996). This entire strategy is referred to as the ideological square (Van Dijk, 2006). Van Dijk (1998) proposes steps to follow when analyzing a communicative event. These include examining the communicative event’s historical, political, and social contexts, analyzing the power relations of the

main participants in the event, examining instances of polarization 'Us versus Them,' and analyzing the communicative event's structure (lexical choice, syntax, and so on).

Wodak (1996) proposes Discourse Sociolinguistics which strives to explore "the opaque structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control" in addition to studying texts in their contexts (p. 204). Wodak also suggests studying the historical context of events in analyzing and understanding texts, in her Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)(Wodak& Meyer, 2009). According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), the expression historical is used to "integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the multiple layers of a written or spoken text" (p. 266).

Wodak (2009) emphasizes "the idea of considering wider contexts of discourse, and this includes the actual use of language (text), the relationship between texts, genres, and discourses, the institutional context of discourse, and the social, political, and historical contexts". It is therefore the researcher's role to recognize how power operates at these different levels. DHA considers not just the immediate environment of the communication event in its current stage of occurrence, but also the event's historical continuity and growth. Examining the historical context, according to Wodak (2002), aids in understanding, interpreting, and explaining discourses and texts.

Fairclough's method differs from the previous two in that it focuses on the social component (Fairclough, 2003), and investigates the relationship between language and society, in which language and social practices are intertwined. Fairclough (1995) believes that Texts and discourses are both

socially formed, which makes the relationship between language and society dialectical. According to Fairclough (1995), and Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), CDA practitioners should combine the following three aspects to analyze any discursive event: (a) both spoken and written texts, (b) text production and interpretation/reception process, and (c) the structures (cultural and social) that lead to the interaction. Thus, three levels constitute the existence of discourse, and analysts should characterize and show how these levels are interrelated, as Fairclough suggests. This is accomplished by studying the linguistic features of the text, the process of its production and reception, and the socio-cultural factors that influence the text's production and reception.

The obvious differences in various analysis methods are usually considered to be only a reflection of the size of the space, and different researchers are dedicated to studying the micro (linguistic) and macro (social) dimensions of discourse (Elyas et al., 2020). Therefore, although some analysts focus on the deductive analysis of the macro-level social structure that promotes or inspires discourse events, other analysts emphasize the micro-level inductive examination, paying particular attention to the specific language parts that constitute these events. It must be emphasized that these preferences are based on analytical emphasis.

Within the field of language studies, recent years have also witnessed a proliferation of new approaches to CDA. Significant among these approaches have been van Leeuwen's (1993) social actor analysis. In this approach, van Leeuwen proposes 24 elements for the recontextualization of the social actors in discourse. This is a list of socio-semantics that enables discourse analysts to

determine who is nominated as a representative. This approach has been used by many researchers (e.g., Elyas & Al-Zahrani, 2019; Elyas & AlJabri, 2020; Kabgani, 2013; Sahragard & Davatgarzadeh, 2010) to look at how social actors are represented in media as well as the ideas supporting the representation.

The difference between CDA and classic discourse analysis tools is inherent in the word "critical" in CDA. This involves treating CDA as a point of view, position, or attitude that sets a signpost for a specific research agenda. In CDA, the notion of "critical" is conceptualized together with the concept of discourse in a broad sense. For scholars who use the concept of neo-Marxist criticism (e.g., Fairclough, 1993, 1995), the critique is based on the analyst's specific political position and aims to help achieve social change. Researchers inside the CDA community (eg. Martin, 2004) and outside often question this attitude (Chilton, 2005; Widdowson, 1998).

Other scholars have different views on the meaning of "critical" oneself from data, making sure the data is within a society, clarifying political positions, and focusing on self-reflection when scholars conduct research. Critical may also refer to how "language" is connected to "causes" and "effects" that we might not know under normal circumstances (Fairclough, 1993). Therefore, CDA demystifies discourse by deciphering ideology (Weiss & Wodak, 2003). In turn, there should be transparency in using CDA to make choices at certain points in the research. Relevantly, ideology is the squeeze of meaning into the benefit of the dominant group in the community, as a tool of persuasiveness and a way to cultivate broad support for a given agenda (Dahlan, 2010). van Dijk (1997) explains that "ideology" refers to the basic framework of social cognition, common among a social group, comprising

relevant socio-cultural values, and represented by the group's custom ideological map. Therefore, ideology can be perceived to be subjective in the sense that it focuses on or reflects an individual's belief system which makes up their values, suppositions, and objectives.

In terms of concern, van Dijk (1993) implies that CDA focuses on analyzing texts (spoken or written) to highlight discourses of power, domination, inequality, and prejudice. It studies how these resources are generated through power relations in certain social contexts (Fairclough, 1995). Therefore, it essentially involves the embedding of ideology in discourse. Analyzing discourse involves looking at how the language is used, its structure, the study of social practice, and the meanings in ideologies meshed with language and communication. However, it represents the primary features of most CDA research: committed to systematic, examining the language of texts to clarify their function in realizing ideology and power in society. (van Dijk, 2006; Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Recognizing these interrelationships can help discourse analysts discover how discourse, genres, and texts change with social and political changes, and broadly understand them by recontextualizing or transferring given elements to new contexts for the development of meaning. (Reisigl, Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

CDA was chosen for this work because of its ability to provide the framework for analyzing the use of language in establishing power relations as well as identifying how ideology is perpetuated in the discourses on the Gitmo-2. The CDA approach adopted for this study is Wodak (2015)'s Discourse Historical Analysis (DHA) Approach.

The Discourse Historical Approach

Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) is a critical discourse analysis (CDA) methodology. In DHA, discourse is analyzed as a social practice that is shaped by its historical and cultural context. The approach emphasizes the role of power relations and how they are constructed, maintained, or challenged through language use (Wodak, 2015). In DHA analysis, the researcher examines the language used in the discourse, taking into account the linguistic features, such as grammar, vocabulary, style, etc; and discursively analysis these focusing on the historical, social and political context in which the discourse was produced. The approach has been widely used in various fields, such as political science, media studies, and sociology, to analyze social and political discourse.

Specifically, the present study focuses on two of the DHA strategies – Referential/Nomination and Predication strategies. The referential/nomination strategy deals with how the social actors are named while the predication strategy focuses on the attributes assigned to or associated with social actors.

Because the issue of the Gitmo-2 had a history behind it, for example the 9/11 terrorism attack, and also had a political context, for example it happened within the campaign season during the 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections in Ghana, using the DHA provides the opportunity to do a thorough analysis taking into consideration all these contexts, to determine how these contexts help to unravel the ideological representation of the Gitmo-2 in Ghanaian media.

Ideology and Representation

Because the present study focuses on the representation of Gitmo-2 in the Ghanaian media, it is expedient to review the literature on ideology and media representation, and that is the focus of this section.

Ideologies are “systems of ideas, and especially with the social, political or religious ideas shared by a social group or movement” (Van Dijk, 2013, p. 6). Ideologies are socially shared beliefs that control their members and underpin the actions and inactions of their members. Ideologies form the basis of interactions, representations and interests of its members and may “function to legitimate domination and also resist the influence of power” (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 117). Van Dijk (2006) notes that though members may belong to the same social group, not all of them will strong attachment to the group’s ideologies. He, however, identifies a social group as that group that has permanency, continuity, share the characteristics, have the same interests, practices and also relations to other groups. Members of this social group usually identify themselves with the personal pronoun ‘we’. A group’s ideologies determine the various representations the group assigns to the world, and these representations manifest through discourse.

Van Dijk (2006) identifies some structures and strategies through which ideologies occur in discourse. These include a preference for some specific words over others, the use of the personal pronoun ‘we’ and ‘they’, foregrounding or backgrounding actions, and so on. The table below spells out some of these structures and strategies through which ideologies are realized in discourses.

Table 1: Some expressions of ideology in discourse

- Context: Speaker speaks as a member of a social group; and/or addresses recipient
as group member; ideologically biased context models: subj. representations of communicative event and its participants as members of categories or groups.
- Text, discourse, conversation:
Overall strategy: positive presentation/action of Us, negative presentation/action of Them
- Emphasize Our good things, and Their bad things, and De-emphasize Our bad things, and Their good things

MEANING

- **Topics** (semantic macrostructures)
 - Select/Change positive/negative topics about Us/Them.
- **Local meanings** and coherence
 - Positive/Negative Meanings for Us/Them are
 - Manifestation: Explicit versus Implicit
 - Precision: Precise versus Vague
 - Granularity: Detailed/fine versus Broad, rough
 - Level: General versus Specific, detailed
 - Modality: We/They Must/Should...
 - Evidentiality: We have the truth versus

They are misguided

- Local coherence: based on biased models
- Disclaimers (denying Our bad things): ‘We are not racists, but...’
- **Lexicon:** Select Positive/Negative terms for Us/Them
(e.g. ‘terrorist’ versus ‘freedom fighter’)

FORM

- Syntax: (De)emphasize Positive/Negative Agency of Us/Them
 - Cleft versus non-cleft sentences (‘It is X who...’)
 - Active versus Passives (‘USA invades Iraq’ versus ‘Iraq invaded by USA’)
 - Full clauses/propositions versus nominalizations (‘The invasion of Iraq’).
- **Sound structures:** Intonation, etc., (de)emphasizing Our/Their Good/Bad things
- **Format (schema, superstructure: overall form)**
Positive/Negative meanings for Us/Them in
 - First, dominant categories (e.g. Headlines, Titles, Summaries, Conclusions) versus last, non-dominant categories.
 - Argumentation structures, topoi (stereotypical arguments, e.g. ‘For their own good’)
- Fallacies that falsely conclude Our/Their Good/Bad things, e.g. overgeneralizations, authority, etc.
- **Rhetorical structures**
Emphasizing or de-emphasizing Our/Their Good/Bad things by

- Forms: Repetition
- Meanings: Comparisons, metaphors, metonymies, irony; euphemisms, hyperboles, number games, etc.

ACTION

- **Speech acts, communicative acts, and interaction**
 - Speech acts that presuppose Our/Their Good/Bad things: promises, accusations, etc.
 - Interaction strategies that imply Our/Their Good/Bad things: Cooperation, agreement

Van Dijk (2006, p. 125)

The media has been identified as being instrumental in the representations of people and issues, partly because of the role it plays as a mirror of society and as the fundamental source of information and communication (Ahmed & Matthes, 2016; Abdulmajid, 2019; Elyas& Al-Zahrani, 2019; Elyas & AlJabri, 2020; Conboy, 2020). Being the fundamental source of information, the media has an influence on the knowledge, attitudes, and practices of people. Representation is explained as ‘constructed images that carry ideological connotations’ (Fürsich, 2010, p. 115). Representation in the media, then, is a way for the media to portray specific individuals, groups, or events from a specific ideological perspective. Since representations carry ideological implications, representation and ideology may be said to be interconnected. The concept of representation is therefore the idea or way of giving meaning to the things that represent the text we are talking about.

Ameli et al, (2007) explain ideological representation as “a way of making a ‘privileged position’ for a particular idea, value, culture, and civilization, to marginalise and mutate the rest, even to the extent of legitimizing violence against them” (Ameli et al, 2007, p. 12). Thus ideological representation can present a particular group or issue in a way to meet the needs of a particular political system or ideology even if it calls for twisting reality.

For this study, ideology is taken to be the body of ideas or beliefs that partitions people into groups such as the oppressed versus the oppressor, master versus servant, the powerful versus the powerless; the guiltless versus the guilt; etc (Sacks, 1994; Insaidoo, 2018). Before I commence with the discussion, there is a need to contextualize the concept of ideology as it has been variously defined. For this study, ideology is taken to be the body of ideas or beliefs that partitions people into groups such as the oppressed versus the oppressor, master versus servant, the powerful versus the powerless; the guiltless versus the guilt; etc (Sacks, 1994; Insaidoo, 2018). The beliefs influence the representation of the binaries and often, there is the positive-we or us representation and the negative-they or them representation (Edu-Buando & Mwinlaaru, 2013). The beliefs influence the representation of the binaries and often, there is the positive-we or us representation and the negative-they or them representation (Edu-Buando & Mwinlaaru, 2013). The current study identifies how ideologies are manifested through the representations given to the Gitmo-2 in the Ghanaian media, and also how ideologies manifest in how the relationship between Ghana and America is framed in the Ghanaian media.

Rise of America to Superpower

This section discusses how America rose to become the world's superpower. It is expedient to discuss this section because the relocation of the Gitmo-2 to Ghana had to do with terrorism and America, and terrorism and hostilities towards America had something to do with America's position as the world superpower (Yilmaz, 2008).

Following the collapse of Great Britain, the world power witnessed a bipolar system where power was shared by the Soviet Union and the United States (Krahmann, 2005; Yilmaz, 2008). The struggle for dominance or the world superpower led to the Cold War. The Cold War was fought between the two competing world powers (i.e, America and the Soviet Union) between 1945 and 1989 (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). During the war, both the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and America tried to expand their territories.

USSR tried to establish diplomatic relations with African countries which had freshly gained independence from colonial rule. Two of such countries were Ghana and Guinea. Through Moscow, the USSR tried to sell the idea of socialism to these African countries by establishing trade relations with them (Landolo, 2012). America realizing Russia's intention tried to frustrate Russia's effort by convincing those African leaders not to trade with Russia. When a crisis broke out in Guinea, and Russia, because of lack military power, was not able to help Guinea, America was able to step in as "the American military is the world's premier fighting force" (Brooks & Shin, 2006, p. 8).

By the time the Cold War came to an end, America had emerged victorious leading to the collapse of the USSR. This victory was partly because of the global economic hardship that followed the Second World War. The massive destruction caused by the Second World War led to the global economic crisis but the USA's economic forces had become "stronger in terms of technology, competitiveness and quantitative share of world production" (Wallerstein, 1993, p.1).

The world order once again reverted to a unipolar system with America being the sole world superpower. America's hegemony started to be felt all over the world. America extended its borders to involve territories that used to be under Russia, an example being Eastern Europe (Yilmaz, 2008). The world began to follow in America's footsteps. Krauthammer (1991, p. 24) intimates that "America's preeminence is based on the fact that it is the only country with the military, diplomatic, political and economic assets".

Though America emerged victorious after the Cold War, the increase in the expansion of the hegemonic power of the USA in the world following the Cold War also came with some form of resistance and many threats towards the West, much of which was recorded in the Islamic world. This, according to Yilmaz (2008), was the beginning of terrorism against the West, particularly America. Yilmaz (2008, p. 51) describes terrorism as both "a tactic, a reaction to oppression and a crime". The description given to terrorism depends on who is interpreting it. To the perpetrators, it is a reaction to oppression in which case it may be said to be the Islamic world's way of opposing or responding to the increase in Western hegemony. To the West,

however, it is a crime that results in the death of thousands of innocent individuals.

Discursive Construction of Terrorism

Terrorism has received many definitions from varied fields, but with a common ground, mainly politically oriented. Rothenberger et al. (2018) believe that many CDA researchers will ask what is the purpose of a definition and how the definition constitutes power because no group to analyze sees itself as a terrorist. Terrorism is defined by the European Union as a purposeful [act or series of acts] that is capable of causing severe harm to a country and its citizens. Notwithstanding the destruction of terrorism, I believe it also serves as a medium where certain groups convey their message to other countries.

When the World Trade Center was attacked by terrorists on September 11, 2001, it sprouted the need for terrorism to be a topical issue among politicians and the media. Terrorism has received critical attention from various governments and agencies such as the United Nations. Rothenberger et al. (2018) believe that there is a need to understand “terrorism” before taking any step to combat it.

According to Hall (2003, p.15), representation refers to “using language to say something meaningful about or to represent the world meaningfully to other people”. Here, representation falls in the framework of the “constructionist approach to language which believes in the role of representational systems in constructing meaning and rejecting the existence of meaning in things” (Hall, 2003, p. 25). The constructivist methods are divided into two categories ("symbols" and "discourses"), but the latter is

more concerned with the role of representation as a source of knowledge. Discourse models tend to pay more attention to "discourse" and its role in generating knowledge and power (Hall, 2003).

I believe that the discursive construction of terrorism focuses on the subjectivity in reporting or investigating terrorism. Discursive resources help in constructing what a country may subjectively term terrorism through language. Therefore, discourse is the construction of reality through language (Jackson, 2005).

Spencer (2012) pointed out that after 9/11, with the rise of "critical terrorism research", discourse-centric terrorism research has emerged. In this sense, terrorism is understood as a social structure (Guning, 2007; Jackson, 2005; Jarvis, 2009). This means that terrorism is a social construction. Onuf (2009) teases in his study that "we all make terrorism what (we say) it is" (p. 54).

Spencer (2012) uses metaphor analysis as a discourse analysis method to study the composition of terrorism. He advises people to be extra careful when talking about the influence of metaphor or the formation of politics, especially the idea of anti-terrorism policy because metaphor is only one of the varied linguistic devices that are used in constructing realistic discourse. Then, he studies the metaphors of terrorism in some British media in more detail and considers how these structures allow specific counter-terrorism options. His conclusion is that metaphor does play a vital role in the construction of the discourse of terrorism, which helps us understand how to deal with this phenomenon.

Research by Rothenberger et al. (2018) shows that many texts show that the goal of terrorists is to portray their actions as legitimate and their groups as positive. When referring to themselves, the organization will use words with positive meanings to win the sympathy of readers, and the expression of each word varies according to the group's motives. Social revolutionary entities use words such as "hero" or "warrior" to describe themselves with allegorical power and bravery and express their willingness to fight and use violence. On the contrary, religiously motivated groups portray themselves more peacefully, avoid violence, and repeatedly mention their beliefs. The linguistic expressions they associate themselves with make terrorism seem more like a social construct through language.

The current study will help to identify how the issue of terrorism was viewed in the Ghanaian media by identifying the linguistic choices that were used in describing the Gitmo-2 as they had direct links with terrorism.

Diplomatic Relations Between America and Ghana

After African countries got rid of colonial rule, the United States began to establish diplomatic relations with the countries, and such diplomatic relations came with economic and political gains. Ghana has transitioned through various phases in terms of diplomatic relations with America. The United States and Ghana have a long history of fostering democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. In this regard, Ghana has been an example for its African peers in strengthening democratic institutions and promoting transparent governance and regional stability (State Department, 2019). There has also been a strong "people-to-people" interaction since the late 1950s, particularly in the form of study exchange visits and collaboration between

educational and scientific research institutes. Hundreds of thousands of Ghanaians have studied in the United States.

Ghana got the first batch of Peace Corps volunteers in 1961 and now has 150 participants serving overseas. According to Gyimah (2020), the Peace Corps Program is a component of the US-Ghana relationship. He uses the following quote from Amin (1999):

“Certainly, I owe this gift to the boy Peace Corps Larry Grobel, who helped me to discover an attribute that would later give me my livelihood from 1982 after I had lost my job at the Ghana News Agency as an editor. May God bless the boy wherever he may be and all those who fostered the Peace Corps concept. Without their vision, I would be selling chains in the streets in Accra”(p. 45).

Cook (2019) suggested that US policymakers tend to view Ghana as a stable US partner in a frequently changing region. A large amount of US bilateral aid is based on Ghana, and it can also be said to have contributed to Ghana's positive development. Since Ghana became the first sub-Saharan African country to gain independence in 1957, friendly relations between the United States and Ghana have always existed.

Cook (2019) also stated that former US President George W. Bush visited Ghana in 2008 to promote US assistance initiatives in trade, entrepreneurship, health, and education, as well as Ghana's first Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) contract. President Barack Obama visited Ghana in 2009 to give credence to the role of Ghana as a model of democracy for other African countries. The bilateral relations under Trump's administration have recently put pressure on Ghanaian nationals due to some

visa sanctions imposed by the US Department of Homeland Security in early 2019. The sanctions are sanctions for reported failure to cooperate with US immigration enforcement procedures and deportation orders, meaning that US officials are putting limits on issuing certain US visas to citizens of Ghana.

The diplomatic ties between Ghana and the United States, according to Cook (2019), are diverse. Ghana also served as the chair of the US Agency for International Development's West Africa regional mission and had some benefits from its initiatives, such as the West Africa Trade Center, which aimed to boost AGOA exports by building regional trade and investment capacities. Approximately 139 Peace Corps volunteers are working in the fields of education, agriculture, and health as part of a program that has been in place since 1961. Other assistance to Ghana is provided regularly through regional programs run by the State Department and the US Agency for International Development, as well as regular short-term programs run by other US agencies and exceptional regional or global projects (such as the Africa Peacekeeping Rapid Response Partnership).

Ghanaian lawmakers and other government officials have gotten familiar with US Congress and state legislative methods through the US International Tourist Leadership Program, as well as participating in programs geared to address other concerns. Youth exchange and study abroad programs between universities and NGOs in the United States and Ghana are also strong and growing. The "National Cooperation Program" in the United States intends to strengthen economic relations between Ghana and US agencies, including the National Guard. In handling regional and international security challenges, the United States and Ghana are close allies. Multiple joint

training exercises between the US and Ghanaian armed forces have been held to improve the efficacy of US and Ghanaian government organizations and security agencies in combating international threats such as human trafficking and terrorism.

Another well-known program is the Power Africa started by the Obama administration, meant at increasing electricity supply. The Trump administration maintained these two plans but provided less funding for them compared to the Obama administration. It is evident that U.S.-Ghana relations suffered under the Trump Administration; and previously, in the 1980s. This was after the resumption of power by the PNDC which resulted in their alliance with Libya. Despite this, the diplomatic relationship between Ghana and the US is very likely to endure.

Awinsong (2017) looks at the initiation of the US-Ghana relationship from the Cold War. He reported that where the United States saw the Cold War as a struggle between good and evil, Ghana found an opportunity to build relationships with the US that would ensure its economic and technological stability. The United States, during this time, used aid as a policy tool to respond to the needs of industrial development in Ghana. Even though sometimes the lack of coordination between Western countries and countries such as Ghana makes dialogue daunting, with occasional trade-offs and concessions, interactions continue to find common ground. He added that the interaction between Ghana and the US has often highlighted dialogue relationships rather than hegemonic relationships.

Awinsong (2019) analyses Ghanaian agency in democratization in US-Ghana relations after the cold war, 1992-2001. As the main contributor to the

democratization process, the Ghanaian government retained control over the electoral process and its financing. Ghanaian decision-makers responded to U.S. aid as well as other donor support for democratic governance in two ways. Firstly, Ghanaian institutional recipients often commended the donors for their help while collaborating to account for the expenditure of allocated capital. Secondly, leaders aimed to limit donor presence and intrusion into the work of their institutions. He concludes that the Ghanaian democratizing context, led by the Ghanaian people, undermined the U.S. conviction that it was exporting democracy to African states. Such an American perception robs countries like Ghana of their political agency in choosing and designing the political system they prefer to live in. Ghanaians' instrumentality in domestic democracy promotion surpassed external aid from the US in the process of transitioning and consolidating the rule of law in the country. He analyses the relation through democratization to subdue the managerial mechanism of Ghana.

Since then, the relations between Ghana and the United States have been very cordial over the past decades with the exchange of bilateral visits very much at the pinnacle of our strong bonds of bilateral cooperation. Notable visits to Ghana from distinguished American leaders include those by former Presidents Bill Clinton and Barak Obama in 1998 and 2009 respectively. In 2018, Ghana played host to the First Lady of the United States of America, H.E. Melania Trump. And quite recently, in August 2019, we also had Speaker Nancy Pelosi embark on a visit to Ghana together with Rep. Karen Bass and other members of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Though the relationship between Ghana and America seem predominantly positive, the current study will expose how this relationship was actually viewed by Ghanaians in the Ghanaian media as far as the relocation of the Gitmo-2 was concerned by examining the linguistic choices that were used in describing the relationship using the discourses on the Gitmo-2 in Ghanaian media.

Theoretical Framework

Moral Panic Theory

A key theory that underpins this study is the Moral Panic theory championed by Stanley Cohen (1972). It was first presented in his landmark work, "Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers" (1972). A moral panic, according to Cohen (1972), is when a specific condition, group, or conduct is deemed to represent a threat to societal values and interests. This causes a generalized feeling of dread and terror in the public consciousness. This generalized fear and anxiety is often created by overreaction to or over emphasizing the perceived threat (Cohen, 1972; Critcher, 2003; Rohloff & Wright, 2010)

The theory aims to clarify how specific groups or behaviors are portrayed as threats to social norms and values, and how this portrayal is amplified and spread through various social processes, such as the media. According to Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994), the theory focuses on the social and cultural mechanisms that explain the emergence and development of moral panics. The goal moral panic theory is to comprehend the cultural processes that lead to the emergence and propagation of moral panics. According to Cohen, the media greatly contributes to the development of

moral panic by exaggerating and sensationalizing the perceived threat. In order to capture the public's attention and inspire moral outrage, he contends that the media exaggerates and distorts the issue, frequently favoring personal anecdotes and stories above factual facts (Cohen, 1972).

Cohen's theory heavily relies on the idea of "folk devils." The term "folk devil" refers to the group or people who are considered to be the threat's origin (Cohen, 1972). He explains that during a moral panic, particular people or groups connected to the perceived threat are demonized as societal misfits or deviants and used as symbols. These "folk devils" become the center of criticism and are seen as constituting a serious threat to society's moral fabric (Cohen, 1972). Cohen also contends that moral entrepreneurs, such as politicians, activists, or interest groups, frequently take advantage of moral panics to further their own objectives. In reaction to the perceived threat, these moral entrepreneurs characterize the issue, offer remedies, and push for tougher social control measures (Cohen, 1972). These increased social control measures are implemented by the public and authorities in response to the moral panic, which reinforces the danger perception and feeds the cycle of dread and anxiety (Cohen, 1972).

The public, moral entrepreneurs, the control culture, and the mass media all play key roles in the emergence of a moral panic (Cohen, 1973). The mass media are the most significant. Therefore, Cohen (1973, p. 17) places a strong focus on "understanding the role of the mass media in creating moral panics and folk devils." With their altered representations of deviance and the deviants, the media play a crucial role in the early stages of social reaction. There are three processes at play. The first is exaggeration and distortion of

who did or said what; the second is a warning of the dreadful repercussions of inaction; and the third is symbolism, with the phrase "folk devils" denoting a threat. The events and people upsetting the social order receive the majority of media attention.

The second group consists of "moral entrepreneurs," people and organizations that fight to end unethical or dangerous behavior. The police, courts, and politicians, are part of the third group, known as the societal control culture. All of this is done in the name of the fourth group of agents, which is the general public. This group is the target and will decide whether or not the moral panic highlighted by the media is believed. Finally, moral panics are resolved by using different approaches to dealing with and solving the problem, which finally causes the panic to worsen or go away (Cohen, 1973).

Moral panic theory has been criticized for its failure to give recognition for the relationship between the various social actors (the power relations) that contribute to the issue that forms the basis of moral panic and rather focus so much on the sequential pattern that moral panics are formed, that is, from the rise of the issue, the projection of the issue by the media, the creation of fear and anxiety in the public, suggestions on dealing with the folk devil(s) and the issue finally worsening or fading out (Cricher, 2003).

To ensure that there is no disjoint between moral panic analysis and societal realities, Nijjar (2015, p. 2) suggests that moral panic analysis should consider "the collaboration and conflict between social actors and institutions during a panic". This suggestion could be made possible by combining moral panic analysis with other methodological approaches that focus on cultural and

societal themes such as moral regulation theory, risk theory and critical discourse analysis approach (Cricher, 2009).

In the current study, moral panic analysis is done together with the CDA approach, DHA. The benefit of this synergy is that while CDA will allow for deeper analysis of the linguistic choices that were favoured in reporting issues of the Gitmo-2 in Ghanaian media, taking into consideration the background of the Gitmo-2 and their relations with the issue of terrorism, moral panic analysis will highlight how these choices led to the creation of moral panic (fear and anxiety) in the Ghanaian media. This synergy will, therefore, contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of how language is used to construct meaning and the social implications of language choices.

The Role of the Media in Forming Public Opinion

Few people often experience firsthand events that happen (e.g. robbery attack, terrorists attack, plane crash), but these events are vividly talked about by the public when issues about them come up. This can be attributed to the nature of media reports on such events. The way the public perceives those events is informed by how the media reports those events. This is what Gerbner (1973) refers to as Cultivation Theory. This theory has it that the media has the power to influence public opinion about certain events (that are of national interest). If, for instance, the media consistently presents terrorists as victims of abuse seeking freedom, then public perception of terrorists over time will be favourable, the reverse is true.

Related to Cultivation Theory is Agenda Setting. This theory is based on Cohen (1963, no page)'s assertion that "the press may not be successful

much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about”.

In today’s technological world, news items are everywhere, from traditional print papers to online news sites. It may often be observed that issues that receive much media coverage across all the various forms of media; print, online news sites, and social media are the ones that constitute what the public thinks. The emergence of social media has given further dynamics to the Agenda Setting theory. Mention can be made of Reverse Agenda Setting where journalists may rather be responding to issues that have attracted public interest (Newman, Guggenheim, Jang & Bae, 2014).

Drawing on both Agenda Setting and Cultivation Theory, it could be said that issues that receive much media attention are either the ones the media wants the public to pay attention to or what the public wants the media to pay attention to. Be it Cultivation Theory or Agenda Setting, it may be concluded that the media has a certain influence on shaping public opinion and making them act, react or withdraw from certain issues.

Review of Empirical Studies

This section reviews previous studies based on the main concern of the current study. For this matter, studies that have been done on the media and its representation of people and events are reviewed.

Several studies (Mubarique, 2014; Ibrahim, 2016; Ofori, 2016; Deladem, 2018; Fajri, 2019; Bednarek, 2020; Slakoff (2020); Elyas & Aljabri (2020); Nartey & Ladegaard, 2021; Nartey, 2022) confirm the media represents people and issues from certain ideological perspectives and that minority groups usually receive negative framing in the media.

Part of the literature on media representation has focused on the representation of women in media. Slakoff (2020), for instance, examined the representation of women and girls of colour (Black Latina, Middle Eastern, Native American and Asian women) in crime media in the United States of America. He does that by examining articles from three search engines; Academic Search Complete, Criminal Justice Abstracts and Google Scholar. The study revealed that black females, whether they were offenders or victims, were represented in a negative light. Similar findings are made by Elyas and Aljabri (2020) as they used Van Dijk's Ideological Framework (CDA) to study how Western English media represented Saudi women in three different newspapers and magazines and made some observations. They find out that the women were largely represented as the 'other' as they were portrayed as passive and characterized by exclusion.

Though in different geographical locations, Mubarique (2014) studied how women are portrayed in advertisements in Ghanaian media and made similar observations, that women receive negative framing. He conducted a content analysis to examine the images of women in 60 advertisements from 4 major Ghanaian newspapers, which focused more on fashion and entertainment, and 4 television stations. Mubarique developed his plan to code ads for whether women are sexual objects. He pointed out that on average, in all media categories, advertisements featuring women portray them as sexual objects. Therefore, he called on policymakers to turn their attention to the dangers that the media poses to the intended audience of young men and young women who interact with these men.

Like women, men have also featured in some studies on media representation. Baker and Levon (2015), for instance, studied the British media's discourse on contemporary masculinity. They are particularly concerned about the way men represent racialization and classification, and how to position them relative to the general power and gender ideologies. Their analysis was pivoted on qualitative and quantitative analysis of a huge number of newspaper articles on masculinity published in the UK from 2003 to 2011. They found that crime and violence were manifested in Asian and black men, while whites mainly manifested injustice through social ostracization. Similarly, both analyses reveal that the discourse of middle-class men is privileged and unfair discrimination, while the discourse of working-class men and upper-class men exists outside the moral center of masculinity.

While the literature review presented in this section thus far has focused on the representation of women and men, some studies have focused on representations of socio-political issues in media. As an example, a study by Fang (2001) investigated the representations of two controversial events, focusing on the discourse strategies used by the two medium-sized newspapers *People's Daily* and *Central Daily News*. The author pays special attention to vocabulary selection, grammatical elements, headings, and topic structures as a discourse strategy for constructing political reality versions in two different newspapers. The study shows that there are substantial differences in the depiction of events in South Africa, and more similarities in the description of the situation in Argentina. The study further revealed the use of several lexical and grammatical resources to describe events in a manner consistent with each regime's respective foreign policy.

The representation of socio-political issues in the media in Ghana is found not to be different from that of other parts of the world in the sense that the representations are largely coloured by the ideologies. Ofori (2016)'s study, for example, examined the representation of insults in pro-NDC and pro-NPP newspapers in Ghana. The author specifically used van Dijk's ideological triangle as his analytical framework to examine how intertextuality is used to represent the insults in the target newspapers. The research reveals how insults within the group and the relationship outside the group manifest. For example, it was revealed that both NPP-supporting papers and NDC-supporting papers used direct, strategic, and indirect quotations to report insults from within the group, outside the group, and non-politicians. The study further identified the underlying ideology of insulting expressions in Ghanaian political discourse.

The representation of minority groups has also received some media attention both in Ghana and elsewhere. Focusing on Australia, Bednarek (2020) used computer-assisted methods to identify both the frequency and quality of social representation received by Aboriginal and Torres Strait people on issues about diabetes in Australian newspapers and found out that the Aboriginal and Torres Strait people (who constituted a minority group) hardly appeared in the newspaper and when they did, they often occurred in negative contexts.

Shifting from Australia to America, Fajri (2019) also investigated the discursive portrayal of Indonesian Muslims and Islam in the American press. He did corpus-assisted discourse analysis and collocation, concordance, and keyword analysis. He found out that dominant discourses about Muslims and

Islam in Indonesian media are related to terrorism, conflict, fundamentalism, and violence. He added that extreme cases of positive media portrayals of Muslims were also found.

The situation, that is the negative framing of minority groups in the media, is not different when it comes to Ghana. Ibrahim's (2016) study focused on the portrayal of ethnic minorities in Ghanaian newspapers using the Fulani as a case study. The study was to determine how Ghanaian newspapers showed the Fulani ethnic minority in their reporting. Ibrahim gathered and collected data using a quantitative content analysis approach, and used the census technique to sample 858 issues of the two daily from 2013 to 2015. The study used the framing theory, and the data revealed that stories about the Fulani rarely make the front pages of newspapers, and when they do, they are usually tied to criminal activities. He also discovered that the Fulani ethnic group was often portrayed as submissive and "settlers", rather as possessing a sense of belonging, community, or national desire.

Consistent with Ibrahim (2016)' study is a study done by Nartey and Ladegaard (2021). They used CDA and Othering to also investigate how the Fulani herdsmen are constructed in Ghanaian media. They had a dataset of 160 news articles. Their study discovers that three main discourses surrounded the nomads in Ghanaian media; discourses of dangerousness/criminalization, alienation, and stigmatization. These were realized through the use of alarmist news, quotations, and sensational headlines. Through these, the Fulani nomads were predominantly framed negatively.

Refugees have also not been spared in the Ghanaian media as Deladem (2018) studies "the role played by the Ghanaian media in framing the negative

perception of Liberian refugees by Ghanaian society”. The author criticizes the Ghanaian media as biased placing emphasis on “online sources, United Nations official papers, government, and independent Ghanaian newspapers”. A descriptive research approach was adopted by the author to provide a vivid profile of the situation. She recalls that the media's attention on Buduburam (a Ghanaian refugee camp) was on official corruption and the mounting death toll from cholera, diarrhea, and malaria. She also discusses the government of Ghana's involvement in the development of these refugee camps in the late 1990s, as well as how the media picked up on the frustrations of Ghanaians who were struggling financially but were not eligible for the international aid that refugees got. She claims that since the world is a global village and no one is an island, every nation's misfortune must concern others. She, therefore, called the media to handle issues of migration, though very controversial, with a great deal of circumspection.

Still focusing on the media construction of minorities, Nartey (2022) studies how LGBT issues are presented in the media, using CDA and the notion of Othering. He had a dataset of 180 media articles comprising editorials, op-ed pieces, and news stories. The analysis revealed that news content on LGBT people is biased as they are constructed as immoral, aliens, and people suffering from a medical disorder.

Collectively, these studies (Ibrahim, 2016; Deladem, 2018; Nartey & Ladegaard, 2021; Nartey, 2022;) have shown that the Ghanaian media generally portray minority groups in a negative light. The current study is similar to the previous studies reviewed on minority group representation because it discusses the Gitmo-2 as a minority group. What is new in this

study, however, is its currency in relation to the growing concern of terrorism around the world and in the West African sub-region. The relocation of the Gitmo-2 to Ghana was related to terrorism and hostilities toward America, as a result, the current study also unique in terms of its complexity in illustrating a triangle of international relations: Yemen,-US-Ghana. Again, unlike the previous studies, this study examines an ‘ambiguous’ discourse that does not only represent a minority group but is also an enactment of genuine fear.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has aimed to examine literature related to this study. The review was done under three main sections; conceptual, theoretical and empirical review. The conceptual review considered concepts such as discourse, critical discourses analysis, discourse historical approach, ideology and media representation, the rise of America to world superpower, discursive construction of terrorism and the diplomatic relations between Ghana and America. The theoretical review considered the Moral Panic theory as the main theory underlining this study. Finally, the empirical review section reviewed literature on representation of general issues in the media, and narrowed the discussion down to the representation of minority groups both in Ghana and elsewhere. In the next chapter, I discuss the methodological procedures used in undertaking the present study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed the literature related to the present study, to provide the theoretical, conceptual, and empirical background to the present study. In the present chapter, I present the methodological considerations used for the study. The chapter, thus, focuses on the research design, data collection and sampling procedure, method of data analysis, and validity and reliability.

Research Design

This research adopts the qualitative (Discourse Analysis) research design. The qualitative research design allows researchers to conduct research and communicate their findings in plain language (without statistical tools), use a small purposively selected sample, and focus on “particular individuals, events, and contexts, lending itself to an ideographic style of analysis” (Gerring, 2017, p. 18). With the focus on the issue of the Gitmo-2, which represents “a particular event”, the present study uses qualitative methods.

Qualitative research seeks to unravel all that goes on in all aspects of social life. In the field of applied linguistics, however, qualitative research is often used to analyze language use, including the politics of language teaching and the non-linguistics context of language behaviour (Holliday, 2006). Concerning data for qualitative research in applied linguistics, researchers often focus on a description of behaviour, institution, or event, as well as personal narratives, accounts, talks, visual records, and documents (Paltridge & Phakiti, 2015).

Sample and Sampling Technique

The study analyzed a sample size of 139,668 words comprising media texts on the Gitmo-2 selected from three media sources: print media, online news sites, and social media. On sample size appropriate to build a corpus, Kock (1997, p. 292) notes that 'it is not necessary to have such large corpora if they are homogenous in terms of language register, geographical area and historical time'. He suggests 19 or 20 texts with about one hundred thousand occurrences. This view is supported by other scholars such as Giouli and Piperidis (2002) and Baker (2006). On this basis, the size of the corpus used in this study may be said to be more than sufficient as the texts are homogenous, gathered in the same geographical area and within the same historical period. The print media comprised Daily Graphic and Ghanaian Times, the online news sites comprised myjoyonline.com, GhanaWeb, and Daily Graphic online, whereas the social media comprised FaceBook and Twitter. The sampling technique used in selecting the media sources is the purposive sampling technique. This technique was chosen because I was interested in specific texts on the Gitmo-2, these media sources were selected since they were the ones that published many items on the Gitmo-2. Again, though television and radio stations also spoke on the Gitmo-2, these sources were not included because transcripts were not readily available.

Corpus Design

The study aimed to identify how the relationship between Ghana and America is ideologically constructed using the transfer of the two ex-Guantanamo Bay prisoners to Ghana. It also sought to look at the discursive strategies that were used to represent the Gitmo-2 in Ghanaian media. To

achieve this, a corpus of media texts was built on the Gitmo-2. Gitmo-2 is a term coined from Guantanamo (Gtmo) to describe the two ex-prisoners that were transferred from the Guantanamo Bay Prison to Ghana.

Data was collected from two different periods: the first quarter of 2016 and the last quarter of 2018. Following the arrival of the Gitmo-2 on 6th January 2016, there were widespread criticisms from Ghanaians, both from individuals and from groups. As a result, the media space was flooded with news items, comments, and opinions about the transfer in the first quarter of 2016, the reason this period was chosen. By the second quarter of 2016, discussions on the Gitmo-2 had died down only to resurface in the last quarter of 2018 when the then opposition party questioned the government as to why the Gitmo-2 had not been sent back to their home country as promised in the campaign message of the government in power. This also sparked some discussions and controversies in the media during the period, the reason why this period was chosen as well.

In searching for the data, I categorized the data sources into three; print media (newspapers), online news sites, and social media. For the print media, news items, articles, and editorials were searched for focusing on the stated periods. State-owned newspapers, namely; the Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times were selected. These were selected because they published many texts on the Gitmo-2. The ‘manyness’ was determined after other sources such as the Daily Dispatch, the Spectator, Mirror, Junior Graphic, and so on were searched for articles or publications on the Gitmo-2 but either non or few items were found, but most of the items were found in the two sources indicated earlier. For the purpose of this study, an ‘item’ is considered to be an

op-ed piece, news article or editorials on the Gitmo-2. After getting the items, I made photocopies of the items and retyped them to get the soft copy, precisely in the text file form.

The online news sites comprised myjoyonline.com, Ghana Web, Graphic online.com, and a couple of not-so-popular news sources such as starr fm online, kasapa fm online, class fm online and 3news online. Initially, the intention was to use items from only the first three sites but in the course of the search for the data, items got from these three sources were not enough to build a corpus for the work. Again, I needed a wide variety of data to be able to do a thorough analysis, the need, therefore, to include other news sites. Items downloaded from these sites were changed from pdf to text files.

With social media, I searched for posts on Gitmo-2. For this study, an item is taken to be comments and opinions shared about the arrival of the Gitmo-2 in Ghana.

In all, 317 texts of 156,822 words were collected; 252 texts from Online News sites, 31 from Print Media, and 34 from Social Media. All the texts collected were changed into text files, labeled individually, and put in one folder with the name Gitmo-2 corpus. The next step was to run the corpus through a corpus analysis software, AntConc (Anthony, 2014). The results showed some of the items had been duplicated. The duplicates were determined by comparing those texts, in terms of content, the source and the date. The texts that were confirmed to be duplicates were removed. After the removal of the duplicates, 263 texts of 139,668 words were left.

Table 2: Word Counts of the Gitmo-2 Corpus

Source	Number of Texts	Number of Words
Print media(news paper)	31	20,252
Online news sites	198	112, 136
Social media	34	7,280
Total	263	139,668

Analytical Framework and Data Analysis Procedure

In this study, I applied an analytical framework rooted in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyse the Gimo-2 data to identify how the Gitmo-2 are represented in Ghanaian media, and how the relationship between Ghana and America has been crafted. Essentially, I followed the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) to CDA proposed by Wodak (2015) as discussed at page 21.

Keyword Analysis

In defining keywords, Scott (1996:53) explains that we identify a word as key if “its frequency is unusually high in comparison with some norm”. This means that a word’s keyness depends on how frequent the word appears in the target corpus when it is compared to a larger corpus referred to as the reference corpus. Keyword analysis has to do with identifying words that have a strong relationship with the target corpus. This is done by comparing a target corpus with a reference corpus, where words with unusually high occurrences are identified as the keywords.

Egbert and Biber (2019) identify two criteria that can be used to evaluate the effectiveness of keyword analysis. These are content-distinctiveness, and content-generalisability. They explain content-

distinctiveness as “the strength of the relationship between a keyword and the content of the discourse domain represented by the target corpus” (Egbert & Biber, 2019: 78). Content-generalisability focuses on “the degree to which a keyword represents the content of the discourse used across the full range of texts in the target corpus” (Egbert & Biber, 2019:79). This criterion focuses more on the content words to give the ‘actual aboutness’ of the target corpus than on the functional words. The keyword analysis that is done in the current study, therefore, focuses on how the content words highlight the ‘aboutness’ of the target corpus, that is, the Gitmo-2 corpus. The reference corpus used in this study is ICE-Ghana-Written Component.

Essentially, in this present study, the search terms were a list of words grouped under three main themes, as displayed in Table 2. These themes were chosen based on the research questions. To help extract the concordance lines that talk about the Gitmo-2, words relating to the Gitmo-2 were chosen, and to help to extract the concordance lines that talk about Ghana and America, words relating to Ghana and America were chosen.

Table 3: List of Words for Data Retrieval

America	America, international, agreement, foreign
Gitmo-2	Guantanamo, security, status, detainees, terror*, prison
Ghanaians	Parliament, citizens*, people, national, country, Ghanaians

The study was supported by concordance analysis, aided by AntConc, a corpus analysis software. Concordance analysis allows discourse analysts to examine the occurrence and behaviour of words in real-life situations. A concordance, thus, provides a list of individual words, accompanied by words

that occur in their immediate surroundings or the co-text, which may be “a whole sentence, a paragraph, or simply a given number of characters to the left and/or right of the search item” (Weisser, 2016, p. 68). The search term, which usually appears in a different colour, is displayed in the middle of the window, as seen in Figure 1. Reading concordance lines of a search term provides larger linguistic context for the search term, which enlightens the researcher on the discourses associated with the search term. This knowledge, in turn, helps the researcher analyse the social, political as well as the historical context within which those discourses were produced.

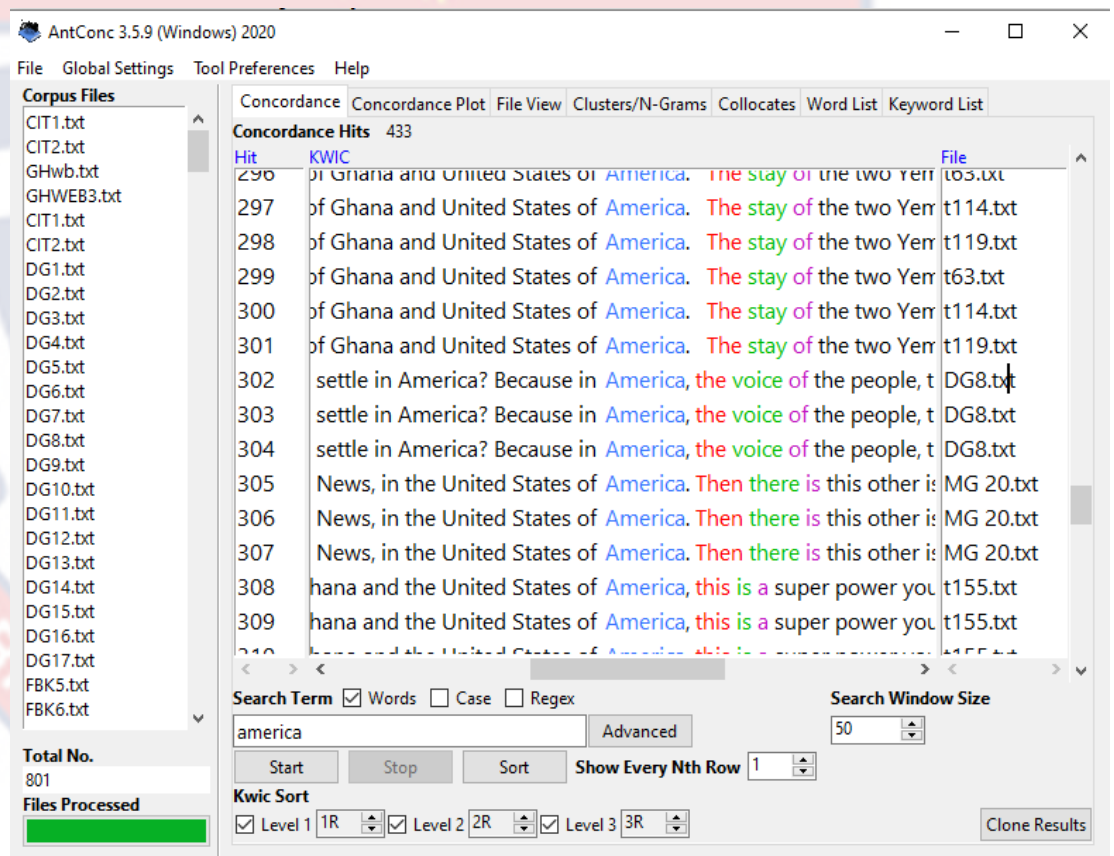


Figure 1: A shot of concordance lines of “America”

Limitations Encountered

While undertaking this study, I encountered some challenges in terms of the availability of data and data analysis.

On the availability of data, data on social media was very few. Only a few posts were available on Twitter and Facebook. This was a challenge as it affected the amount of data I wanted to collect on individual opinions on the arrival of the Gitmo-2 to Ghana shared on social media. Though this was a challenge, it did not affect the analysis much as some of the data gathered from the other sources represented individual views as well.

During the analysis, I had to extract the keywords from the Gitmo-2 corpus. This was a challenge as I had no expertise in that area. I relied on an expert in the area to extract the keywords for me.

Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the procedures I undertook to complete the thesis. Issues addressed include the research approach and design, sample and sampling technique, data collection procedures, and corpus design. Again, the chapter explained the analytical framework employed in this study as well as how the data were analyzed to answer the research questions. The next chapter presents the analysis and discussion.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine how the Gitmo-2 is portrayed in Ghanaian media and analyze the findings to respond to the study's research questions. The chapter is divided into three sections, each of which answers one of the three research questions.

Keyword Analysis of The Gitmo-2 Corpus

This first part reports and discusses the findings in response to research question one, which is:

1. *What does the keyness reveal about the corpus?*

In what follows, keyword analysis of the Gitmo-2 corpus is done to identify the 'aboutness' of the corpus. The keywords were extracted by running the keyword function using the AntConc software, which returned 139,668 word tokens and 7,417 word types. Out of this number, the first 100 content keywords were used for the study. The reason for selecting the first 100 words was that their keyness were higher than the rest that followed them.

Table 4 shows the first 100 content keywords.

Table 4: The first 100 keywords of the Gitmo-2 corpus

No.	Rank	Freg.	Keyness	Keyword
1	3	923	2971.8	Detainees
2	6	1168	2363.67	Government
3	8	1607	2183.22	Ghana
4	9	535	1721.42	Guantanamo
5	11	456	1467.03	Gitmo
6	13	435	1322.91	Mahama
7	14	743	1296.32	Country
8	16	483	1180.05	Security
9	18	322	1035.7	Muhammad
10	20	477	918.91	President
11	22	390	896.71	Parliament
12	24	321	889.16	Refugee
13	26	266	855.49	Atef
14	27	363	815.76	Minister
15	28	351	810.73	January
16	29	246	791.14	Dhuby
17	30	335	780.41	Decision
18	31	328	774.84	Status
19	32	302	770.47	Agreement
20	35	339	671.53	Ghanaians
21	37	267	669.53	United
22	38	300	661.07	Former

Table 4 continues

23	39	581	646.85	Us
24	41	190	610.99	Khalid
25	42	189	607.77	Salih
26	43	289	582	Nana
27	44	285	573.69	Addo
28	45	265	559.49	News
29	46	160	514.49	Mahmud
30	47	160	514.49	Umar
31	49	215	468.89	Stay
32	51	254	452.84	States
33	52	216	445.78	Affairs
34	53	262	434.1	Npp
35	54	233	431.53	Court
36	55	144	421.49	Terrorists
37	56	190	419.4	Akufo
38	58	144	393.47	Terrorism
39	59	145	377.74	Terrorist
40	60	176	357.28	Source
41	61	152	345.67	Refugees
42	62	106	340.82	Yemeni
43	63	145	338.86	America
44	66	122	308.36	Threat
45	67	203	307.91	Ndc
46	68	171	305.42	Administration

47	69	98	304.36	Qaeda
48	70	242	302.42	General
49	71	307	297.9	National
50	74	165	275.6	Issue
51	75	123	266.14	Supreme
52	76	177	258.01	Matter
53	78	92	248.34	Interior
54	80	121	246.44	Opposition
55	83	151	235.38	John
56	84	115	235.33	Accept
57	85	127	230.75	Host
58	90	63	202.55	Yemen
59	91	97	199.31	Granted
60	92	75	196.43	Accepting
61	93	61	196.12	Obama
62	95	70	185.76	Compassion
63	97	57	183.25	Inmates
64	98	62	182.43	Ratification
65	99	104	182.11	Deal
66	101	55	176.82	Ablakwa
67	102	55	176.82	Unconstitutional
68	103	60	176.12	Shirley
69	105	178	175.24	Act
70	106	95	171.84	Transfer
71	107	53	170.39	Prisoners

72	108	55	167.24	Resettlement
73	109	57	166.68	Botchwey
74	110	65	166.18	Pose
75	114	51	163.96	Humanitarian
76	116	112	159.58	Statement
77	117	61	158.4	Consulted
78	119	71	152.38	Detention
79	121	62	149.37	Prison
80	122	72	144.09	Ruling
81	123	60	139.96	Exit
82	124	76	135.71	Accepted
83	126	98	132.11	Return
84	127	258	131.05	Foreign
85	128	53	130.3	Suspects
86	129	40	128.6	Yemenis
87	131	149	126.18	Ghanaian
88	132	79	125.29	Fear
89	134	47	120.42	Nationals
90	135	112	120.4	Muslim
91	136	37	118.95	Hamid
92	137	37	118.95	Saga
93	141	39	116.48	Bishops
94	142	74	114.92	Christian
95	143	113	114.62	Countries
96	144	51	114.01	Intelligence

97	145	35	112.52	Detainee
98	146	35	112.52	Imam
99	147	66	112.21	Patriotic
100	148	65	111.72	Grounds

Looking at the keywords presented in table 4, one does not immediately see the relatedness among these keywords in bringing out the ‘aboutness’ of the Gitmo-2 corpus. To establish this relationship, therefore, Pojanapunya (2016) suggests categorizing these keywords into groups. This categorization is often subjective as it is done intuitively. The researcher has to rely heavily on his background knowledge of the genre, or the particular discourse to be able to do this (Pojanapunya, 2016; Li & Zhang, 2022). Again, during the categorization, some concepts may overlap (Pojanapunya, 2016; Li & Zhang, 2022). In line with this suggestion, therefore, after identifying the first 100 keywords, the keywords were further grouped under various themes based on their semantic features. In other words, the grouping was done based on how the keywords express similar or the same concepts in the corpus according to the research objectives.

Classification of Gitmo-2 Keywords

After doing quick concordance readings of the keywords identified, the readings showed that discourses of the Gitmo-2 in Ghanaian media revolved around four main topics or issues: political, legal, religious, and security.

The *political* category, which has the highest number of keywords, relates to politics, governance, and related words. Keywords relating to law and constitution were categorized as *legal*; the *security* category relates to

words relating to terrorism and general insecurity, whereas the *religion* category relates to the main religions or belief systems and related words.

Table 5 presents the grouping of the first 100 content keywords identified.

Table 5: Grouping of the first 100 keywords of the Gitmo-2 corpus

Category	Keywords
Politics	government, Ghana, Mahama, president, parliament, minister, decision, Ghanaians, nana, Addo, NPP, Akufo, NDC, administration, opposition, John, Ablakwa, Shirly, Botchwey, Ghanaian, Hamid, interior, former, Obama, members, united, US, states, Yemeni, America, Yemen, Yemenis, Ghana, country, agreement, affairs, nationals, countries, transfer, deal, refugee, resettlement, host, granted, stay, national, accept
Legal	court, supreme, ratification, unconstitutional, ruling, exit, return, detention, prison, consulted, grounds, inmates, prisoners, suspects, detainee
Security	security, terrorism, terrorist, threat, Qaeda, fear, intelligence, terrorists, detainees, terrorist, Guantanamo, Gitmo, Salih, Mahmud, Umar, Atef, Dhurby, Muhammad, Khalid
Religion	imam, Christian, bishop, muslim

Politics

Among the key words identified in the Gitmo-2 corpus were *government, Mahama, Nana, Addo, Akufo, John, Ablakwa, Shirly, Botchwey, Hamid*. Quick concordance lines reading of these keywords revealed that these names referred to the same popular political figures who are known in the Ghanaian

political arena. *John Mahama* and *Nana Akuffo Addo* were the flagbearers of the two main political parties in Ghana, the NDC and the NPP respectively. It was Mahama and the NDC who were in power at the time of the evacuation of the Gitmo-2 while Nana Akuffo Addo and the NP constituted the largest opposition party in Ghana. *Ablakwa* was a member of the NDC whereas *Botchwey* and *Hamid* were members of the NPP. The appearance of these names among the top one hundred keywords of the Gitmo-2 corpus in Ghanaian media suggests that the discourses on the arrival of the Gitmo-2 “metamorphosed into a partisan political encounter. It is worth noting that the arrival of the Gitmo-2 to Ghana coincided with the country’s 2016 general elections. As a result, Ghana witnessed a ‘for’ and ‘against’ discourse within its public sphere where objectivity lost its virtue” (Nyarko et al, 2019, p.7).

The keyword, *administration*, often appeared in the form of a noun phrase, where *administration* functions as the headword whereas either *Mahama* or *Mahama-led* functions as a modifier. Such phrases often appeared in negative contexts where the Mahama-led administration is chastised for accepting to host the Gitmo-2. Examples can be found in the extracts taken from the Gitmo-2 corpus below:

G2C001 *If the Mahama-led administration can't stand its grounds to prevent these undesirables from being dumped on/in Ghana, what guarantee is there that it can act judiciously to secure Ghana's interests against being undermined?* (Modern Ghana, 15/01/2016)

G2C002 *The NPP then in opposition, had raised issues about Government position to keep the two in Ghana, blasting the then*

Mahama Administration for allowing them into the country as their presence threatened the security of the state (GNA, 23/01/2017)

The opposition party, the NPP, at the time of the evacuation called on the sitting administration, the NDC, to consider the safety of Ghanaians and repatriate the Gitmo-2 as their continuous stay in Ghana posed a threat to the safety of Ghanaians..

The excerpts below from the Gitmo-2 corpus indicate some of the ways in which the government at the time of the evacuation of the Gitmo-2 to Ghana was described in Ghanaian media. These descriptions were often raised by politicians. The leader of the opposition political party at the time, Nana Addo Danquah Akuffo Addo of NPP, described the leader of the then ruling party, John Mahama of NDC, as incompetent:

G2C003 *Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, has described the ongoing saga involving the arrival into Ghana of two Guantanamo Bay detainees as yet another example of the failure of leadership on the part of President Mahama (Graphic online, 19/01/2016).*

G2C004 *The greedy Jdm and the ndc sold our peaceful country for terrorist money. Now most Ghanaians are living in fear and panic because of the Jdm greedy leadership style. Ghanaians will never forgive the NDC if there should be any terrorist attack on our beloved country (Face Book, 16/04/2016).*

G2C005 According to the former first lady, saying a prayer for the innocent people murdered next door in Burkina Faso by the foot soldiers of Osama Bin Laden is a vivid reminder that Al-Qaeda operatives should never be in a safe haven in Ghana, adding that humanity must show no compassion for terrorism. Turning her attention to the electioneering processes in the country, Nana Konadu Agyemang Rawlings indicated that the NDC government shall lose the 2016 elections hands-down. (dailyguideghana.com 22/01/2016)

The NDC's loss in the 2016 general elections was partly linked with Mahama's reception of the Gitmo-2 in the country.

Legal

The Gitmo-2 corpus also reveals that the relocation of the Gitmo-2 took a legal turn as can be seen in the following keywords: *court, supreme, ratification, unconstitutional, ruling, exit, return, detention, prison, consulted, grounds, constitution*. The keyword *unconstitutional* highlights how the agreement to have the Gitmo-2 relocated to Ghana was viewed from the legal perspective. The legality of the agreement was challenged. The Supreme Court of Ghana had on the 22nd of June, 2017, ruled that "the agreement signed by the President of Ghana was in violation of Article 75 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana. Only by an Act of Parliament could the agreement become valid"(Peace FM, Thur Feb. 1, 2018).

The Supreme Court ruling came on the back of a lawsuit filed by two Ghanaians, one of them being an 86-year-old woman, Mrs. Margaret Banful, a

former conference officer at the Foreign Affairs ministry. She wanted the Supreme Court to declare the Mahama-led administration's decision to host the ex-detainees as risky and unconstitutional (GhanaWeb, Wed. Jan. 20, 2016). Many Ghanaians, including Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), legal practitioners, policy analysts, religious organizations as well as politicians questioned the motive, legality, and reasonableness of that agreement. It was therefore of no surprise that unconstitutional appeared in the top keywords in the Gitmo-2 corpus of the Ghanaian.

Some accused the Mahama government of deciding to host the ex-detainees "secretively and unilaterally" (GhanaWeb, Fri Jan. 15, 2016). Some politicians and legal practitioners challenged the agreement, that "the [then] president erred by signing an agreement with the US without recourse to the provisions of Article 75 of the 1992 Constitution" (Omanfm1071.com, Sat. June 24, 2017). The extracts below were taken from the Gitmo-2 corpus, and they illustrate how the agreement was viewed as illegal in the Ghanaian media:

G2C006 *A declaration that the recep\xACTION of the said detainees in Ghana was in excess of his powers of the President under the constitution and hence unconstitutional (Ghanaian Times, 21/01/2016).*

G2C007 *The Supreme Court delivered its judgment declaring as unconstitutional the Government of Ghana\%92s agreement with the US Government that saw the two Gitmo detainees brought into the country...*

It, therefore, ordered the government to... send the agreement to Parliament for ratification or in lieu of that decision return the two detainees to the US Government (Kasapa fm, 24/06/1017)

Religion

The category tagged *Religion* contains four keywords; *Imam*, *Christian*, *Bishops*, and *Muslim*. Two main regions in Ghana, Islam, and Christianity are both represented in the first 100 keywords. *Imam* is to Islam as *Bishops* and *Christian* are to Christianity. A glance at these keywords also gives an immediate impression that the evacuation of the Gitmo-2 to Ghana also had religious implications.

The Gitmo-2 were Yemeni nationals and according to Amiri & Mirzaei (2021), the official religion of Yemeni is Islam. The keywords *Imam* and *Muslim* appeared in the Gitmo-2 corpus of the Ghanaian media in contexts where the Muslim community spoke against chastising the Gitmo-2, and tried to disabuse people's mind of the negative perception people hold of Islam. The Muslim community identified themselves with the Gitmo-2 as their Muslim brothers, and saw opposition from the Christian community as a form of discrimination against the Muslim community. The extracts below, from the Gitmo-2 corpus, illustrate these assertions:

G2C008 *Earlier in the week, the Muslim community through the Chief Imam appealed to the nation to accept the two on humanitarian grounds. Shedding more light on it on Ghana Connect, Sheikh Aremeyaw said the Muslim religion hates evil and not persons involved in the act. He suggested that through*

counseling the ex-GITMO detainees can be reintegrated and also advised to discard all evil intentions (myjoyonline, 15/01/2016)

G2C009 *A spokesperson for the National Chief Imam, Sheik Aremeyaw Shaibu has lambasted the Christian Council of Ghana (CCG) for their stiff position against the housing of two Guantanamo ex-detainees in Ghana. He described the council as 'Xenophobic' and questioned the Christianity in them 'Why can't they show love to our Muslim brothers?' (peacefmonline, 14/01/2016)*

The Christian community, however, held a different view as seen from concordance lines readings of the keywords *Christian* and *Bishop*. Following the public outcry that met the relocation of the Gitmo-2 to Ghana, the Christian Council of Ghana (CCG) met the Minister of Foreign Affairs and US Embassy officials at the Foreign Affairs Ministry to discuss the issues surrounding the Gitmo-2. The CCG's stance was that the ex-detainees should be repatriated as a matter of urgency. The Ghana Catholic Bishops Conference (GCBC) and the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council (GPCC) added their voice to the request. The following extracts from the Gitmo-2 corpus of the Ghanaian media express some of these sentiments:

G2C010 *"The CCG has observed with grave concern the lamentations and fears being expressed by many Ghanaians since the news about the relocation of two Guantanamo Bay*

inmates with Al Qaeda ties to Ghana. The council said it...requested the government to consider an immediate recession of the decision and relocate the inmates outside the country” (Daily Graphic, Jan. 12, 2016).

G2C011 *Some civil society groups and faith-based organizations including the Christian Council and the Catholic Bishop Conference waded into the issue, demanding that government return the Gitmo detainees to their home country, claiming the stay here could threaten the security of the country (Ghanaian Times, 22/01/2023)*

In the Gitmo-2 corpus, the keyword *Christian* also collocates with *Christian beliefs, passion, sympathy* and *compassion*. The then President, Mahama, had come out to explain that, among the reasons why he accepted to host the ex-detainees was that he was moved by his *Christian compassion*. But the president of the Catholic Bishops, Bishop Osei Bonsu, has a different view. He said "My Christian compassion is there and we need to be compassionate for people in need and try to help people but we have to balance compassion with common sense" (Daily Graphic Online Jan. 13, 2016). Adding his voice to the discussions that were going on about the evacuation of the Gitmo-2, the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church, Prof Martey asked those defending the stay of the Gitmo duo in the country to desist from it. He said that "our leaders should cease arguing based on Christian sympathy" and quizzed that "are we

more Christian than the Americans who are rejecting these two very people” (Daily Graphic Online Jan. 13, 2016).

The Coalition of Muslim Organisations, Ghana (COMOG), on the other hand, welcomed and commended the Mahama administration for accepting to host the ex-detainees. According to the National Chief Imam, Sheikh Dr. Osman Nuhu Sharubutu,

G2C012 *Any 'criminal' who has reformed and wants to reintegrate with any society must be accepted on humanitarian grounds, according to Islam, and that we consider as a duty* (Daily Graphic Online Jan. 13, 2016).

Regarding this opposing stance by the Christian and the Muslim communities, one popular columnist, Charles Wereko Brobby writes:

G2C013 *I am straining at the leashes to establish what interest the churches have in this matter to propel or justify their central involvement. By the same token, I cannot fathom what purpose is served by the so far divisive pronouncements by spokespersons of the national Chief Imam and the head of the Shia faction of the Muslim faith in Ghana. Ironically, these same religious leaders are pontificating that this matter must not be treated as a Christian-Muslim feud at the same time as they demand and insist to be at the centre of very delicate diplomatic discussions between Ghana and the United States of America* (Daily Graphic, 26/01/2016).

Security

The arrival of the Gitmo-2 to Ghana was met with stark opposition in the Ghanaian media. The opposition stemmed from the Gitmo-2's association with the Guantanamo Bay prison facility. The facility was put up to house 'enemy combatants' caught by America in the course of the war against terrorism (Bilgen, 2012; Owusu-Sekyere, 2016). In that sense, anyone who was kept in the facility was generally viewed as a terrorist. Security issues were major areas of concern to the majority of Ghanaians who opposed Ghana's decision to accept and host the Gitmo-2. The presence of *security, terrorism, terrorist, terrorists, threat, Qaeda, pose, and fear*, among the high-frequency words in the Gitmo-2 corpus of the Ghanaian media gives evidence to support this observation.

The mass media, being a major source of the creation and spread of moral panics, was flooded with discourses on the Gitmo-2. According to Nyarko et al (2019), many Ghanaians were gripped with fear when news of the evacuation of the Gitmo-2 to Ghana broke out in the media. Just around this time, a neighbouring country, Burkina Faso, had witnessed some terrorist attacks. This, therefore, was a major cause of concern for many Ghanaians. The US Defense Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, had described the detainees as being "among the most dangerous, best-trained, vicious killers on the face of the earth and were all involved in efforts to kill thousands of Americans" (Howell, 2007, as cited in Nyarko et al., 2019:1). The keywords *terrorism, terrorist, terrorists* were used to make reference to the Gitmo-2 in the Gitmo-2 corpus, though they had not been found guilty of terrorism. The extracts below from the Gitmo-2 corpus illustrate this:

G2C014 *Public responses to the decision of the government to allow the al-Qaeda terrorism asylum in Ghana have, however, been many, varied and far from approving across various media platforms: "This is insane" "Is this a kind of April fool's joke?" "Was parliament consulted?" "What if they take advantage of their presence here to sow the seed for the development of a terrorist cell? (Daily Graphic 14/01/2016)*

G2C015 *The ideology that feeds the extremists fundamentalism dictates that its adherents should declare war on anything or any state that aligns itself with the United States of America... It's the same ideology that explains why in Nigeria; the Boko Haram group does not exempt even mosques and known Muslims in their real to kill and destroy. These terrorists are people who will radicalize unsuspecting youth against their own country or sections of the country, for no other reason than that those targets are "Haram". Certainly, this cannot be the world our President wants for Ghana (Daily Graphic,15/01/2016).*

The keywords *fear* and *threat* in the Gitmo-2 corpus of the Ghanaian media occurred in the corpus in contexts where sentiments about the reception of the Gitmo-2 were expressed. According to Nyarko et al (2019), Ghanaians were gripped with fear based on the notion that since the Gitmo-2 were coming from the Guantanamo prison camp, they constituted a threat and by hosting them in Ghana, it will put Ghana on the radar for terrorism. The extracts below provide examples of such sentiments:

G2C016 *And so like everything else in Ghana, discussions about the merits or otherwise of us hosting two ex-detainees for at least two years have degenerated into very shrill but largely uniformed posturing...For now all we can agree on is that Oman Ghana is in a deeply-agitated state of fear and panic and apparently facing an imminent terrorist attack (Daily Graaphic, 26/01/2016).*

G2C017 *The president didn't see the good things in America which would be of benefit to Ghana, but only saw these people whose presence in Ghana constitute a security threat. He's rather imported trouble for Ghana (Kasapa FM, 11/01/2016).*

The keyword analysis done above indicates that the frequent topics or issues discussed in Ghanaian media relating to the Gitmo-2 focused on four main areas: political, legal, religious and security issues. It must be noted that the analysis in this section was to find the 'aboutness' of the corpus. However, as Gabrielatos (2018) indicates, keyword analysis is only the first stage involved in studying a text, further analysis needs to be done to unravel the contribution of these key words to the discourse of the Gitmo-2 vis-à-vis the representation of the Gitmo-2 in Ghanaian media.

Representation of the Gitmo -2 in the Ghanaian Media.

This section discusses the findings related to research question two:

How are the Gitmo-2 Represented in Ghanaian Media?

The analysis and discussion of how the Gitmo-2 are constructed in the Ghanaian media are done following Wodak's (2015) Discourse Historical

Approach (DHA) strategies of Referential/Nomination and Predication, with Cohen (1972)'s Moral Panic as the underlining theory. It looks at the portrayal of the Gitmo-2 under three sub-topics: as criminals/terrorists, a threat to Ghana's security, and undesirables.

Gitmo-2 as Terrorists/Criminals

The first part of the discussion concentrates on the portrayal of the Gitmo-2 as terrorists or criminals. Moral panic was precipitated by the arrival of two ex-Guantanamo Bay prison into Ghana for a two-year stay. Discourses on the Gitmo-2 ignited moral panic when the Ghanaian media reported that the Gitmo-2 were ex-inmates of the Guantanamo Bay prison. After the 9/11 attack, America put up the Guantanamo Bay prison to house suspected terrorists (Nyarko et al, 2019). In broadcasting the news of the arrival of the Gitmo-2 into the country, the media often gave the background of the Gitmo-2 highlighting their association with the Guantanamo prison. By so doing, the media was able to project the Gitmo-2 as the folk devils as identified by Cohen (1972). This is highlighted in the Gitmo-2 corpus through the choice of words used in reference to the Gitmo-2. The data indicate the preponderance of nominals related to terrorism or crime and which construct the Gitmo-2 as terrorists. The nominals include *'terrorists,' 'potentially dangerous terrorists,' 'self-confessed terrorists,' 'committed jihadists,' 'detainees,' 'dangerous detainees,' 'multiple bad guys,' 'hardcore terrorists,' 'criminals,' 'terrorists to the core'* and *terrorists with Al-Qaeda ties*'. The co-texts of these expressions reveal that they were used in the negative sense. The extracts below, from the Gitmo-2 corpus of the Ghanaian media, show the usage of some of these referring expressions in context.

G2C018 ...the Supreme Court declared as unconstitutional the admission of **two terrorists** into the country...(Ghana Web 26/01/2018)

G2C019 When Ghana heard the **two Guantanamo bay terrorist prisoners** have arrived in Ghana, they started to run! (Facebook 09/01/2016).

G2C020 I mean I can't see why they can't go back to their country. Who is persecuting them? we are afraid of **these terrorists**(Ghana Web 08/01/2016).

G2C021 ...accepting to host the 2 **hardcore terrorists** from Yemen who were dispatched from the United States Naval Base of Guantanamo. (Ghana Web 27/01/2018).

G2C022 They were taken out of a war theater, these guys are **committed jihadists, they are terrorists** (Ghana Web 08/01/2016).

G2C023 The government granted these **dangerous detainees** a refugee status (Ghana Web 25/01/2018).

The repetitive use of the word '*terrorists*' in reference to the Gitmo-2 is an example of 'over-lexicalisation' (Teo, 2000). According to Teo (2000), 'over-lexicalisation' is the repetitive use of words and expressions in reference

to actors or issues such that over time, those expressions become accepted as part of news discourse. Repeatedly referring to the Gitmo-2 as terrorists, therefore, goes beyond their general characterization as dangerous, but more specifically as lawless, fearful, anarchist, and violent people who have no respect for the established order and are, therefore, inimical to the survival of society. In line with Van Dijk (2006)'s assertion that repetition forms one of the rhetorical structures used in establishing ideological standing against the out-group or for the in-group, repetition was employed in the Gitmo-2 corpus as the Gitmo-2 are repeatedly referred to as terrorists. Ghanaians are conceived of as law-abiding and peaceful people and therefore cannot co-exist with these criminals, while the folk devils, the Gitmo-2, are conceived of as criminals. The use of these nominals is motivated by the ideological orientations of the media or the writers. 'When we speak or write, we always take a particular perspective,' says Gee (1999, p.2). As a result, "[N]ews is more than a value-free reflection of facts. Everything stated or written about the world is framed through the lens of a certain ideological stance" (Fowler, 1991, p. 101). The choice of these nominals, therefore, reveals the writers' perception of the Gitmo-2 which may be said to be predominantly negative.

Two other nominals which draw attention are '*ihadists*' and '*detainees*' (G2C022 and G2C023 respectively). The latter appears to concretize the fact that the Gitmo-2 are criminals. The word '*ihadists*' serves two purposes: one, it points to the religious background of the Gitmo-2, and two, it highlights their extremely violent nature. It appears that there is a deictic projection here. According to Insaadoo (2018, p. 3), "a speaker projects a deictic center when he or she recognizes the spatiotemporal [and

psychological] points of view of others...and interprets events from [them]”. By recognizing the audience’s awareness of the time Jihadists attacks were rife in the Middle East as well as their negative attitude towards Jihads and Jihadists because Jihadists are religious extremists, the media succeeds in foregrounding their idea that the Gitmo-2 are evil and must not be accepted by Ghanaians. This stereotypical attributions The analysis of the nominals mentioned above indicates the ideological posture of the Ghanaian media as far as the Gitmo-2 are concerned.

Being recognized as an important agent in the formulation and spread of moral panic, the media frames issues from certain ideological lens meant at influencing public perceptions (Brown-Saracino & Rumpf, 2011) by giving prominence to certain words, phrases or expressions. This is what is seen in the Gitmo-2 corpus of the Ghanaian media. The following phrases illustrate the use of some of such words and expressions in reference to the Gitmo-2: ‘*dangerous* terrorists’, ‘*hardcore* terrorists’, ‘*committed* jihadists’, ‘*dangerous* detainees’, and ‘*self-confessed* terrorists. Contextually, the adjectives ‘*hardcore*’ and ‘*committed*’ are placed in the same semantic paradigm and they foreground the extremely violent nature of the Gitmo-2; something the generic adjective ‘*dangerous*’ fails to do. These two adjectives are imbued with the emotions of the writers who appear to have an entrenched position against Ghana’s acceptance of Gitmo-2. The adjective ‘*self-confessed*’ as used in the expression; “*By accepting to host these self-confessed terrorists, he has broken the law*” (G2C073) suggests the Gitmo-2’s acceptance of their labeling as ‘*terrorists*’. Not only does it emphasize their background as terrorists but also it appears to exonerate Ghanaians from the criticism that it is

Ghanaians who are trying to create some aura of terror around these Gitmo-2 and to eventually trivialize the arguments that the Gitmo-2 are not criminals so Ghanaians must allay their fears.

Generally, the use of predication strategies results in the creation of “emotive coercion” (Salahshour, 2017, p.166) and the deepening of antipathy towards the ‘folk devil’, in this case, the Gitmo-2. Emotive coercion refers to intentionally assigning certain qualities to social actors to affect the emotions of others in a way that the writer prefers. In the case of the Gitmo-2, it may be realized that to coerce Ghanaians into resisting the Gitmo-2, emotive language was employed as may be seen from G2C018-023 above. The use of strong belief words such as ‘*criminals*’, ‘*jihadists*’, and ‘*terrorists*’ in describing the Gitmo-2 confirms the negative representation given to the Gitmo-2.

Another linguistic mechanism employed for ideological purposes and to further portray the Gitmo-2 as the folk devils that need to be avoided is parallelism. Parallelism is the use of grammatically similar or the same structures in a sentence or discourse (Kazemian & Hashemi, 2014; Susanti, 2019). Parallel structures may have either lexical, syntactic similarities or both. The use of parallel structures in discourse has emotive force (Nartey & Ernanda, 2020), and this is employed in discourses on the Gitmo-2 in the Ghanaian media. Out of fear and anxiety, Ghana got emotionally charged at the arrival of the Gitmo-2 into the country, it was, therefore, a conducive setting for the employment of parallelism, capitalizing on the emotionally charged setting. Examples of the parallel structures employed in discourses on the Gitmo-2 in the Ghanaian media are highlighted below:

G2C024 *These people are not ordinary refugees.*

They are criminals.

[They are] terrorists to the core.

[They are] Osama Bin Laden activists.

[They are] people with terrorism background.

(Graphic online, 07/01/2016)

Syntactically, all five sentences have the structure subject + verb + complement. The pronoun ‘*They*’ refers anaphorically to the Gitmo-2. The complements ‘*ordinary people*’, ‘*criminals*’, ‘*terrorists to the core*’, ‘*Osama Bin Laden activists*’, and ‘*people with terrorism background*’ ideologically emphasize the nature of the Gitmo-2 as terrorists. The use of such parallel structures leaves on the reader “a persuasive negative experiential and expressive value” of the Gitmo-2, as noted by Mahamadu & Javadi (2017, p. 6), which in turn deepens antipathy towards them (Cohen, 1972).

The negative representation of the Gitmo-2 and the projection of them as the evil ‘other’ (Wodak, 2015) inimical to society (Cohen, 1972) are also realized in the structure and tone of constructions used in the Ghanaian media.

The extracts below exemplify the use of some of these structures.

G2C025 *What the hell...would make Ghana toy with the idea of hosting persons declared as terrorists?*

(Ghanaian Times 08/01/2016).

G2C026 *Apply our law and send two Gitmo terrorists back* (Myjoyonline.com16/01/2016).

G2C027 *Many argue that Flagstaff house would have been better for these **potentially dangerous terrorists*** (Ghana Web, 29/02/2016).

The phrase “*what the hell*” (G2C025) is a speaker displeasure marker (Fraser, 2009) signifying the writer’s displeasure with the idea of hosting the Gitmo-2 in Ghana. The writer’s exasperation is noted in the choice of the phrasal verb ‘*toy with*’. Considering the linguistic context, the word ‘*terrorists*’ co-occurring with the verb ‘*toy*’ immediately creates a feeling of annoyance in the reader, that something as grave as terrorism should be taken for granted. The Gitmo-2 are depicted as too dangerous a people for Ghana to host. Ghana’s decision to host them, therefore, occurred to Ghanaians as both surprising and irritating. The reader is moved to anger, resulting in the show of anger towards authority (government), thus resistance occurs.

The imperative structure “*apply our law...*” (G2C026) indicates the writer’s desire for the Gitmo-2 to be repatriated. In this case, the writer explicitly refers to the Gitmo-2 as terrorists through the use of the referring expression “*Gitmo terrorists*”, and demands that they are sent out of the country. Stern imperative mood suggests that the Gitmo-2 are unwelcomed guests, resulting in the creation of a hostile environment for the Gitmo-2 since they are not wanted in the country. Demanding that the law of the country is applied suggests that even the law is against the acceptance of the Gitmo-2. This is a reflection of the results of the keyword analysis, which revealed that the acceptance of the Gitmo-2 was declared unconstitutional by Ghana’s Supreme Court (Graphic Online 22/06/2017).

The discussion demonstrates media representation is coloured with ideology, achieved through the creation of moral panic and the representation of the Gitmo-2 as the folk devils (Cohen, 1972; Fowler, 1991; Van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 1995). The Gitmo-2 are represented as terrorists and therefore injurious to the Ghanaian society. Nominals relating to crime and terrorism, adjectives relating to crime, repetition and parallel structures are the ideological vehicles in the representation of the Gitmo-2.

Gitmo-2 as a Threat to Ghana's Security

The ideological construction of the Gitmo-2 as terrorists led to their construction as a threat to Ghana's security in the Ghanaian media, where the media paid attention specifically to the threats the two pose to the security of Ghana. This section of the discussion focuses on how the Gitmo-2 are linguistically constructed and ideologically designed as a threat to Ghana's security.

The Gitmo-2 had settled in Ghana, whatever information about them to the public; the direction of the discourses on the Gitmo-2 was up to the media to set the tone. Media report of the arrival of the Gitmo-2 into Ghana seem to collectively demonize the Gitmo-2 as a threat to Ghana's security by highlighting the activities of terrorists and linking the Gitmo-2 to terrorism. After studying the British newspapers' report on a rioting event that occurred and how the newspapers consistently identified young people as the folk devils of the rioting event, Nijar (2015, p. 2) notes that

the emergence of the phenomenon is followed by stereotypical and stylistic coverage by the media; moral condemnation from politicians, bishops and editors, and commentary from socially recognized experts who offer both explanations of, and solutions for the panic

Nijar (2015) pointed out that the media, by adopting discourses which vilified the youths, it contributed to public antipathy towards the youth. The issue of the Gitmo-2 took a similar turn. Words and expressions that projected the Gitmo-2 as threat were used in the media. Some of these words and expressions included nominals relating to security risk such as '*high-security risk*', '*a real threat*', and '*trouble*'. The extracts below depict how these words and expressions are employed in the media to project the Gitmo-2.

G2C028 *Ghanaian government is seeking further clarification from the United States following revelations in a WikiLeaks report that the two ex-Guantanamo Bay inmates in Ghana are of a "high-security risk" contrary to information provided by the US government (Ghana Web 15/01/2016).*

G2C029 *In separate statements, the three groups said the fears and lamentations being expressed by Ghanaians over the presence of the two in Ghana were legitimate, as the two posed a **real threat to the country** (Graphic Online 14/01/2016)*

G2C030 *Two experts on security and political science have expressed fear that Ghana's decision to accept two Guantanamo Bay detainees could **pose a threat to the country's security**. According to them, the granting of temporary asylum in the country to Mahmud Umar Muhammad Bin Atef and Khalid Muhammad Salih Al-Dhuby, both from Yemen, could put the country on the radar of extremists (Daily Graphic 08/01/2016)*

Contextually, these nominals are configured in the sentences such as '*the two posed a real threat to the country*' (G2C029), '*two Guantanamo Bay detainees could pose a threat to the country's security*' (G2C030), and so on as the consequences of the direct actions of the Gitmo-2. Interestingly, the circumstance imbued with the recipient role in the Hallidayan sense is Ghana's security as evidenced in '*to the country's security*' and '*to the country*'.

The adjectives 'high' and 'real' as used in G2C028 and G2C029 respectively to modify 'threat' highlight the degree of danger the Gitmo-2 are to Ghanaians. As Nyarko et al (2019) observes, the Ghanaian media's choice of such words deepened the fear and anxiety in the country.

It could also be realized from G2C029 and G2C030 that similar to Nijar (2015)'s finding, the media gave room to experts voice (moral entrepreneurs) possibly to give credibility their reports. These experts, as noted by Bain, Podmore & Rosenberg (2020) have the duty of eradicating the threat, in this case, the Gitmo-2. In the discourses surrounding the Gitmo-2 in Ghanaian media, this role is played by the security experts, religious organizations and politicians.

Of interest is the thematization of '*the two*' which refers to the Gitmo-2. This kind of linguistic patterning helps to emphasize the Gitmo-2 by drawing attention to their role as actors. It may be said, therefore, that the preference for foregrounding or backgrounding actors in a news report is often ideologically driven (Van Dijk, 2008; Busa, 2013; Sogut, 2018; Kitis, Milani and Levon, 2018). The significance of all these is to help construct the Gitmo-2, through the ideological lens of the Ghanaian media, as dangerous and to

convince the ordinary Ghanaian against the move to accept the Gitmo-2 in Ghana.

The media's negative representation of the Gitmo-2 is further highlighted by portraying them as dangerous other through the use of comparison. Since 'dangerous' connotes something hazardous and likely to cause harm or death, the Gitmo-2 are depicted as a threat to Ghanaians. In fact, they are likened to the contagious deadly disease that broke out in parts of West Africa, Ebola, and "a poisoned chalice" as can be seen in the extracts below:

G2C031 *"I think dey re more dangerous Dan *Ebola*"*

(FaceBook 09/01/2016).

G2C032 *My heart is completely broken. I am devastated. These are infested maggots. This is a **poisoned chalice** and it is a dangerous situation that we find ourselves in now* (Ghana Web 08/02/2016)

Ebola was an infectious disease that broke out in parts of West Africa in 2014 and lasted for about two and half years. By the time it ended, 28,600 cases had been recorded with 11, 325 deaths (*UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs*). Ebola was said to be the most contagious and deadly disease at the time. Since it was contagious and deadly, victims were isolated from the general public. Ebola was one disease that put fear in people as the high death rate associated with it made people feel getting infected meant being handed a death sentence.

By this comparison, it may be said that the writer capitalized on the fear people had about Ebola to create a kind of rhetoric aimed at garnering the support of the masses against the Gitmo-2. This rhetoric of creating fear in people as a strategy to get them to act is what Cohen (1972) refers to as moral panic. The people who took the lead in accepting the Gitmo-2 are presented as insensitive people who knowingly put the lives of Ghanaians at risk.

Similarly, the relocation of the Gitmo-2 to Ghana is referred to as a '*poisoned chalice*'. Ideologically, this expression may be interpreted in two ways. On one hand, '*poisoned chalice*' may refer to the Gitmo-2 themselves, suggesting that as harmless as America may have presented them to be, they (Gitmo-2) are dangerous and will end up harming Ghanaians. In another sense, the dietic expression '*this*' as used in the sentence '*this is a poisoned chalice*' (G2C032) could refer to the act of hosting the Gitmo-2. Ghana's decision to host the Gitmo-2 earned it international recognition as a hospitable nation (Ghanaian Times 08/01/2016). However, beneath that recognition lies the perilous nature of the Gitmo-2.

This assertion highlights powerplay at work. It exposes America's treachery in reaching the deal with Ghana to accept the Gitmo-2. Through its representation of discourses surrounding the Gitmo-2, therefore, the media exposes these ill intentions of America. In this sense, the media could be said to play the role of gatekeepers of Ghana's democracy.

Another reason for framing the Gitmo-2 as infectious is the fear that by their association with terrorist groups, the Gitmo-2 could recruit Ghanaian youths into terrorist organizations as seen in the extract below:

G2C033 *These terrorists are people who will radicalize unsuspecting youths against their own country or sections of the country, for no other reason than that those targets are "Haram". Certainly, this cannot be the world our President wants for Ghana.* (Daily Graphic 15/01/2016)

The nominals ‘terrorists’ and ‘unsuspecting youths’ draw a line between the dangerous nature of the Gitmo-2 and the innocence of Ghanaians. The Gitmo-2 are presented as heartless and unpatriotic citizens of their country who can cause atrocities in their own country under the guise of ‘*Haram*’. The writer is apprehensive over the possibility of the Gitmo-2 recruiting Ghanaian youths into terrorism. This expression of fear and frustrations is seen in the choice of the verb ‘*radicalize*’ and the adjective ‘*unsuspecting*’. The positive self/negative other distinction is seen here as the Gitmo-2 are portrayed as predators and Ghanaians as the incognizant prey. The writer’s choice of such expressions may be said to be rhetorical in the sense that people (Ghanaians) who read such media items are also more or less radicalized against the Gitmo-2.

The use of scare quotes for the noun ‘*Haram*’ shows the writer’s disdainful stance towards the word ‘*Haram*’. As Garber (2016) notes, scare quotes “allow for a kind of moral distancing – for someone to touch a contentious idea without fully engaging with it (or, indeed, getting dirty by association)”. Thus, items enclosed in scare quotes often require the reader to look beyond the printed words and decipher the writer’s intention, which could be skepticism, irony, or ridicule. It could be seen from G2C033 above

that the very reason for which terrorist acts are carried out is found ridiculous by the writer. This is realized from the use of the phrase “*for no other reason than*”. This expression reveals the writer’s anger towards the Gitmo2 as they attack and kill innocent people for the trivial reason of their being ‘Haram’.

This portrays the Gitmo-2 as irrational beings who need not be entertained among Ghanaians as they can infest Ghanaians with their insanity. The writer’s rejection of the Gitmo-2 is also realized from the use of the evidential marker, ‘certainly’ (G2C033). A subtle call is made on the president of Ghana to rethink its decision as failure to do so will spell doom for the country. Ideologically, this call could be said to be the voice of the people (Ghanaians) against the Gitmo-2, and also the government for accepting to host them.

Through the use of nominals relating to security risks, thematization of ‘the two’, the use of comparison, and so on, the Gitmo-2 are portrayed as a dangerous other and a threat to the peace and security of Ghanaians. The media, through this means, provides a basis for the Gitmo-2 to be treated as enemies of Ghana.

Gitmo-2 as Undesirables

Apart from the construction of the Gitmo-2 as terrorists/criminals and a threat to Ghana’s peace and security, the anti-Gitmo-2 rhetoric is reinforced in the media by their construction as undesirables through the use of linguistic resources such as referring expressions (nominals), pejorative adjectives and rhetorical questions.

The data reveal that the Gitmo-2 were referenced using referring expressions (nominals) that relate to rejection and contempt. Among the nominals used are ‘*the two Yemeni undesirables*’, ‘*these undesirables*’, ‘*so-*

called *detainees from Guantanamo*, and *'undesirables'*. The co-texts of these nominals reveal that the Gitmo-2 were viewed in Ghanaian media as outcasts. The extracts below show some of these nominals in context.

G2C034 *The question being asked is: What exactly necessitated our government's willingness to **harbor the two Yemeni undesirables**... Let's re-frame these questions: What is the benefit to Ghana for agreeing to host **these undesirables**? Certainly, nothing to do with "compassion" or "altruism" because Ghanaians have no connection with Yemen to warrant anybody from there being sent into the country to be catered for at the expense of the system. So, what is the sense in bringing these people to Ghana? (Modern Ghana 15/01/2016)*

G2C035 *"The government owes Ghanaians very serious explanations, especially as **the so-called detainees from Guantanamo** and other refugees being discussed are alleged to have already arrived in the country (Ghanaian Times 08/01/2016)*

G2C036 *Ghana has no relationship with Yemen so... why should Ghana accept **these undesirables** that have been **rejected** by their own country Yemen? What is the sense in bringing these men to Ghana to be catered for by the taxpayer? (Ghana Web 29/02/2016)*

The use of the referring terms '*undesirables*' and '*so-called*' (G2C034 and G2C035) may be said to be derogatory terms, and such terms are often employed to cause damage to the image of the one for whom the terms were employed (Mirzapour, 2021). Referring to the Gitmo2 as '*undesirables*', therefore, creates a very belittling image of the Gitmo-2. By referring to the Gitmo-2 as '*undesirables*', the Ghanaian media's aversion to the Gitmo-2 is highlighted. The objective of the discourse on Gitmo-2 is to convince text-readers to support the agenda to resist the government's decision to host the Gitmo-2 in Ghana. To achieve this aim, therefore, the media portrays the Gitmo-2 as people not worthy of Ghanaians' sympathy.

Again, when the term '*so-called*' precedes any construction, it usually carries negative semantic prosody. Using the term to refer to the Gitmo-2 (G2C035) therefore, shows a dismissive attitude towards them. Thus, by using this referring strategy, the Gitmo-2 are made to come across to Ghanaians as repulsive and even capable of harming Ghanaians, therefore they need not accept them.

The choice of the verb '*habour*' in G2C034 is significant in the sense that the verb *habour* is laden with negative semantic prosody and it usually appears in negative constructions. Its use in this context suggests that Gitmo-2 are criminals and by Ghana hosting them, Ghana is being a party to their criminal activities. The media, in its bid to frame the Gitmo-2 as outcasts and criminals, also chastises the government for accepting to host them. The government's rationality is questioned. The government had justified its decision by saying it did it on humanitarian grounds but this justification is

doubted, the reason why the words "*compassion*" and "*altruism*" is applied in scare quotes to doubt their authenticity.

Repeatedly, the verbs '*rejected*' and '*rejecting*' are used to highlight the otherness of the Gitmo-2. They are framed in the media as ostracized people. The verb phrases '*have been rejected*', '*have rejected*', '*are rejecting*', and '*being rejected*' G2C037-G2C039 respectively, indicate the various levels of rejection of the Gitmo2, that is, rejection by their home country (Yemen) and by the USA who are directly responsible for the wellbeing of the Gitmo-2. Implicitly, the Gitmo-2 are constructed as a burden that even their home country has refused to carry.

Repetition is a persuasive device used by writers to reinforce their points (Supardi, 2016). Therefore, by repeating the word '*rejected*', the media reinforces the idea that the Gitmo-2 are not worth the attention given to them by the Ghanaian government. The media's portrayal of the Gitmo-2 in this light makes Ghanaians question why the government accepted to carry such a burden. Some of such concerns are raised in the following extracts:

G2C037 *Ms. Bright said she was puzzled by the decision of the government of Ghana to accept Mahmud Umar Muhammad Bin Atef and Khalid Muhammad Salih Al-Dhuby, "when the people, who put them in Guantanamo Bay – their own parliament and congress –, have **rejected** them. So, **what business do we have [accepting them to Ghana?] We can't even solve our own problems, so, why are we now coming to add to it, a problem that's been created by some people and we are importing it to Ghana.**" (Ghana Web 07/01/2016)*

G2C038 *Our leaders should cease arguing on the basis of Christian sympathy, are we more Christian than the Americans who are rejecting these two very people?"*

(Graphic Online 13/01/2016)

G2C039 *The United States says it has no security personnel keeping track of the movement and activities of the two ex-Guantanamo Bay detainees who have been resettled in Ghana after being rejected by the US.* (Ghana Web 16/01/2016).

As Foucault (1988) notes, where there is power, there is resistance, and the nature of control (power) determines the nature of resistance (Scott, 1989). Many Ghanaians opposed the decision by the government to host the Gitmo-2 in Ghana but the government had its way because of power, therefore through the media, Ghanaians also reacted to that power by forming discourses of resistance against the government, Gitmo-2, and America as well.

As has been noted above, the Ghanaian media garnered the support of Ghanaians to resist the stay of the Gitmo-2 in Ghana by framing the Gitmo-2 as undesirables to whom Ghanaians should show no mercy. The media was able to achieve this through the use of linguistic resources such as referring expressions (nominals), adjectives, and rhetorical questions.

Construction of the Relationship between Ghana and America in the Ghanaian Media

This is the final section of the analysis and discussion chapter. It focuses on research question three, *How is the Relationship Between Ghana and America Constructed?*

The section does a lexico-grammatical analysis by identifying the topoi that characterize the US-Ghana relationship as curved in Ghanaian media. The analysis in this section focuses on vocabulary items and phrases that highlight the relationship that exists between the two nations. The relationship between the two nations is constructed in three ways: as friends/partners, as a master-servant relationship, and as a threat to Ghana's security.

Ghana and America as Friends/Partners

Vocabulary items

This section of the analysis focuses on the vocabulary items that revealed the relationship that existed between Ghana and America. The data analysis revealed that the media discourse had a variety of words that reflected the type of connection between Ghana and the United States. These words included nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Among the nouns identified in the data include 'partnership', 'partners', 'partner', 'collaborators', 'counterparts', 'ally', 'allies', 'friendship', and 'deal'.

The nouns 'partnership', 'partners' and 'partner' are inflected forms of the same lexeme. They function to communicate concepts, in this context, the relationship that exists between Ghana and America. This is a reflection of the bilateral cooperation between Ghana and the U.S.A. This bilateral partnership covers a wide range of matters, including security and education. As Gyimah

(2020) observes, Ghana and America have partnered on several projects and the partnership was based on the good relationship between the two nations. The Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI), is an example of a flagship exchange program. The Obama Administration began this program in 2010, and it has aided the training of young African leaders in Ghana and Africa as a whole.

Synonymy was also employed in the Gitmo-2 discourses to establish the relationship between Ghana and America. Hussein (2016) explains synonymy as words which signify the same meaning. These words often occur in different contexts within the discourse to provide similar meaning to readers or listeners. Synonymous words often have one referent. The words 'collaborators', 'friendship' and 'partnership' as used in the Gitmo-2 discourses are synonymous. Such synonyms, as Hussein (2016) identifies in his work, exposes the semantic relationship between the lexical items. The semantic relationship between the vocabularies identified,

The noun '*Collaborators*', and '*partners*' are used in the contexts where Ghana and the United States share information, resources, and responsibilities and jointly plan and implement counter-terrorism activities. The two nations have been able to carry through with this through mutual trust thus time, effort, and dedication. As a result of the vertical relationship between Ghana and America in terms of influence and power, as between a world superpower and a third world country, Ghana and America have shared a symbiotic relationship when it comes to the area of partnership. It is for that matter that the two nations could be described with the nouns 'ally' and 'allies'.

The nouns ‘*ally*’ and ‘*allies*’ paint a picture of joint identity. Ghana and America are considered as a single unit have also been used in contexts where the two nations have cooperated in achieving common goals. This is a mutual engagement between the two countries that have been fostered by mutual trust.

Ghana and the United States have always shared risks, resources, responsibilities, and rewards in their collaborative programs and this has presented an image of joint identity to outside observers (Cook, 2019). As Fong and Ponnann (2019) identifies in their work, diplomatic relations between two nations, more especially a powerful nation and a less powerful one, is often tested in times of adversity. This is where the axiom ‘a friend in need is a friend indeed’ applies. The extracts below show the use of these nouns in context:

G2C040 *I think this is a positive movement, Ghana is showing leadership, it makes the world safer and better, and it is very little risk to it and we appreciate their leadership, we appreciate their **partnership*** (Graphic Online 15/01/2016)

G2C041 *Ghana and its citizens worldwide can be viewed by terrorist organizations as **collaborators** with the United States in its fight against terrorists such that the country and its citizens may be targeted for terrorist attacks* (Ghana Web 13/01/2016)

G2C042 *We certainly have American security experts partnering with Ghana in many, many areas including making sure that our Ghanaian **partners** have the right resources and information...should the US*

have any information necessary for their Ghanaian counterparts, they would not hesitate to share... (Ghana Web 16/01/2016)

G2C043 *Making his submission on the show, the former MCE noted that the decision by the former administration to grant asylum to the Gitmo-2 must be commended as Ghana demonstrated a strong sense of goodwill with the United States of America, a vital Ally, and partner.* (Ghana Web 26/01/2018).

G2C044 *The two ex-detainees of the Guantanamo Bay Prisons, Mahmud Umar Muhammad Bin Atef and Khalid Muhammad Salih Al-Dhuby, who arrived in Ghana on Thursday January 7, 2016 for a two-year stay as part of a deal reached between the United States of America and the Government of Ghana* (Ghana Web, 12/01/2016).

The vocabulary item 'deal' as used in Extract G2C044 shows the kind of cooperation between the United States of America and Ghana. In this sense, America and Ghana are portrayed as two friends with the same vision.

It is true that some words, even when used alone or in isolation from other words or context, tend to convey some meaning or intent. Words have communication purposes, and anytime they are uttered, they reflect specific ideas (Sekyi-Baidoo, 2002; Putz, Van Dijk & Neff-van Aertselaer, 2004). The choice of these nouns by Ghanaian media may therefore be said to be an

attempt to demonstrate to text consumers (Ghanaians) the kind of relationship that exists between Ghana and America.

In addition to the nouns identified, adjectives were also used to project the kind of relationship between Ghana and America. Among the adjectives identified in the data are *'vital'*, *'amiable'*, *'joint'*, and *'healthy'*. These adjectives were employed in noun phrases such as *'vital ally'*, *'amiable relationship'*, *'joint readiness exercise'*, and *'healthy relationship'*. These phrases give a general description of the type of relationship that exists between Ghana and America.

The choice of the adjective *'vital'* to describe the relationship between Ghana and America is significant in the sense that America is seen not only as a friend of Ghana but an indispensable one. The choice of the adjective *vital* to describe America's friendship with Ghana could also stem from the fact that since America is a Superpower, friendship with it means a lot of benefits to Ghana, being a developing country. This *vital* relationship is also not merely formal diplomatic relations between two nations but a cordial one as evidenced by the use of the adjectives *'amiable'* and *'healthy'* to describe the relationship between the two nations. Since Ghana gained independence, the two countries have maintained friendly relations (Cook, 2019). The visit by President George W. Bush in 2008 and President Barack Obama in 2009 all highlight the healthy relationship between Ghana and the USA.

The two nations are portrayed as coequals by the use of the adjective *'joint'* to describe how they carry out certain exercises. By engaging in *'joint'* actions, the two nations are portrayed as working side by side to achieve

common goals, further highlighting the friendly relationship between Ghana and America.

Examples of some of these adjectives in context can be found in the extracts below:

G2C045 *Making his submission on the show, the former MCE noted that the decision by the former administration to grant asylum to the Gitmo 2 must be commended as Ghana demonstrated a strong sense of goodwill with the United States of America, **a vital Ally and partner** (Ghana Crusader, 26/01/2018).*

G2C046 *Ghana demonstrated a strong sense of goodwill with the United States of America, a vital Ally, and a partner Referring to terrorism and Ghana's preparedness, Ambassador Jackson said from April 26, 2016, **the US and Ghana would launch an eight-day joint** readiness exercise dubbed, "Epic Guardian 2016". (Graphic Online 16/04/2016).*

G2C047 *The USA contacted Ghana based on the **amiable relationship** between them and also on Ghana's contribution to global peacekeeping and humanitarian efforts (The Mirror, 22/01/2016).*

G2C048 *President Mahama indicated that Ghana always received advanced information from the US and other countries*

on people who entered the country, which was the result of the healthy relationship Ghana had with those countries (Graphic Online, 12/01/2016)

Clauses/Phrases

It is worth noting that in addition to nouns and adjectives used to construct the relationship between Ghana and America, phrases and clauses were also employed for the same purpose. Some of the verb phrases identified are '*having collaborated*', '*partnering with*', '*coordinated with*', and '*to share*'. These verb phrases indicate the good Ghana-America relationship that existed in the past, still exists, and will continue to exist.

The partnership is depicted by the many components and/or constituents of the phrase structure. Here are some examples of partnership-related phrases and clauses.

G2C049 *He said Ghana received them after the US requested that the country hosts them and **having collaborated with America in several areas**, including security and defense, the government of Ghana decided to oblige their request* (Graphic Online 12/01/2016)

G2C050 *we certainly have American security experts **partnering with Ghana in many, many areas** including making sure that our Ghanaian partners have the right resources and information* (Ghana Web 16/01/2016)

G2C051 *He however said should the US have any information necessary for their Ghanaian counterparts, they would not hesitate to share, saying "The United States and Ghana work together carefully so if the United States have information or news that we can pass, we certainly are going to do so* (tv3network.com, 16/01/2016)

Extracts G2C049-050 suggest that there are existing partnerships between Ghana and the United States. The phrase “*in several areas*” and “*partnering with Ghana in many areas*” implies the various kinds of cooperation and collaboration that have existed between Ghana and the United State in the field of education, politics, economy, and security. According to Eizenstat & Weinstein (2005), the US and Ghana have a security partnership based on a shared goal of resolving regional political and security challenges. America has given training to Ghana's military and Ghana, on some occasions, has also allowed the US access to its military facilities.

Extract G2C051 implies that the act by the government of Ghana to accept the detention of the Gitmo-2 portrays Ghana as an ally of the United States. The classification of images as an ally, adversary, or imperialist depends on the assessments of these structural relations, which can then impact compatible international behaviours. Ghana has shown to have relative goal compatibility and common interest with the Americans, hence the alliance to host the Gitmo-2. This alliance is regarded as vital in the situation of burden-sharing. Holst (2021) points out the fact that “security is not a ‘perfect’ collective good in the sense that what is good for the security of one

ally is equally good for the other allies.” This implies that this alliance will further strengthen Ghana’s security system against external force and terrorism. Since the United States can provide more sophisticated security measures and security intelligence to Ghana.

Extract G2C046 further investigates one of the mutual cooperations between Ghana and the United States named Epic Guardian. Epic Guardian 2016, an eight-day joint readiness exercise between the US and Ghana, was launched in 2016. It is an annual event meant to strengthen the US and African government agencies in dealing with security issues such as terrorism. Ghana's capabilities in areas such as intelligence gathering and communications have expanded as a result of these types of joint-cooperation operations. The analysis and discussion so far have demonstrated how the media, through the use of linguistic resources of vocabulary items (nouns and adjectives), phrases and clauses have constructed the relationship between Ghana and America as partners, allies, collaborators, friends and counterparts.

Ghana as subservient to the United States

This part of the analysis considers how the relationship between Ghana and America is portrayed as a master-servant relationship. Ghana is portrayed as carrying out America’s orders much to its inconvenience and it is afraid to speak. This is seen as modern colonialism where the Americans rule Ghana. The subservient here implies that Ghana obeys and complies with the principles and rules of America to protect the relationship and the support it gets from the Americans. Ghana is described as having the qualities of a servant where she is prepared to obey the orders of the Americans unquestionably. The extracts below illustrate some of these points:

G2C052 *The two Yemenis are in the country at the instance of the US government* (FaceBook 24/01/2016)

G2C053 *America government said sending them back is not an option* (Ghana Web 02/02/2018)

G2C054 *Public sentiments have further been heightened by demands from four US senators for Ghana to be denied aid should the two ex-detainees escape from the country* (Ghana Web 05/02/2016)

The use of the expression ‘*at the instance of*’ (G2C052) indicates that the two detainees relocated to Ghana because of the cooperation that existed between Ghana and the United States, but this cooperation is imposed. This illustrates the vertical relationship between Ghana and America, where Ghana, being the smaller and less powerful nation, is forced to decide against its will by a more powerful nation, America Milner (1992). Thus, the United States being the stronger party forces Ghana to break its laws to accommodate the Gitmo-2 even if it creates inconvenience for Ghanaians. Extract G2C054 further describes the force, the American government uses to maintain and ensure that the two detainees stay in Ghana. The clause “*sending them back is not an option*” indicates how the United States convincingly exploits the relationship it has with Ghana to make sure Ghana keeps the Gitmo-2.

G2C055 *America is respecting that law and they asking us to flout ours* (myjoyonline.com 16/01/2016)

G2C056 *The decision of Mahama administration to accept two Al Qaeda suspected terrorists in Ghana portrays the country as **a puppet of US**(Daily Guide 09/1/2016).*

G2C057 *It is important that Ghana tells America in plain language that it cannot **remote control** and **dictate to the country** (Ghana Web 30/01/2016)*

Extracts G2C055-057 express how Ghana is controlled by the United States. The clauses and phrases *'they are asking us to flout ours'*, *'a puppet of U.S.'*, and *'remote control and dictate to the country'* well describe and indicate the type of relationship between Ghana and the United States as a master-servant relationship where the Americans dictate and enforce its principles and interest on Ghana. In this context, America can be described as an imperialist in 'a non-Marxist sense' (Weisskopf, 1974, p. 42). In this sense, Weisskopf (1974, p. 14) describes imperialism as an "activity on the part of a national government that involves the use of power (or the threat of its use) to establish or maintain a relationship of domination or control over the government or (some of) the people of another nation or territory over which the imperialist government has no traditional claim to sovereignty". This definition highlights America's imposition of the two ex-detainees on Ghana rather than a bilateral agreement of accepting the detainees as a country. America, through this means, establishes its control over Ghana. *Our president **should be able to say I am sorry America, we goofed, we cannot do it because our laws prohibit it** (myjoyonline.com 16/01/2016)*

G2C058 *The head of state **should be bold enough** to tell Washington that he goofed* (Ghana Web 17/01/2016).

G2C059 *Security Analysts, Dr. Kwesi Aning has **urged government** to call the bluff of America over the recent threat to cut foreign aid to Ghana if the country fails to hold the detainees* (Ghana Web 30/01/2016).

Extract G2C058-59 draw attention to the issue of sovereignty. The government of Ghana is directed that Ghana is a sovereign nation, therefore, he (the government) needs to be bold and defend the laws of the country by refusing to accept the two detainees from the Americans. According to Gevorgyan (2014), a sovereign nation is independent in its decision-making as far as international relations are concerned. Phrases like “*should be able to say*”, “*should be bold enough*”, and “*urged the government to call the bluff*” suggest the Government of Ghana has been acting cowardly in fear of America. The government is therefore strongly urged to face its fear by letting the Americans know that Ghana is a sovereign state and therefore does not go against its constitution for other nations.

G2C060 *If the Americans who put them there are rejecting them, then why are we taking them on?* (Ghana Web 07/01/2016).

G2C061 *If the US finds it unsafe to keep them, why are they foisting them on us?* (Daily Graphic 14/01/2016)

Extracts G2C060 to 061 rhetorically seek to find out the main motive why America refused to accommodate the terrorists within their own country but wheedled Ghana to accept them. In extract G2C060, the phrase “*are rejecting them*” describes the unwillingness of the Americans to keep the two detainees.

The pronoun “we” refers to Ghana as a country and hence, the question “*why we are taking them*” implies the acceptance of the government of Ghana to keep the two detainees unquestionably in the country in favor of the Americans. Extract G2C061 expresses how the United States finds it unsafe to keep the Gitmo-2 in their country. Here the media represented the Gitmo-2 as “them”, therefore the phrase “*foisting them on us*” indicates how Americans are forcing Ghana to accept these detainees they think it is dangerous for them to keep in their country. The extract tries to allay fact that the United States knows the consequences of dealing with terrorists as a dangerous move, especially when they are being kept in a country as detainees.

Although language may not be ideological in and of itself, it is associated with ideological means (Wodak, 2006). Fairclough (1989) acknowledges that power is an ideology in and of itself, not just a matter of language. According to him, language contributes to the exploration and dominance of some people through ideologically shaped commonsense assumptions. Power abuse does not just involve the use of force, but it also has the potential to impact people's thoughts. Our linguistic choices are thought to be influenced by power and ideology, and vice versa. The investigation revealed that the media's linguistic choices reflect the concept that America is a powerhouse nation, resulting in Ghana's dread of them. This is evident in the example below:

G2C062 *We must be careful not to hurt America* (Ghana Web 23/06/2017)

G2C063 *We should make sure that the implementation...does not affect the good relationship between Ghana and the United States of America, this is a superpower you don't want to step on their toes unnecessarily...to avoid a diplomatic row between Ghana and the United States of America* (Ghana Web 23/06/2017)

The expressions '*we must be careful*' and '*we should make sure*' with emphasis on the modals '*must*' and '*should*' in Extracts G2C061 and 062 connote the fear Ghana has for the United States, to the extent that Ghana would do anything possible in order not to have issues with America. It also implies the fear Ghana has of losing the support and benefits it gains from the United State upon the refusal to accept to keep the detainees. This structure, "*this is a superpower you don't want to step on their toes unnecessarily*", portrays the sense of fear Ghana has for America.

Ghanaians' expression of disappointment in the Government for its inability to protect its citizens for the comfort of America is expressed in the extracts below:

G2C064 *It is suicidal for president Mahama to flout the laws of Ghana much to the convenience of America* (Ghana Web 17/01/2016).

G2C065 *Government will turn a blind eye, in fact, break its own laws while accepting to do America a favor*(myjoyonline.com 16/01/2016)

Extracts G2C064 and 065 describe the government's move to accept the two detainees as "*suicidal*", and the act of accepting the Gitmo-2 as a breach of Ghana's constitution. These extracts demonstrate how the media discourse seeks to alleviate a sense of despair and demoralization in society that stems from the notion that the government is weakened.

The media portrays America as a powerful bully who takes advantage of Ghana because of Ghana's fear of America's power and fear of losing favour with America. While The United States's power is portrayed as dysfunctional when juxtaposed against China (Pan, Isakhan and Nwokora, 2020), this dysfunctionality is replaced by authoritarianism when it comes to Ghana-US relationship as evident in the use of such vocabularies and phrases such as '*dictate*', '*a puppet of US*' and '*remote control*' in describing how America deals with Ghana.

Ghana-America Relationship a Threat to Ghana's Security

This part of the analysis and discussion looks at another way in which the relationship between Ghana and America is constructed, that is, as a threat to Ghana's security. It considers the linguistic resources that are employed to achieve this depiction.

The cooperation of the Ghana government to accept the two detainees is perceived as dangerous to national security and hence has caused tension and agitation among Ghanaians. According to Stepan (2015), conflicts between the state and society develop when alignment necessitates the state to play a role that the society as a whole cannot maintain. This role for Ghana to accept to host the Gitmo-2 is unacceptable to the Ghanaian society and regarded as an imposed cooperation from the United States. Thus, an imposed

cooperation is regarded as goal-seeking behavior that puts others in a disadvantaged position and reduces their gains in the cooperation. (Milner, 1992). This implies that Americans pushing the detainees on Ghana is highly seen as a goal-seeking behavior that can potentially spur terrorist attacks on Ghana. In the extracts below, linguistic devices that are employed to show this threat and ultimately show resistance to the acceptance of the Gitmo-2 are discussed.

G2C066 *The British High Commissioner in Accra, Jon Benjamin, has cautioned that even though Ghana's resolve in sheltering the two former detainees from Guantanamo Bay is purely based on bilateral relations with the United States of America, the Ghanaian **government should not be complacent on the security threats** its decision poses (Ghanaian Times 22/01/2016).*

G2C067 *This is because it doesn't take much to trigger the anger of these extremists...**Their anger** is on anything their ideology terms "haram". **Their war** is on anything that seems to align with or favour "American interest." (Daily Graphic 15/ 01/2016).*

G2C068 *I am sure you agree with me that **Ghanaians are sitting on a time bomb**. Imagine they begin to attack US interests in Ghana (Ghana Web 29/02/2016).*

G2C069 “They [Jihadist groups] may not have anything against Ghana as a nation, but *they certainly do have something against America*, especially so because America has confessed that it had no evidence for which it incarcerated them for 14 years. A school of jihadist ideology is that: ‘*The friend of your enemy is your enemy.*’ (Ghana Web 20/01/2016).

Extract G2C066 implies that the Ghana government should not make a decision that will compromise the national security system or jeopardize the peace and stability of the country, the phrase “*security threat*” connotes a threat of terrorism. Ideologically, the choice of the word ‘*complacent*’ suggests the Ghana government is framed as being gullible in its dealing with America given the threat of terrorist attacks in neighbouring countries.

In extracts G2C067 to 069 an explicit connection is drawn between Ghana’s alliance with America and the threat the alliance poses to Ghana. The presence of the nouns ‘*anger*’, ‘*war*’, ‘*jihadist*’, ‘*bomb*’, ‘*enemy*’, ‘*haram*’, and the verb ‘*attack*’, which are loaded with negative semantic prosodies contrasted with the verbs ‘*align*’, ‘*favour*’ and the nouns ‘*interest*’ and ‘*friend*’ draw a direct link between friendship with America and attack from terrorists. Even though Ghana has not been a victim of terrorist attacks, it could be vulnerable and expose itself to attacks upon accepting to host the Gitmo-2.

Accordingly, the media presented terrorists and Islamic extremists as ‘*their*’ (G2C067). Therefore, the semantics of the phrases ‘*their anger*’ and ‘*their war*’ imply the opposition to anything that is not in array with the beliefs

and mission of these terrorists and Islamic extremists. These terrorists have constantly hated the Americans and are in opposition to the interest and allies of the United States (Yilmaz, 2008). This meaning implies that upon acceptance of these detainees, Ghana has inevitably incurred the anger of these terrorists and it is at war with them, thus Ghana becomes liable and exposed to terrorism activities and attacks.

The following extracts further reveal some of the lexical choices that highlight the danger of Ghana associating itself with America:

G2C070 *We have shown ourselves to be allies of America...the ideologue of the Jihadist movement has stipulated this very clearly...America and all its allies ...are a legitimate target* (Ghana Web 16/01/2016).

G2C071 *In fact, what we have done has just given us out as allies of America* (Ghana Web 20/01/2016).

G2C072 *We have shown by this act, which we believe to be an act of generosity...but in their mind, it is an act of complicity in the sense that we have shown ourselves to be allies to America* (Ghana Web 12/01/2016).

Extracts G2C070 to 072, all concerned about the possible attack Ghana can face from terrorists and militant groups. Phrases like, “*legitimate target*”, “*given us out*” and “*have shown ourselves*” all portray Ghana as an ally of America hence putting the country on the radar of these terrorists and militant

groups. The use of the expression ‘*given us out*’ may be said to be a negative construction suggesting that to align with America is wrong. Implicitly, America is portrayed as a bad influence on Ghana. Discourse from various Ghanaian media condemns the government's acts to host the ex-detainees, citing the rising cases of religious extremism and terrorism around the globe and the government's inability to deal with them should they occur in Ghana. The discourse indicated this image of Ghana as an ally of the United States would have a long-term implication for the state.

Chapter Summary

This section analyzed the Gitmo-2 corpus by looking at the way the Gitmo-2 and the relationship between Ghana and America are represented in Ghanaian media. Generally, the analysis showed that the Gitmo-2 were represented as criminals, threats to Ghana's security and as undesirables. On the relationship between Ghana and America, the two nations were portrayed as friends but that friendship was portrayed as being a threat to Ghana's security. Ghana was also portrayed as being subservient to America.

Studies have shown that a strong correlation exists between media coverage and the opinion of the public about foreign nations (Fong & Ponnar, 2019; Pan et al, 2020). Ghanaian media, through its linguistic choices in producing discourses on the Gitmo-2 issue, played significant role in revealing and shaping Ghanaian's opinion about America.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the previous chapter, media discourses on the Gitmo-2 were analyzed to answer the research questions set for the study. The current chapter constitutes the final part of the entire thesis. It is divided into four sections. The first section summarizes the whole research work highlighting the key findings. The second section draws conclusions from the study while the third section states some implications of this work. The final section makes some recommendations based on the findings.

Summary

The study embarked on a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis of media discourse on the Gitmo-2 to determine the linguistic resources employed by the media to demonstrate resistance to neo-colonialism using the representation of the Gitmo-2 in Ghanaian media. To guide the study, three research questions were set. These were:

1. What does the keyness reveal about the corpus?
2. How are the Gitmo-2 represented in Ghanaian media?
3. How is the relationship between America and Ghana represented in Ghanaian media?

To answer the research questions, I adopted the qualitative research design to facilitate a deeper understanding of discourses on the Gitmo-2.

Purposive sampling technique was used to build a corpus of 139,668 words from media texts sampled from three media sources: print media (Daily Graphic and Ghanaian Times), online news sites (Graphic online.com, Ghana Web, and Myjoyonline.com), and social media (FaceBook and Twitter).

The analysis was done using Wodak's (2015) Discourse Historical Approach (DHA). I chose the DHA because it goes beyond the immediate linguistic context to consider the historical background of the issues under study. Again, 'it focuses on the ways in which linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power' (Datondji & Amousou, 2019:78). In these ways, the DHA allowed me to study the interaction between imperialism and terrorism vis-a-vis language use. Of the five main discursive strategies used in DHA, I focused on two of them: nominalization and predication strategies. Both discursive strategies allowed me to analyze the linguistic resources that were employed by the media to describe the Gitmo-2 as well as construct the relationship between Ghana and America in the face of neo-colonialism and resistance.

Key Findings

The result of the study indicated that among the keywords in the Gitmo-2 corpus were words related to politics, such as *government, opposition, administration, NPP, NDC*; the Gitmo-2 such as *terrorists, Guantanamo, detainees*; diplomacy, such as *agreement, nationals, countries*; legalities, such as *unconstitutional, ratification, ruling*; security, such as *threat, fear, terrorism*, and religion, such as *imam, christians, bishops*.

The keyword analysis showed that discourses on the Gitmo-2 embedded other discourses such as political and religious discourses. The issue took a religious turn when adherents of these ex-detainees believed that they were religious and thus superior to their dissenters (non-Islam believers). This was a concern to the Christian community which believed these detainees as part of a larger terrorist group have the ideology of a religious sacralization,

where such terrorists by their faith must purge non-Islam believers, and hence the presence of these detainees will invoke a terrorist attack on the Christian community and the country as a whole. While the Christian community saw this as a threat, the Muslim community saw it as religious discrimination that would eventually lead to the formation of an out-group based on which the two ex-detainees were victimized. The Muslim community believed that any criminal who has been reformed must be accepted and reintegrated into society.

The result also indicated that the Gitmo-2 were negatively represented in the Ghanaian media with the use of nominals such as *'self-confessed terrorists'*, *'committed jihadists'*, *'dangerous detainees'*, *'multiple bad guys'*, *'hardcore terrorists'*, *'criminals'*, *'terrorists to the core'* and the Arabic word *'jihadists'*. These nominals were used by the media to identify the detainees on an ingroup - outgroup dichotomy, that is, while portraying Ghanaians as hospitable and peace-loving people, the Gitmo-2 are portrayed as criminals and thus dangerous to Ghana. The media asserted that these detainees belong to a larger terrorist group and hence have the potential to use certain discursive strategies and plans to mount an attack on Ghana. They were described as terrorists because they were believed to have had links with Osama Bin Laden's terrorist group Al Qaeda. Again, the study revealed that the Gitmo-2 were also referred to as *'undesirables'* through the use of derogatory linguistic choices such as *'Yemeni undesirables'* and *'rejected'* detainees.

Regarding the relationship between Ghana and America, the study revealed that the relationship between Ghana and the United States was described as friendly in which there is a form of bilateral cooperation where

the United States provides monetary and expertise assistance to Ghana by way of support, whereas Ghana also provides military support to the USA on the grounds of peacekeeping. These assertions were made through linguistic choices such as *partnership*, *partners*, *partner*, *collaborators*, *counterparts*, *ally*, *allies*, and *friendship*. However, this cooperation to accept the two ex-detainees is seen as an imposed one and modern imperialism where Ghana's decision to accept the Gitmo-2 is described as an act of subservience. The phrases *a puppet of America*, *remote control*, and *dictate* were among the expressions used to describe the relationship between the two nations. In other words, Ghana complied with this agreement to protect its relationship with the United States and also secure the benefits and support it received from them. Ghana's acceptance of the Gitmo-2 is seen as a threat to Ghana's security system as it will jeopardize the peace and stability of the country. Among the linguistic expressions used to describe the alliance between the two nations were *security threat*, *complacent*, *attack*, *anger*, *war*, *enemy*, and *legitimate target*. These expressions laden with negative semantic prosodies were used to show that by Ghana aligning herself to America, she could incur the wrath of the Jihadists as they (the Jihadists) see the friends of their enemy (America) as their enemy.

Conclusions

Based on the key findings of the study highlighted above, the following conclusions can be drawn in connection with the research questions. First, the keyword analyses have revealed that discourses surrounding the Gitmo-2 embedded other discourses one of which was religious discourse. In addition to showing resistance and disdain to the Gitmo-2 and America

imperialism, the choice of words used in describing the Gitmo-2 also revealed some form of antagonistic attitude towards the religion to which the Gitmo-2 belonged. They were variously described with negative vocabulary items such as '*Jihadists*', '*religious extremists*', '*terrorists*', and '*extremists*'.

Second, by analyzing the linguistic choices used in representing the Gitmo-2 and the construction of the Ghana-America relationship in the Ghanaian media, the study has discovered that vocabulary items, phrases and clauses play a key role in presenting ideologies in the media. Through these linguistic forms, Ghanaians legitimately produced their counter-response upon the acceptance of the two ex-detainees as well as resisting imperialism (America).

In line with the point stated above, the study concludes that resistance to imperialism is often subtle as far as language use is concerned. From the findings, I realized that there was no direct attack on America and that it was only through analysis of the choice of words, phrases and clauses employed that it became clear that through the issue of the Gitmo-2, Ghanaians also opposed America's hegemony. The study, therefore, provides an insight into how language is used to construct resistance to the colonization of Ghana and Africa as a whole and further reveals the modern imperialism of the western world, particularly the United States of America, in the affairs of African countries including security and economy.

Implications of the Study

The study has some implications for theory and practice. The theoretical position that language can be used to construct resistance to power, or show the imbalanced power relations between two nations was

demonstrated by this study. This study thus contributes to critical social and political issues by highlighting the roles of language and discourse in the (re)production of resistance to imperialism.

This study further supports the theoretical position that political discourses are generally characterized and anchored by carefully selected linguistic phrases by speakers to achieve a specific aim or objective and to have a specific kind of impact on listeners. Politicians from both political parties (NDC and NPP) carefully and intentionally selected specific forms, words, and expressions to produce a specific impact on their audience, as evidenced by the study. As a result, the study has implications for political discourse analysis. In the context of social discourse, the study adequately assessed social theory in the context of both cultural and historic backgrounds.

Again, the study sheds new insights on the role of language use in the media and the effect it has on the general Ghanaian populace, their knowledge, and beliefs on the issues of diplomacy, religion and terrorism. It also sheds new light on the interaction between imperialism, terrorism, and the rising concerns of national security and religious tensions in developing countries. The study, therefore, has implications for media houses on the need to be mindful of their language use as far as issues with diplomacy, terrorism, and religion are concerned, as the nature of the language used in the media could easily fuel religious tensions or create peaceful co-existence among the religious bodies in Ghana.

In practice, the findings have implications for the growing interest in research on the concept of Western World Imperialism. It also serves as a catalyst for additional research into the concept of terrorism, particularly from

a language standpoint. The findings also have implications for media discourse and how the media represents minority interests, specifically, minority groups.

Recommendations for Further Research

The following recommendations for further research on the topic are made.

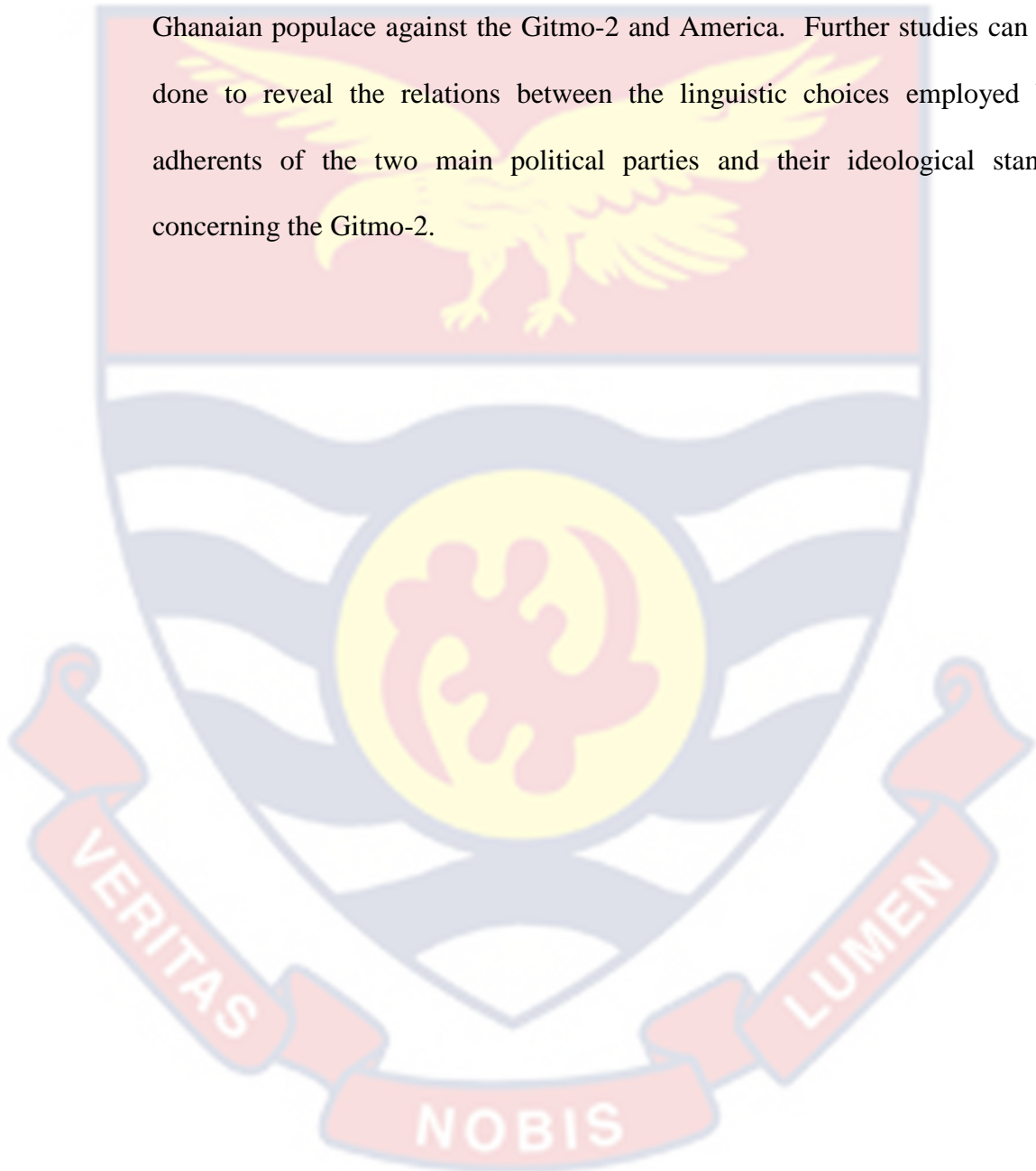
The study investigated how the relationship between Ghana and America was constructed in Ghanaian media focusing on discourses on the Gitmo-2. While this study has made a useful contribution to studies on media representation of minority groups and the diplomatic relations between developed and a developing counties from language point of view, I believe there is more that can be done.

First, this study did a keyword analysis to identify the aboutness of the corpus. Further research can be done on the keywords to further reveal how they contribute to the discourse on imperialism and the discursive strategies that were employed in the Ghanaian media to achieve these.

Again, since this study focused on only discourses on the Gitmo-2 in establishing the relationship that exists between Ghana and America, a larger corpus can be built by selecting media reports that talk about Ghana and America in general, instead of limiting the data to only issues on Gitmo-2. This can provide a wider context based on which a larger variety of linguistic choices used to construct the relationship between the two nations can be studied. Again, in terms of resistance, this study focused on resistance to only the Gitmo-2 and the imperial power of America. Hence, further studies can be

done to assess the discursive strategies that were used by Ghanaians to show opposition to the government on the acceptance of the Gitmo-2.

Lastly, this study provided insight into the linguistic resources that were employed by the Ghanaian media to reveal the ideological stances of the Ghanaian populace against the Gitmo-2 and America. Further studies can be done to reveal the relations between the linguistic choices employed by adherents of the two main political parties and their ideological stance concerning the Gitmo-2.



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