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IDENTITY AND REPRESENTATION IN THE POLITICAL DISCOURSE OF JERRY JOHN RAWLINGS

JOHN GANAAH

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The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Department of English and Communication

Identity and Representation in the Political Discourse of Jerry John Rawlings

John Ganaah

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CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

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John Ganaah

DEDICATION

To my parents, Emileo Ganaah and Cecelia Ganaah†, in loving memory.

Abstract

This study examines the political discourses associated with self-representation of Jerry John Rawlings, Ghana's longest serving leader, in two regimes of his leadership: military and democratic regimes. By comparing both periods of Rawlings' identity representation, the study intends to fill the gap in the research on the representation of individual socio-political actors in their performance of politics, which, to a large extent, has been concerned with North American and European, rather than the African, or even scarcely so the Ghanaian context and has mostly adopted a quantitative approach, investigating a large corpus of text, while paying less attention to the niceties of context-determined representations of self that derive from in-depth qualitative analysis of a single or a few text(s).

The study employs the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) to the analysis of two sets of data: political speeches produced by Rawlings in the military and democratic regimes. The findings reveal that the nucleus of Rawlings' self-representation is a revolutionary identity constructed around core themes that were highlighted in his discourse. While it seems that his revolutionary identity in the military regime was framed by two main themes, nationalism and Pan-Africanism, portraying Rawlings as a reformist politician, a democrat and a nationalist who sought the welfare of his country and continent, in the democratic regime, the combined themes of leadership and the building of strong institutions constituted the ideological content that helped Rawlings to sculpt an identity of a noble revolutionary.

The results also indicate that Rawlings used the same discursive strategies (referential-nomination, predication, argumentation and perspectivation strategies) to construct the thematic discourses associated with his identity across the regimes, except for intensification strategy which was additionally used in the military regime. Although the study further finds that three legitimation strategies (authorization, rationalization and moralization) were used by Rawlings to validate his identity in both regimes, it seems that the strategies of historicization and the claim to sacrifice were exclusively used in the democratic regime. The findings show how politicians utilize almost identical forms of discourse to produce opposite accounts of reality. It further sheds light on how the use of legitimations, which can be shaped by culture-specific politics, can reveal ideological leanings of politicians and how this can contribute to public perceptions of them.

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PUBLICATIONS ARISING FROM THE THESIS

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The governance and political system of Ghana (formerly, known as the Gold Coast) has gone through a process of radical transformation after attaining independence in 1957. These processes were marked by drastic reforms which indicated a determination to depart from colonial legacies and ensure that Ghana's decolonization agenda and freedom from imperialist control were consolidated. However, the processes were also marred by military coup d'états. In 1979 and 1981, the military interventions led by Jerry John Rawlings, an air force officer of the Ghana Armed Forces, catalyzed Ghana's historic revolutions. The Rawlings-led revolutions and the transition to constitutional democratic rule at the beginning of 1992 have primarily defined and shaped the governance practices, politics, media culture, social policy frameworks, socio-economic reforms, and international relations in post-independence Ghana. Jerry John Rawlings has claimed that the widespread evidence of corruption, elitism, social injustice, and oppressive governance compelled him to stage the mutiny on May 15, 1979, with the intention to overthrow the then Supreme Military Council (SMC). Following the failure of the uprising, Rawlings was charged with treason, publicly tried, and sentenced to death. What made Rawlings a phenomenon in Ghanaian and indeed African politics is precisely his speech during his trial. It marked his initiation into the ritual of Ghanaian and continental African politics and paved the way for the kind of attention he later received and the phenomenon he became as a leader. Completely unknown to the public before this trial, Rawlings' display of charismatic leadership, bold defense of his accused compatriots, blunt honesty, fearless confrontation of intuitional indiscipline and corruption did not only expose the weak political foundation of the country but also resonated well with the popular masses and indicated the dawn of a new political era and leadership. The leadership of Rawlings is hinged on two successfully staged revolutions and a democratically elected regime spanning two decades.

1.2 Contextual background

The study centres on the complex nature of Rawlings' political identity in relation to his performance of politics in Ghana as leader across significantly different time periods. Referred to variously by different identification labels, Rawlings is a unique case when it comes to his political representation in the context of Ghana's politics from 1979-2000 during his reign. The actions and

activities of Rawlings in the continuum of time, to a greater extent, did not only compromise the foundations of legitimate governance beginning with the overthrow of an elected civil government and the suspension of constitutional rule but also the birth of democracy in the country's governance system. The checkered nature of this period marked by key transitions in Ghana's politics makes Rawlings' identity politics an enigmatic and equivocal one and has become a fascinating subject to the public, historians, political scientists and other researchers alike. Consequently, there are discrepancies and incongruities among these different categories of people as to who Rawlings really is, whether a messiah or Satan, a hero or villain, a destroyer or builder, etc. Given these indeterminate and conflicting representations of Rawlings' identity and politics, this study finds it intriguing to offer an objective alternative interpretation to this dilemma by using discourse-linguistic tools to examine his language use. During his rule, Rawlings' discourse remained his primary means of expressing himself, stating his ideology and positioning himself in relation to different social groups. The discourse covers two distinct socio-political periods, that is, military and democratic rule.

The military rule of Rawlings spans from 1979-1992. The democratic era covers 1993 to 2001 in which he served as elected president of Ghana's 4th Republic. It must be mentioned that Rawlings begun his military rule from 4th June 1979 with his Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) until 23rd September 1979. Within this period, he supervised the conduct of the general elections which Dr Hilla Limann's People's National Party (PNP) won, in an effort to return the country to democracy. Therefore, from the 24th September 1979 to 30th December 1981, which is the duration the PNP government was in power until it was toppled on 31st December 1981, Rawlings was officially not leading governance. However, his speeches during this brief transition period are significant both to Rawlings' development and evolution as well as the political turn of events in the country. This is because he was considered the 'man to watch' both by western powers and the civilian government as suspicion festered about his desire to usurp power from the PNP government (Yankah, 2018a). Owing to the different political climates which characterized Rawlings' leadership, it is possible to assume that changes may have occurred in how he framed issues about himself. At the same time these changes may reflect changes in issues themselves or personal changes. His discourses, therefore, offer a site to examine the nature of these changes and how they were represented in his discourse and to what end. For instance, on the dawn of his

seizing power from the SMC on June 4, 1979, Rawlings' speech delivered via radio broadcast at the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) "fired the consciences of several other soldiers and civilian masses" (Yankah, 2018a, p. 36). It is worth quoting aspects of this speech:

"The ranks have just taken over the destiny of this country. Fellow officers, if we are to avoid any bloodshed, I plead with you not to attempt to stand in their way because they are full of malice, hatred – hatred we have forced into them through these years of suppression. They are ready to get it out, the venom that we have created. So, for heaven's sake do not stand in their way. They are not fools. If you have any reason to fear them, you may run. If you have no reason to feel guilty, do not move. Like I said, they are not fools. The judgement will come…This is what will take place in every unit outside Accra. All units are to choose their own representatives to the new Revolutionary Council that has come to replace the Supreme Military Council (SMC)… You are either a part of the problem or a part of the solution. There is no middle way…" (quoted in Yankah, 2018a, p. 36)

The role of context in the analysis of discourse in general and political discourse particularly is well documented (Fairclough, 1995a; Widdowson, 2008; Wodak, 2015). To wit, the social, historical, and political dispensation in which the discourses on Rawlings were produced informed the associated representations. The chairman of the National Media Commission (NMC) of Ghana, Nana Kwasi Gyan-Apenteng, came to a similar conclusion. In his foreword to the book *The trial of J.J Rawlings: Echoes of the 31st December revolution,* he notes*,* "the truth is that everyone has an opinion about Rawlings: the good, the bad, the ugly – and some have very strong opinions. Sadly, even among the most informed section of our population, our opinions about Rawlings are based on that same static, one-dimensional cartoon character we encounter in the media, often in the form of headlines" (Yankah, 2018a, p. viii). This seems to suggest that the media's representation of Rawlings is one-sided, univocal and stereotypical. This view is corroborated by Osam (2008) which found that in the letters to the editor published in *The Chronicle* newspaper, the writers took an anti-Rawlings stance and employed various discourse structures to portray Rawlings in a negative representation (p. 130). Osam's analysis revealed that the writers of these letters, while focusing on his character and performance as Head of State, used lexicalization, modalization, together with rhetorical devices such as questions, metaphors, and hyperboles as

discursive strategies to depict his character flaws and emphasize his failure in running a successful administration. Against this backdrop, there is the need for the current study as it aims to analyze, in essence, who Rawlings is from his own speeches.

The kind of representations offered through political speeches can influence the way we think and talk about others, even after their death, making them a powerful media for identity construction. Rawlings' self-representation gives the researcher a scope to conduct an in-depth analysis of Rawlings from the primary site of his political self-expression and ideological representations- his speeches. Not only will it enable a coherent account of who he is, but also contribute to understanding how language use can produce specific discourse-pragmatic effects in terms of how politicians construct their identity and politics, particularly in Ghana and generally in African politics. Rawlings is not the first African leader to come to power through a military coup. However, he is the first military ruler who transitioned to become a democratically elected civilian ruler and peacefully handed over power after serving two presidential terms. At the time, stable democracy was rare in Africa due to frequent military takeovers (Ake, 1990; Ibrahim & Cheri, 2013) and so Rawlings' transition and peaceful handover served as an uncommon model of democracy in Africa. Today, peaceful succession of power has become routine in Ghanaian politics. Given this background and the force of his rhetoric during his trial, his June 4 revolution speech, and other relevant speeches associated with him in his performance of politics, one can consider him an archetypal African socio-political (military) ruler. As such, it makes his speeches as relevant today as they were in the period under study in that they show how socio-political actors deploy language to create significantly different versions of (the same) reality.

The study examines how linguistic elements shed light on the discursive strategies deployed to create evolving representations of Rawlings. It focuses on the variations in representation during his military and democratic rule and how these variations reflect the language used by Rawlings, which will likely foreground the implicit and explicit nuances embedded in the representational strategies of politicians. It further investigates the discourse practices and legitimation strategies deployed to construct various representations of Rawlings in his performance of politics from 1979 to 2000 as Ghana's foremost leader. As an archetypal African political leader, the study of speeches of Rawlings is relevant for understanding the role of language in shaping society, and the

symbiotic relationship between language and politics. Such speeches provide an authentic template for understanding how and in what ways socio-political actors represent themselves particularly in Ghana and generally in Africa as they perform politics. While it may be fascinating to explore the *why* of self-representation, which will focus on the purpose or intentions behind specific representations, my primary focus in this thesis is to discover *how,* that is, the ways and means Rawlings textually and discoursally created the representations.

That being the case, the study employs a methodological approach that draws on frameworks within critical discourse analysis (hereafter CDA) for the data analysis. CDA, thus, offers the governing framework for deriving the insights, shapes the research design and informs the critical interpretation of the discursive phenomenon under investigation. Drawing insights from the discourse-historical approach, interdiscursivity and intertextuality, and triangulation, this study hopes to give a fresh and new insight to the existing understanding on a certain political reality that obfuscates many. As Jerry John Rawlings is the central figure of this study and Ghana is the political setting, I present in the next sections a brief description of who Rawlings is and some background information on Ghana to provide some context for the study. This is followed by an actual description of the current investigation in terms of objectives and research questions. The motivation and the significance of the study are also set out. The final section describes the structure and content of the remaining chapters of this thesis.

1.3 Jerry John Rawlings: history and biography

Jerry John Rawlings was born on June 22, 1947, in Accra to James Ramsey John, a chemist from Castle Douglas in Kirkcudbrightshire in Scotland, and Victoria Agbotui, a native of Dzelukope in Keta of the Anlo Ewe tribe in Ghana. He finished his secondary education in 1967 at Achimota School, a prestigious British model college in Accra, before joining the military academy in Teshie, Accra. His original name at birth was Jerry Rawlings John, with John being his last or surname. However, on admission to the military academy, a name switch occurred, and his surname, John, thought to be uncommon, was switched with his middle name. Rawlings joined the Air Force division of the military and was commissioned as a pilot officer in the rank of flight lieutenant in 1978. His excellence in airmanship, aerobatics, and flying supersonic jet aircraft won him the prestigious and coveted *Speed Bird Trophy* award.

While training at the military academy, Rawlings observed that discipline among the military was declining, and the general moral fabric of society was deteriorating. At this time, Ghana was under military rule led by the Supreme Military Council (SMC), and this junta was notorious for social injustices, economic mismanagement, public corruption, authoritarianism and mass impoverishment of Ghanaians (Hansen & Collins, 1980; Nugent, 2009). While these reasons may seem explanatory for military interventions in Africa, they are not adequately justificatory for Rawlings' coups in Ghana. The justification, arguably, lies in his quest to address two crucial issues the SMC regime failed to address: the disengagement of the military from politics and the absence of political legitimacy for military rule. The lack of political legitimacy means that the regime was unpopular with the people because it had no moral basis for expressing political rule and the massive economic underperformance which in turn deepened poverty made it difficult, if not impossible, for the people to repose any faith and confidence in the administration. These and other factors such as the dependence on pre-colonial powers, imperialist and neo-colonial infiltrations in the SMC regime formed a firm conviction for his actions leading to military interventions, which changed Ghana's history.

Overall, Ghana's democratic development has been interrupted by military coup d'états since gaining independence in 1957. Rawlings alone has staged two coups, first in 1979 and second in 1981. On May 15, 1979, having observed what he described as gross indiscipline by the senior officers of the SMC, the widespread corruption in public service, and the deepening inequality and social injustice evident in Ghanaian society, Rawlings led an uprising to overthrow the Supreme Military Council (SMC) government. His attempt was unsuccessful and a brush with death. He was arrested, publicly tried, and sentenced to death. While awaiting execution, officers who had subscribed to his revolutionary ideals freed him. With these revolutionary forces, Rawlings ousted Lt. Gen. Frederick W. Akuffo, chairman of the ruling SMC, on June 4, 1979, and controlled state affairs. Subsequently, Rawlings executed Lt. Gen. Frederick W. Akuffo, two other former heads of state, and eight military officers in a mass house cleaning exercise. Following the 1979 revolution, Jerry John Rawlings emerged on the political scene both as a hero for the revolution's gains and a villain for its misfortunes.

Rawlings' desire to impact and effect change in Ghana stimulated his desire to seek both rational and pragmatic answers to the existential questions emanating from the life experiences of people around him (Shillington, 1992; Yankah, 2018a). As Shillington (1992, p. 34) observes: "He had been brought up to believe that people in authority should display the highest level of integrity and yet everywhere [beginning with the leadership of the Supreme Military Council (SMC)], he saw numerous examples of people in authority illegally enriching themselves at the expense of the poor and the helpless…". A couple of years later, after handing over power to President Hilla Limann and the People's National Party (PNP), Rawlings staged another coup on December 31, 1981, to overthrow the PNP administration for failing to uphold the ideals of his first revolution. These ideals were aimed at creating a self-sustainable economy and a more egalitarian society as against the elitist system which promoted corruption and consequently led to endemic poverty and mass deprivation of the ordinary citizens. Therefore, Rawlings led the second coup on account of the allegation that the PNP administration failed to resolve Ghana's economic dependency on the West and ensure the wellbeing of the ordinary citizens (Nugent, 2009), which previous regimes were unable to resolve. In the wake of the coups, Rawlings formed the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (which later morphed into the Provisional National Defense Council) and constituted a new government. In 1992, he resigned from the army, formed the National Democratic Congress, and became the first president of Ghana's Fourth Republic. He left office after serving two terms, which is the limit provided by the Ghanaian Constitution.

Apart from his intention to address injustices in Ghanaian society and his hatred for corruption as reasons for spearheading the revolutions, Shillington (1992) asserts that Rawlings' concern for the poor and the 'underdog' was a significant motivation in his revolutionary politics, hence his declaration of revolutionary power to the people. The events that led to the Rawlings-led uprising in 1979 and 1981 and their aftermath have defined Ghana's democracy, politics, and socio-economic relations. Various analysts and social commentators have different views on the revolution. Some describe it as a moral struggle, a reformist action, a pragmatic solution, a radical populist action, and an unideological battle (Folson, 1993). These views notwithstanding, Rawlings' discourse indicates that he was a socialist revolutionary and was influenced mainly by revolutionary discourses elsewhere. In his defense speech at his public trial, Rawlings is heard making comparative reference to countries which have undergone revolutions like America,

France, Britain, Russia, China and Iran. He boldly declares "America has seen her brand of a revolution; France has seen her brand of a revolution. Britain has seen her brand of revolution. Russia, China, Iran, all of them" (Yankah, 2018, p. 31). This demonstrates his awareness of world political history as far as revolutions are concerned and indicates the extent to which these global political events may have impacted his beliefs. It thus situates his actions within a universal ideology of revolutions and negotiates his identity as a revolutionary who believes in radical social transformation.

1.4 Political background: Ghana as a post-colonial society

The contextual situatedness of this research lies within the post-colonial society of Ghana and captures aspects of this period that offer relevant historical and socio-political background information for the study. In this present study, Ghana's post-colonial society is divided into four main parts that correspond to various developmental stages of Rawlings' personality and politics. Firstly, the 1979 coup that marked his entry into politics. Secondly, the 1981 coup that marked his occupation of power. Thirdly, the post-coup stage especially from 1983 where his quest for political legitimacy was seen in his attempt to resolve the deep economic crisis. The fourth stage, from 1992, has to do with consolidating political legitimacy through elections that saw him become the first president of Ghana's 4th Republic. It is however necessary to account for the significant political events in different historical periods that served as precursor of Rawlings' emergence on Ghana's political scene.

The period begins with the declaration of Ghana's independence in 1957 after Kwame Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party (CPP) won the 1956 election. Prior to this time, specifically from 1821 to 1957, Ghana (then, Gold Coast) was a British colony and was ruled, indirectly, by a colonial administration headed by an appointed governor who was the official representative of the British empire in the territory (Kimble, 1963). Ghana's demand for independence started with mass agitations and resistance due to the failure of the colonial administration to ensure the welfare of the people and was further pressed home by Kwame Nkrumah under the auspices of the CPP. The pressure of these agitations led to changes by the colonial administration which began a de-colonization process that included the conduct of elections to constitute a new post-colonial government. As a result, when Ghana was proclaimed independent, Kwame Nkrumah became its

first Prime Minister. Ghana's independence offered hope to its citizens, promised the fulfilment of their aspirations and an end to a protracted period of lack, deprivation and poverty. The independence also promised a united Ghana at all levels of society in an atmosphere of political stability devoid of the influence and interference from the erstwhile colonial government as a means of asserting self-rule. Despite Nkrumah's efforts to materialize these dreams, he failed due to the military intervention that overthrew his government. Before the overthrow of Nkrumah's government, Ghana was set on the path to democratization beginning with the 1951 and 1956 legislative assembly elections which Nkrumah's CPP won, with Nkrumah becoming the first Prime Minister of Ghana. Later, in 1960, presidential elections were organized for the first time which Nkrumah, then the incumbent Prime Minister, won and was inaugurated as Ghana's first President. Alongside the elections in 1960 was a referendum to change Ghana's status from a constitutional monarchy headed by Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain as the ceremonial Head of State to an executive system headed by the President as the Head of State. With the 1960 elections and referendum, Ghana became a Republic- a country in which the supreme power to rule is vested in the citizens who exercise that power by electing representatives to rule on their behalf in accordance with law. The body of law by which the country was governed was the 1960 Republican Constitution. Against the backdrop of the elections, referendum and the 1960 Republican Constitution, Ghana's formal democracy was set in motion until first military intervention in the form a coup, led by Colonel Emmanuel Kwasi Kotoka, occurred in the 1966. From this point, Ghana went through a checkered political history. In the aftermath of the coup, a military government was immediately constituted under the banner of the National Liberation Council (NLC), led by Lt. General Joseph A. Ankrah to rule the country between 1966 and 1969. The coup did more than oust the CPP government and thwart Nkrumah's vision to consolidate the modest gains of Ghana's colonial emancipation, restore a sense of self-fulfillment to Ghanaians and light the torch of freedom for Africa. Rather, it caused a major cleavage in the political stability of the country and paved the way for subsequent military interventions to take place in Ghana's politics. For example, in 1967, a group of young officers attempted another coup to seek political legitimacy for a new government even though the plan was unsuccessful. And with a volatile political atmosphere, it was easy for colonial and neo-colonial powers to influence the country's internal politics.

A commonly held view for this coup is that Nkrumah's ideological stance underpinned by his pro-communist policies made him an automatic 'enemy' of the west, especially the USA and Britain, who eventually played a significant role in toppling his government (Hersh, 1978). As such, the post-coup western influences led Ghana to sever ties with socialist and communist Cuba, Russia, and China (Al-Hassan, 2004) in favour of renewed friendship with Britain and the USA (Hutchful, 1973). The political climate of Ghana was further aggravated by internal ethnic tensions, which had coloured Ghana's politics at this time. It began to cause pockets of conflicts and fatal competitions for ethnic and tribal superiority. The intensification of the ethnic disputes resulted in Emmanuel Kotoka's death, an important member of the NLC and superintendent of the overthrow of the Nkrumah government (Hettne, 1980). The NLC was, however, committed to a change from military interventionism to democracy. On August 29, 1969, it organized elections to transition from military rule to civilian government. The Progress Party (PP), one of five political parties to contest the polls, led by Kofi Abrefa Busia, won the elections and he was declared Prime Minister of Ghana in 1969. The NLC's effort to return Ghana to civilian rule was hailed and lauded by many as demonstrating an understanding of multiparty democracy and the practice of a liberal economic system by Busia and the PP gave hope of a new dawn of economic growth. Unfortunately, the dream of this political glory was short-lived as another military coup destabilized the politics of Ghana.

The coup that toppled the NLC regime took place in 1972 and was led by a military officer, colonel Ignatius Kutu Acheampong who cited corruption as a major reason for the intervention. He formed the National Redemption Council (NRC), which morphed into the Supreme Military Council (SMC) to rule the country. Acheampong implemented a few special programmes during the SMC's rule to make Ghana self-reliant and economically resilient. These included "operation feed yourself" to create self-reliance in agriculture and the *National Reconstruction Project* aimed at providing skill and promoting employment for workers. Despite these major historical changes, critics of Acheampong brought forward accusations of widespread corruption against the SMC, which resulted in another coup (El-Alawa, 2018) and a change in government in 1979. The Acheampong era and the events that transpired set the stage for Rawlings' entry into the theatre of Ghanaian and indeed African politics. It also marked the beginning of his political discourses as well as media discourses about his politics which constitute the data of this study's investigation.

Under Acheampong, Ghana was classified as an irredeemably corrupt country (Morrison, 2004). The economic underperformance which led to overreliance on aid from colonial powers suggested that the political elite in the ruling NLC had betrayed the ideals of independence and dishonoured the struggle for freedom from all forms of imperialism by the founding fathers (Nugent, 2009). As such witnessing with disillusionment the general indiscipline and rife corrupt practices among senior military officers and government officials as well as the increasing dependence on colonial powers, Rawlings' approach to resolving these problems was the revolution. His military background meant that pragmaticism and action were his dominant ethos. Consequently, Rawlings staged a revolt on May 15, 1979, but failed in overthrowing the SMC- a reason for which he was arrested, imprisoned and convicted to be executed. Considered as a novice, previously unknown in Ghana politics, many have wondered how Rawlings was able to mastermind and mobilize support for the insurrection. Perhaps as a political neophyte, the direct, provocative and non-measured tenor of his rhetoric devoid of political correctness won him admiration and lit the flame of a revolution that sparkled ferociously in the minds of many disgruntled officers who were willing to risk their lives to see change. In a dramatic turn of events, Rawlings was released from prison by his fellow revolutionary soldiers, and together they successfully implemented a plan which toppled the ruling SMC on June 4, 1979.

Rawlings formed and became the chairman of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), made up of junior military officers to superintend the nation's affairs until a new leader is elected. This decision turned out to be a harbinger of democracy to return to Ghana's politics and predicted Rawlings' capacity for great political evolution and growth. He embarked on what he termed "house cleaning exercise" to purge the system of corrupt officials, the immoral and loose behaviour of public officeholders. It led to the execution of eight military officers and three former Heads of State, Afrifa, Acheampong, and Akuffo (Nugent, 2009)– a dramatic event in Ghana's history that became crucial in driving efforts of national reconciliation. The AFRC regime deliberately did not last long in office as the intention was to return the nation to democratic rule through free and fair elections. Therefore, on September 24, 1979, Rawlings handed over power to Dr. Hilla Limann and his People's National Party (PNP), who won the elections. The PNP government, which enjoyed massive support from Nkrumaists, and social democrats, had an unexpectedly short term in office. Two years into its rule, Rawlings staged another coup on December 31, 1981, to

overthrow the Limann government. Again, reasons of economic decline, corruption, and the weakness of a civilian government to deal with systemic indiscipline were cited as ills for which the revolution was a cure. The democratically elected PNP government was, thus, replaced with the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) with Rawlings as its chairman.

During different periods of the PNDC's rule, Ghana played host to other countries such as Cuba, Libya, Nicaragua, Namibia, and Suriname, where revolutions had taken place. Ghana's dependence on western markets for trade shifted under Rawlings, and state monopoly and control over imports and exports was implemented to eliminate corruption during this time. Businesspeople and monopolies determined the prices of goods and services and, through arbitrary pricing, enriched themselves illegitimately. The PNDC intervened and took immediate control over the pricing of goods and services across the country. Rawlings' implementation of economic policies and general management of state affairs, though initially attracting praise, generated a serious concern over his ability to promote financial stability, growth, and social equity later. Subsequently, an economic crisis emerged in 1983 mainly due to the economic mismanagement of the previous regime and exacerbated by the prevailing monopolistic practices - a situation that forced him into the IMF's structural adjustment programme and led him to seek political legitimacy through elections (Horton, 2001).

In 1985, the National Commission on Democracy (NCD) was inaugurated to lay the foundations of democracy by putting structures for participatory, representative government. The recommendation of the NCD led to the appointment of a constitutional review committee whose work produced and led to the adoption of the 1992 constitution, the lifting of the ban on political parties, and the conduct of free and fair elections. By this election, Ghana attempted another experiment with a multiparty democracy and civilian rule, the first of its kind in the 4th Republic. Rawlings won the 3rd November 1992 elections with his National Democratic Congress (NDC) party and was sworn into office on 7th January 1993 as the first president in the 4th Republic. He was reelected in the 1996 general elections to serve another four-year term before handing over power to John Agyekum Kuffour and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) after serving two maximum terms limited by the constitution of Ghana. Multiparty democracy has since been practiced in Ghana, with mandatory constitutional elections held every four years. Until his death in November

2020, Rawlings continued to be a phenomenon in Ghanaian politics after his reign as president. Not only did he become an automatic statesman giving public lectures on governance and playing gatekeeping roles, but he also assumed his position as founder of the NDC where he was particularly critical of the party leadership for abandoning the authentic ideals of the party.

1.5 Motivation of the study

Representation entails versions of social reality that reflect the position and purpose of the entities that (re)produce them. Language choices are usually employed to include or exclude, emphasize or de-emphasize, make implicit or explicit meanings in text or talk (Fairclough, 1995b; van Dijk, 1992). The choice of one set of words or forms of discourse over other existing possibilities can therefore not be taken for granted because it has the power to orient and shape perception. Formal linguistic choices made by discourse producers create meaning and demonstrate how language can perform ideological functions (Fairclough, 1995a), and in specific contexts, can indicate how texts or discourses are imbued with the influences of social forces. The term *discourse* has been defined in various ways (Bell & Garrett, 1998) with some scholars suggesting that all discourse is political (Shapiro, 1981) and "plays a vital role in shaping and transforming political reality" (Gastil, 1992, p. 471). Political discourse (i.e., speeches of presidents, politicians, etc.) are an important site for understanding how social and political reality is constructed and naturalized into our consciousness. The specific ways people's identity and what they do are constructed determine how their actions are to be judged and the attitudes and behaviours associated with them, and crucially how the use of language creates different versions of reality and reflects ideologies and power relations.

Representation in political speeches suggests that discourse constitutes ideologies, opinions, and evaluations about social phenomena, people, events, and relationships. As such, the impact of a president's discourse goes beyond ordinary texts even when composed of a single text (Bednarek, 2006) and can, thus, be treated as "as artifacts – objects of study in their own right" (Matthiessen, 2006, p. 108). These speeches are usually enshrined in histories that reveal attitudes toward language use in society and reflect how political and social life are formed and expressed over time. Diachronic changes in presidential/political rhetoric does not only indicate new information but also how an old issue may be recontextualized in a new light. This implies that the meanings

that originate from representations go beyond the communication of information using linguistic codes. This view is rightly noted by Foucault (1989) in his thesis that discourse is not simply a linguistic practice but one that is sensitive to context and history in the representation of reality and the practice of it. Therefore, the analysis of political discourses associated with the representation of Jerry John Rawlings is necessary as it helps us to gain insights into Rawlings and his audience's (the Ghanaian society) history and account for how different representations of reality and their underlying ideological and power relations are reflected in language use.

Such an analysis is required because it contributes to our understanding of how politicians represent Self in their performance of politics. It reveals the kind of society and historical situations in which the construction of social reality is determined and occurs. Set in this background, the current study seeks to investigate the effectiveness of Rawling's leadership as discursively constructed through his speeches. The study assumes that implicit and explicit nuances embed the representational strategies of presidential speeches and that politicians utilize almost identical forms of discourse, discursive styles, and linguistic choices to produce opposite accounts of reality (in this case, Rawlings' identity during critical political periods that covered both military and democratic rule). It is these underlying elements that the present study aims to discover. A further motivation derives from the afore stated: to contribute to Ghana's history, social and political agenda. Doing so through the analysis of political discourses associated with the representation of Rawlings, Ghana's longest-serving leader, is commonsensical and beneficial because most of Ghana's political history, the present state, and future direction of her politics revolve around Rawlings. As an important socio-political figure recognized both internationally and locally, self-representation of Rawlings in his performance of politics generally as Head of State and particularly during the period of the AFRC and the PNDC remain partially accounted for as no systematic studies have been carried out on representations of Rawlings in a fascinating phase of Ghana's history.

The few existing studies have tended to focus on his legacy in politics (Adedeji, 2001b; Kuffoh, 2001; Osam, 2008; Shillington, 1992) being the notable exceptions adopting a CDA approach to study aspects of discourses associated with Rawlings. None, however, has explored the representations of the identity and leadership of Rawlings constructed in his speeches in critical

political moments in Ghana's history covering the periods of his military and democratic rule. Such a study will, however, help to reconstruct the national history, give an indication of the kind of Ghanaian community Rawlings imagined and fought for, making it possible for us to make sense of Rawling's ideal Ghanaian community in the light of Ghana's present reality to predict its future. Therefore, it is hoped that this study will have a social and policy impact and practical relevance for Ghana's current and future political system. A final motivation derives from personal curiosity. Jerry John Rawlings is the Ghanaian leader I have known the most and, in whose reign, the first two decades of my life unfolded. I was born a few days before Rawlings staged his second revolution in 1981- an event that triggered a sequence of events whose consequential effects are still very much alive with us today. At the time, I knew little to understand the personae or politics of Rawlings. My first encounter with him was through my parents' narrative, who had described him in very affective ways and wondered if Ghana would have been the same without the chain of events that led to his revolutions. That narrative stuck with me and somehow, the identicality of our names sometimes made me think of myself as him. As I grew older and started to read aspects of Ghana's history, listen to the news, and Rawlings himself, my original perception of Rawlings began to shift in significant ways.

Sometimes, I did not know what to believe about him and his politics. The descriptions became increasingly conflictual and contradictory as in one breadth some praise him for his heroic leadership. Still, he is blamed for 'bleeding' the nation to almost death (Yankah, 2018). Described as an "indestructible symbol of male virility" (Adebajo, 2020), "Junior Jesus" (Kandeh, 2004), Rawlings has attracted a lot of followers which comprised the poor masses, junior military officers, young university students. Conversely, being described as the *bete noire* of Africa by the Reagan administration (Chinery, 2000), the originator of "Hitlerism in Ghana" (Intsuah, 1995), he attracted bitter enemies. This varied representation of Rawlings' person leaves me to two conclusions: first, that Rawlings may have been an enigma of a person (with a charismatic and controversial personality); second, that there should be something 'special' in the way Rawlings represented himself to attract such divergent commentary. This curiosity is, thus, another motivation to study how Rawlings was represented in his leadership. In this regard, it is imperative to explicitly state the researcher positionality as far as this thesis is concerned.

Researcher positionality

As aforementioned, prior to this study, I had a little affective knowledge of and admiration for Rawlings as a revolutionary leader who led Ghana in a critical period of Ghana's history. I must mention that I am not a member of Rawlings' inner circle, nor have I been a registered or card-bearing member of his party. My status as a Ghanaian, the limited knowledge of Rawlings I had, and knowledge of the research context have worked to facilitate the data collection and to an extent, the analysis. Such a background can potentially compromise a researcher's objectivity both in the analysis of the data and reporting the findings. To minimize my potential bias and ensure a more ethical research process, I took all the available speeches of Rawlings within the period under investigation into account and from time to time, consulted other external contexts such as the local and international media as well as historical narratives in the form of books. These sources of data and their perspectives about Rawlings helped me to reflect on and distance myself from any prior assumptions I may have had as I conducted the analysis, thus improving the objectivity of my analysis and findings.

1.6 Objectives of the study and research questions

This study examines the political discourses associated with political self-representation of Jerry John Rawlings, Ghana's longest-serving leader, whose transition from head of a revolutionary military government [1981-1992] to first elected president [1993-2001] of a liberal democratic government in Ghana's 4th Republic marked the changing narrative of Ghana's political scene; evolving from a nation suppressed by autocratic rule and economic decline to a democratic and economically viable one rebuilt through the bravery of its revolutionaries. This research will employ a discourse analytical approach, borrowing from insights offered by discourse-historical analysis to investigate the effectiveness of Rawlings' leadership as discursively constructed through his speeches. In particular, the study will determine whether Rawlings' self-representations converged or diverged during critical political periods that covered both military and democratic rule. Situated in a context underexplored in the literature, this study will contribute to knowledge on how politicians represent Self in their performance of politics. By comparing both aspects of Rawlings' identity representation, the study hopes to further understanding of the implicit and explicit nuances embedded in the representational strategies of political/presidential speeches. It is hoped that the present study will allow for a better understanding of how politicians

utilize almost identical forms of discourse, discursive styles, and linguistic choices to produce opposite accounts of reality.

The study will also shed light on the discursive practices of legitimation embedded in Rawlings' construction of Self, which may reveal the ideological leanings of politicians and how this may have contributed to certain public perceptions of him. The following questions will inform the research:

1. How did Rawlings represent himself during his military rule?
2. How did Rawlings represent himself during his democratic rule?
3. What are the differences and/or similarities in the legitimation strategies used by Rawlings to validate his identity and self-representations in the military and democratic regimes?

By studying the representations of Rawlings, we shall have an appreciable knowledge of his identity, what he stands for, and his leadership in turning the country from a corrupt autocratic military regime to one built on democratic principles. As an archetypal socio-political leader whose ascension to power reverberated throughout Africa, the political speeches of Rawlings offer us a prism through which we can understand Ghana's and Africa's current and even future socio-political systems, thereby highlighting critical aspects of Ghana's and Africa's political history. The analytical approach of CDA adopted in this study is also expected to reveal new representations of Rawlings, foregrounding the study's methodological importance by showing how an existing framework can be deployed to provide new insights and fresh perspectives on a subject.

Yet, the study's methodological importance is underscored by its contribution to the discussion on the merits of CDA in social research by showing the possibility of applying the approach to a historical analysis of a collection of political texts. In several studies of public discourse analysis where a CDA approach has been deployed, a fundamental focus for researchers is a qualitative approach to the analysis of texts. The thesis builds on this foundation to demonstrate that such as approach can be adopted in deriving and understanding various representations buried in the discourses associated with a public figure over a period as well as the systematic variations in the representations. Professional politicians, like Rawlings, usually claim to be seeking the common

good of the people. Hence, his discourse presents us with a meaningful site to interrogate the nature of representation underpinning the rhetoric of politicians in general. This is relevant because, as already noted, the discourse of and about influential people such as presidents invariably performs a socially meaningful role and can, thus, not be considered as mere text or talk. To this end, the present research is significant in several ways.

1.7 Significance of the study

The significance of this study mainly lies in its contribution to Ghana's political history, the methodic triangulation of CDA, and political discourse studies. To this end, the study holds implications for theory, methodology, and practice. Firstly, in terms of practice, the study will contribute to Ghana's political history by enhancing our understanding of the kinds of representations of Rawlings' identity and politics in his speeches during Ghana's revolutionary days and democratic dispensation in the 4th Republic. This will either corroborate or repudiate existing findings and claims about Rawlings' political leadership and representations and help us better understand the history of Ghana and Africa in the post-colonial era. In this vein, the study will contribute to our practice of history as it will fill a knowledge gap in the political history of Ghana, thereby making the study useful to historians, linguists, political scientists, communication experts, and discourse analysts.

Further, the study can shape public opinion and national discourse on Rawlings' leadership, political orientation, and vision. Thus, the study will have implications for the national orientation of Ghanaian and African political systems as it will objectively indicate the kind of Ghanaian and African communities Rawlings imagined. As this study provides a kind of prism through which to look at Ghana's current political and economic condition vis-a-vis the leadership vision of her longest-serving president, it will be useful for policymakers, especially Ghanaian politicians, media practitioners, and future presidents of Ghana. This study, therefore, contributes to the analysis of the discursive representation of political leadership, one which is relevant to an understanding of identity construction in contemporary Ghanaian and African politics.

Secondly, as most recent CDA studies have focused on discursive constructions of issues in both media and political discourse in the West, there is a gap for the same application in the large

collection of speeches of individual socio-political actors. Put differently, only a few CDA related studies on presidents, prime ministers and political leaders have been done in Africa and far too few on Ghana's leaders. In this regard, the study will hold implications for the usefulness of the methodological merits of CDA as it deploys this framework to the analysis of discourse to which the approach has not been extensively applied. That is by employing this approach to discourse associated with the representation of Rawlings, the current research furthers the contribution of CDA to critical social research and extends the application of this framework to other texts. This approach has only been minimally used to analyze the rhetoric of other revolutionary leaders in revolutionary contexts elsewhere (Haider, 2016; Mohd Don & May, 2013). In this regard, the present study makes a strong case for the utility of CDA to analyze the political rhetoric of these leaders. The findings of the current study could form the basis of comparison for other CDA studies of other world political leaders, especially revolutionary leaders like Thomas Sankara, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, and Muammar Muhammad Abu Minyar al-Gaddafi.

The potential role of CDA (the discourse-historical approach, especially) in the historical analysis of a text is highlighted in this study, thereby shedding light on the multidisciplinarity of CDA as a qualitative approach to the study of language. Using Ghana as a case study of a post-colonial society, the discourse-historical approach illuminates our understanding of the role of revolutionary leaders in (political) decolonization within the broad area of studies on the colonial legacy of the British empire. In addition, while the discourse-historical approach of CDA (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2015) has been extensively applied to the public discourses of Western politicians and is now being used to analyze other discourse-related social phenomena such as discrimination, xenophobia, sexism, anti-Semitism and other forms of racist and discriminatory discourse within this context, the same cannot be said of Africa. In this vein, the current study contributes to the discourse-historical approach, but more importantly, extends its application to the study of other meaning creation processes such as unity, solidarity, communal stability, and social cohesion or integration, which traditionally have not been the focus of the discourse-historical approach. And it does this within a context relatively under-researched in the literature.

Finally, the study will be significant to scholarship on political discourse, theory of (critical) political discourse analysis, and African history. As noted by van Dijk (2002), the analysis of

political discourse is relevant for the new cross-discipline of discourse studies. Therefore, investigating the discourse of an internationally recognized political figure like Rawlings contributes to this area of discourse studies and provides motivation for further research in the area, especially in Africa. Little CDA research, if at all, goes on in Ghana. Therefore, the current study should be a good starting point towards a more vigorous investigation into the discursive construction of various groups of people, including minority groups like LGBTQ+, mental health patients, domestic workers, prostitutes, etc., in the country, from a CDA standpoint.

1.8 Thesis structure

This thesis is organized into seven (7) chapters, including this introduction (Chapter 1), which provides a general context and background that defines the entire study's goals, motivations, and locus. Chapter 2 examines the relevant conceptual and theoretical literature within which the study is grounded and describes the study as one which concerns critical discourse analysis and is broadly situated within the contexts of discourse analysis and political discourse analysis. The chapter also reviews the relevant empirical literature on critical discourse analysis in different contexts to establish the research gap and the need for the present investigation.

Chapter 3 is the methodology chapter. It is concerned with the methodological procedures and principles deployed in collecting and analyzing linguistic data. Chapters 4 to 6 are devoted to presenting and discussing the results and findings that derive from the analysis. Chapter 4 deals with RQ 1, Chapter 5 deals with RQ 2 and chapter 6 deals with RQ 3 as stated in the introductory chapter. Altogether, these chapters respond to the overall aim of the study to examine the political discourses associated with political self-representation of Jerry John Rawlings. In Chapter 7, the final chapter, I will provide a general conclusion to the study by summarizing the research together with the key findings discovered in the three analysis chapters, showing how they answer the research questions. The chapter also presents the research implications for theory, methodology, presidential rhetoric, and ends with suggestions for further research and limitations of the study. There is an introduction at the outset of each chapter, which briefly explains how the chapter proceeds.

CHAPTER 2 CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a comprehensive overview of representation studies, particularly in the area of political discourse. It comprises two subsections. The first section outlines the basic trends and perspectives of studies in representation with the aim to situate the specific aspect of representation delineated by the goal of this study. The second section presents a comprehensive review of previous scholarly work adopting various approaches of representation, aiming to situate the study within the conceptual and theoretical issues that define its boundaries. Therefore, this subsection discusses theoretical issues relating to political discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis, with its main principles and approaches. The subsection also reviews studies which have adopted a critical discourse analysis approach to the representation of socio-political actors and highlights how the issues discussed inform the current study, indicating which framework is suitable to achieve its research objectives and better answer its guiding questions.

2.2 Background of research on representation

2.2.1 The influence of representation

The concept of representation has been defined by different researchers. According to Wilson (2001, p. 401) representation "refers to the issue of how language is employed in different ways to represent what we can know, believe, and perhaps think". For Hall (1997), representation is a meaning-making process through language. In other words, representation is not merely a secondary process that enters the meaning-making enterprise by simply reproducing the *status quo ante* but rather serves to construct the realities and identities of a social group from particular ideological perspectives (Gauntlett, 2008). Therefore, to represent something is to depict or describe it, "to call it up in the mind by description or portrayal" (Hall, 1997, p. 16). In the field of linguistics and particularly discourse studies, the works of Michel Foucault (1978, 1981, 1984) have drawn attention to the textual and contextual aspects of representation.

Inspired by the works of Foucault, researchers working within critical linguistics, especially Norman Fairclough (see also Hodge & Kress, 1993; Fowler, 1985; Fairclough 1989, 1992; van Dijk, 1985; Wodak & de Cillia, 1988) began to focus attention on discourse elements in representation. As such, in the domain of discourse studies, researchers (Fairclough, 1989, 1995a,

1995b; van Dijk, 2003; Wenden, 2005) generally agree, following Stuart Hall and John Wilson, that representation is a discursive practice, a meaning-making process involving the use of language to ascribe meanings to people and their everyday practices and to social issues and events.

Language in representation is, thus, crucial because what we construe as social life is not firmly fixed in the reality that is perceived but rather what is linguistically represented (Fairclough, 1992; Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Hodge & Kress, 1993). The explanation above provides two key points for the current study. First, representation is embedded in discourse, and discourse reflects representation (political discourse in this study). Second, representation is a linguistic phenomenon which comes about because of the linguistic choices and discourse strategies used. In this study, the term discursive construction or representation describes these linguistic processes. The above-mentioned points throw light on the two views believed by researchers to underlie representation: the universalist and the relativist views (Montgomery, 1992).

The universalist view says that the concepts that govern our understanding of the world are universal and shared. The use of language, therefore, mirrors these universal concepts and provides the means for "expressing our system of thought, with this system being independent of the language itself" (Wilson, 2001, p. 401). In effect, this view separates language from thought while acknowledging the relationship between them. On the other hand, the relativist view takes language and thought to be inseparably related so that what we understand of the world around us is within the repertoire of linguistic resources available to us. In other words, what we construe as reality is not what we see but what is mediated by language. What this implies specifically in the realm of politics is that for politicians to sound believable and get people to think and talk of the world in a way that aligns with their ideology, they must be ready to manipulate and pay attention to the forms of linguistic expression they can or cannot exploit in their representation. The focus in the current study is on the relativist view; asking how politicians are represented in their own speeches. Consequently, the researcher seeks to understand the discursive construction of the identity of Jerry John Rawlings and the linguistic choices, and discursive strategies that were employed to do so in his speeches during his political leadership in critical periods of Ghana's political history.

The analysis of representation in discourse shows that several factors influence the construction of representations. Ideology, according to many scholars, influences the way in which individuals and groups represent important socio-political issues (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998; Fairclough, 1995a; van Dijk, 1999). It stands to reason therefore that when representations are made, ideologies are embedded in the discourses that (re)produce them. Given this complex relation between ideology and discourse, many studies have explored how language is used to construct ideologically imbued representations of issues and groups (Bourdieu, 1991; Chilton & Schäffner, 1997; Fairclough, 1992; Giddens, 1991; van Dijk, 1993b).

2.2.2 Overview of studies on representation

The concept of representation has been a foremost concern and the subject of several scholarly investigations for many researchers. This has led to a growth in studies on representation across different disciplines, including cultural studies (Hall, 1997; Hamilton, 1997; McNair, 1998; van Ginneken, 1998), Sociology (Gans, 2007; Gitlin, 1980; Tuchman, 1978), journalism (Fürsich, 2002; Gutsche, 2021; Richardson, 2008), mass communication (Habermas, 1984; McQuail, 1992) and linguistics (Baker et al., 2008; Baker et al., 2013; Bell, 1991; Fairclough, 1995b; Fowler, 1991). The cross-disciplinarity of representation implies that a diversity of insights enriches knowledge towards its clear conceptualization, theorization, and practice. Most of these studies have been conducted using content analysis (Cammaerts et al., 2020; Entman, 1994; Entman & Rojecki, 2000; McLuhan, 1964) and framing theory (Brooks & Hébert, 2006; Entman, 1993; Goffman, 1974; Louine, 2016) as conceptual frameworks to better understand how social issues and groups are presented in public discourse.

Drawing on these theoretical frameworks, scholars have arrived at more or less similar conclusions in dealing with even diverse thematic investigations. For example, using content analysis, Brooks and Hébert (2006) found evidence of stereotypes in the representation of Asian and Asian American men in motion pictures. They found that Asian men were portrayed as having no sexual prowess identified with traditional masculinity. In addition, they were stereotypically portrayed as desexualized and emasculated. Dixon and Williams' (2015) study, adopting a similar framework, reported on the overrepresentation of Muslims in the US television coverage of terrorism as terrorist suspects. Williams' (2020) study, informed by (feminist) content analysis, compared how

the print media portrayed Margaret Thatcher and Theresa May in their first three weeks as British Prime ministers. Drawing data from seven major daily newspapers in the UK, the study revealed that three common gendered tropes, namely, gender, femininity, and appearance, often characterized the coverage of the two women, functioning to strengthen gender stereotypes and maintaining the existing gender order. What is common to the studies referred to is that despite the differences in the data types and themes investigated, the theoretic approach of content analysis was applied in roughly the same way to reveal stereotypes and discriminatory discourses.

In a related study, Louine (2016) employs Goffman's (1974) concept of framing to analyze media representation of Barack Obama before and after his election. According to Goffman (1974), frameworks are "schemata of interpretation," adopted by individuals in everyday situations to "locate, perceive, identify and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in its terms" (Goffman, 1974, p. 21). Louine's (2016) analysis of the 114 editorials of the New York Times found that Obama was framed differently as a candidate and as a president. Though the seven frames found in the editorials, namely "civil hero, vacillator, ineffective, visionary, transformative leader, promise-keeper, and promise-breaker" (p. 25), reflect positive representations of Obama especially during his candidacy and the early days of his presidency, overall, the evidence showed that a general negative tone underpinned his representation since becoming the president of the United States. She argues that "a negative shift in the framing of Obama, following his election, is simply the natural state of affairs with respect to the presidency" (p.42), probably due to the failure to meet unrealistic expectations attached to his 'hero' frame.

Most of the earlier studies on representation had an overwhelming geographical focus on the northern hemisphere, with little attention devoted to far-away countries of the southern hemisphere (Mankekar, 1978). The studies explored in representation cover a range of perspectives including framing the news (Goffman, 1974), the creation of the world in the news (van Ginneken, 1998); the representation of the 'worlds' in international news flow ((Mankekar, 1978; Taylor, 1997); culture, representation, and ideology, (Hall, 2018; McNair, 2003); media and foreign policy (Hoge, 1994); media and global crises (Robinson, 2002; Shaw, 1996); racial representation in the United States (Gates & Jarrett, 2007) and UK's Christian-Muslim responses to representations of war in distant places (Shaw, 1996). Not so much attention has been devoted to the critical study of

the issues of representation of Africa, in general, and Ghana in particular. Thus, Monfils (1985) poignantly notes that more work is required in this vast area.

If not all, the majority of the studies on representation in political discourse have emphasized the linguistic dimension of political discourse (Chilton, 1990; Fowler et al., 1979) indicating the manipulative use of language to achieve specific objectives including shaping reality. Studies on manipulation in political discourse cut across different genres including parliamentary discourses (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997; van Dijk, 2003; 2006a), press conferences (Bhatia, 2006; Schulz & Saussure, 2005), and presidential and campaign speeches (Oddo, 2011; Oparinde et al., 2021). The use of language in these studies in representing issues shows how thoughts can sometimes be manipulated to serve the purpose of legitimizing and normalizing wrong. One famous example of manipulative political discourse is the UK Prime Minister Tony Blair's speech delivered in parliament to legitimate the war in Iraq – a decision which remains unpopular with UK citizens because it was considered misleading (van Dijk, 2006).

This way language resources are used by politicians can shape attitudes, frame public understanding of issues and even influence public behaviour. As such, prominent politicians from various countries have been investigated: Obama (Louine, 2016), Trump (Papakyriakopoulos & Zuckerman, 2021), Tony Blair (Abbasian, 2017), Gadaffi (Karniel et al., 2015) and Angela Merkel (Lünenborg & Maier, 2015), etc. So, while there exist many studies on the representation of individual political actors in political discourses, there are surprisingly no studies on the representation of the same politician across two distinct political and historical time periods (in this case military and democratic dispensations). The few existing studies on the representation of individual political actors in political discourses have focused on politicians in western contexts. The current study fills this gap by examining the representation of an African socio-political actor, Jerry John Rawlings, in his own speeches as Ghana's leader from a critical discourse analysis (CDA) perspective, which I explain in detail in Chapters 2 and 3. The current study contributes to and extends the knowledge in this area by examining the linguistic elements of ideology used in the self-representation of Rawlings in his performance of politics. It will do so by examining the language used by a politician to express implicit ideologies in his representations to create different versions of the same reality. In addition to ideology, the processes of meaning-making, and culture

influence the various representations produced by individuals. Next, I examine representation from the perspective of these factors.

2.3 Ideology and opinions in representation

In every situation where language activity is performed, ideology is not absent. Put differently, we can observe ideologies because they are only clearly formed and communicated in discourse (van Dijk, 2006c). Representations or more broadly discourses are ideological and to understand the relationship between discourse and ideology, it is worth reviewing, first, several studies on ideology and then the forms in which it is expressed in social representations. This holds implications for the current study in that it takes as its data political discourse which according to van Dijk (2006) is by default imbued with ideology. The French philosopher Destutt de Tracey first introduced the term 'ideology' in 1796 to denote an emerging discipline that will study ideas or 'ideologue' more than two centuries ago. Since then, studies on ideology have increased (Billig, 1982; Eagleton, 1991; van Dijk, 1998a; Zizek & Žižek, 1994). The term, however, lacks conceptual clarity and is famed in social sciences for being vague and complexly illusive (Garrett & Bell, 1998; van Dijk, 2006b). As such, how it has been used, its forms and types differ according to the research tradition and discipline from which it has been explored.

For instance, despite the positive sense from which the notion developed, that is, to study a system of ideas, van Dijk (2006) notes that ideology has assumed a negative quotidian usage and refers typically to "the rigid, misguided or partisan ideas of others: 'we' have the truth, and 'they' have ideologies" (p. 728). This negative connotation has been continuously maintained in politics and the social sciences, often as a counter theory to objective knowledge (Zizek, 1994). Elsewhere, it is referred to as ideological bias (Eberl et al., 2017) which manifests in political representation to make one thing more visible than the other, and to 'bring up' one thing while 'bringing down' the other. This is illustrated in Doyle (2011) in which the UK government, in order to legitimate a policy of nuclear power, recontextualized the discourse in climate change mitigations. It played down the harmful effects and risks associated with nuclear builds by rebranding its appeal as a low carbon generator and potential security of future energy supplies, thereby essential to climate change control. What the use of language foregrounds in this official government announcement

as contested by the media is not the climate emergency but rather an ideologically controlled or sanctioned proposition to pursue a nuclear power agenda.

Pu (2007) adopts a pragmatic interpretive framework to explore underlying ideologies in President George W. Bush's speech delivered at Tsinghua University in 2002. The study highlights the discourse strategy of positive Us representation in the construction of Americanism and negative Them representation by suggesting that the current Chinese society is undesirable and must change. According to Pu (2007), Bush achieves these strategies by employing rhetorical tropes such as metaphor, passivization and personification, on the one hand, to create a picture of American values such as liberty and equality as a universal ideal, and on the other hand, to imagine the Chinese government as falling short of these universal ideals in the way it treats dissidents and controls religious freedom. Pu (2007) notes that though the textual level of linguistic analysis reveals how language is used to represent reality, it is only when the macro-contextual situatedness of the discourse is known (i.e., the social and political structures, historical and economic relations of US and China) that a better understanding of the ideological intentions of President Bush come to light.

Despite the differences in societies, how we construct and understand shared meanings in text or talk is the same because of the presence of ideology. Construed this way, McDonald (2003, p. 28) refers to ideology as a "systematic framework of social understanding, motivated by a will to power, or a desire to be accepted as the 'right' way of thinking which has wide support within a particular society or social group". Put differently, ideology is the axiomatic basis for formulating socially shared representations of group identity vis-à-vis other groups, which sets the criteria for membership and the values for including or excluding. Thus, othering, the differentiating binaries of 'self' and 'others', 'us' and 'them', 'hero' and 'villain, 'good' and 'bad', and 'friend' and 'foe' are all ideologically constructed and inform the way we think of people and groups in society.

Ideologies are not always transparent or explicit. In other words, they may be disguised in texts or talk and can be detected in expressions about attitudinal positions in relation to issues or personal beliefs and opinions about events and actions. Studies have shown that discourse structures and linguistic features are the means by which these ideologies are made implicit or explicit.

Richardson (2007) underlines this position when he notes that "the traditional forms of linguistic analysis should be analyzed in relation to their direct or indirect involvement in reproducing or resisting the systems of ideology and social power" (p. 39). As van Dijk (1995) noted in his study of ideology in opinion articles in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, statements are considered ideological if words are used in specific contexts and propositional structures are controlled by ideology. For example, the reference to a neighbour as a 'crook' is an opinion but becomes ideological if the reference is associated because of the race of the neighbour and the socio-cognitive perception that blacks are crooks. The situation is the same when Arab Muslims are referred to by western media as 'terrorists' for fighting for what they believe to be their right (for example, as in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict) whereas others in similar circumstances are portrayed as 'freedom fighters'. While these representations indicate the shared social cognition of one group toward another, they foreground the power of discursive semantics, specifically lexicalization, in reproducing ideology in discourse.

Ideologies can become dominant over time when accepted by the majority or powerful and influential in society. van Dijk (2006) points out that when dominant ideologies are accepted by dominated groups, it constitutes an effective form of ideological dominance. What van Dijk (2006) describes as ideological dominance is referred to as 'hegemony' in an earlier study by Gramsci (1971). Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony is linked with an ideological dominance where the ideology and values of the bourgeoisie became the common-sense ideology and values for society, so that the dominant ideology was identified with the power controlling capitalists. Abercrombie et al. (1980) in their study of the dominant ideology made a distinction between the dominant ideology and a dominant group. van Dijk (2006), following Abercrombie et al (1980) emphasizes the point that "we do not exclusively identify ideologies with dominant groups… and dominated groups may have ideologies, namely ideologies of resistance and opposition" (p. 729).

Ideology in discourse, therefore, can be seen in the representation of dominant hegemonic ideologies and emancipatory ideologies are often reflected in resistance and oppositional discourses. For example, Nartey (2020) shows how the dominant ideology on feminism in an African context sustained demeaning narratives about women, and highlights three resistance strategies that Ghanaian women engage in when resisting gendered norms and practices

(re)produced by men. Similarly, the way black people are represented, in mostly pejorative terms, seems to be the dominant ideology and several studies highlight this phenomenon. In his article, "*Television and the New Black Man: Black Male Images in Prime-Time Situation Comedies*," Gray (1986) found and analyzed ideologies embedded in the representations of black males in prime-time situation comedies. Drawing on critical race theory, his analysis established that "television's idealization of racial harmony, affluence, and individual mobility is not within the grasp of millions of African Americans" (Brooks & Hébert, 2006, p.305). In other words, racial harmony is illusive as far as the black-white binary is concerned. Why this illusion persists, even today, is perhaps made clear by Orbe (1998). According to Orbe (1998), in the American reality television series THE REAL WORLD produced through MTV, compared to their White male counterparts, African American male cast members are associated with certain images that portray them as "inherently angry, potentially violent, and sexually aggressive" which serves to reinforce "a general societal fear of Black men" (P. 32). Given the show's popularity and the audience it garnered, Orbe (1998) maintains that the show exploited the hegemonic power that is often associated with mediated images to perpetuate racial disharmony and further deepen the black-white dichotomy. What these studies (Brooks & Hébert, 2006; Downing & Husband, 2005; Gray, 1986; Orbe, 1998) foreground is not only the power of ideology to polarize but also to dominate the way attitudes and perceptions are formed about entities. This is problematic and complex as these dominant ideologies may just be speculative opinions of people which have only gained currency over time. There is a link between ideology and opinions. In political discourses, opinions, like ideologies, are unavoidable and subjective. They are often presented as universally shared ideals and given their tendency to evaluate and categorize, opinions can create group polarity in society such as the Us vs Them (van Dijk, 1997). In the media, for example, opinions are published based on the ideological position of the newspaper and to a large extent the position of the journalist or news editor. Opinions and ideology are therefore related, and both are ingrained in representation.

In studying how opinions and ideologies are expressed in the media, van Dijk (1997) employs the analytical tools of CDA to analyse an op-ed article in the *Washington Post* on the Libya President Gadhafi. Focusing on the evaluative and ideological strategies employed by the newspaper to frame Gadhafi, van Dijk (1997) notes the use of lexicalization to represent the African leader as a

"devil incarnate of US foreign policy" (p. 48). For example, in analysing the headline of the article 'GADHAFI: SINISTER POSTURING', van Dijk avers that the appearance of his name in the title positions him as the actor of a macro proposition that is unfolding. He argues that if the title were 'The sinister posturing of Gadhafi', the ordering of the words in the sentence would have made the effect of his responsibility and agency less obvious and hide the ideological assumption behind such a description. On the embedded opinions in the title, he states that the writer's choice of the words *sinister* and *posturing* explicitly expressed his negative opinions. He states further that "the first predicate [sinister, is] associated with secret and dark forces, and the second [posturing] with affection and pose, and as having a big mouth, but really being nobody" and that both predicates "intended in the political sense, [in reality] express not so much Hoagland's opinion, but a shared US evaluation of Gadhafi" (pp. 48-49).

On how individual opinions become a shared position, van Dijk (2003) shows the blurring of the lines of distinction. In his analysis of a debate on asylum seekers in the British House of Commons, he found in the parliamentary discourses the expression of ideology to create a polarization between Us and Them and to negatively describe refugees as lazy, abusers of social benefits and fraudulent. Overall, the tone of the representation was racist and antagonistic. This discursive representation of asylum seekers was evident in Mrs Gorman's speech on the floor of parliament as an individual professional politician and at the same time a member of the Conservative Party. Political opinions therefore may be personal or an embodiment of a shared evaluation of a group or people (a political party), and so are their underlying ideologies. Either way, political opinions lead to, as it shows, the ideological enactment of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation, leading to an ingroup vs outgroup categorization. This categorization reveals that the concept of the ideological square, which is constituent of the socio-cognitive approach to CDA, is at work in political opinions, emphasizing the positive traits of Self while expressing the negative attributes of Other. By their nature, opinions and ideologies are often tacitly loaded on to text and talk, which require theories and methods that can unmask their equally tacit meanings.

As evidenced in van Dijk (1997; 2003), the model of ideological square which is composite of the socio-cognitive approach to CDA provided the analytical framework for unveiling the implicit meanings in the news articles of Gadhafi and the speeches of Mrs Gorman. It is therefore not

surprising that CDA approaches have been employed by several studies ((Fairclough, 1995a; 1991; Hodge & Kress, 1993; 2003; Wodak & van Dijk, 2000) on ideological representations in political discourse due to the suitability of their analytical tools in revealing masked ideologies and layered opinions. Given that professional politicians strive to represent and serve the interest of the public, the current study is interested in finding whether the opinions and ideologies of Rawlings converged or diverged and what language resources were used in doing so.

The current study will make evident the kinds of ideologies in the representation of Rawlings in his speeches from 1979 to 2000 through a critical discourse analysis of the political speeches within the period, and in particular shed light on the relationship between language and ideology by examining how linguistic resources are deployed by institutions to create certain ideological meanings to achieve predetermined purposes.

2.4 Culture and meaning in representation

2.4.1 The relationship between culture, meaning and representation

Representation in political discourse concerns how politicians use language resources to communicate messages about social and political phenomena. These representations play a vital role in the understanding of everyday life and in the organization of society. Since politicians, like any other persons, are predisposed to ideological and cultural frameworks in the production of discourse (van Ginneken, 1997), the representations produced are embedded in a cultural context. Culture, therefore, provides a framework, not only for the discursive enactment of representational meanings but also informs the process of their reception and interpretation by the public. A complex notion, the concept of culture has gone through several decades of refining with its earliest definition traced to the work of cultural theorist and critic Raymond Williams' (1976) *keywords*, which identified culture as a crucial concept in modern social knowledge (Du Gay et al., 2013). William's (1976) definition of culture is one that is socially oriented and perceives culture to be "a description of a particular way of life which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour" (p. 90). This definition suggests that culture shapes the way we perceive the world, how society functions and the ways of life of people in a specific context. The concept of culture from Williams' perspective inspired the works of John Fiske (1987) who saw culture as the generation and circulation of meanings and pleasures

within a society. That is, the production of meaning, along with its dissemination and consumption are influenced by the socio-cultural contexts in which the discursive practice takes place. It can be inferred that both Williams (1976) and Fiske (1987) emphasize the social dimension of culture and highlight the cultural hierarchies and biases that come into play in our everyday discursive practices. Hence, it can be concluded that a society's outlook is culturally determined and the meanings that are communicated across different modes (e.g., texts, images, etc.) are a product of cultural experiences. This therefore implies that, in a specific social context, to understand the discourse or communication of a person or group, their culture cannot be ignored because culture clarifies the overt and covert meanings that embed the ways of life of a particular society (Williams, 1976), making apparent the relation between culture, meaning and communication.

The relationship between culture, meaning and communication has been emphasized by the works of Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall and John Fiske. While Hall argues that "meaning and representation belong irrevocably to the interpretative side of human and cultural sciences" (Hall, 1997, p. 42), Williams (1961, p. 55) maintains that "our description [representation] of our experiences comes to compose a network of relationships, and all our communication systems, including the arts, are literally parts of our social organization". Fiske's (1987) work on television culture, on the other hand, seeks to foreground the relationship between culture, communication, and society or rather the role of mass communication in disseminating cultural meanings in a society. What this means is that our experiences are, of themselves, cultural products of the way we live, and how we represent them is symbolic of the culture and can therefore only be understood via the lenses of culture. Given this conceptualization of culture, the production of political discourse about a range of diverse issues, groups and people, and their interpretation are all *ipso facto* linked to culture, and culture, then, determines the specific repertoire of linguistic codes and meanings deployed in various representations (van Ginneken, 1997). This implies that variations in representation are tied to changes in culture which invariably inform language use. Here, the view of culture as a fluid rather than static concept is reified which suggests that cultural transformations continue to reflect changes in language and society, and social and language changes shape culture.

These changes are caused by several factors. Media technologies and rapid globalization are causal factors that inform transformations in many societies including African societies as well as the political and media practices. Changes in language and society have therefore attracted the attention of researchers particularly in the humanities and social sciences. By exploring language use in representation, we are systematically accounting for the underlying changes in cultural histories that inform society's transformation and a broad range of discourse structures that help us make sense of the reality of things out there in the world. In representing social reality, politicians engage in certain practices. Hall (1979) refers to these as "signifying practices", which he explains concern the meanings we create of the concepts in our minds and their relationship to the things in the real world. According to him, "representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture" (p. 15) and thus is one of the central practices which produces culture. He argues that culture is about 'shared meanings' and "meanings can only be shared through our common access to language" (p.1). Language, therefore, is the privileged medium in which we make sense of the world and the medium in which meaning is produced and exchanged.

To represent our ideas, concepts, and emotional states to others, we turn to language as a semiotic system of signs and symbols to communicate. Thus, language operates as a representational system. To put it another way, when we set out to represent the world to others or create and share meanings of things in the world with them, we are engaging in an ongoing activity of constructing meaning, exchanging knowledge, and building a common framework of cultural understanding, making language "central to the processes by which meaning is produced." (ibid.: p. 1). Against this background, we can take representation to mean giving meanings to objects, people, and events in the world, in part by the framework of interpretation which we bring to them, and in part, by how we use them or integrate them into our everyday practices (ibid.: p. 3). Based on this definition of representation of culture, Hall (1997) further proposes that thinking and feeling are themselves systems of representation "in which our concepts, images and emotions 'stand for' or represent, in our mental life, things which are or may be 'out there' in the world. (ibid.: p. 4). Given this background, Hall argues that the way we get our ideas across to others by taking and presenting aspects of reality for the intended purpose of creating a common understanding must entail negotiating shared meaning. Hall calls it "conceptual maps" for seeing the world in more or less

the same way. To illustrate the importance of meaning to representation, Hall maintains that the way others view a group of people results from a negative normative representation of that group of people over time, which eventually shapes the group's self-identity.

This constructed identity is, in fact, a mediated image similar to what Allan (1998, pp. 25-26) refers to as "image of image" and the emergent cultural meaning associated with such constructions of reality is at best distorted. Representations produced in this manner become a reflexive medium by which particular identities are assimilated and the media's role in disseminating them over time creates social norms which in turn influence public perception of and behaviour towards those identities. These social norms are culturally distinct (Geertz, 1988) and the different values, beliefs and social structures that are embedded create markedly different and sometimes contradictory representations.

2.4.2 The role of culture and meaning making in constructing social reality

Representation is a construction of reality or aspects of it in society (Baudrillard, 1994; Du Gay et al., 2013; Fairclough, 1992; Hall, 1997; Sigal, 1973). Culture and reality interact in the way that discourse is produced and consumed. This is because social life derives from culture and cultural values serve as organizing principles for society. Allan (1998) maintains that all constructions of reality are cultural and cultural constructions of social realities are reflexive. In other words, "every culture system is based on cultural assumptions that are never questioned but are protected through a set of legitimized secondary elaboration of belief" (Allan, 1998, p. 6). That reality is what is represented and not simply perceived is supported by Allan's observation that when reality is represented, the emergent cultural meaning is a product of an "image of image" (pp. 25-26) which points to natural flaws in the processes in information is passed on to the public. Allan's observation is not different from Du Gay et. al's (2013) admission that "[cultural] meaning does not arise directly from an object [image], the thing itself, but from the way in which an object [image] is represented [imagined] in language, both oral and visual" (p. 4). Implicit in Allan's and Du Gay et. al's assertions is the idea that the process and the means of representation, which privilege us with cultural meanings associated with things in the real world, can, in fact, be tampered with, manipulated, distorted, and discursively enacted to achieve various purposes.

For scholars like Stuart Hall and Du Gay and colleagues the practice of representation (Du Gay et al., 2013; Hall, 1978; Hall, 1997), that is the medium of language in which cultural meanings are instanced, is properly the domain where reality is (mis)represented or (de)constructed. In other words, distortions, or the propensity to skew information takes place at the cognitive level and manifests in language. In this regard, the way an individual conceptualizes and represents reality is a product of their subjective cultural experiences. Subjective conceptualization of reality seems to be a common tool used by politicians to manipulate and achieve specific purposes as they attempt to portray their individual representations of reality as true and objective. As the subjective reality is objectified and accepted as the only reality, it leads to what Bhatia (2015) refers to as discursive illusions or discourse of illusion. She defines the discourse of illusion as "the product of a subjective conceptualization of reality, emerging from a historical repository of experiences embodying various linguistic and semiotic actions, often leading to intended socio-political consequences" (p. 1) and is usually "seen and presented as objective beliefs and perceptions" (p. 2). This means that our cultural ideologies and histories which shape our view of reality can in fact lead to a distortion of reality as changes occur over time.

Cultural knowledge and meaning are constituted in language and the way politicians use language does not only reflect culture but also demonstrates how cultural constructs shape language use. For instance, Bayram (2010) examines the impact of the cultural-linguistic identity of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan in his speech at the World Economic Forum in Davos in 2009. The study found that Erdogan used culturally meaningful pronouns to address Israeli President Minister, Shimon Peres. The Turkish Language employs two pronouns 'sen' and 'siz' to distinguish between a formal and informal use in subject positions. These usages reflect different attitudes and perceptions about the speaker towards the referent and explains the kind of relationship that exists between them. It also reflects the honorific system in Turkish. The results showed that Erdogan frequently used the informal 'sen' to refer to Mr. Peres. This, according to Bayram (2010) was not only a " sign of anger and bluntness" towards Mr. Peres but also that he expressed the feelings and attitudes of the average Turkish person given the negative diplomatic relations between the two countries, thus drawing applause from the "vast majority of the Turkish people" (p. 34).

This demonstrates Erdogan's' strong membership affiliation to the masses and how unique cultural identities can influence linguistic choices and how language can be used to express cultural representations of people and situations. Also, Erdogan linguistically distanced himself from any association with a diplomatic identity by using an expression, "mon cher", that is both historically and locally symbolic. The term is a negative descriptive tag on a Turkish diplomat whose job is less socially valued because he/she is considered as political pawns. By employing the concept, Erdogan sought to access local linguistic resources available to a cultural community to represent himself as not politically correct and other as a political stooge. The findings of the study, therefore, lend credence to the role of culture in language use to represent social reality.

Other scholars have also underscored the centrality of culture to the construction of reality which is a meaning-making process. Walter Lippmann's seminal book, *Public Opinion* (1922) which critically assesses functional democratic government via-a-vis the causal relations between social perceptions and individual behaviour that affect the realization of an ideal social cohesion, gave clarity to how what we conceive, perceive, interpret, mean, and represent relate to culture. He correctly notes:

> "for the most part we do not see and then define, we define first and then see. In the great blooming, buzzing confusion of the outer world we pick out what our culture has already defined for us, and we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form stereotyped for us by our culture" (Lippmann, 1922, p. 81).

From what is encoded to what is objectified in the codification process, culture is both latent and potent. Given its unquestioned omnipresence in our lives, we automatically see things, ascribe meanings to things, and represent things from our underlying cultural assumptions and backgrounds. As a result, the formulaic conceptions of people we possess, our stereotypes of groups of people within society and imagination of others, are all cultural products. Our understanding of political practices and the production of representational meanings from society to society in an increasingly globalized world is therefore culturally situated.

Culture is how we see the world and language forms part of how the social world is constructed. What we come to see as culture, therefore, depends on the meaning-making processes that social

actors employ to frame their worldview or construct social reality. Since social actors reside in specific communities, their history and certain local elements play a role in how meaning or representation is formed. The meanings become symbolic and through texts, they shape what we believe, how we relate entities and the identities we associate with (Chouliaraki, 2008). The art of making meaning is what discourse is about and as Hall (1997, p. 220) notes, discourse becomes a meaning-making resource that "constitutes social reality, forms of knowledge and identity within specific social contexts and power relations". It implies that the meaning of the texts that shape who we are, and our experiences are always situated in their broad socio-cultural context. Therefore, to understand culture and meaning making is to undertake an analysis of discourse.

Discourse analysis, as a theory, offers analytical tools for critical cultural inquiry. Language theories such as Saussurian theory of language (Culler, 1986) have also provided insights on how different relationship structures in language make it a meaning making system. This theory is believed to have put forward the idea that reality is not reflected by language but is rather constructed by it because, language can be used to give meaning to an endless list of things whether they exist in reality or not (Chandler, 2002). Researchers within this tradition maintain that meaning is formed when linguistic signs, despite their differences or arbitrariness, come together in intelligible, complementary relationships to derive a range of possible meanings within the language system. What makes these meanings possible is not only the language system or structure but also the social, historical and even political contexts in which language itself is embedded. So, culture, which includes social factors and history mediate the processes of representation or meaning making.

An important study that inspires this research and illustrates how representations or meanings are culturally situated is Graham et al. (2004). The study uses the discourse-historic approach of discourse analysis to examine the significance of the speech on 'war on terror' by US president George W. Bush in 2001. The analysis was done by examining similar or parallel texts produced by Pope Urban II (1095), Queen Elizabeth I (1588), Adolf Hitler (1938) on the subject. How these texts are structured, the functions they perform and the histories they foreground have exerted a major influence on western societies for a long time. It was found that the texts showed four common features: they made appeals to a legitimate external source of power which was displayed

as good; they made appeals to the historical significance of the cultural context in which the discourse is produced, they portrayed the Other as evil and made appeals for unity using the external legitimate source of power. Despite these features, Graham et al. (2004, p. 199) argue that the texts, in general, "typically appear in historical [cultural] contexts" which reveal "deep crisis in political legitimacy". What this means is that what is textualized or spoken by politicians or social actors, often, has a relationship with what the target audience is already conscious of so that the cognitive and emotive appeals they evoke make persuasion easier to achieve. This view seems to re-echo Halliday (1993) who observed that for a speaker to persuade his audience to understand and act on what is said, it must appeal to the common perceptions of things that have happened in that specific social system.

Although there were significant variations, each speaker linked their discourse to historical mythology to allow them to forge a connection with their audience to achieve their objective to a call to arms. In the case of Bush, the appeal to historical mythology of US was rather sketchy. In his statement "The American people are used to conflict…" (Graham et al., 2004, p. 211) he uses an argumentative strategy to foreground the US involvement in war and appeals to what the audience already know and understand about the current state of war. This was an attempt by Bush to appropriate popular mythology to promote a discourse of warfare and to produce a mass cultural belief about it. To achieve this, Bush employed salient referential terminologies to categorize different members of the American society such as *factory workers*, *business owners*, *the US administration*, f*armers*, *ranchers*, etc. to represent the nation as people who have a strong work ethic and can get results (in this case fighting wars) unlike anyone else (Graham et al., 2004). They conclude by arguing that "representations of historical mythologies . . . pop histories . . . are clearly as much a reflection of the societies in which they are presented as they are a resource for successfully producing exhortations to war. They reflect the orders of discourse within a society whilst changing them" (Graham et al., 2004, p. 211). The study demonstrates how the historical reconstruction of discourse, taking into account macro-social and macro-cultural factors analyzed from a discourse-historic perspective shed light on the persuasive power of discourse to mobilize support and action.

The analysis of (political) discourse, therefore, using an approach grounded in critical discourse analysis reveals how historical, cultural backgrounds can influence the representations of entities in discourse. It challenges the view of meaning as rooted only in the formal descriptive aspects of language such as grammar and syntax and proposes a more robust approach to meaning that combines these formal linguistic aspects and the broad contexts in which they are produced or used. It is a goal of no small importance to this study to explore the variety of linguistic strategies and discourse features used by Rawlings in his speeches to construct opposite and divergent representations of his identity in his performance of politics. This will shed light on the socio-cultural, and politico-historical contexts within which political speeches are produced and how these shape language use, and in turn are shaped by language. Given the area in which the study is situated, the next sections focus on political discourse and critical discourse analysis.

2.5 Political discourse analysis

In this study, Rawlings' speeches are taken to be 'political' discourse and its analysis as 'political discourse analysis' (PDA). It is therefore appropriate to explain, even if briefly, what political discourse is, and the approaches used in its analysis. Political discourse generally concerns language use in contexts that are considered political in nature. Such contexts include presidential and parliamentary campaign platforms, parliamentary debates, state of the nation addresses and so forth. The language used in these contexts reflect political institutions, practices and structures. Political discourse reproduces and enacts political power and ideology (van Dijk, 1997). The kind of Rawlings' political discourse analyzed in this study is persuasive discourse. Persuasive discourse, according to van Dijk (1997a) is the process by which, social actors, mainly politicians, use their speech to influence change in the opinions of their addressees about themselves or positions they take. This is effectively achieved by the social actor purposefully ingraining his own ideas or stances into the minds of his addressees, usually in linguistically subtle ways (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 1997). As such, several studies (Lu, 2021; Mutz et al., 1996; Pardo, 2001), have suggested that it is very rare to find a political speech without an intention to convince people of specific visions and agendas and hardly any such discursive communication without a calculated use of persuasion strategies. Persuasion strategies in political discourse are varied and achieve different ideological purposes. One strategy is the use of figurative language that includes metaphor, hyperbole, personification, synecdoche and so on. For example, according to

(Charteris-Black, 2006), in their performance of politics, politicians are perceived as more persuasive when they employ the use of metaphors, together with other linguistic elements to legitimize their agendas. Metaphors are perhaps effective persuasive devices due to their ability to not only help us make sense of the relations between two things, however unrelated they may be, but also to underscore how concepts in the real world are fundamentally organized in our minds (Lakoff, 1993). Since persuasion takes place in a form of argumentation, another strategy commonly used by politicians in their discourse to persuade their addressees is legitimation. Legitimation entails the reasonable argumentative justifiability of a position or act that can be "recognized as right and just" (Habermas, 1996, p. 248). The arguments that are raised by politicians in their public discourse are aimed at justifying specific ideologies and agendas, as well as presenting their courses of action as right and lawful in order to seek the approval of the public. Legitimation as a strategy of persuasion in political discourse, for example, can take the form of rationalization (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999), normalization (Vaara et al., 2006) and emotionalization (Reyes, 2011). These and other persuasive strategies in political discourse account for the specific linguistic ways in which language represents a medium of control (Hodge & Kress, 1993), evinces symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991) in society and can serve as a tool for ideological manipulation (van Dijk, 1997a).

Therefore, an analysis of political discourse will focus on the way language is manipulated by politicians to express ideological beliefs to achieve already determined purposes. This aligns with Wilson's (2001, p. 410) claim that the aim of political discourse analysis (PDA) is "to seek out the ways in which language choice is manipulated for specific political effect". Given that the manipulation takes place in language, such an analysis explores how the linguistic properties of texts take on meanings as a result of their situation in political contexts. What this means is that the study of political discourse is about the political and the linguistic dimensions of discourse, and as van Dijk (1997, p. 11) puts it, "PDA is both about political discourse and it is also a critical enterprise".

Political discourse analysis has gained research attention and studies have been carried out across different genres. Among these studies, the analysis has focused on elite discourse on terrorism (Bartolucci, 2010), press conferences (Moberg & Eriksson, 2013), political debates (Rashidi &

Souzandehfar, 2010), presidential speeches (Aschale & Ababa, 2013), ministerial statements and parliamentary questions (Sarfo & Krampa, 2013) and press articles (Musolff, 2017). The discourse of prominent politicians or presidential rhetoric has long been an area of scholarly interest (Cicero, 1971; Aristotle, 1991) but in recent times has increased in CDA research. For example, Charteris-Black (2011) examined the use of political metaphor in the discourse of nine politicians in two countries, the United States and the United Kingdom. Geographically, most of the studies have focused on the presidential speeches in the United States (Allsop & Vernom, 2020; Campbell & Jamieson, 1990). Apart from CDA frameworks, other approaches have been used by researchers to examine political discourse. They include conversation analysis (Antaki, 2008; Hammersley, 2003), systemic functional linguistics (Reyes, 2011; Warren, 2014), contrastive analysis (Aijmer & Lewis, 2017; Dervinytė, 2009) and interactional sociolinguistics (Fairclough, 1989; Gumperz, 2005).

The merits of political discourse analysis have been discussed. According to van Dijk (1997) political discourse analysis provides us with valuable insight into discursive political practices (e.g., parliamentary debates, media interviews, etc.), make evident the hidden and taken-for-granted ideologies that embed power relations and group interests and shed light on the relationship between discursive practices and their social and political contexts. As studies have shown political discourse is ideological and therefore not neutral (van Dijk, 2006). These ideologies may be opaque or transparent but are mainly expressed in language. Therefore, the current study assumes that Rawlings' speeches were imbued with both implicit and explicit representations of himself. His speeches are the primary means of communicating his political beliefs and ideology and target the whole citizenry. They are therefore impactful in terms of the influence they exert on society. The analysis of such discourses requires a critical framework. In this regard, many scholars believe that political discourse and critical discourse analysis cannot be separated given that the former begun with a strong political orientation (Fairclough, 1992; van Dijk, 1993a; Wodak, 1996). As a result, CDA has been prolific in political discourse and often used as a framework of analysis and method. Owing to its significance to the theory and methodology of the current study, the next section discusses this framework in some detail.

2.6 Critical discourse analysis (CDA)

The roots of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can be traced to critical linguistics (Teo, 2000). Earliest studies drawing on critical linguistics analysis of media discourses (Fowler et al., 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1979) emerged in the 1970s and as it evolved into a theory of discourse analysis through various stages of development, it intersected with ideas from classical rhetoric, text linguistics, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and pragmatics (Weiss & Wodak, 2003). Sometimes, CDA is used interchangeably with critical linguistics (Wodak, 2006) but is comparatively more "refined, broadened and changed" (Wodak, 2006, p. 5), serving as an umbrella concept that encompasses different theoretical and methodological approaches.

In the 1980s and 1990s, having grown out of critical linguistics and greatly influenced by the pioneer works of Roger Fowler, Gunther Kress, Robert Hodge, Norman Fairclough and Teun van Dijk who contributed to a clearer conceptualization and theorization of the approach, CDA became more popular as it produced several research studies particularly in the field of media discourse (Fairclough, 1989; 1995a; 1995b; Fowler et al., 1979; Hodge & Kress, 1993; Trew, 1979; van Dijk, 1988, 1993a) and emerged as a prolific theoretic framework for the analysis of discourse in general. As a result, Bell and Garrett (1998, p. 6) note, unsurprisingly, "some 40% of the papers published in the CDA journal *Discourse and Society* deal with media data" and as Fairclough (1995a, p. 28) argues most of these studies deal with the issue of representations. That the media constitutes an interesting cite for CDA analysis signals their crucial role in society as a discourse-bearing institution (Bell & Garrett, 1998) with a far-reaching scope and influence. Thus, both CDA and media studies, given their historical-cross fertilization, have grown concurrently over the years.

Though Critical Linguistics is considered to be the forerunner of CDA (Wodak & Chilton, 2005, p. xi). Jeffries (2003) posits "CDA began as a left-wing reaction to the hands-off objectivity of early linguistics, when there was clearly so much wrong with the world that was based in texts, and so much information about manipulation and political dishonesty that could be revealed by a few judicious uses of some fairly accessible tools of analysis" (p. 17). From Jeffries' explanation we see that the socio-political stance of CDA (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) cannot be obfuscated as it assimilates to a combination of textual analysis with social theory to investigate the tacit

relationship between language and ideology loaded on to texts. It is discernible from the foregoing that social structures can and in fact do influence linguistic structures in ways that lead to the reproduction of particular ideologies in texts which in turn show how power relations work to produce manipulation of and dominance over some groups of people in society. Critical discourse analysis, therefore, aims to enable these marginalized or minority groups to "emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection…thus [CDA] seek[s] not to only describe and explain, but also to root out a particular kind of delusion" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 7). In this regard, the objective of theories of critical discourse analysis is not merely to provide an explanatory framework for understanding social phenomena but also to critique, expose social inequality and call for change in society, thereby pointing away from the status quo to an ideal world, a utopia of a sort (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 6).

Given that language is at the heart of this complex system where texts become easily coded with social structures, power and ideological assumptions, CDA considers language as 'social practice' (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997b) and compels the view that discourse (or language use) is naturally domiciled in and cannot be divorced from the 'context' within which it is produced, textualized or given expression. Consequently, Fairclough and Wodak (1997a) rightly note that CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it: The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people. (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997b).

Regarding discourse as social practice, CDA argues that language use both reflects and produces ideologies in society (Baker et al., 2008) and makes use of the traditional concepts of textual analysis such as discourse, intertextuality, genre and style (Fairclough, 2003) to relate meaning in text to social and ideological phenomena with the objective to make the opaque aspects of discourse as social practice more visible (Fairclough et al., 2010). This does not, however, mean that CDA is uninterested in those aspects of discourse that are clearly perceptible and self-explanatory since they can still be manipulated to serve ideological purposes. So, for example, while the idea must be maintained that CDA is an analytical framework for deconstructing the latent ideologies that lie behind texts and "identifying and defining social, economic and historical power relations between dominant and subordinate groups" (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 72), it is important to emphasize that overall, "CDA can be [regarded] as being fundamentally interested in analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 10).

The point must be noted that in the analysis of discourse in general, critical findings similar to those obtained with CDA approaches have been made using other theories in areas such as narrative analysis, pragmatics, ethnography, stylistics and sociolinguistics in roughly the same measure of significance. However, we can make a distinction between purely critical approaches to discourse analysis such as CDA and non-critical methods because the former does not prime describing discursive practices "but also show how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief, neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 12). Apart from power and ideology which are manifestly associated with CDA as seen, there is history which deals with the historical contextualization of discourse. These three concepts, Wodak (2001b, p. 3) argues are intimately linked with CDA.

Since a variety of approaches come together to constitute CDA, van Dijk (2011, p. 621) draws attention to the fact that "CDA itself is not a method of research [per se], but a [research or] social movement of socio-politically committed discourse analysts using different methods of analysis". Similarly, Fairclough et al. (2010, p. 357) indicate that "CDA is not a discrete academic discipline with a relatively fixed set of research methods …; instead, it subsumes a variety of approaches,

each with different theoretical models, research methods, and agenda". What makes these different approaches unique is that despite the overt differences in their orientation, they share fundamentally similar principles. Wodak and Meyer (2009) opine that the differences are unproblematic, arguing that CDA has never tried to be a single theory or methodology but rather its heterogeneity allows for ongoing debates and novelty (p.5). Many scholars, therefore, agree that the multidimensional nature of CDA may well serve as a strength instead of a weakness as rightly noted below:

> We see CDA as bringing a variety of theories into dialogue, especially social theories on the one hand and linguistic theories on the other, so that its theory is a shifting synthesis of other theories, though what it itself theorizes in particular is the mediation between the social and the linguistic — the 'order of discourse', the social structuring of semiotic hybridity (interdiscursivity). Theoretical construction of discourse which CDA tries to operationalize can come from various disciplines, and the concept of 'operationalisation' entails working in a transdisciplinary way where the logic of one discipline (for example, sociology) can be 'put to work' in the development of another (for example, linguistics). (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 16).

A few things are immediately apparent from the view stated above. CDA is essentially multidisciplinary embracing a multiplicity of theories and methodologies. Though the theories and methodologies of CDA differ in terms of the strategies and backgrounds they draw upon, they take as an entry point the relationship and mediation between language and society. Therefore, scholars of CDA are exercised to an analysis of the semiotic aspects of power imbalance and abuse, social inequality and injustice, and social change. Put differently, CDA's concern is to uncover and give credence to unequal power relations which lie behind ways of talking in a society, while at the same time revealing the role of discourse in reproducing or challenging manifestations of sociopolitical dominance. It stands to reason then, that "CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (van Dijk, 2001, p. 352) . CDA has a clearly defined goal to explore how the representations of social and political issues, groups and people are linguistically expressed and enacted, discursively legitimated via particular strategies and discourse practices and how they are reproduced or resisted by written or

spoken discourse. The analysis focuses on the structure, features and strategies in texts to "uncover, reveal or disclose what is implicit, hidden or otherwise not immediately obvious in relations of discursively enacted dominance or their underlying ideologies" (van Dijk, 1995b, p. 18). These issues mentioned above are of primary interest to the current study, as it aims to understand how self-representation is done in political speeches and the linguistic, discourse structures and legitimation strategies that are sometimes deployed in texts to validate such representations. It focuses on, not the *what* representations do per se, but more fundamentally *how* those representations are made and how critical analytical theories contribute to exposing discourse structures and legitimation strategies deployed to do so.

That this study is informed by CDA means that it is more concerned about the inherent social structures in social interaction and aim to make them explicit. And whether we embrace it or not discourse analysis and its theoretical and explanatory frameworks are socio-politically 'situated' (van Dijk, 2001, p. 353). CDA has an explicit socio-political agenda and explores language and communication from the perspective of its social and political orientation by not only focusing on linguistic aspects but more crucially, on complex social phenomena that have semiotic dimensions (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Consequently, CDA combines linguistic analysis with social analysis (Wood & Kroger, 2000). That is to say the linkages between language, discourse, speech and social structure are not taken for granted in CDA analysis of representations. For example, Fowler (1991) examines the relationship between language and representation. He argues that despite the paramountcy of the representational role of newspaper discourse, the constructional function of language is crucial. He demonstrates that the description of linguistic features does not only merely account for the formal functional aspects of language but can be used to impose values and ideologies and load social categories on to texts in a subtle way in the representation of reality. How the world is understood, therefore, in Fowler's view, derives from the crucial function of language. He shows how the news is constructed and deconstructed with reference to pre-existing stereotypes or mental schemata and how these are related to what is perceived as reality using a thorough linguistic method of analysis. The theoretical foundation of Fowler's analysis of the relationship between language, discourse and society derives generally from critical linguistics and in particular critical discourse analysis. To this end, CDA insists that "all representation is mediated, molded by the value systems that are ingrained in the medium used for representation;

[it] challenges common sense [notions] by pointing out that something could have been represented some other way, with a very different significance" (Fowler, 1996, p. 4).

As far as CDA is concerned, what this means is that political speeches are not a value-free, neutral and objective account of reality but rather a construction of reality regulated by the structures of language. These speeches are therefore prone to bias which must be contested and exposed. Unless an approach such as CDA is guided by some overarching, governing principles by which it can prosecute the imbalance in society with the aim to readdressing it, the contribution of its critical productiveness to how we understand the world, social and power relations, social identities, linguistic and ideological processes embedded in discourse will lack theoretical and methodological integrity. Thus, the main tenets of CDA are summarized by Fairclough and Wodak (1997 pp. 271-280) as follows: (1) CDA addresses social problems; (2) power relations are discursive; (3) discourse constitutes society and culture; (4) discourse does ideological work; (5) discourse is historical; (6) the link between text and society is mediated; (7) discourse is interpretative and explanatory; and (8) discourse is a form of social action. From the foregoing, CDA can be adequately described as an eclectic approach alloyed with approaches grounded in different sources of knowledge and systems of belief. Despite their differences, these approaches form a tradition in critical social research and are discussed in some detail in the ensuing paragraphs.

2.7 Approaches of CDA in discourse analysis

It has been pointed out earlier that the uniqueness of CDA is in the fact that it is more of an ensemble of theoretical and methodological approaches than a monolithic school. These approaches have specific emphasis in their orientation. CDA's development from its antecedent, Critical Linguistics, has been shaped by ideas from disciplines such as linguistics, sociology, psychology, and even politics, and has equally drawn upon insights from systemic functional linguistics, discourse analysis, social semiotics, conversation analysis, classical rhetoric, and social cognition. To do its "ideological detective work' (Bell, 1991), CDA as a theoretical approach "can be combined with any approach and sub-discipline in the humanities and social sciences" (van Dijk, 2001, p. 96), in making transparent less obvious and taken-for-granted ideological assumptions embedded in discourse. Fairclough's discourse and social change approach, van

Dijk's socio-cognitive approach and Wodak's discourse-historical approach, are three common approaches in CDA. According to Catalano and Waugh (2020) these three approaches are considered common because they are often cited in the literature and have been used in the most publications in the major journals in the field (i.e., Discourse and Society, Discourse Studies, etc.). Additionally, academics in the field currently regularly use these approaches. Next, I discuss these approaches. Justifications of the chosen approach used to investigate the representation of Rawlings in his speeches are provided in Chapter 3 Section 3.2.

2.7.1   Fairclough's discourse and social change approach

Fairclough's approach to CDA considers discourse as 'social practice'. It takes into consideration the social and cultural dimensions of language in the textual analysis of discourse arguing that the two are inextricably related. Discourse as 'social practice' is considered "a mode of action' (Fairclough, 1995a, p. 54) which seeks "to expose and ultimately resist social inequality" (van Dijk, 2001, p. 352) by doing some type of 'policing' work which contributes to "the general rising of consciousness of exploitative social relationship, through focusing on language" (Fairclough, 1998, p. 4). The theory maintains that for social change to take place, discourse as social practice must not merely privilege an analysis of the linguistic processes and social structures that undergird texts but must simultaneously consider the historical context of the discourses in action.

Discourse as 'social practice' therefore implies that "language is a socially and historically situated mode of action, in a dialectical relationship with other facets of the social" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 54). Fairclough's dialectical theory of discourse or dialectical-relational approach can be considered a multidisciplinary or transdisciplinary approach to social change (Fairclough, 1992, 2004, 2006)which takes "a rather grand-theory-oriented position: [where] Fairclough focuses upon social conflict in the Marxian tradition and tries to detect its linguistic manifestations in discourses, in specific elements of dominance, difference and resistance" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 27). The approach, having been influenced by Halliday's functional framework and especially by Michel Foucault's social theory of the 'order of discourse' (Bell & Garrett, 1998), takes discourse as text, as discursive practice (production, distribution and consumption) and social practice (Fairclough, 2015, p. 58) to analyze the link between social and cultural practices and their textual properties, and how they map on to social and political thought. Fairclough divides his approach into three

related aspects of discourse analysis: as text, as discursive practice and as social practice. Each of these aspects, as will be explained subsequently, contributes important analytical details of meaning to discourse.

Discourse as text

Discourse as text connotes the idea that discourse is composed of propositional elements organized and structured in texts through the choice of words, their combination and sequencing, the connection and coordination of sentences and thus, can be subjected to a linguistic analysis (Fairclough, 1995, p. 57). The textual level of analysis draws on the conceptual tools of Halliday's SFL to analyze lexical and grammatical categories, sentence cohesion and coherence and textual structures in discourse. Here, the analysis, while looking out for the not-so-obvious, focuses on those transparent aspects of discourse and is sensitive to how linguistic choices in a text lead to the absences or the presences of particular assumptions, how they create representations of one kind and not the other, how they reproduce or resist ideologies and construct power relations, and social identities of the parties involved in a discourse situation, such news report. As far as representations are concerned, the choice of words is not random neither are the text producers free from bias, institutional control and ideological notions.

So, a textual analysis which "cover[s] traditional forms of linguistics – analysis of vocabulary and semantics, the grammar of sentences and smaller units and the sound system (phonology) and writing system" also comprises the "analysis of textual organization above the sentence, including the ways in which sentences are connected (cohesion) and aspects like the organization of turn-taking in interviews or the overall structure of a newspaper article" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 57). Textual analysis is not only concerned with the form and meaning of these linguistic elements, but also their specific functions in discourse. The discourse function of linguistic elements points to an understanding of their "direct or indirect involvement in reproducing or resisting the systems of ideology and social power" (Richardson, 2007, p. 39). In sum, Fairclough avers that the relationship between the elements of a text is in fact the relationship between texts, interactions, and contexts (Fairclough, 2015) and makes a distinction between the 'external' relations of texts and the 'internal' relations of texts (Fairclough, 2003, p. 36). While internal relations of texts deal with the meaning of lexico-grammatical elements and how they relate to each other in texts, the

external relations of texts deal with how one text relates to other texts- a phenomenon referred to as intertextuality and further discussed in Chapter 3.

Discourse as discursive practice

The analysis of discourse practice or discursive practice is a "complex of different sorts of analysis, including more discursive aspects of institutional processes (e.g., practices of producing TV news programmes), as well as socio-cognitive aspects of discourse processing (Bell & Garrett, 1998). Put differently, it "specifies the nature of the processes of text production and interpretation" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 4). Unlike discourse as text, which focuses on the more linguistic aspects of textual analysis, the analysis of discursive practice is discourse oriented and incorporates the related issues of processes of discourse production, distribution and circulation, and interpretation and reception of social meaning. It is important to note that at this level of analysis, Fairclough borrows from Foucault's (1984) concept of 'orders of discourse' as a cultural resource for the production and consumption of text., where, for example, media texts "draw upon but also constitute systems" (Bell & Garrett, 1998).

The claim is that for each order of discourse, which is a composition of a discourse linked to a particular domain, there are discursive practices appertaining to and descriptive of that order of discourse. As a result, the analysis focuses on components of discourse such as voice, style, register, speech acts intertextually loaded on to a text relative to its social context. Fairclough gives attention to intertextuality: "on how in the production and interpretation (as part of what I have called above 'consumption') of a text people draw upon other texts and text types which are culturally available to them" (Bell & Garrett, 1998, p. 145). Scholars using this approach often ask the question: "what genres and discourses are drawn upon in producing the text, and what traces of them are there in the text?" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 61). Hence this analytical framework is at the boundary between text and discourse practice and traces discourse practices in the text.

Discourse as social practice

This level of analysis focuses attention on the text's 'socio-cultural practice' or "the social and cultural goings-on which the communicative event is part of" (Fairclough, 1995a, p. 57). It relates to "the institutional and organization circumstances of the discursive event and how that shapes

the nature of the discursive practice" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 4). The guiding questions for formulating this level of Fairclough's analytical framework, undoubtedly, were drawn from Althusser's (1969) theory of ideology and Gramsci's (1971) theory of hegemony. When an analyst sees language as discourse and as social practice, Fairclough suggests that he/she is set out not only to analyze texts, processes of production and interpretation, but also the relationship between texts, processes, and their defined social conditions, both the immediate conditions of the situational context and the more remote conditions of institutional and social structures. The relationship between discourse and social structures is dialectical as social structures determine discourse and discourse produces social structures (Fairclough, 2015) which together produce "discursive change in relation to social and cultural change" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 10).

In other words, social structures determine social practice and are a product of social practice. Obvious in this picture is a recurring relationship between discourse and society such that at the instance of discourse "societies sustain their social structures and social relations over time" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 5). Fairclough believes that "discourse assumes such importance in terms of power relationships and power struggle: control over orders of discourse by institutional and societal powerholders is one factor in the maintenance of their power." (Fairclough, 2015, p. 68). Power struggle leads to social conflict which is symbolic of the exercise of domination by powerholders through forms of abuse, subtle or obvious, and the resistance, challenge and opposition of such forms of abuse by the dominated in society. Fairclough attends to social conflict as conceptualized in the Marxian tradition of social theory from the perspective that it is a natural and unavoidable consequence of "the exercise of power in modern society" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 2) and attempts to expose how it is linguistically manifested in discourse. To this end, power relations, ideology and social practices are inherent features of discourse.

In considering discourse as social practice, three questions have been suggested by Richardson (2007, p. 42) to guide the analyst in his/her critical enterprise: (1) what does the text say about the society in which it was produced and the society that it was produced for? (2) What influence or impact do we think that the text may have on social relations? (3) Will it help to continue inequalities and other undesirable social practices, or will it help break them down? Expressly, Fairclough (1995b) points out that CDA "may be at different levels of abstraction from the

particular event: it may involve its more immediate situational context, the wider context of institutional practices the event is embedded within, or the yet wider frame of the society and the culture" (p. 62). Fairclough proffers three dimensions/stages of CDA, namely description, interpretation and explanation (Fairclough, 2001, p. 21-22), and outlines the stages of applying his framework of CDA as follows:

1. Focus on a social problem that has a semiotic aspect.
2. Identify obstacles to it [the problem] being tackled, through analysis of: (a) the network of practices it is located within (b) the relationship of semiosis to other elements within the particular practice(s) concerned (c) the discourse (the semiosis itself).
3. Consider whether the social order (network of practices) in a sense 'needs' the problem.
4. Identify possible ways past the obstacles.
5. Reflect critically on the analysis.

(Fairclough, 1989, p. 125)

On the whole, Fairclough's approach creates a converging framework of "linguistically-oriented discourse analysis and social and political thought relevant to discourse and language" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 62), making it a more deductive than an inductive critical approach.

2.7.2 Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach

This approach, as clearly indicated by its name, is a theoretical framework to CDA developed by and from the works of Dutch text linguist Teun van Dijk. It draws on ideas from cognitive psychology, public perception, memory and consciousness, and to distinguish itself from other CDA approaches, it "theorizes the relationship between social systems and social cognition" (Mayr, 2008, p. 9). As a socio-cognitive approach, it focuses attention on the role played by cognition in CDA and insists that CDA, fundamentally, should be oriented to elucidating the interaction between discourse, cognition and society, a kind of conceptual triangle of discourse analysis (van Dijk, 2001). Bell and Garrett (1998, pp. 6-7) note that van Dijk aims, among others, "to integrate the production and interpretation of discourse as well as its textual analysis". He explores the relationship between societal structure and discursive structure from a socio-cognitive perspective, maintaining that mental models mediate between ideology and discourse (Bell & Garrett, 1998, p. 7). Against this backdrop of the nature of the mediating elements, van Dijk's

framework differs from Fairclough's because the latter focuses on social practice as the mediating dimension through which texts are produced and received (Bell & Garret, 1998, p. 12).

Having developed his theory in the early 1980s, he first applied it to the study of media texts (see, van Dijk, 1988) and it "is the most comprehensive work on media discourse to date" (Bell & Garrett, 1998, p. 7). Focusing on   the cognitive aspects of language use, van Dijk has applied his theory to research on large-scale studies on international news reporting (ibid, 1988) and the operation of discourse in racism, ideology and knowledge in the European press (van Dijk, 1993a, 1998a), which function to highlight stereotypes, reproduce ethnic prejudices and expose power struggle in the form of abuse by the elites and resistance by marginalized groups. To do this type of analysis, he identifies a three-way analysis of texts to include "the description of argumentative structures; the explication of presupposed (tacit) assumptions, norms and values; and an analysis of style and rhetorical features" (van Dijk, 1998, p. 126). Despite significant differences between Fairclough's and van Dijk's framework noted earlier, the two approaches are similar in the sense that they accommodate and combine with other disciplines. So, the socio-cognitive approach is "essentially interdisciplinary, combining linguistic, discourse analytical, psychological and sociological analysis of news discourse and news processes" (van Dijk, 1998, p. 15). In developing an interpretive framework and an approach to discourse analysis, van Dijk takes discourse to mean a 'communicative event' that includes texts, spoken or written, multimodal forms, and multiple semiotic modes. He views cognition in two ways; personal and social and posits that it comprises structures related to the mind including comprehension, memory, and beliefs as well as emotions and evaluations. For what constitutes the social, he argues that it entails "local and global, societal and political structures, group-relations (of dominance and inequality), movements, institutions, organizations and social processes" (van Dijk, 2001, p. 98).

Like Fairclough's approach which identifies three related concepts to discourse namely power, ideology and history, van Dijk's framework also identifies three notions related to the issue of social representation namely, knowledge, attitudes and ideology. Two forms of knowledge are distinguished: personal and social. Whereas personal knowledge is about an individual's personal mental models about specific representations, social knowledge is socially constitutive or created and shared by a group. Put differently, it is common knowledge shared by social groups such that

this knowledge forms their belief about and action in society. Making a distinction between these two forms of knowledge representation is not straightforward because it is not easy to tell whether a particular form of representing the news is the individual journalist's knowledge construction or a group involved in the production of the news or some other supervening elite power-holder (s) such as media owners. By attitude, van Dijk means shared values or common cultural values that serve as blueprints by which actions practices can be evaluated as being right or wrong in preference to true or false. According to van Dijk (1995b, p. 19) ideology refers to the basic "framework for organizing the social cognitions shared by members of a social group, organizations and institutions". Compared to the other two concepts herein discussed, ideology functions as the spine of the organization of society. Because one group can be differentiated from another by ideology and a group's ideological position practiced over time may evolve to become a generally accepted belief or attitude for an entire community (van Dijk, 2006a, p. 117).

The notion of 'ideological square' is a central component to van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach. This notion reflects the polarization between social groups that result in positive presentation of *US* as against negative representation of *Them*. This positive ingroup identity construction versus negative outgroup depiction is purely ideological and can be instanced in discourse by highlighting the differences between groups and the similarities of things in the same group (McLeod, 2008) in one of four ways: (1) express/emphasize information that is 'positive' about *us*; (2) express/emphasize information that is 'negative' about *them*; (3) suppress/de-emphasize information that is 'positive' about *them*' and (4) suppress/de-emphasize information that is 'negative' about *us*. Thus, any piece of discourse which "expresses, establishes, confirms or emphasizes a self-interested group opinion, perspective or position, especially in a broader socio-political context of social struggle" according to van Dijk "is a candidate for special attention in ideological analysis" (van Dijk, 1998a, p. 23). Given that van Dijk's approach is interdisciplinary, the notion of 'ideological square' draws upon and is similar to the ideas of Henri Tajfel's (1979) social identity theory except that Tajfel's theory is grounded in psychology while van Dijk's is a major contribution to the broad field of cognitive linguistics and CDA research in particular.

Besides van Dijk's own works in representation, other studies have successfully applied the socio-cognitive approach to the analysis of media discourse or mass mediated communication including

the representation of ideologically conflicting ideas in the western print media (Shojaei et al., 2013), the representation of British Muslims (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010), a metaphor-led discourse analysis of Australian news media reporting on maritime asylum seekers (Nguyen & McCallum, 2016), and the representation of Muslim women in BBC news (Al-Hejin, 2015).

2.7.3   The discourse-historical approach (DHA)

This approach, also known as DHA, was developed by Ruth Wodak together with her colleagues in the Vienna School as a framework for CDA. The DHA was inspired by and shares similar features with the interdisciplinary critical approaches to social life developed within the Frankfurt School (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). It was originally applied to a study analyzing anti-Semitic stereotypical representations in public discourses including the news and press reporting in the Austrian presidential campaigns in 1986 (Wodak, 2004, 2015; Wodak et al., 1990) but has since been widely applied to other social phenomena such as sexism and racism, reporting detailed analysis of issues investigated from a mass of data collected over time and taking into consideration the broader societal and political structures in which discourse is produced and interpreted(Wodak & Meyer, 2009). As far as the study of discourses regarding the representation of minority groups in society is concerned, many scholars regard the DHA as comparatively more suitable because of its tools and strategies of linguistic analysis (Breeze, 2011).

Context in DHA

Context is assumed to be historical in the DHA and when analyzed in discourse, information about the historical aspects within which discourse events are domiciled (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999) and the changes that occur over time in the discourse genres that produce these discursive events are thoroughly explored and accounted for. Such a view underscores the point that historicity is integral to discourse and that we understand the present better and make more informed predictions about the future only by reflecting on our historical past. In this regard, the DHA can be considered as an approach that highlights the historical recontextualization of a linguistic and social phenomenon. The analysis of historical context therefore begins at the linguistic level and perceives language as profoundly social, steeped in social processes and complex social interactions layered in ideology and power structures. Ideology is defined in the DHA "as an (often) one-sided perspective or worldview composed of related mental representations,

convictions, opinions, attitudes and evaluations [which] are shared by members of specific social groups" (Wodak, 2015, p. 4).

Consequently, the DHA aims to make transparent hegemony, control, and dominance in discourses by critically explicating underlying ideologies with recourse to their context of situation. What appears evident is that context analysis can be approached from a multidimensional perspective incorporating available background information to texts or discourses at four different levels (Weiss & Wodak, 2003). At each level, contextual analysis varies and focuses on different but relevant aspects of the discourse. Whereas the first level concerns a descriptive analysis that includes for example linguistic and discourse features, the second level considers the intertextual and interdiscursive contexts of analysis. The third level encompasses all variables beyond the linguistic domain, to include social and sociological variations, the history of an organization/institution and situational frames. The fourth level situates the analysis in a broader context that explores how changes in discourse, genre and texts are related to and traced to social and political changes in society.

This approach therefore gives a more nuanced understanding of discursive practices by drawing on and integrating multiple perspectives that lead to an adequate understanding and explanation of a social phenomenon such as the representation of Rawlings undertaken by the current study. The main principles of the DHA which have developed over time have been summarized by Wodak (2015, p. 2) and it is worth quoting them at length as follows as they will guide the study:

1. The approach is interdisciplinary and involves theory, methods, methodology, research practice, and practical application.
2. The approach is problem-oriented.
3. Various theories and methods are combined wherever integration leads to an adequate understanding and explanation of the research object.
4. The research incorporates fieldwork and ethnography (study from "inside") where this is required for a thorough analysis and theorizing of the object under investigation.
5. The research necessarily moves recursively between theory and empirical data.
6. Numerous genres and public spaces as well as intertextual and interdiscursive relationships are studied.

7. The historical context is considered in interpreting texts and discourses. The historical orientation permits the reconstruction of how recontextualization functions as an important process linking texts and discourses intertextually and interdiscursively over time.

8. Categories and tools are not fixed once and for all. They must be elaborated for each analysis according to the specific problem under investigation.

9. "Grand theories" often serve as a foundation. In the specific analyses, however, "middle-range theories" frequently supply a better theoretical basis.

10. The application of results is an important target. Results should be made available to and applied by experts and should be communicated to the public.

It is important to mention that since its inception, the DHA has been deployed by researchers in the field of discourse studies and in particular media representation studies. Studies in media representation include anti-Islam racism in the British press (Richardson & Wodak, 2009), the representation of Meghan Markle in Facebook posts (Mahfouz, 2018), US news media portrayal of Islam and Muslims (Samaie & Malmir, 2017), the construction of Indonesian Muslims in Australian newspapers (Al Fajri, 2020), and the representation of immigrants in New Zealand print media (Salahshour, 2017) among others. It has also been applied to political discourses (Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2008; Richardson & Wodak, 2009; Wodak & Pelinka, 2002) in the media.

It has also been mentioned at different points in this discussion the ways in which these three approaches differ or share similarities. One obvious way all three frameworks exhibit similarity is in the perception that they are all essentially multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary and can combine with theoretical and methodological approaches from other disciplines, fields of knowledge, schools of thought for research. Again, all three approaches maintain that as far as the relation between discourse and society is concerned, discourse structures shape social structures and are in turn shaped by them. How this relation is mediated differs, even if slightly, from one approach to the other, in terms of the unique configuration and contribution to discourse studies. Based on the differences between these three approaches, the present study adopts the DHA and the justifications for this choice and the suitability of the DHA in addressing the research aims of the present study are given in Chapter 3 Section 3.2. Although I utilize the DHA throughout the analysis, I also draw on legitimation, especially in my examination of the

justificatory arguments Rawlings proffered in legitimizing his identity in the military and democratic regimes in Chapter 6. It is therefore relevant to discuss in some detail legitimation in political discourse and indicate which legitimation framework the present study draws on .

2.7.4   Legitimation in political discourse and Van Leeuwen's legitimation framework

As noted in Section 2.5, in political discourse, politicians attempt to propagate their ideological beliefs in order to achieve their predetermined political agendas. Politicians do so based on the authority vested (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997) in them in ways that appear more or less subtle (Reyes-Rodriguez, 2008). Therefore, one of the core aims of political discourse analysis is to uncover latent ideologies that underlie the interpretations or truth validations politicians give to social events from a discourse or linguistic point of view. Legitimation, therefore, can be said to be the process by which ideological positions, political actions and social behaviour are justified using rational arguments (Reyes, 2011). The legitimation that derives from these ideologies, political actions and social behaviours is situated within institutions that function in specific cultures with norms and values. This implies that legitimation is sensitive to these cultural norms and values and can therefore be said to be context-dependent, meaning that what may be considered legitimatory in one context may differ from another culturally distinct context. Generally, within the sphere of politics, legitimation provides an explanatory framework in which politicians use various linguistic and discursive strategies to validate social actions or behaviours, often, with the aim to make their appeal more acceptable and the legitimacy of those actions more believable (Van Leeuwen, 2007). In this regard, the ultimate goal of the politician is to secure his audience's support by attempting to provide answers to the fundamental question of "why"- that is, "why should we do this?" and "why should we do this in this way" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 93). To do this, speakers resort to public argumentation as a mechanism for explaining their ideological positions, social actions and practices by highlighting what is salient or downplaying what is less salient in order to achieve specific political goals (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997). Apart from seeking social acceptance through legitimizing specific actions and behaviour, the quest to gain fame and establish a strong bond of communal solidarity can serve as motivations for politicians to adduce evidence *ad infinitum* in their speeches to justify their representation of reality (Reyes, 2011).

Since identity communicates and serves to achieve certain ideologies which largely depend on legitimation practices aimed at securing public consent and approval, identity and legitimation can be said to be related. For instance, identities formed in institutional contexts (such as by presidents) can justify the (ab)use of power which demonstrates the relationship between the rule and the ruled and helps us to make sense of how different classes and groups of people are created in society. This view resonates with Barker's (2004) claim that when an individual represents self, it " at one and the same time legitimates the person", making legitimation and identity (or identification) concepts that are "inextricably intermeshed" (p. 34). Here, discourse plays a vital role as discourse facilitates the construction of identity and ideological legitimacy (Van Leeuwen, 2007). That is, through discourse, politicians "constitute knowledge, situations, social roles as well as identities" (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999, p. 92) in their performance of politics. In this study, I pay more attention to the discourse of legitimization in Rawlings' speeches and the kinds of discursive strategies they provided for Rawlings to validate his political identity in his military and democratic regimes. To do so, this present study draws on Van Leeuwen's (2007) legitimation framework which identified four main types of strategies namely, authorization, rationalization, moralization and mythopoesis. These legitimation strategies have sub-types and are subsequently discussed. Each of the four main strategies of legitimation proposed by Van Leeuwen is made up of sub-categories. These strategies, authorization, rationalization, moralization and mythopoesis are explained further.

Authorization is a legitimation process where discursive actions, situations or opinions are validated or discredited by referring to authority (Van Leeuwen, 2007). The authority that is referenced may include persons or public figures in whom some form of institutional authority has been vested. Sometimes, to legitimate one's authority, other social actors are represented negatively and assigned personality traits that portray them as enemies or opponents. This creates a situation where the speaker draws his audience into an 'us-group' in polarity to a 'them-group' constituted by the other negatively represented social actors (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). Van Leeuwen (2007) distinguishes between six sub-categories of authorization namely, personal authority, impersonal authority, authority of tradition, expert authority, role model authority and authority of conformity.

When an individual in whom institutional power is vested takes decisions or makes certain claims based on the legitimacy the institution gives him/her, personal authority occurs. As such, he/she does not have the obligation to explain why things have to be done in certain ways and therefore what he/she authorizes is expected to be obeyed or accepted as truth. Unlike personal authority, impersonal authority occurs when laws and rules are drawn upon or referenced to validate an action or position. That is, the authority of the law, not an individual, (de)legitimizes social action. Similarly, when traditions or habits or customs are used by speakers to make their audience accept that a course of action is legitimate because that action has always been done in the past, the authority of tradition is at work (Van Leeuwen, 2007). As noted by other scholars (van Dijk, 1988; Reyes, 2011), expert authority is used in contexts where speakers want to make their arguments more compelling by referring to the opinions of highly respected and credible experts in specific fields or society in general in order to persuade their audiences about certain actions or positions. Concerning role model authorization, Van Leeuwen (2007) indicates that this type of legitimation is used when speakers implicitly or explicitly refer to popular figures in society or celebrities who may be involved in or support the activities, actions or even ideologies the speakers want to legitimize. Authorization legitimation of the conformity type occurs when speakers evoke the idea that an actions should be done because, supposedly, everyone is performing those actions. In doing so, specific issues are skewed and articulated as truths without always providing evidence such as the speculative reference to numerical elements to assert a claim (see Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). To wit, Van Leeuwen (2007, p. 97) observes "contemporary law makers increasingly believe that, if most people are doing it, it cannot be wrong. And should be legalized".

Rationalization is legitimation that is realized by giving "cognitive validity" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 92) to socio-political goals and the actions that derive from institutions vested with power using commonly constructed social knowledge. It makes uses of truth claims to (dis)approve of specific actions or social practices. It hinges on a shared assumption of what is considered rational and involves reference to knowledge, logic, arguments and claims in order to demonstrate why an action is rational or beneficial. Van Leeuwen (2007) distinguishes two main types of rationalization. These are instrumental and theoretical rationalization. Instrumentally, rationalization is realized based on the provision of valid claims as to why certain socio-political purposes succeed or do not succeed. That is to say, it hinges on the means and ends that underlie

and legitimize these constructed purposes. Theoretical rationalization is realized by stating the truth on which certain causes of action are based on. This is achieved by providing definition, explanation and prediction to those causes of action (see Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999).

Moralization involves making direct or indirect reference to specific norms or moral value systems. This can be achieved by evaluation (i.e. direct moral evaluations of behaviors), abstraction (i.e. moralizing certain events or behaviors by linking them to discourses of moral values) and analogy (i.e. moral evaluation through comparison) (see Van Leeuwen, 2007; Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). As Van Leeuwen (2007) has argued, moral values tend not to be explicit but can be simply affirmed by words such as right, good, wrong and bad. Beyond the judgement of moral evaluations based on these perplexing words, Van Leeuwen further argues that moral evaluations can be identified "on the basis of our common-sense cultural knowledge" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 98).

Mythopoesis is a type of legitimation strategy that draws on narratives and storytelling. Mythopoesis can take two forms, moral or cautionary tales (Van Leeuwen, 2007). When moral tales are evoked, the legitimation emphasizes the reward and praise the main character receives for engaging in beneficial social practices as well as the happy endings that characterize the difficulties they encounter in their quest to do good. Contrarily, cautionary tales legitimate actions based on stories in which the main character deviates from acceptable norms, leading to shameful, harmful and unhappy ending.

Given that the key notion under investigation in the present study is identity and self-representation in the political discourse of Jerry John Rawlings, Ghana's longest serving leader across two regimes- military and democratic regimes, it is important to review previous literature on identity and self-representation in political discourse in order to contextually situate the present study. To do so, I pay attention to studies that have drawn on the theoretical frameworks adopted in the present study namely, the DHA and Van Leeuwen's legitimation strategies.

2.7.5   Discursive strategies in identity and self-representation in political discourse

Selecting the political discourse of Rawlings as the primary site for discursive self-representation, it is reasonable to explain in detail how previous literature discusses how speakers vested with institutional authority represent themselves in their discourse. A good number of the studies in this domain have focused on how linguistic elements function to realize a speaker's or institution's positionality vis-à-vis other people, issues, viewpoints, ideology, etc., within a specific discourse event (see Hart, 2015, Chilton, 2004). Yet, others have highlighted how different speakers employ discursive strategies to legitimate their discourses in terms of how they position themselves relative to socio-political issues and this positioning is part of their identity politics (see van Leeuwen, 2007; van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999).

Rojo and van Dijk (1997) investigated the discursive aspects of legitimation by analyzing the speech of the Spanish Secretary of Interior, Major Oreja, in relation to the Spanish government's authorization of the military-approach expulsion of African immigrants considered to be illegal residents in Melilla, a Spanish enclave in Morocco. Following the expulsion, there were widespread protests from different quarters including the media and NGOs about the problematic nature of the act, making it a politically contentious issue that bordered on racism and human rights violation. Secretary Oreja's speech was therefore delivered on behalf of the Spanish Government to seek parliament's support and the public's acceptance of the expulsion. The study aimed, more specifically, to contribute understanding of the discursive structures (e.g., grammar, rhetorical moves, etc.) of legitimation strategies, their political and social functions as well as the key role they play in reproducing the power of the State and ethnic superiority in western European societies. Using CDA and drawing on the legitimation framework developed by Van Leeuwen (1995), the authors focused on three discursive aspects of legitimation namely, pragmatic, semantic and sociopolitical and analyzed the discursive structures through which these discursive aspects were expressed or realized in Major Oreja's justification of the expulsion.

As far as the strategies of legitimation are concerned, the most common strategy the Secretary relied on to proffer justificatory arguments in favour of the expulsion of the immigrants was by personal references to institutional authority and to customs and laws. To justify his decision to expel these immigrants, the Secretary, more specifically, drew on the semantics of legality and

legal procedures as well as references to legal authority. This involved references to the relevant parts of the law to sanction his actions and to account for the procedure in which the expulsion was carried out as normal. To normalize this discursive act and make it acceptable, Secretary Oreja framed the act as serving the interest of the people by referring to the sections of the law that enjoin the government to protect its citizens from the threat of others. Consequently, the actions taken by the government are "not only legal, but also standard procedures for the expulsion of illegal migrants" (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997, p. 537). In order to frame the immigrants as Other and delegitimate their existence, pejorative lexical choices (e.g., refugees) were made to describe them as an outgroup that must be chased out and to legitimize the action of expulsion itself as normal. Rojo and van Dijk (1997) further observe that lexical choices such as 'fire', 'public disorder' and 'threatening attitude' were employed by Secretary Orja to construct a subjective reality that suggested that "the migrants were violent and a threat to others-to Us" (p. 544) to both signal the obligation and the moral necessity of the expulsion. One thing Rojo and van Dijk (1997) highlight, which is of interest to the present study is how individuals within an institutional context can describe their actions in positive terms while at the same time delegitimizing alternative, competing views. This point is emphasized by the use of several evaluative expressions in Secretary Oreja's speech. For example, the representation of the action of expulsion is accompanied by strategically mitigated phrases such as "send back" and formal and legitimating phrases like "enforcing the law" (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997, p. 543).

In a related study carried out by Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999), the authors examined refusal notices issued by the Austrian immigration authorities to immigrant workers in response to their applications for family reunion. Drawing on the legitimation scheme developed by Van Leeuwen (1995) (this legitimation scheme was reported in a later study, Van Leeuwen (2007)), the study investigated seven rejection notices with the aim to critically assess the various arguments the authorities used in their justification of the refusal of these family reunion applications. The analysis found 103 instances of legitimation in the notices which were grouped according to the specific categories on which the refusal was based. Legitimation via moral abstraction and impersonal authorization were the most common, accounting for 40% and 28% respectively of the total occurrences. The impersonal authorizations were grounded in legal references to relevant sections of the law (e.g. Paragraph 3 section 5 Residency Law) and housing rules and regulations

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to refute the applications. Although accounting for only 7% of the total occurrences, conformity authorization based on the assumption that most Austrian families live in apartments that are more than 10 m² was used by the authorities to justify their rejection of an applicant's request to share her apartment with less space than 10 m² with her family. Based on this ground of legitimation, the study noted that when processing family reunion applications, the authorities appeared to take into consideration the typical apartment size of most Austrian families, which is more than 10 m², in their decision to grant or refute an applicant's request for his/her family to immigrate to Austria (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). Concerning abstract moralization, the authors noted further that the authorities deployed, among others, moralized Austrian values such as values of leadership and economic values as legitimatory basis to reject the applications. For example, the values of leadership was expressed in the rejection notices using metaphorical expressions such as "to steer the influx of migrants" (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999, p. 108) to underscore the moral value of the government's capability in controlling 'illegal' immigrants for the greater good of the Austrian society. Thus, the rejection can be taken to mean that the leaders have succeeded in doing the right thing. On the other hand, economic values were linked to the rejections and were captured by statements such as "to move economic growth forward" and "to consider the economic interest of the country" (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999, p. 109), indicating prioritization of a healthy economy over taking in immigrants. As such, it can be said that the economic value of a healthy economy was moralized in comparison to making room for immigrants, even if the immigrants had reasonable grounds for applying for family reunion.

The two studies, Rojo and van Dijk (1997) and Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999), can be compared on the basis of the legitimation categories identified in the texts they analyzed. While the most common legitimation strategy in Rojo and van Dijk (1997) was authorization, in Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999), abstraction moralization was the most dominant. This is interesting in the sense that although the justifications offered by the actors are in respect of similar discursive social actions (i.e., government decision on immigrants), the legitimation strategies the government agency used vary, revealing how context-dependent factors could determine the type of legitimations that might yield the most meaningful political outcomes. Despite this difference between the two studies, they share similarities in the impersonal authorization they draw on to assert claims. Given that Rojo and van Dijk (1997) and Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) are

situated in a European context (i.e., in Spain and Austria respectively), the findings of the study, in terms of the various discursive structures deployed in the justification of a political/institutional decision can be said to be contingent on the local context (i.e., Spanish politics governed by Spanish history, laws, policies, constitution and Austrian political system governed by Austrian laws) within which the legitimations they produce are used. Hence, the results may not apply across the board, making it needful for a similar scenario to be examined from the African context as the current study aims to do.

Another useful study in legitimation research is Van Leeuwen (2007) which, like Rojo and van Dijk (1997) and Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999), is also situated in a European context. In Van Leeuwen (2007), the author aimed to lay out a framework for analyzing the language of legitimation in public communication and in routine interaction. To do so, the author discerned four legitimation categories (see Section 2.7.4 for detailed discussion of these legitimation categories) namely, authorization, rationalization, moralization and mythopoesis through which compulsory education can be legitimated or delegitimated. Each of these legitimations has sub-categories: authorization (personal, expert, role model, tradition and impersonal), rationalization (instrumental and theoretical), moralization (evaluation, abstraction, and analogies), and mythopoesis (moral and cautionary tales). Van Leeuwen (2007) anchored his framework on the premise that legitimations are always specific and underlie specific institutional practices, suggesting that legitimations cannot be decontextualized. This supports the observation made by comparing Rojo and van Dijk (1997) and Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) that legitimations in discourse are context-dependent. Van Leeuwen's (2007) analysis therefore used an institution-specific but diverse corpus of texts including texts in children's books, brochures for parents, media and teacher training texts to examine how compulsory education was regulated and legitimated. The analysis did not only underline the functions of these legitimations but also set out the specific linguistic resources by which the legitimations were realized. That linguistic configuration is necessary for the expression of legitimations has been underscored in an earlier study by Berger and Luckmann who opined that language is the most important means for establishing any form of legitimacy and that "incipient legitimation is present as soon as a system of linguistic objectification of human experience is transmitted" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 112). As an example, Van Leeuwen (2007) notes that authorization, which draws on the authority

vested in a person or institution to legitimize certain actions, can take linguistic forms such as verbal or mental processes that demonstrate obligation and legality. What this implies is that linguistic analysis aimed at identifying the specific vocabularies that structure legitimations is vital in understanding how legitimacy is cultivated in social practices, thus making the present study's objective to tease out the linguistic means of realizing legitimation strategies in political self-representation in a different context meaningful. Further, the diversity of the corpus of texts analyzed notwithstanding, the study found that the texts recontextualized, informed about and legitimated, to different degrees, the practice of 'first day at school' which orients towards compulsory education (Van Leeuwen, 2007).

Further on legitimation, Reyes (2011) examines strategies of legitimation in political discourse, by explicating in what specific linguistic ways language is exploited as a tool of control and expression of symbolic power. The study's aim is to develop a framework of legitimation strategies used by social actors to validate specific actionable steps. He therefore focuses on discursive structures and strategies in the speeches of two ideologically different presidents, George W. Bush and Barack Obama, in two different armed conflicts, Iraq (2007) and Afghanistan (2009), to underscore how they justify military presence in these countries in what became famously known as 'War on Terror'. The legitimation strategies developed in the study are emotion (i.e., fear), hypothetical future, rationality, voices of expertise and altruism. Reyes also provides an explanatory framework on how these discursive strategies are employed by social actors to legitimate their ideological standpoints and actions.

Using CDA and tools from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), Reyes (2011) examines and identifies specific linguistic categories such as verbs, pronominal choices, conditional sentences, numbers and evaluative adjectives that realize these strategies. His findings show that the two political figures used identical strategies to promote themselves and legitimize their political programmes but also differ in their argumentation due to the differences in their political situation and the lexico-grammatical elements in their speeches. What is remarkable about Reyes' study is how it foregrounds the idea that politicians can use identical forms of discursive strategies to achieve opposite realities perhaps due to idiosyncratic use of language and the time and situation in which their discourse is embedded. It is in this way that Reyes' (2011) study bears resemblance

to the current study as it seeks to examine the divergence or convergence of the discursive strategies Rawlings deployed to validate Self in two distinct time periods. Though Reyes' (2011) study underscores the role of emotion in legitimation practices, Breeze (2021) finds Reyes' categories in his legitimation typology to be similar to and overlapping with earlier typologies such as Van Leeuwen (2007). For instance, Breeze (2021) argues that what Reyes (2011) categorizes as 'rationality', and 'voice of expertise' could be accounted for by Van Leeuwen's category of 'rationalization' and that Reye's category of 'emotion' could also be accommodated under "general strategies of legitimation" (Poblete, 2011, p. 169). Breeze (2021) made this observation as part of a study to examine the legitimation strategies five main UK banks utilized in their letters to shareholders during the ten years following the 2008 financial crisis to preserve their fame.

The analysis focused on revealing the purpose, objective and interdiscursive aspects of the legitimation strategies that were used as well as the role emotion and narrative played in achieving persuasion through their situated legitimatory arguments. To do so, Breeze proposed a five-part typology of legitimation categories with various sub-categories by adding 'normalization' (the claim that discursive actions are normal), which she adopts from Vaara and Tienar (2008), to Van Leeuwen's (1995, 1999, 2000) four categories. The study found that in these shareholder letters, all five legitimation strategies, normalization, authorization, rationalization, moralization and mythopoesis were often used by the banks to repel various kinds of public castigations. The strategies were found in the context of specific needs and in relation to specific audiences. One interesting finding of the study is that the banks adopted a two-way strategy to rationalization based on differences in the goal and audience of the legitimatory discourses. On the one hand, the banks rationalized that the banking industry provided useful social services in an attempt to salvage the banks' reputation, using language that underscores the banks' promotional and educational efforts. On the other hand, less transparent technical language was used to rationalize the banks' poor profit margins to disgruntled shareholders. This means that specific discursive needs and the specific audiences they are related to determine the kinds of legitimation strategy that are used to justify certain positions or actions. This observation from Breeze's (2021) findings serves as an entry point for the present study in that the analysis of Rawlings' identity legitimation is situated in discourses directed at different audiences in two distinct regimes that point to different sociopolitical needs. However, unlike Breeze's study, which was situated in and focused on

institutions in Europe, the current study is situated in an African context and focuses on military and democratic regimes. So far, there is evidence to suggest in the review of previous studies on legitimation practices in discourse that the African context is heavily underrepresented in terms of the regional distribution of the studies. Also, it is apparent that the specific contexts in which the various truth claims were made by the actors in the studies reviewed so far indicate that the actors were not only seeking to justify specific issues but also highlighted the social practices and institutions in which those issues were embedded as well as the power relations in which ongoing power struggles in society come into being (Abulof, 2015). Here, legitimation can become interdiscursively linked with ideology and political performance which have implication for how society is organized and how some sociopolitical realities and not others are created. To expand our understanding of the implications of legitimation issues and their discursive structures in society today and how legitimation can be theorized, more and diverse studies are required in different domains (e.g., military and democratic regimes) as well as in different regions (e.g., Ghana, Africa) of the world. This creates a gap the current study aims to fill by examining how legitimation of identity is performed in a military and democratic regime by an African revolutionary politician, Jerry John Rawlings.

In terms of how language use highlights identity in politics, Boyd (2009) is an example study of the crucial role of deconstruction of discourse in understanding how the issues of race and identity embedded in presidential discourses are instantiated and perceived. The notion of identity, for instance, is complex, as on one hand it indicates the similarities and differences in interpersonal relations (Wodak, 2009) and on the other hand, it is intimately interwoven with the dominant ideology, which "can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations…social classes, women, men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). Boyd noted that the relationship between identity and ideology is even more crucial as it defines who political actors are, how they perform politics and how they are publicly perceived in terms of their social identity and the ideological group they belong. The study aimed to analyze the allied issues of race, racism and identity with recourse to the historical, cultural and social contexts embedding the discourse by using Barack Obama's "A More Perfect Union" speech delivered as part of his 2008 presidential campaign. Set within the context of United States (US) politics, Boyd anchored his

study, mainly, to the assumption that a past significant speech, with its discourse practices, can represent an important type of currently unfolding discourse practice in the US politics which influences and is influenced by social practices. He focused on the issue of recontextualization of texts unfolding at three dimensions: text- external (i.e., the broader socio-political and historical contexts), intertextual (i.e., the dialectical relations between texts) and text-internal (i.e., the grammatical and lexical parameters).

Using CDA as the main theoretical framework, Boyd examined how context, recontextualization and their linguistic realizations help to shed better light on the discourse practices of Obama, illustrating how these factors inform and are a reflection of social practice in contemporary US politics and society. The findings of this study revealed that in addressing the issues of race, racism and identity, Barack Obama used multiple strategies to construct a collective identity representing all Americans. At the same time, he maximized the processes of recontextualization, in combination with an including and sometimes excluding rhetoric to legitimize himself and delegitimize his detractors, thereby (re)constructing for himself the identity of a responsible politician, a fair arbiter in a case concerning his former pastor, and a unifier, which he projected as 'American'. Boyd's study is close to the current study in a number of ways. Firstly, its use of CDA to do an in-depth analysis of a phenomenon focusing on the social, political and historical aspects of discourse which the current study advocates. Secondly, the issue of recontextualization which provides a construct within which to understand the discursive practices of Rawlings in constructing his identity by analyzing how context and the lexico-grammatical linguistic structures of discourse combine to create particular versions of reality in presidential rhetoric.

Concerning linguistic elements, several studies have revolved around pronominal choices exploited by politicians to achieve various discursive purposes including self-referencing and labelling of opponents. Bramley (2001) in particular, discusses how politicians use pronouns strategically and as tools to construct their identity. To her, pronouns perform a key function of constructing Self and Other rather than only expressing grammatical gender, number and person as well as their pragmatic deictic work as construed by traditional grammarians. She noted that pronouns "must be thought of in the context of interaction and in terms of the 'identity work' that they accomplish" (Bramley, 2001, p. v). How 'self' and 'other' are represented forms part of the

construction of a speaker's reality. This reality, as asserted by Goffman (1974) is not an objective reality but a subjective version of it that is discursively and socially constructed. In terms of political interviews, depending on the purpose and context of the discourse, how politicians represent themselves, irrespective of their ideological differences, is, as can be expected, favourable. Bramley's study examined what pronouns do and how they are being used by politicians to construct 'self' and 'other' in political interviews in Australia. Her study does not focus on a specific politician but rather several in the context of institutional talk. Bramley's aim was to discover how these politicians use pronouns to create favourable multiple identities for themselves and ostensibly negative images of others in an attempt to highlight the identifying characteristics of these pronouns. As such, her focus was on all pronominal choices in the selected interviews in order to identify how a pronoun type's use constructs specific and multiple identities.

Using Conversation Analysis and Goffman's (1981) notions of participation framework, participation status and footing, she examined the pronouns 'I', 'You', We' and 'They' in their individual occurrence as well as in their sequential occurrence. Her findings include a report on how the uses of pronouns were found to depart from the way they are traditionally expected to behave in indicating affiliation or showing distance between people. A striking revelation of her findings is that as the pronouns occur individually they construct multiple 'selves' of the politician and Others. At the same time, when they occur in sequence, they create the changing 'selves' of the politicians and different 'others' which is only a discursive construction and not an objective construction of reality. This makes Bramley's study, to an extent, similar to the current study in that as Bramley's study shows the potential for pronouns to aid the discursive construction of identities, the current study seeks to examine, more broadly, how linguistic elements (not only pronouns) realize various discursive practices and strategies in the identity and self-representation of politicians and help create particular versions of reality.

A number of studies have also investigated aspects of self-representation in political discourse applying corpus-assisted CDA. Kheovichai (2022) investigated the discursive construction of Covid-19 in WHO director general's discourse using corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis approach. A corpus size of 234,149 comprising 255 speeches of the WHO director general were collected and analyzed. The analysis primed collocations of 'Covid-19' based on their

semantic categories and how they represented Covid-19. The results showed the discursive representation Covid-19 as a disease that precipitates severe complex threats. The way Covid-19 was discursively constructed, the study found, served to promote the image of WHO as an organization that is active and ethical. That being the case, "discourse was used not only for informational purposes, but it was also manipulated for self-promotion and legitimation" (Kheovichai, 2022, p. 10).

The persuasive aim of politicians in talk to positively represent themselves and make their arguments credible has been found to be achievable not only through linguistic and metadiscourse resources but even more strongly through self-mentions, often expressed by use of first person pronouns, speaker self- referencing terminology and citing oneself (Hyland, 2001, p. 211; 2005). As such, several studies (Boyd, 2013; De Fina, 1995; Fetzer & Bull, 2008; Ivanova, 2016; Leudar et al., 2004; Pavlidou, 2014; Proctor & I-Wen Su, 2011; Roitman, 2014; Wilson, 1990b; Zupnik, 1994) have analyzed the force and function of personal pronouns in political rhetoric. For instance, Proctor and I-Wen Su (2011) studied how American politicians create self-identification through the choices of pronouns they make. The study, which covered the 2008 election and the immediate post-election period of 2009, compared how the first person pronoun was utilized in the interviews and debates. Applying corpus analytical processes to the data, two specific pronouns were analyzed- the first person plural pronoun *we* and possessive pronoun *our*. It was evident that the choice and frequency of pronouns was affected by external context such as the venue of the discourse event and the purpose itself (Proctor & I-Wen Su, 2011, p. 3265).The findings of the study, while corroborating Billig's (1995) view that pronouns are employed by politicians to arouse emotions and sentiments of nationalism and to achieve specific career goals, highlights how genre-specific discourse events determine pronominal choices. How this is sometimes realized involves the discourse-pragmatic effects a speaker aims to achieve (De Fina, 1995) and the degree of persuasion intended which may sometimes require the vague usage of deictic pronouns in political discourse (Zupnik, 1994). These studies point to the importance of self-referential expressions in politicians' self-representation.

Recently, Albalat-Mascarell and Carrió-Pastor (2019) looked at self-representation in presidential debates in the US between Hillary Clinton on the ticket of the Democratic Party and Donald Trump

on the ticket of the Republican Party in the run to the 2016 presidential elections. Employing concordance, they analyzed first person pronoun and possessives instances (e.g., *I, my, us, our*) and self-citation and self-referential mentions (e.g., *this ticket, the Democratic Party*) in a 172-word corpus. This quantitative analysis was complemented with a qualitative analysis situating the linguistic elements within the broader context of use. The results show that, overall, the first person pronouns *I* and *We*, were more frequently used than other self-citing and referencing terms. There were also interesting variations of self-mentions among the candidates: 325 for Trump and 176 for Clinton. On a general level, the study concludes that the explicit use of self-referential expressions in presidential campaign talk (debates in this case) is attributable to "the argumentative nature of political discourse which requires explicit self-positioning on the part of the speaker in terms of discourse management and turn-taking"(Albalat-Mascarell & Carrió-Pastor, 2019, p. 97). Also, the disparity in their use of self-referencing terms foregrounds the rhetorical strategies each candidate adopted to achieve credibility and win electoral votes, with Clinton focusing more on her professional career as a politician and Trump focusing mostly on his personality and business successes. These results also demonstrate how discourse can be used to reinforce certain stereotypes held by the public about politicians as both Clinton and Trump used language and strategies to affirm the ethos associated with them prior to the debates, that is a professional politician and businessman respectively.

Moustafa (2015) analyses identity construction in the speeches of Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton during the 2008 presidential primaries of the Democratic Party. The study mainly focuses on analyzing campaign speeches in which politicians utilized nouns or nominal categories to realize discursive representations. He observed that the top-20 frequent nouns that occurred in the candidates' speeches more or less, foregrounded themes of foreign and internal affairs. However, situated in the whole discourse context, significant variations showed in other key topics their speeches projected. In addition to domestic and foreign affairs, while Obama tended to speak around issues of race, ethnicity and religion, Clinton was rhetorically oriented to issues on gender, family and professional roles. Further, (Chen et al., 2019) investigate the linguistic styles of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in a corpus of 617, 633 words. Findings from the keyword and concordance analysis show that there is lexical diversity in the choice of vocabulary used by the candidates to foreground their campaign messages. This also provides evidence for the differences

in their linguistic styles in the messages they present. While Clinton used the tool of rationalization to cognitively appeal to her audience in discussing matters of public policy, Trump was more evocative, appealing to sentiments and emotions. The study also reveals that while Clinton aimed to find grounds for identifying with the American people, Trump aimed to reinforce the differences between him and opponents, often leading to enemification of the Other. These observations from the study are not different from (El-Falaky, 2015) whose analysis of 10 US presidential debates from 1960-2008 shows that politicians like to position themselves on an ideological cline via-a-vis their opponents and employ a variety of language resources or lexico-grammatical tools such as formulaic expressions, lexis, modality and vocatives, etc., to convey ideological orientations. What these studies highlight, which is close in emphasis to the current study, is that textual linguistic analysis is at the core of critical discourse analysis and that rhetorical preferences, representational strategies and political ideologies can be linguistically realized.

Similarly, Haider (2016) which adopts the combined approach of corpus linguistics and CDA to examine the discursive practices relating to the representation of former and late Libyan president Muammar Qaddafi prior to, during and after the 2011 Libyan civil war. Working with a corpus size of 19 million words compiled from articles of two Arabic publishing newspapers, *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* from 2009 to 2013, Haider uses Wordsmith 6.0 tools to carry out a dispersion and collocation analyses to unpack the discursive representations in the corpus. The dispersion analysis is to find out whether Qaddafi is represented in similar and equal ways in the corpus of the two newspapers. As well, the collocation analysis is to find out if there is evidence in the corpus to show that the way Qaddafi was represented indicates diachronic shifts and whether or not the Arab uprisings, in general, signaled a turning point in the ideological stance the newspapers took towards Qaddafi and his regime.

Haider divides the corpus investigation according to three time periods namely the pre-uprising period (2009-10), amid the uprisings (2011), and after the uprisings (2012-13). In the first period, the dispersion analysis showed a rather high incidence and frequency of the occurrence of the search term *Qaddafi* in both newspapers. When complemented with a concordance analysis to further explore the contexts of occurrence, the results indicated a rather positive and neutral representation of Qaddafi. This was perhaps due to the broader context of social and political

happenings between 2009 and 2010 including Qaddafi's historic 100-minute speech delivered at the UN general assembly. The important thing about combining traditional corpus linguistics with CDA is that linguistic features discovered in computer-assisted quantitative analysis can be situated in their broad social, political and historical contexts and explored for meanings that go beyond the linguistic structures of sentences. This is because CDA pays much attention to the central role of context in discourse (Wodak, 2001b). In the second period, Haider discovered that the two newspapers, though characterized by important nuances, tended to more commonly represent Qaddafi in overtly negative ways, unlike in the first period. The verbal and adjectival collocates, together with the political happenings in this period, led the two newspapers to construct Qaddafi as "one of the worst dictators the world has known throughout history" and in whose dictatorial reign the Libyan people are said to suffer "the worst forms of oppression, violence, and alienation due to the regime's denial of human rights in their simplest sense" (Haider, 2016, p. 16). It was noted in the third period that despite Qaddafi's demise, his name, as the search term in the corpus was unusually frequent. However, the collocational terms to *Qaddafi* examined in their concordance lines showed that the referents were, among others, the era of his regime, his loyalists or family members or symbols pointing to a new future of the Libyan State, giving an initial impression that a retrospective imagination characterized his post-humous representation.

Also, in terms of news coverage, *Qaddafi* was covered less in comparison to the previous two periods. To ascertain why this is so, Haider, like all researchers combining CL with CDA, had to step 'outside' the data to find out what macro-contextual elements influenced the marked decline in the newsworthiness of Qaddafi. Two possible reasons were alluded to: first, his death marked a depreciation in the commercial value of news surrounding him for a market-oriented media, and second, his death symbolized the termination of the conflict marking the end of an era personified in Qaddafi and the beginning of a new one which is only better without him. The importance of the study, which serves as a preamble for the current study, shows in two ways: firstly, how it enables the investigation of the representation of a political actor like Qaddafi in terms of how meanings can be explored from the textual level, the level of the immediate context and the level of the wider social, political and historical contexts of discourses; secondly, that language is and can be used to legitimize self and at the same time delegitimize others.

The diachronic shifts in the way *Qaddafi* was represented by the two newspapers from 2009 to 2013 affirms discourse as a social practice (Fairclough, 1995b) and underscores the dialectical relation between language and society, that is, language shapes society and society in turn shapes language. Just as Haider pointed to certain political (and historical) events such as Qaddafi's UN speech as impacting on his media presence, this study aims to explore the social, political and historical contexts within which Rawlings' self-representation discourses were produced to better understand his discursive practices as a politician.

A final study to be reviewed, which deals more broadly with discursive representation but more specifically with national identity construction, and inspires the current study is "The Discursive Construction of National Identity" by Wodak et al. (2009). The study, which utilizes the DHA, offers a suitable preamble that informs how CDA is undertaken in a historical and political context. The study extensively examined how Austria's national identity was discursively constructed across multiple genres of mediated political discourse. Given that the genres cut across private, public and semi-public domains, the study, at its core, underscores the importance of intertextuality and interdiscursivity. The former deals with textual linkages that exist between the different genres of political discourse under investigation, whereas the latter establishes the relationship between discourses through the topics or themes they convey.

Because texts or genres are connected, they draw upon one another. The topics of discourses in the present may be historically connected to discourses of the past in terms of the social factors, organization history and institutional frameworks that underlie them (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). Intertextuality and interdiscursivity serve as tools for probing and understanding these relationships and how they work together to achieve specific communicative purposes , indicating how the texts, genres and discourses themselves may be changing in a constantly evolving sociopolitical climate. Accordingly, the study underlines the interrelations of different types of discursive practices on the same topic and how patterns of argumentation in one context can be reformulated and recontextualized in another. Construing national identity as a context-dependent phenomenon, this literature foregrounds dynamic identities which emerge from the contexts in which they are embedded and maintains that these discursive identities can be identified by

referring to the content, discourse strategies and argumentations as well as in their linguistic realizations, that is, how they are expressed in language. (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 3).

A patent finding of the study, therefore, is the ontological reasoning that provides a systematic combination of content, strategies and linguistic realization in a discourse analytic framework for the analysis of discursive construction beyond Austria and Austrian national identity. Due to its objectives, this current study benefits from the analytic apparatus put forth by the DHA and in examining the discourse-linguistic elements in Rawlings' self-representation, triangulates the analysis at the macro, meso and micro level. Consequently, it informs the study's research design. The procedure of analysis the DHA foregrounds here, it must be mentioned, draws from sociolinguistic perspectives proposed by Bernstein (Wodak et al., 2009) as well as insights from critical theory (Wodak & Meyer, 2009), which taken together, shed light on how we can understand the role played by the historical and political contexts of discourse and how this role expressed in discourse dialectically reflects the underlying context. The construction of Austrian national identity influenced by these contexts was linguistically realized. This orientation is followed in the current study in analyzing how Rawlings linguistically represented himself in a continuum of time across two distinct and critical time periods that marked a changing narrative of Ghana's history from 1979-2000. Although the data type used in the current study (i.e., political speeches) is covered by the scope of genres included in Wodak et al. (2009), the limited context of the study, that is, the Austrian-European context, as well as the time period of the genres selected, calls for more DHA-oriented research in other geographies and in different timespan.

2.8 Addressing critical comments and justifying the choice of CDA approach in this study
From its modest development into a fully-fledged theoretical framework, CDA approaches have been applied to research across different domains: political discourse (Fairclough, 1992) and media texts (Fairclough, 1995b). Sometimes, these approaches are exclusively used (see) or in combination with other frameworks (see). CDA is essentially qualitative and despite its immense contribution to uncovering often latent and elusive ideas represented in a text, it has been criticized, especially when used alone. CDA is essentially qualitative and has immensely contributed to uncovering often latent and elusive ideas represented in a text. However, the use of CDA alone has been criticized.

The criticisms stem from a number of sources including the fact that CDA seems to take fragments of data that merely illustrate pre-judged notions held by researchers on a phenomenon. Put differently, researchers within CDA supposedly 'cherry-pick' small amounts of data that support preconceived ideologies" Baker et al (2013, p. 258). Fowler (1996, p. 8) corroborates this view when he correctly notes that CDA studies tend to be "fragmentary [and] exemplificatory", a situation which makes it weaker as a methodological framework than robust. Thus, the analysis of data is most likely highly subjective, making findings and results a product of the whims and caprice of the researcher. Accordingly, Widdowson (1996); (2000) has also criticized CDA on the basis that it lacks academic and analytical rigor. He argues that the data analysis is highly informed by the analyst's subjective preconceptions and assumptions (Orpin, 2005, p. 38).

CDA has also been criticized for its qualitative approach to linguistic analysis (Cheng, 2013) and for the rather small corpus size it utilizes (e.g., 25, 000) which can likely compromise the reliability of findings especially because it fails to address issues of statistical significance (Baker et al., 2008, p. 275). Related to the issue of a small corpus size as data for CDA analysis is the issue of corpus representativeness. Therefore, a criticism has been brought against CDA in this regard. According to Stubbs (1997), texts randomly selected lack representativeness. His concern is that with such randomization of data selection, referred to by other critics as 'cherry-picking' of data, the corpus will likely be preconceived and the results highly unreliable and cannot be generalized or replicated. To add to this, Stubbs opines that the linguistic features in CDA research are rarely compared with norms in the actual language (Orpin, 2005, p. 38) meaning that CDA research may 'lose out' on the opportunity to reflect the "finer shades of meaning and nuances in representation" (Duguid, 2010, p. 215).

Aware of these limitations, this thesis takes the position that although in CDA the texts analyzed may not be representative in terms of their numbers, a detailed analysis, which is aimed at in this study, reveals important complexities and individual variations, which is important in a qualitative study (Richards, 2005) but often overlooked when investigating large-scale statistical data. Though this study is not against quantifications, numbers, and the description of observable patterns, its

primary focus is on providing an in-depth understanding of an individual socio-political actor's self-representations for which CDA is better suited.

Additionally, I adopt the position by CDA researchers like Wodak and her colleagues who posit that a single instance of a theme or phenomenon mentioned in a political speech can provide enough evidence on which analytical conclusions can be drawn (see Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2009). Given that the main interest of this thesis is to examine how specific contexts determine identity construction of individual politicians, a single or a few examples of the thematic content of their discourse can yield insights into how politicians in general represent Self in their performance of politics. This aligns with the suggestion offered by (Krane et al., 1997, p. 214) that:

> Placing a frequency count after a category of experiences is tantamount to saying how important it is; thus, value is derived by number. In many cases, rare experiences are no less meaningful, useful, or important than common ones. In some cases, the rare experience may be the most enlightening one.

Further, in addressing the issue of cherry-picking, two sets of data across distinct time periods are used in this study. This allows for a systematic comparison of the discursive practices in the self-representation of Rawlings which gives the analysis more rigour than would have been the case if looked at from only one set of data in one period.

2.9 Justifying the current research

The present study uses approaches in critical discourse analysis to explore how Jerry John Rawlings, Ghana's longest serving leader who transitioned from being head of a revolutionary military government (1981-1992] to become the first President [1993-2001] in the elected liberal democratic government in Ghana's 4th Republic represented himself in his discourse. Evidence from the literature reviewed so far indicates that studies in political discourse have grown substantially. It is also clearly demonstrated from the review of literature that a good number of the studies have been approached using corpus linguistics (CL) in combination with CDA. This is perhaps due to the breadth CL brings to bear on language research for which it has recently been receiving a growing attention. (Baker et al., 2008). However, CL leaves room for more in-depth

deconstruction of political texts. This study fills this gap by advocating a more focused analysis on the evolution of one's discursive identity as opposed to more breadth as CL typically argues. The current research is, therefore, a modest contribution to the relatively few studies that have employed CDA to examine the representation of individual socio-political actors in their performance of politics. The current study will compare the representation of Rawlings in his speeches in his military and democratic rule to enrich understanding of the implicit and explicit nuances embedded in the representational strategies of politicians and also shed light on the legitimation strategies, discourse, and social practices embedded in Rawlings' self-representation in his speeches which may reveal his ideological leanings and how this may have contributed to certain public perceptions of him.

As political actors (i.e., Presidents, Prime Ministers) continue to expand the scope of their influence in society through the performance of various functions often aided by the media, ongoing studies into how a politician/president uses language as a representational system to create meaning is crucial. Therefore, the president, as a social institution, plays a vital role in society, constructing and at the same time maintaining societal norms and values which inform the organization of political and social life. Thus, the relationship between politics, by extension its actors, and society, interfaced by language, is currently an area of intense research interest because the association between politics, language and the society is in such a way that, generally, all political activity are expressed via language and cannot be separated from social life. However, the connotations of this development are not fully understood for which more and diverse studies are required. The current study will illuminate understanding of the inseparable interaction between politics and society by investigating how language use and social structures create meanings in the representation of an important political actor, Rawlings, in his performance of politics in Ghana.

It is also observed from the literature review that there is a conspicuous discrepancy in the geographical distribution of the studies, leaving the African context highly under-researched, and as Monfils (1985, p. 307) aptly notes, "more work is required in this vast area.". To the best of my knowledge, there is no single study on Rawlings' (self-)representation in an across-time continuum in both his military and democratic rule apart from Kuffoh (2001) which analyzed the interpersonal

and evaluative choices Rawlings used to justify his coup from only one speech, using the resources of critical discourse analysis. The study found that Rawlings used modal expressions and pronouns as well as the appraisal resources of affect, judgement and appreciation to make his actions justifiable and his position legitimate. As revealing as the findings may be, the study did not do an extensive qualitative analysis in terms of analyzing multiple speeches of Rawlings to determine if these patterns have an empirically predictable spread in Rawlings speeches to be characteristic of his rhetorical style. Thus, the results may be considered tentative and inconclusive.

Against this backdrop, the current research is a modest contribution to a triangulated CDA of representation of individual socio-political actors, in general, and to the study of self-representation of African presidents, in particular. This study holds practical relevance to Ghana's political landscape in a time continuum, from the past through the present and into the future, as it makes it possible for us to look at the representation of Rawlings in the light of how the symbolic reproduction of images and narratives in the political discourses about a president construct specific stories which do not only serve as crucial everyday agents of social imagination and opinion formation but also a medium for understanding the linguistic, discourse and discursive practices, and representational strategies employed to realize certain ideological ends by politicians. Given its theoretical implication for non-western contexts, the study hopes to provide inspiration and incentive for CDA research in Ghana.

2.10 Chapter conclusion

The chapter has aimed to discuss the theoretical and conceptual issues backgrounding the current study. It also offered a review of representation studies in political discourse, showing the frameworks adopted in the studies. Specifically, it has discussed related empirical studies deploying CDA. This has made evident the dearth of studies on the representation of socio-political actors and how the Ghanaian context is yet to benefit maximally from the application of CDA approaches to the analysis of socio-political discourse. Thus, political discourse analysis and CDA underpin this study. These theories take a social perspective on language and enable us to examine the cultural, social, historical and political meanings that underpin language use in the discourses on self-representation of socio-political actors (i.e., politicians, presidents). The utility of these theories in this study will therefore enable an understanding of how Rawlings represented his

leadership, identity and politics in his speeches using different language resources and discourse strategies. The methodological procedures of the study, including the data collection, procedures of analysis and the context of the research are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter details the methodological approach adopted in this study to address (i) how Rawlings represented himself in his military rule, (ii) how Rawlings represented himself in his democratic rule, and (iii) what legitimation strategies Rawlings used to validate the various representations. Section 3.2 presents details of the Discourse-Historic Approach (DHA) as the main analytical framework used in this study together with its theoretical underpinnings, issues of intertextuality, interdiscursivity, and the interaction between contextual and linguistic analysis. Section 3.3 provides a brief justification for choosing political speeches. The ways in which data were collected for the present study are described in Section 3.4. Section 3.5 discusses how the data were analyzed while section 3.6 deals with the categories of analysis within the DHA framework. In Section 3.7, I provide some reflections on the limitations of adopting the DHA and address the issue of triangulation. Section 3.8 captures the methodological challenges and dilemmas. The chapter is summed up in Section 3.9 with a conclusion.

3.2 Rawlings' identity and representation from a Discourse-Historic Approach (DHA)

This current study is situated within the DHA owing, arguably, to its robustness as a traditional CDA framework. Its robustness can be seen in how it manages research that is longitudinal in nature where the analysis of data and context are carried out relative to specific timespans. It is also apt in dealing with socially and historically significant institutional or political texts and offers practical methodological procedures for groundwork. (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2001a; Wodak et al., 1999). Additionally, it presents the researcher with flexible analytical tools which can be tailored to suit the specific research objectives. Because discourse changes over time, ideologies, identities and representations are also more likely to change. The DHA is focused on historical analysis of discourse which transcend "static spotlights" and pays attention to "the diachronic reconstruction and explanation of discursive change" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p. 120) that occur in social phenomena. Thus, it offers tools that enable research to be undertaken within a wide timespan which incorporates a wider context and data. In this way, exciting new insights can be generated from existing knowledge, or the DHA can challenge and refute existing knowledge which may have informed social reality for a long time. It is in this area that the DHA, arguably, claims an edge over other CDA frameworks as it particularly favours studies that seek

to address the historical and socio-political aspects of issues that are inherently complex and multilayered (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017). It is important to mention here, that, at the core of the DHA lies the objective to demystify hegemonic discourses. This is achieved by unmasking ideologies that sustain or resist dominance (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). Depending on the specific aims of the study, the tools of macro level analysis (i.e., focusing on discourse contents), meso level analysis (i.e., focusing on discursive strategies) and micro level analysis (i.e., focusing on linguistic realizations) can be deployed by the researcher either singly or in combination. Originally, the DHA was developed for the analysis of issues including racism (van Dijk, 2003; Wodak et al., 2009), gender (Ezeifeka & Osakwe, 2013; Lazar, 2005), refugees and immigrants (KhosraviNik, 2010; Van Dijk, 2015) and nationality (Bloor & Bloor, 2013; Wodak et al., 2009). However, its tools can be adapted and suit the objectives of the current study in terms of examining the discursive representation of Rawlings in his political discourse at the macro, meso and micro level of analysis.

It is rational to assume that Rawlings' self-representation potentially creates a situation where the audience of his discourse is divided into those who support him and those who oppose him. This categorization creates an ideological ingroup vs outgroup polarization. The tendency, then, is for Rawlings to represent himself positively and his opponents negatively. How these representations, namely positive Self-presentation, and negative Other-presentation, are expressed in discourse is not always straightforward and have underlying complex structures that have interested scholars and students engaged in critical social research. To deal with such emotionally charged and ideologically complex discourses, Reisigl and Wodak (2009)[1] have suggested five guiding questions to guide the analytical process within the DHA. These questions have been adapted and recontextualized to the current study. I must state that these questions do not replace but supplement the initial research questions. They are here enumerated to guide how I will dissect the data:

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[1] The original questions presented by Reisigl and Wodak (2009) are as follows: 1. How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes, and actions named and referred to linguistically? 2. What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events, and processes? 3. What arguments are employed in the discourse in question? 4. From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed? 5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly; are they intensified or mitigated?

1. How is Jerry John Rawlings, events, processes, and actions associated to him named and referred to linguistically?

2. What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to Rawlings in relation to these events and processes?

3. What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?

4. From what perspective are these nominations, attributions, and arguments about Rawlings expressed?

5. Are the utterances of Rawlings articulated overtly; are they intensified or mitigated?

These five questions are fundamental questions in the analysis of the data of this thesis and are related to the three research questions (RQ) the study seeks to answer (see Section 1.6). For example, questions (1) and (2) above can be viewed as related to RQ (1) and RQ (2) which aim to find out how Rawlings represented himself in the military and democratic regime respectively, whereas questions (3)-(5) can be taken as relating to the RQ (3) which deals with what legitimation (argumentation schemes) strategies Rawlings deployed to validate his representations. These guiding questions of the DHA suggest that for discursive representations to be achieved, specific discourse strategies are necessary to realize their functions in society. Thus, my focus is to unravel the systematic ways of using language that indicate the overt or covert intentions in the self-representation of Rawlings. To discover the meanings and motifs behind language use, lexical choices, content words, rhetorical devices, phrasal and clausal contrasts will be identified and examined in their social, political, and historical contexts to determine how they evidenced discursive strategies developed within the DHA. These strategies are nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivation and intensification/mitigation (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009), and they will be subsequently explored in relation to how they function to construct various representations of Rawlings in political discourse.

The current study seeks to explore the representation of Jerry John Rawlings in his speeches. It aims to explore the wider contextual parameters within which Rawlings (re)produced those representations in his performance of politics as military leader, head of state, and democratically elected president, and to examine the legitimation strategies marshalled to validate those representations by situating the corresponding discourses in the socio-cultural, political, and

historical contexts within which they were produced. Given this background, I consider the DHA as a suitable conceptual framework for the analysis. This is because the framework maintains that for us to gain a better understanding of discourses, we cannot do so without considering and paying close attention to the wider contexts within which they are produced and consumed. Such is the objective of this current study. Also significant to the DHA is identifying discursive and argumentation strategies employed by social actors to achieve predetermined objectives. The primary assumption underlying the DHA indicates that discourse is invariably linked to something in the past or present and therefore "attempts to integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive 'events' are embedded [and] further analyzes the historical dimensions of discursive actions by exploring how particular genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change" (Wodak, 2015, p. 3). This implies that the DHA draws on the notions of intertextuality and interdiscursivity, and they are subsequently discussed.

3.2.1   Intertextuality and interdiscursivity

DHA is a historical contextualization of a linguistic phenomenon and maintains that contextual, interdiscursive, and intertextual relations between different discourse types and discourse practices shape a discourse, and as such emphasizes triangulation, history, and context. In view of this, the DHA takes as an analytical entry point the broad social contexts, including the political and historical aspects, in the interpretation of discourse. According to Bhatia (2010, p. 35) "intertextuality can be defined as a text-level phenomenon describing how a text refers to other, prior texts, whereas interdiscursivity is understood as a more abstract kind of borrowing of features of discourses or genres in text or talk". The reference to previous texts or abstracting features of existing discourses or genres in our ongoing discursive practice underscores the importance of historicity in discourse.

That texts or discourses are inherently historical and draw upon one another in sometimes creative ways is what makes intertextuality and interdiscursivity as espoused by Fairclough and Wodak a suitable explanatory framework in accounting for discursive change within a wider context of socio-cultural change. That is to say, the centrality of these notions in these two approaches indicates their conceptual convergence and offers the methodological basis for the analysis of the

data in this study. This relationship between texts suggests, at a basic level, that new texts are essentially additions of previous texts from which they draw, leaving a textual trail of the internal transformations they undergo which shows how texts are connected and respond to each other. Fairclough (1992) affirms this point by maintaining that an intertextual perspective helps to explore the "relatively stable networks which texts move along, undergoing predictable transformations as they shift from one text type to another" (p. 84). Such a perspective is suited to the concerns of the current study as it offers a conceptual framework to explore the political speeches of the representation of Rawlings from his military to democratic rule.

Intertextuality and interdiscursivity deal with processes of meaning creation that depend largely on participants' active negotiation of those meanings in different social contexts (Bhatia, 2010). However, the processes of creating meaning by making references to prior texts or drawing from other discourse conventions depends on our practices of (re)contextualizing meaning. In practical terms, intertextual and interdiscursive references in discourse analysis affords an analyst the opportunity to investigate, more thoroughly, how new meanings (say, representational meanings of Rawlings in his democratic rule) emerge from the (re)contextualization of existing discourses (say discourses of his identity in his military rule) and the purposes these newly acquired meanings serve as well as the effects they achieve within larger socio-cultural narratives. While the DHA conceives intertextuality in discourse as textual bonds that allow texts to infinitely refer to each other, either overtly or covertly, in terms of the topics and events they discuss (Reisigl, 2017), the discourse as social practice, in fundamentally similar ways as the DHA, views intertextuality as implying that texts are heterogeneous and thus, are made up of fragments of other texts that are a part of a series of closely connected communications in the historical past (Bakhtin, 1986; Fairclough, 1992). These texts, therefore, have a retrospective orientation and are more or less explicitly co-constituted in the way they echo, refute, or agree with the prior texts from which they draw. Both approaches highlight the essentially hybrid nature of texts or discourses and emphasize that texts are related and topics in one field can draw from other discourses in ways that naturally link them. For example, in this study, from an intertextual and interdiscursive perspective, the representation of Rawlings is related to topics of political, historical, social and media discourses. The analysis of data, taking into consideration these underlying elements, gives more explanatory power to the divergences and/or convergences in the representation of Rawlings enabling a

nuanced understanding of social meanings that have been reechoed or refuted from these naturally hybrid discourses.

3.2.2 Interaction between contextual and linguistic analysis

While context-dependent meanings and their underlying structures are of primacy to the DHA and discourse as social practice approach, the micro-level of linguistic analysis of discourse is not less important. However, only focusing on the linguistic analysis of stretches of sentences used in representing Rawlings without having regard to the entailed contexts that made for those representations is rather narrow and may likely not offer a complete description of the narrative of how those representations were done by Rawlings himself. It is the belief of the researcher that by adopting the DHA, an analysis of political self-representation of an important socio-political personality like Rawlings, taking into consideration the extensive historical, social, cultural, economic, and political contexts, will offer a complete and better picture. A complete picture will help us better understand how language use serves as a powerful discursive medium for Rawlings' self-representation that reveals or conceals images, narratives, and representations about Rawlings. Consequently, not only will we gain a better comprehension of the image of Rawlings relative to the history of Ghana, but also the image of politics in Ghana and indeed in the broader context of post-colonial African political practice.

It is part of the aim of the study to examine legitimation strategies that are deployed in argumentations to validate representations. Thus, my focus is to unravel the systematic ways of using language that indicate the overt or covert intentions in the representation of Rawlings. To discover the meanings and motifs behind language use, discursive strategies and their linguistic means of realization were identified and examined in their social, political, and historical contexts to determine how they evidenced discursive strategies developed within the DHA, namely nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivation, intensification/mitigation, in the construction of various representations of Rawlings in political discourses. DHA allows for the engagement with the broader socio-political and historical contexts within which linguistic elements are situated and signal specific discursive practices. Therefore, in this study, the researcher sometimes looked beyond the dataset of texts to draw from available background

information of Rawlings, Ghana's history, and, where necessary, the circumstances under which he produced specific texts.

3.3 Data collection

The general principle underlying the collection of data in traditional CDA is that "there is no typical way of collecting data" (Meyer, 2001, p. 23). However, documenting how the data for the study is collected and the tools used ensures that other interested researchers can follow the procedures to replicate similar studies in other contexts. Subsequently, I explain the data, period under study from which the data is collected and the systematic data collection process, the tools and procedures for data analysis.

3.3.1 The data

The data for this study is political speeches. Political speeches, more generally, are the major and authentic means of political expression and self-representation of political actors. Through speeches, politicians, especially presidents, articulate information about policies and lines of action in the interest of the public (Wilson, 2001) and exploit various rhetorical competences to achieve specific purposes (see Cicero, 1971; Aristotle, 1991). Political speeches make ideology visible (van Dijk, 2006b), and are often the instruments for negotiating political legitimacy as well as delegitimizing opponents. In other words, they are sites for exploring polarization and the construction of social realities. To examine the self-representation of Rawlings in his performance of politics in Ghana, the study chooses the political speeches of Rawlings during his leadership from 1979 to 2000. The choice of political speeches of Rawlings instead of other discourse genres is because speeches, apart from being characterized by power and constituting the primary means for politicians' or social actors' expression of ideologies and policies, serve as a medium for articulating identities to a usually wide audience. Speeches, even by the same person, can differ in terms of the topic of focus, the addressees in mind, the length, the place and time of the speech as well as the information they reveal or conceal. In this study, a speech is taken to mean "a structured verbal chain of coherent speech acts uttered on a special social occasion for a special purpose by a single person and addressed to a more or less specific audience" (Reisigl, 2008, p. 243).

In this study, these special social occasions which are also discourse events were either deliberately created by Rawlings himself or invitations he deliberately responded to because they offer a platform to impress upon his audience his self-representations. Thus, the discourse events shape the audience in attendance and the audience shape the events. Though politicians, especially Heads of States, prime ministers and presidents, aim to reach the entire nation with their discourses, sometimes, they address more or less specific and targeted audiences in their speeches. In Table 1, a mapping of the discourse events and the specific and general audience in attendance is presented to show the groups Rawlings may have targeted apart from the whole country, with his representations.

Table 1: Discourse events and the audiences in attendance

Discourse event	Audience in attendance
Revolutions anniversary	The army and supporters of the revolution/PNDC
National Independence Day anniversary	All Ghanaians
Festivals of cultural communities	Members of those communities
Receptions for presidents and diplomats	Presidents and diplomats
New Year addresses to the nation	All Ghanaians
Organization of Africa Union conferences	Presidents and diplomats of African countries
Foreign diplomatic meetings	Diplomatic enjoy

The speeches of Rawlings, like other political speeches, among others, tend to be ideological, persuasive, oriented toward topics of national interests, seek public consensus and political legitimacy as well as transmitting messages with global or trans-national appeal. Thus, Rawlings' speeches offer insights into the intertextual and interdiscursive connections between present discourses/texts and past discourses/texts while at the same time permitting a deconstruction of the ideological positions, argumentation schemes and persuasive strategies that he adopts to construct and legitimize Self by closely analyzing their lexico-grammatical means of realization. Given that the data covers two distinct periods, it is hoped that this study will allow for a comparison of Rawlings' identity in these periods to see whether there were points of convergence or divergence in the discourses. While this will contribute to the existing body of studies on political speeches in general (Reisigl, 2008; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2009; Wodak &

Weiss, 2005), this study will shed light on how social actors with the power to influence society, especially in an African context, deploy specific discourses to construct and legitimize their self-representations. The period the study covers, as has been mentioned earlier, comprises military and democratic rule. The military covers the period 1979-1992 and the democratic rule covers 1993-2001. Given the political distinctiveness and diversity of the period, it can be expected that even for the same political actor, self-representation can demonstrate marked differences in the way language is used and the social and discursive practices that are foregrounded. In the subsequent sections, I explain the significance of the period of the study and provide a description of the dataset for the study, including how the texts were selected.

3.3.2   Period under study

The period under study, 1979-2000, was chosen because of its remarkable historical significance. The period marked a national revolution and quest for a 'new' Ghana that is self-sustained, whose government is people-centered, and whose people participate effectively in decision making at the grassroot level. It is a period considered as the darkest days of Ghana and, at the same time, the light in the darkness (Amoah, 2006; Oquaye, 2004). Arguably, after independence, it is the most significant epoch in Ghana's history and provides the foundation for the pillars of the nation's current socio-economic and political institutions and practices. The individual actor at the forefront of the actions and activities is Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings. The first part of this period, the military revolution, is characterized by military rule, and the second part, the democratic process, is characterized by a civilian government. Thus, the period marks a checkered history of politics in Ghana. An analysis of the discourse of Rawlings might shed light on how language use shapes society and society, with its underlying macro-contextual factors, ideological, historical, and political structures, in turn, shape language. Therefore, this study explores the variations in strategies of representation, discursive practices, and the legitimation strategies employed to validate those representations during Rawlings' military rule and as a democratically elected president of the 4th Republic of Ghana.

3.3.3   Description of systematic data collection

The data collection process for this study was initially planned to ambitiously build a new corpus of Rawlings' speeches as well as media discourses and a broad range of supporting documents on

Rawlings, covering the entire period of his political leadership in Ghana. Due to initial problems in conducting fieldwork and difficulty in data access and collection due to the pandemic, the temporal and spatial limitations redefined the design of the study. Constrained practically by time and slow access to data, I opted to conduct a solely qualitative analysis. Together, these constraints informed a sensible narrowing of the data from what would have been an extremely large volume of texts to 60 speeches (see Appendix I for full speeches). In compiling the dataset of relevant texts, the steps I followed derived from the recommendation by Wodak and Krzyzanowski (2008, p. 35) as illustrated in Figure 1:

| Select texts for preliminary corpus | Analyze preliminary corpus | Select more texts and add to corpus | Saturation [point] STOP |
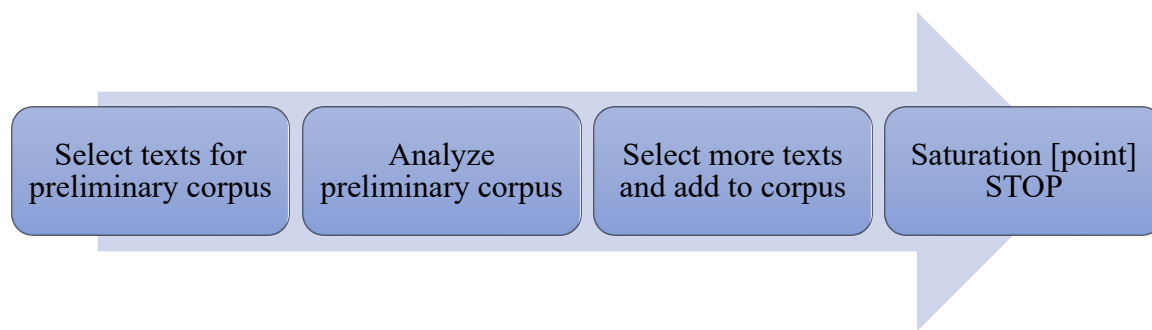
Figure 1: Cyclical corpus-building for qualitative research developed from Wodak & Krzyzanowski (2008, p. 35)

There was a total of 204 speeches of Rawlings from 1979 to 2000. As an initial step, all the speeches that are descriptive of Rawlings' identity construction were targeted. Out of this number, 60 speeches were considered relevant to the study and were selected for the analysis. To select the speeches, only those that were delivered by Rawlings between 1979 and 2000 were collected to ensure that the speeches were directly related to his politics as Ghana's revolutionary military leader and subsequently as president of the fourth Republic. The speeches were closely read to see whether they contained constructs or ideological themes that were relevant to the research questions and helped Rawlings to create his identity(ies). I must mention that the word "corpus" used here refers more generally to a collection of textual data in qualitative Applied Linguistics research and not in the quantitative sense it is popularly associated with in Corpus Linguistics. While identifying these constructs and themes in the speeches, particular attention was focused on the linguistic choices and expressions Rawlings used to describe and evaluate himself, whether in relation to self or other, which made it necessary to later focus on a more detailed analysis of the

micro and macro structures in the texts. By the above criteria, a possibly large volume of Rawlings' speeches could be collected. Therefore, speeches that were delivered on occasions such as birthday celebrations and private funeral attendance involving Rawlings were excluded.   The choice of the speeches was informed by a number of reasons. Firstly, I had to depend on researcher intuitions and background knowledge of key moments or fora where Rawlings made his speeches. Even though this may be considered as a bias, I argue that it was unavoidable and necessary because I had to find a way to select the individual speeches from a large volume and identifying these various forums did not only allow me to sort the speeches efficiently according to the type of forum but also to identify the specific discourse event where they were produced which will become useful in the macro level analysis. This is also to ensure that the texts selected are both authentic and appropriate as a site for analyzing how different discourse events are likely to shape opposite or converging accounts of Rawlings' self-representation. Secondly, to ensure more validity and trustworthiness in this process and guard against the undue interference of researcher's subjectivity (Phakiti & Paltridge, 2015), I drew inspiration from insights in Rhetorical Genre Theory (Reisigl, 2008). According to the theory (Reisigl, 2008, p. 244), the main function of a speech, the occasion on which it was delivered and the place of delivery are key elements that provide essential background information when analyzing political speeches (also see Wodak & Krzyzanowski, 2008, p. 14). While the main function of the speech indicates the objective or intention of the speaker, the occasion of delivery reveals whether the speech is formal or casual, and the audience type that was targeted. Additionally, the place of delivery of the speech furnishes us with information about the spatial location where the speech was delivered. (see Appendix II for full details of the speeches). Finally, the speeches were also selected based on how nicely they capture the spectrum of time which provides a means for tracking and understanding the evolution of Rawlings' discourse in his performance of politics, thus allowing for intertextual and interdiscursive analysis to see the nuanced ways past discourse and historically prior texts may be connected to social practices in the present.

Most CDA researchers triangulate their data to ensure validity and credibility of their findings. I follow this ritual in this study. According to Bhatia (2015), to ensure that the study is not entirely dependent on a reduced number of texts which constitute the main or primary data, a secondary data set from a range of sources including available media and academic writings which were

produced in similar contexts as the primary texts can be used to supplement the analysis. This reechoes Denzin's (2017) view of 'multiple data sets' which according to Hart (2018, p. 401) go beyond "isolated text analyses to explicitly address one or other of these issues". Similarly, this study collected media and academic sources of texts (see Appendix III for secondary data) as a form of secondary data as a form of triangulation to provide a broader context within which evidence can be assembled to frame, as much as possible, a robust interpretive framework to analyze Rawlings' self-representation.

3.3.4 Procedures and tools of data analysis

The study utilizes NVivo R1 (NVivo Qualitative Data Analysis Software Version, Release 1) to organize, manage, and annotate the data. The reasons for the choice of this tool are (a) easy accessibility and use with online tutorials and guidance, (b) its simplicity and high functional capability to generate and decompose the data into relevant codes. It has a multi-functional query section which enables a researcher to search for words in texts in order to describe, compare, chart, tabulate and code them. NVivo R1 was used in this study to analyze the two sets of data covering the two regimes to identify the themes, discursive strategies and their linguistic means of realization as well as the legitimation topics that were used to valorize Rawlings' identity. The analytical procedure started with the conversion of the data into plain texts using Notepad. Plain texts work best with NVivo. The 'treated' data of Rawlings' speeches were put into NVivo R1 as Internal Source which is the main source for references, derivation, labelling and analysis of themes. Figure 2 summarises the operationalisation of the analytical phase in the analysis of Rawlings' speeches. Each of the various phases is now discussed below.

First phase analysis

First reading of the entire data set: preliminary theme identification, and translation into defined codes

Second phase analysis

Iterations of careful reading of entire data set; themes refined, and codes adjusted, and confirmed; systematic checking for consistency and resolution of discrepancies

Third phase analysis

Counting and analyzing code frequencies and interpretation of codes

Figure 2. The operationalisation of the analytical phase in the analysis of Rawlings' speeches (adapted from Mackieson et al., 2018).

First-phase analysis

In this phase, the speeches were thoroughly read multiple times to familiarize myself with the content of the speeches. This procedure was aimed at finding out the preliminary themes in the speeches and how and where small units of linguistic elements occur in larger sentence structures and the kinds of meanings they elicit by their syntactic configuration. These preliminary themes were transformed into appropriate codes which were later mapped on to each other based on their shared similarities. Each code was defined, assigned a name, and direct quotes from relevant segments of the data were extracted to exemplify the use of the code. The corresponding texts to each code was highlighted in an assigned colour. A code name was then given in bold upper-case text at the end of each colour-highlighted text segment. This made it easier to establish congruity between the code name and code colour as well as verifying the code assigned to the text segment. It must be mentioned that there was no uniformity in the amount of text to which codes were applied – a coded text segment sometimes included a whole sentence or paragraph, or part of a sentence, as applicable. A guiding statement regarding when not to use a code was also given. In Table 2. A sample definition of a code for a primary theme is given.

Table 2.	Sample code definition for a primary theme
Code	NATIONALISM
Phase	1
Short definition	Nationalism- ideal for nation building
Full definition	Text arguing for or promoting what is best for the nation beyond individual and self-seeking interests; it centres on the nation and identifies and highlights actions (i.e., policies) that require collective and institutional action to build and transform the nation's politics, economy, and social institutions for the benefit of all.
When to use	Apply this code to all references highlighting that efforts and actions toward seeking nation building, national development are the most useful and productive to engage by all, whether in the ruling class or the ruled.

Example	"Having taken the bold decision to embark on a <u>revolution</u>, it is important to ensure that the establishment of the <u>new structures</u> that will bring about the necessary transformations in the lives of the people are successfully carried out". "The unity we desire and for which we must struggle and be prepared to die for, however, is not the unity of one clan, not the unity of one Region, but <u>the unity of our whole country</u>, the indivisible, unshakable unity". "It is the passionate desire of the PNDC to ensure that <u>the programme of democratic reforms</u> leads to the creation of an open society in which the pluralism of ideas will be harnessed <u>for national development"</u>. "<u>Our country needs to be completely rebuilt</u> through the sweat and toil of Ghanaians. It is necessary for each Ghanaian to commit himself or herself to this task".
When not to use	Do not use this code for texts highlighting continental unity or African emancipation from imperialist control- refer to code: PAN-AFRICANISM and other codes associated to it.

NVivo allows users to assign different colours to each code and or sub-codes. Thus, using the 'Item Colors' function, the relevant segment for each code and sub-codes was assigned a highlighted colour. Because I was not doing a more inductive analysis, I did not code the speeches line by line. Rather, I employed an open coding technique (see Maguire & Delahunt, 2017) in which I developed and refined the codes throughout the coding process. It was decided that the selection of the relevant segments of the texts, coding and derivation of themes would be guided by the research questions outlined at the outset of this thesis. The corresponding codes were therefore constantly reviewed throughout this code development process for congruity based on this decision. As part of the refinement process, some of the codes were classified as sub-themes that are linked to the primary themes. This sub-theme codification was executed in the second-level analysis.

Second-phase analysis

The second phase of analysis entailed multiple iterations of the coding development, leading to the codification of relevant sub-themes. Table 3 shows a sample code definition developed for a sub-theme. The first and second phases were carried out for texts analyzed in both the military and democratic regimes. In all 173 pithy codes were established for the military regime and 103 codes for the democratic regime.

Table 3. A sample definition of a code for a sub-theme is given.

Table 3.	Sample code definition for a sub-theme
Code	DEMOCRACY NEGOTIATION
Phase	2
Links to	NATIONALISM (Level 1)
Short definition	Negotiating democracy- inclusive government for national development
Full definition	Text arguing that the revolution was the ideal action for moving the nation from rule by a few people to rule by all, as a means of instilling collective responsibility for national reconstruction and development; that the people's participation in government is the ideal way to build the nation from its ruins.
When to use	Apply this code to all references emphasizing that democracy or ordinary citizen's participation in government is the preferred governance form in which to develop Ghana.
Example	"Let me remind you all that <u>on June 4</u> the people forced the door open for the ordinary man to assert his <u>democratic right to participate in the decision making process</u>". "<u>The popular revolt of June 4, 1979,</u> was part of our struggle for moral decency as well as for <u>a democratic society</u> in which the voice of each and <u>every Ghanaian will matter in the decision-making process of government</u>".
When not to use	Do not use this code for texts highlighting the implementation of radical social changes or the pursuit of economic objectives such as eliminating

	corruption or agricultural expansion - refer to codes: NATIONALISM-NATIONAL INTERESTS and REFORMS.

The corresponding texts to each code was highlighted in an assigned colour. A code name was then given in bold upper-case text at the end of each colour-highlighted text segment. This made it easier to establish congruity between the code name and code colour as well as verifying the code assigned to the text segment. It must be mentioned that there was no uniformity in the amount of text to which codes were applied – a coded text segment sometimes included a whole sentence or paragraph, or part of a sentence, as applicable. There were also instances where a text or part of it belonged to more than one code if the relevant text segment was deemed to imply another meaning that was not captured by the first code.

Third phase analysis

As illustrated in Tables 3 and 4, after generating the codes, I grouped them into categories based on the similarity of topics they express. This made it easier to derive themes and sub-themes from the categories to form a preliminary thematic framework for the analysis. For example, as I read the speeches, the topic of the revolution kept reoccurring as an identity theme and in particular its intersection with other issues such as national interests, African unity, vision, reforms and democracy, which was very relevant to the research questions. To assess the reliability of the coding frame, one colleague working on political discourses was asked to use it to independently code twenty-three randomly chosen speeches. The two coded datasets, mine and his, were compared to evaluate consistency. An additional twenty-three speeches were then double-coded, making up a third of the entire dataset as recommended in qualitative research (Schreier, 2012) and coding patterns were compared using Percentage Agreement. A percentage intercoder agreement of 96% was reached, indicating high agreement. Once all of the speeches were coded, a frequency table was generated to establish the codes that were most prevalent in the data (that is, the proportion of speeches in which they appeared). This allowed the researcher to observe the patterns of meaning present throughout the dataset, rather than in only small numbers of speeches. Codes that related to similar issues were grouped together to form key themes that characterised the content of the speeches. During this process, my focus was on themes and sub-themes I considered to be frequent and repetitive in the speeches as they were indicative of identity

categories that conveyed information about who Rawlings was or how he might have wanted to be perceived by his audience. I therefore attempted to group the codes into candidate themes, which were modified and finalized into four main themes namely, nationalism, Pan-Africanism, effective leadership and the building of strong institutions. These themes are further analyzed and discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5 and in relation to legitimation strategies in Chapter 6.

3.4   How the data were analyzed

In this study, situated within critical discourse analysis, I examined the identity and political self-representation of Jerry John Rawlings by borrowing insights from the discourse-historic analysis and legitimation category scheme more specifically. The analytical approach, as far as the objective of the study is concerned, enabled a more detailed analysis of Rawlings' rhetoric and legitimation strategies in his performance of politics. In doing so, the analysis paid attention to the textual, contextual and intertextual dimensions of the discourse. This was realized by using the discourse-historic approach (Wodak, 2004, 2015) as an overall framework together with Van Leeuwen's (2007) four category legitimation scheme. As such, I examined how the discourse contents, discursive strategies and their linguistic means of realization illuminate understanding on the self-representation of Rawlings. These three levels correspond to the micro, meso and macro level of analysis mentioned earlier (see Chapter 2 Section 2.7.5). This framework of analysis the study adopts is one that illuminates understanding of the longitudinal nature of Rawlings' identity. It does not only deepen our understanding of the complex nature of the historically shaped reality of Rawlings' identity politics but also offers a richer and more accurate description and interpretation of the phenomenon. Next, I describe the categories of analysis and how the analytical frameworks were applied.

3.5 Categories of analysis within the DHA framework

The DHA provides a framework for analyzing the identity construction of Rawlings by comparing discourses of distinct periods and how this may have shaped the performance of his politics. The common procedure among researchers within the DHA tradition (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak et al., 2009; Wodak & Meyer, 2001) when analyzing discourse data is to employ a sequential analytical concept that is made up of the analysis of discourse contents, discursive strategies and context-dependent linguistic means of realization. This framework informs the analysis of

Rawlings' political speeches in terms of his identity construction in the present study and is schematically captured in Figure 3.

Discourse topics	Discursive strategies	Linguistic means of realization
Identify relevant topics, macro semantic propositions, intertextual and interdiscursive elements	Identify discursive practices	Identify lexico-grammatical elements
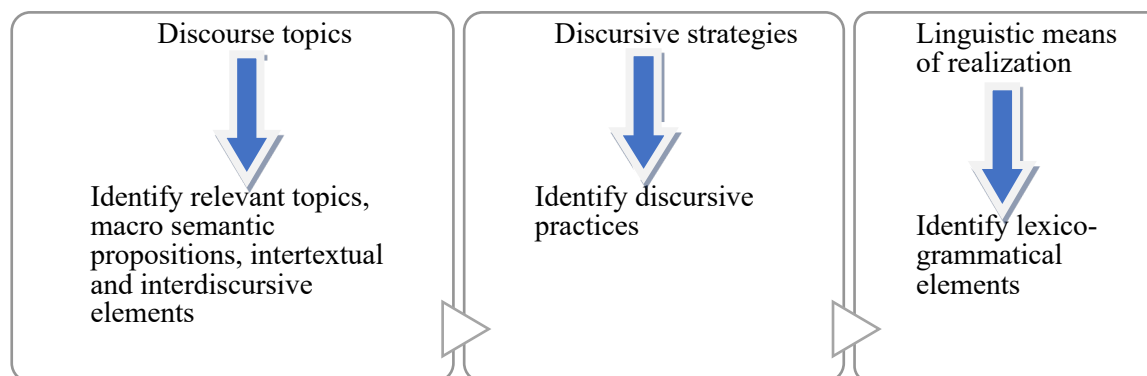
Figure 3: Different levels of analysis in the DHA

The details of each level of analysis in Figure 3 and how these levels of analysis will be applied to the analysis of Rawlings' speeches in this study are discussed in the sections that follow.

3.5.1   Discourse topics

To find out the dominant topics or recurrent themes or the major ideas that held Rawlings' attention, it was necessary to code the data, group them into categories and generate themes for analysis. Since the themes or discourse topics are taken to be pointers of identity in this study, it made sense to draw upon thematic analysis to derive themes which reveal coherent and meaningful patterns in the dataset that are relevant to the research questions I set out to answer in this study. Since the process of applying thematic analysis is non-linear and recursive (Howitt, 2019), I followed a rigorous reiterative process of developing the themes that begins with deeply familiarizing with the data with the aim to generate initial and provisional analytic ideas or codes. By following the process detailed in Section 3.4.4, the codes that were generated using the open coding technique were found to be the focus of Rawlings' rhetoric and were, therefore, grouped into themes which I believe communicated the central ideas that held Rawlings' attention and the information he aimed to convey about himself. It is these predominant representations that are taken to be instantiations of his identity in this study. To ensure rigour in identifying the themes, all the codes that were clustered were treated as provisional themes which were subsequently

reviewed against the whole dataset. I then examined the provisional themes in relation to all the relevant data segments extracted to see if they captured, as closely as possible, what was coded. This paved the way for four emergent themes to be more precisely defined in a manner that well captured their essence. The themes served as entry points for the detailed analysis of Rawlings' identity and self-representations (see chapters 4, 5 and 6).

3.5.2   Discursive strategies and Linguistic forms of realization

The sequential nature of the analytical framework in the DHA requires that once the discourse topics or themes are generated, the next level focuses on the discursive strategies employed in Rawlings' discourse. The discourses from which the themes are generated provide the content for identifying the discursive strategies. This is realized, in the case of Rawlings, by finding out the events and actions that are associated with him and the traits that are attributed to him based on the events and action. For example, the revolution was associated with Rawlings by using the term 'revolutionaries'. The word 'bold' was used to describe Rawlings' decision to embark upon the revolution. These two terms, 'revolutionaries' and 'bold' point to referential and predication strategies respectively in expressing the theme of revolution. The procedure followed to identify the discursive strategies in the example above is in line with the DHA's own five questions which this study adapts to guide how the discursive strategies Rawlings used to construct his identity in both regimes will be dissected to answer the study's research questions listed in Chapter 1. What is meant by discursive strategy in this study follows from Wodak's (2001) definition which takes discursive strategies to mean the sum of discursive practices that speakers intentionally or unintentionally employ to achieve specific aims, whether political, ideological or social. As such the analysis of Rawlings' identity and self-representation in the subsequent chapters is indebted to how the framework has been deployed to the analysis of national identity by Wodak and her colleagues (De Celia et al., 1999; Wodak et al., 2009, pp. 33-34). Specifically, the current study borrows insights from the ways in which their use of macro strategies in discourse can construct, justify, and perpetuate identity. It also draws the five discursive strategies mentioned in section 3.2 put forward by Reisigl and Wodak (2001, p. 73) which are often appropriated by researchers within the DHA tradition particularly in the dichotomous presentation of Self and Other. Therefore, the current study equally benefits from these discursive strategies as it draws on the framework in analyzing the speeches of Rawlings associated with his representation of Self (and by implication

Other). Altogether, the analysis of data in this study will focus on: (a) referential strategies (how is Rawlings named and categorized), (b) predication (what positive or negative attributes is Rawlings associated with), (c) argumentation strategies (how is the need for Rawlings' leadership or need for absence of Rawlings' politics justified), (d) perspectivization (whose points of views are being represented) and, (e) mitigation and intensification (reducing or intensifying the force of Rawlings' utterances). In Table 4, these strategies and their linguistic means of realization are outlined.

Table 4: An outline of discursive strategies developed from Reisigl & Wodak (2009, p. 102), Wodak & Meyer (2001, p. 73)

Strategy	Objective	Devices
Referential or nomination	Discursive construction of social actors, objects/phenomena/ events and processes/ actions	• membership categorization devices, deictics, anthroponyms, etc. • tropes such as metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches (*pars pro toto, totum pro pars*) • verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions, etc.
Predication	discursive qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena, events/ processes and actions (more or less positively or negatively)	• stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits (e.g., in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctional clauses, infinitive clauses and participial clauses or groups) • explicit predicates or predicative nouns/ adjectives/pronouns; • collocations

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		• explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, euphemisms) • allusions, evocations, presuppositions/implicatures, etc.
Argumentation	justification and questioning of claims of truth and normative rightness	• topoi (or more content-related) • fallacies
Perspectivation, framing or discourse representation	positioning speaker's or writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance	• deictics • direct, indirect or free indirect speech • quotation marks, discourse markers/particles • metaphors • animating prosody, etc.
Intensification, mitigation	Modifying (intensifying or mitigating) the illocutionary force and thus the epistemic or deontic status of utterances	• diminutives or augmentatives • (modal) particles, tag questions, subjunctive, hesitations, vague expressions, etc.

		• Hyperboles, litotes • Indirect speech acts (e.g., question instead of assertion) • Verbs of saying, feeling, thinking, etc.

From Table 4, referential or nomination strategies are used to ensure that the boundaries that exist between groups are not blurred and that social actors are identified and categorized according to their ingroup and outgroup membership (Hart, 2010; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Sacks, 1992). This can be realized by using the following common rhetorical tropes- metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche- which are of interest to the present study. As a central aspect of human cognition (Prasada & Pinker, 1993) and a widely used conceptual tool in discourse, metaphor has attracted much attention from scholars from different disciplines and methodological traditions including those within the DHA strand. Viewed as an important rhetorical device, social actors tend to utilize it as a mechanism for strategic political communication (Ferrari, 2018). This study takes metaphor, in its most basic sense, to mean conceiving one thing in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Here, abstract concepts are likened to and conceptualized in terms of more familiar entities. In addition, Charteris-Black's (2004, p. 11) definition of a metaphor as "a linguistic representation that results from the shift in the use of a word or phrase from the context or domain in which it is expected to occur to another context ... thereby causing semantic shift" is operationalized in this study. The use of metonymy as a rhetorical trope is more evident in discourse situations where a speaker's objective is to keep a person or entity in the semantic background by replacing the actual name of the person or entity with another closely associated one. This is realized by drawing on the relationship between two conceptual fields (e.g., "the White House" for "US President"). The following classification can be made of metonymies, as outlined by Wodak et al., (2009, p. 43), in terms of how they are deployed to linguistically represent social actors: place for person (e.g., The whole of Vienna celebrates); country for persons (e.g., All in all, Austria has never been so well off); persons for country (e.g., We are much too small to allow disharmony in vital areas of our country); institution for (responsible) representatives of the institution (Parliament rejected the motion). Synecdoche refers to a part being used or standing for the whole and vice versa. This corresponds to Plett's (2001, p. 92-94) distinction between "particularizing" and " generalizing"

synecdoches. In this instance, words originating from a more or less similar semantic field are replaced with words that have a narrower or wider meaning. Where a speaker draws on a narrower semantic concept to refer to a broader one as in the statement *the Ghanaian [representing the Ghanaian nation] must rise* (pars proto- the part stands for the whole), a particularized synecdoche is being used. Conversely, where a broader semantic concept is used to refer to a narrower one, as in the statement *Ghana [representing the government or politicians] is corrupt* (totum pro parte – the whole stands for the part) a generalized synecdoche is being used.

Strategies that ascribe qualities to entities in discourse are predication strategies and utilize a broad range of linguistic choices. The reference to entities can be realized by a number of lexico-grammatical elements and rhetorical devices, such as: adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctional clauses, infinitive clauses and participial clauses or groups, predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns, collocations, explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes and euphemisms) and by more or less implicit allusions, evocations and presuppositions/implications (see Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 45). Once the labels are ascribed, they can at the same time assume referential functions and therefore realize referential strategies. This overlap of function has led to the view that "referential expressions may simultaneously realize referential and predicational strategies" (Hart, 2010, p. 66). For example, although representing Rawlings as a socialist can perform a referential function such as politicization, such a reference can also depict Rawlings as a nationalist, a believer of human equality and a seeker of society's welfare. The noun 'socialist' is therefore both a referent (realizing referential strategy) and linguistically assigns certain qualities to Rawlings (realizing predicational strategy). While referential and predicational strategies show how members of ingroups and outgroups are categorized and linguistically labelled, their inclusion in or exclusion from particular social groups is what argumentation strategies deal with.

Augmentation strategies make use of topoi (plural for topos) which are basically arguments that set the basis for certain conclusions to be made about people, events, and issues. Kienpointner (1992, p. 94) explains the notion of topoi as follows:

> "topoi or loci can be described as parts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable premises. They are the content-related warrants or 'conclusion

rules' which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim. As such, they justify the transition from the argument or arguments to the conclusion".

Topoi can be presented to show conditionality (i.e., if x, then y) or causality (i.e., y, because x) (see Reisigl & Wodak 2001, p. 69–80) and to link an argument with a claim (Wodak, et al., 1999; Reisigl & Wodak 2001; Wodak 2009; Krzyzanowski & Galasinska, 2009). For the analysis of Rawlings' political speeches, the following "List of topoi" in Table 5 (adapted from Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 74-75) was consulted. It offers "typical content related argument schemes" (ibid.) applicable to the analysis undertaken in this study.

Table 5: List of topoi adapted from Wodak & Meyer (2001, p. 74-75)

Topoi	Conditional structures
Usefulness, advantage • *Pro bono publico* − to the advantage of *all*; • *Pro bono nobis* − to the advantage of *us*; • *Pro bono eorum* − to the advantage of *them*;	If an action under a specific relevant point of view will be useful, then one should perform it;
Uselessness, disadvantage	consequences of a decision will not occur, or if other political actions are more likely to lead to the declared aim, the decision has to be rejected; or If existing rulings do not help to reach the declared aims, they have to be changed;
Authority	a political action or decision is (de)legitimated if it bears the authority of a person or institution vested with power
Necessity	if actions are required in specific respects, they should be treated/dealt with as necessary;
Responsibility	because a state or a group of persons is responsible for the emergence of specific problems, it or they should act in order to find solutions to these problems;
Consequence	if an action leads to specific problems, one should act in order to diminish these problems or if a specific situation or

	action causes a loss or gain, one should perform actions to avoid the loss or maximize the gains
Reality	because reality is as it is, a specific action/decision should be performed/made;
Numbers	if the numbers prove a specific topos, a specific action should be performed or not be carried out;
History	because history teaches that specific actions have specific consequences, one should perform or omit a specific action in a specific situation (allegedly) comparable with the historical example referred to. A specific subtype of this argumentation scheme is the existing Ciceronian topos of *historia magistra vitae*, or history teaching lessons' (see Wodak et al., 1999: 205-207);
Comparison	if an action or situation X is similar to another action or situation Y by which X is being compared, then both actions or situations X and Y have more or less the same meaning; if an action or situation X is different from another action or situation Y by which X is being compared, then both actions or situations X and Y, by contrast, do not have the same meaning
Cause and effect	if the cause exists, so does the effect; if it does not, there is no effect.

The list of topoi above has been employed by Wodak and her colleagues in analyzing political discourse and identity construction (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak & Meyer, 2001; 2009; Wodak, 2009). It has also been used in the analysis of discourses associated with national/ European identity construction (Wodak et al., 1999; 2009; Wodak, 2009). Although the case in this study is an individual socio-political actor, these topoi appear suitable to be used for reference in the detailed analysis in the chapters that follow.

Perspectivation strategies basically allow speakers to express their point of view about issues and indicate the degree to which they are involved or detached from those positions or viewpoints. They do so by framing their discourses using a range of linguistic resources to articulate those ideological perspectives. This way, the DHA's perspectivation strategy (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001) bears resemblance with Goffman's (1981) "participation framework" which attempts to explain how social interaction or communication works. This framework is underpinned by two theoretical terms-framing and footing- which call attention to the relationship discourse participants take in the course of an interaction. Goffman (1974) views frames as primarily the broader social and situational knowledge which he refers to as the individual's understanding of what is happening in a specific situation, or 'definitions of a situation' (p. 10) which inform the linguistic choices they make to construct their perspectives. On the other hand, footing, as pointed out by Goffman (1981), is the interaction situation where "[the] participant's alignment; or set; or stance, or posture, or projected self" (p. 128) is being discussed. Thus, Levinson (1988) notes that footing highlights the stance a speaker takes or alignment in relation to an utterance and the corresponding roles he or she may assume in the unfolding discourse. Thus, the concept of framing and footing, subsumed under perspectivation strategies within the DHA informs the present study in that it can indicate "speakers' discursive identities" (Davies & Harré, 1990) in terms of their individual stances or positions taken in relation to others in the discourse. Apart from framing and footing, which help a speaker indicate his or her stance, state the level of involvement, proximity or distance in relation to others, one other key marker of identity in discourse is deixis (De Celia et al., 1999) which is closely related to indexicality (Benwell & Stokoe, 2010). Deictic elements rely on the context in which they are embedded. As such, their specific contexts shape their discursive contribution to identity construction by highlighting the specific positions speakers take relative to others in discourse. According to Wodak et al., (2009, p. 35), the following lexical units and syntactic structures, either singly or in combination, can mark deixis in discourse:

- Personal reference (anthroponymic generic terms, personal pronouns, quantifiers);
- Spatial reference (toponyms/ geonyms, adverbs of place, spatial reference through persons, by means of prepositional phrases such as 'with us', 'with them');
- Temporal reference (temporal prepositions, adverbs of time, temporal conjunctions, temporal references by means of nouns, semi-prefixes with temporal meaning.

By using these deictic devices, powerful political figures, in this case Rawlings, can articulate an ideological perspective and express his alignment with or detachment from different social groups.

Another discursive strategy is intensification and mitigation strategies which primarily reduce, tone down, or conceal and intensify the force of an utterance. These strategies, like perspectivation, can also be used to indicate a speaker's positionality in discourse. This can be realized by a range of paralinguistic and prosodic features such as tone, tempo, pitch, etc.; rhetorical devices such as repetition, metaphor, hyperbole, etc.; and lexico-grammatical means including intensity markers, emphatic particles ('really', 'very', 'absolutely', 'only'), amplifying particles ('very', 'too', 'absolutely'), verb phrases, adjectives and adverbs suggestive of the speakers' emotions (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 83). In particular, mitigation strategies also make use of grammatical mood and modality markers, attitudinal lexis, as well as presupposition and implicature in identity construction. Here, the emergent identity is a product of the co-construction between the speaker and his/her audience, whether actual or imagined, based on the shared meaning in the context of the interaction (see detailed table in Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 99). To identify and categorize mitigation strategies in discourse, Reisigl & Wodak (2001) have proposed three types of mitigation namely:

- Macro mitigation - mitigation "in parenthesis" (implicit/ indirect), realized by a range of linguistic forms indicating various degrees of reservation (e.g., "addressee-oriented reservation" -for example: 'If you don't mind…');
- Indirect micro mitigation – mitigation relying on the illocutionary force of the utterance of varying strength (e.g, using questions in place of assertions/directives – for example: 'Shouldn't we go further?');
- Direct micro mitigations - vague expressions, tag questions, subjunctives, particles and adverbs (e.g, 'fairly', ''quiet'', 'pretty', 'somewhat', 'perhaps', etc.)

From the categorization above, mitigation strategies can be covert or overt in their usage to attenuate the illocutionary force of an utterance.

This section, outlining the discursive strategies and their linguistic means of realization, only paid attention to those elements of the DHA analytical framework that are likely to be involved in the identity construction and self-representation of Rawlings and have been used in previous studies

to examine national identity construction (De Celia et al., 1999; Wodak & Meyer, 2001; 2009) and discourses of discrimination (positive self and negative other representation) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). In what follows, the category scheme the study draws on as complementary analytic framework to investigate the legitimation strategies used in Rawlings' discourse to assert his revolutionary identity in the military and democratic regimes is explained.

3.5.3   Categories of legitimation

To complement the DHA analysis of discursive strategies utilized by Rawlings in his representation of political Self in the military and democratic regimes, the legitimation strategies Rawlings deployed in asserting his core identity are examined from the perspective of Van Leeuwen's strategies (see detailed explanation in Section 2.7.4)- authorization (statements resorting to authority, laws and customs), rationalization (statements using rational arguments to justify the purpose of an (non)action and the axioms on which social actions are based), moralization (statements drawing on moral values as basis for a decision) and mythopoesis (statements invoking the moral of stories to show what good or bad outcomes are associated to what we do or do not do)- to see how these legitimations converged or diverged in the two regimes.

Some researchers (see Reyes, 2011) adopting Van Leeuwen's (2007) framework have added some more categories to adapt to the specific context of their studies. Based on the type of data analyzed, Reyes (2011) proposed three additional categories namely, appeal to emotions, invoking a hypothetical future, and claiming altruistic motivations. Breeze (2021) also proposes a subdivision within the category of moralization in her investigation of the legitimation strategies used in the chairperson's letter/statement to shareholders of the five leading UK banks during the ten years following the financial crisis in 2008. Similarly, based on the data in this present study, two new categories have been proposed namely, historicization and the claim to sacrifice to accommodate specific historical and socio-cultural factors. In my analysis, I also propose a sub-category, heroization, within the category of moralization to capture the transformation of social events and actions into heroic deeds with moralized values.   Before proceeding to explain the process of identifying the legitimation categories found in Rawlings' speeches, it is important to explain the novel legitimation categories and sub-categories developed in this study.

Historicization in discourse occurs when sociopolitical actors claim that their decisions are based on historical reflection that has enabled them to situate a present action in the past. That is, history is used to justify current actions and to establish a connection between the past, present and future (Ganaah et al., 2023). What historicization seeks to achieve is an understanding that the meaning of discursive events is contingent on history. This is realized by juxtaposing ongoing events with historical precedents, such that the historical particularities of earlier events serve as a source of meaning to contemporary events. The actors of the contemporary events become what Leudar and Nekvapil (2011, p. 66) refer to as "practical historians". As Wodak (2011), notes, discourse is invariably linked to something in the past or present. Consequently, once an event in a specific context can be associated with another event in the past, sociopolitical actors are likely to invoke history to (de)legitimize the current action. For example, Rawlings historicizes his revolution by situating it relative to the French and Russian revolutions.

Legitimation through the claim of sacrifice (Ganaah et al., 2023) hinges on the view that the articulation of revolutionary ideology produces a polarized discourse that divides society into 'friends' and 'enemies' and the 'enemies' are portrayed as a threat to the goals of the revolution (Valentino, 2005). Considered as regime opponents, these 'enemies' become scapegoats for the ills of society and they are presented as obstacles to the nation's interest (Weitz, 2004). This representation provides a basis for punishments, including death, to be meted out to them (Walt, 1992). We contend that the violence perpetrated against these 'enemies' (including execution in the present thesis) is legitimized through the claim of sacrifice. That is, persons whose continued existence (is likely to) pose a threat to the collective interest of the nation's welfare should be sacrificed for the greater good of society. This ideological view relates to the idea of destroying a threatening out-group to save us (Semelin, 2013) and is therefore associated with benefits to the nation, whether they be real or imagined.

Heroization is conceptualized **as** a discursive strategy that transforms events or social processes into heroic deeds or acts with purported (moral) values or benefits by making claims to heroic virtues of those deeds or acts. It is achieved through three allied discursive processes of equalization, neutralization and elevation. In this thesis, equalization means conceptualizing an event of a less grand nature in terms of a grander, more prominent similar event in history to give

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the former an equal status with the latter. This is evidenced by the way Rawlings compared his revolutions with more historically prominent revolutions in the world. This is followed by neutralization in which the negative moral associations of an event are somewhat invalidated by juxtaposing them with more positive connotations of the same event in a manner that presents losses as gains. Neutralization paves the way for elevation in that it allows the event to be promoted not only in a more favourable and appealing manner but also to construct it as the majority's wish or collective desire of the people. That is, it allows an individual's view to be 'elevated' as the common view to give it a more acceptable appeal. To naturalize this thought, elevation highlights the unavoidableness and commonsense nature of the event and presents it as something that was ordained to happen because everyone wanted it. Heroization can be differentiated from the concept of heroification (Loewen, 1995) which has to do with how we assign heroic traits or identities to persons in a manner that seems to obscure even their most obvious weaknesses. While heroification draws on popular opinion (Loewen, 1995) and is generally used for personalities, heroization, as used in this study, derives from the subjective realities of discursive events constructed as objective realities to highlight their underlying universal moral virtues in terms of their usefulness to society.

Together, these novel legitimation categories reveal a vital discursive attribute of the manner in which Rawlings attempted to cleanse and positively re-imagine his bloody revolutions, which forms a core part of his strategic communication agenda to persuade the Ghanaian public to perceive the revolutions as legitimate. To identify Van Leeuwen's legitimation categories and the ones developed from the analysis in this study, I followed the procedure adopted by legitimation researchers (Van Leeuwen, 1999, 2007, 2008; Reyes, 2011; Breeze, 2021). For the purpose of the present study, I have represented this procedure schematically in Figure 4.

Discourse topics	legitimation strategies	Linguistic means of realization
Identify relevant topics, macro semantic propositions, intertextual and interdiscursive elements	Identify discursive features of legitimation categories	Identify particular lexico-grammatical elements relating to the legitimation categories used
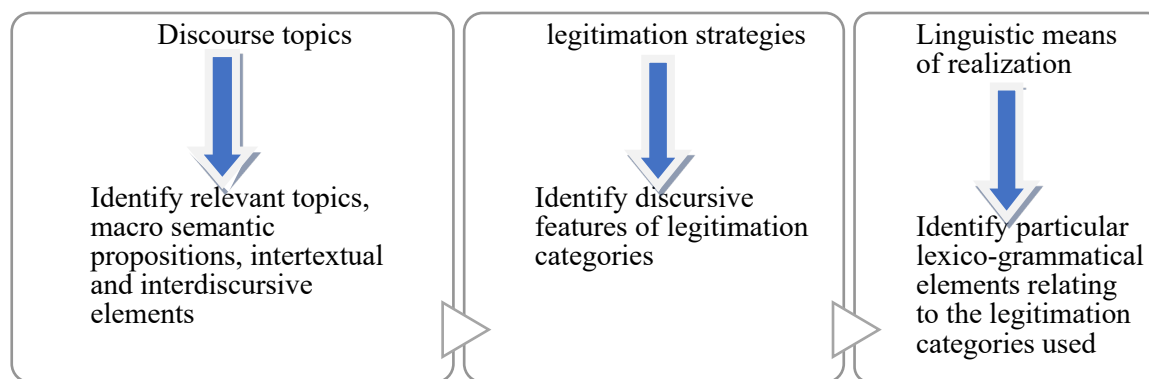
Figure 4: Different levels of analysis in legitimation strategies

The details of each level of the analytic procedure in Figure 4 in relation to the analysis of Rawlings' speeches in this study are subsequently discussed.

3.5.3.1 Discourse topics

The thematic discourses that framed Rawlings' core identity were taken as starting points for the analysis of the legitimation strategies he used. The discourses from which the themes were extracted were carefully read to identify the parts that may be related to legitimation. An iterative approach was used in the identification process which allowed for reading the texts several times to ensure that the legitimation strategies discovered are uniform in their illustrations in the discourses they inhabit across the dataset. This first step aimed to identify the discursive features of the legitimation categories. The extracts from which the legitimations were identified were analyzed, taking into consideration how the themes they highlighted, and the historical, social and economic contexts of their situated speeches helped to valorize Rawlings' revolutionary identity. Next, the particular lexical items that constituted the discursive features of the identified legitimation categories were located for all instances in the dataset to see whether the purpose or objective of their semantic meaning converged or diverged. That is, the linguistic means by which the identified legitimations were realized. This is explained in the next section.

3.5.3.2 Legitimation strategies and their linguistic means of realization

Generally, the linguistic methods for identifying legitimation strategies in discourse, especially in their lexical and grammatical contexts, are not universally applicable (Hansson & Page, 2022). That is, the methods tend to be more context-dependent and vary according to the nature and goals of the research (e.g., quantitative or qualitative). Unlike a quantitative design which commonly uses keywords or word frequency rankings as one of the many starting points of analysis in large corpora, the qualitative approach this thesis adopts is based on a small dataset of Rawlings' speeches which makes it more convenient to pay close attention to relevant discourse properties that may be low in frequency, allowing a more detailed analysis. Legitimations may be realized linguistically by a variety of speech acts including assertions or claims whose semantic scope include such references to the rightness of a speaker's position or actions (see Rojo & van Dijk, 1997) which function as common appeals in political argumentation (Hart, 2013; Van Leeuwen, 2018). For example, Rawlings framed the conditions leading to the revolutions are 'terrible', which gave him 'no choice' but to 'sacrifice' a group of people by executing them. The proposition expressed here refers to the revolutions and they are positively evaluated using lexical items that indicate the rightness and necessity of the action and its contribution toward solving a national problem. The legitimation of the proposition expressed hinges on a claim to sacrifice. What is meant by legitimation in this study refers to how speakers construct their discourses and arguments in order to "explain why social practices exist, and why they take the forms they do" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 38). These arguments attempt to provide answers to the fundamental question of "why"- that is, "why should we do this?" and "why should we do this in this way" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 93) to achieve the ultimate goal of securing their audience's support. To explore how Rawlings legitimated his revolutionary identity, the study, more specifically, draws on the four legitimation category scheme developed by Van Leeuwen (2007). The analysis only included the categories of legitimation and their sub-types in Van Leeuwen's (2007) framework that were found in Rawlings' speeches, together with the categories that were developed. In Table 5, the strategies of legitimation and their linguistic means of realization are presented.

Table 6: Legitimation strategies and their linguistic means of realization

Legitimation (sub)category	Basis of legitimation	Linguistic means of realization

Authorization		
Personal authority	Because I or an authority figure say so	Personal claims using personal pronouns (e.g., I, our), modal choices, membership categorization, aphorisms
Impersonal authority	Because the law or constitution says so	References to the law (e.g., constitution), nominalized institutional terms (e.g., democratization, local government)
Conformity authority	Because this is what everybody else does or wants	Numerative expressions (e.g., majority, most)
Rationalization		
Instrumental	Because it is moralized means to an end	Using ends and means constructions, goal-oriented lexemes, moralized lexico-grammatical elements, verbs of material processes, metaphors
Moralization		
Evaluation	Because it is right, normal and natural to do things this way	Moralized lexico-grammatical elements, membership categorization, negative other presentation,
Abstraction	Because the action done has a moralized desirable quality	Values of leadership, values of scientific objectivity

Heroization	Because it looks at the heroic virtues of doing it	Use of heroized values (e.g., statements of universal noble appeal)
Historicization	Because it like another past activity which is associated with positive values	Verbs of memory (e.g., remember), past temporal elements including dates (e.g., June 4, gone are the days)
Claim of sacrifice	Because doing it will save others or the situation and lead to greater good, we eliminate the bad ones	Deontic modality (e.g., have/had to, must, need to) with limited/no choice expressions (e.g., we had no option)

Table 6 outlines the legitimation categories in the present study and the basis on which each category acquires its legitimation as well as the linguistic elements that help to realize each category. Authorization is enacted when Rawlings uses the authority of his personal claims, the constitution and conformity to popular opinion to legitimate his actions. Generally personal authorization is linguistically realized by a wide range of declarative statements that attribute authority to self and by the using saying (ad)verbs (e.g., admitted(ly), verbs/nouns denoting mental processes or states (know, decision). Impersonal authorization draws on expressions that refer to the law (e.g., as required by the constitution) whereas conformity authorization is linguistically expressed by numerative nominal phrases (e.g. majority of the people, most Ghanaians, all people, every nation, etc.). Rationalization uses arguments that draw on the utility and the purposefulness of specific actions to legitimize those actions. Instrumental rationalization takes place when an action is constructed as a means to an end. For example, statements such as 'one of the objectives of the revolution...' and 'the June 4th uprising was meant to overthrow corruption.' help Rawlings to rationalize his revolution as means to an end. Theoretical rationalization is realized by giving definition, explanation and prediction to those actions (see Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). For example, Rawlings defined the revolutions as a 'violent reaction to grossly irresponsible use of power' in order to justify the necessity of the revolutions.

In turn, moralization is achieved by evaluation, abstraction and heroization. While evaluation is realized by moralize lexical elements (e.g., probity, integrity), abstraction is realized by words that are linked to leadership values (e.g., vision, foundation) and values rooted in law (e.g., constitution). Heroization, on the other hand, is realized in this thesis by allusions (e.g., every nation on earth), expressions that suggest necessity (e.g., 'there was no alternative', 'it will inevitably come', 'we had no choice'), collectives (e.g., 'collective good', 'our country', 'majority', 'popular', 'all people'). Similarly, while historicization is linguistically realized by verbs of memory (e.g., 'remember', 'remind'), phrases that denote past time (e.g., 'gone are the days', 'history tells us') and clauses that refer to specific dates and events (e.g., 'June 4', 'the French Revolution'), legitimation via the claim of sacrifice is linguistically realized by deontic modality (e.g., 'have/had to', 'must', 'need(ed) to') and expressions that suggest having little-to-no alternative (e.g., 'we had no option'). In what follows, a reflection on the DHA analytical framework, particularly regarding its validity will be discussed.

3.6 Reflections on analytical framework and triangulation

Generally, approaches within traditional CDA greatly rely on the analyst's interpretive framework or self-made hermeneutic system. This has been criticized by some scholars (Pennycook, 2001; Widdowson, 1996) for allowing too much subjectivity and being susceptible to bias. The analytical framework adopted accommodates a degree of researcher subjectivity which, I must admit, could be a potential limitation of the current study. Triangulation has therefore been employed to ensure greater validity. Triangulation is a typical mechanism used by researchers to draw insights from a combination of methods and data. As defined by Silverman (1993), triangulation in research, such as adopted in this study is:

> "the mixing of data or methods so that diverse viewpoints or standpoints cast light upon a topic. The mixing of data types, known as data triangulation, is often thought to help validate the claims that might arise from an initial pilot study. The use of two data sets, political speeches and media discourses serves the purpose of data triangulation. The mixing of methodologies, e.g., mixing the use of [two distinct methods] survey data with interviews, is a more profound form of triangulation" (p. 3). Compared to other approaches, the DHA draws on triangulation of theory and data, "[…] which is

appropriate whatever one's theoretical orientation or use of quantitative or qualitative data" (Silverman, 1993, p. 156).

As such, the present study draws on methodical and theoretical triangulation, informed by Cicourel's (1992) concept of context which captures both the macro, 'broader context' (e.g., historical, political, institutional, organizational, etc.) and the micro, 'local context' (e.g., related to a particular time, place and participants and the specific language used) (cf. Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak & Weiss, 2001; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). In this study, the macro level analysis focuses on the role of context as a source of background and evidence to the historical and political development of Rawlings' politics. The context also provides the backdrop of how he framed his discourse, the actions he performed and specific use of language which can serve as a signpost of the way his self-representations evolved in the changing narrative of Ghana's history. At the meso level, what is examined is the interaction between his speeches and discourse elements, whereas the micro level concentrates on the basic linguistic items and grammatical elements such as verbs, adjectives, nouns, intensifiers, modality, deixis, etc. This makes it possible to switch between different levels of analysis and approach the data from different theoretical standpoints before any conclusions are drawn. What this means is that discourse elements can be identified and examined at each level and compared in the form of cross-examination before amalgamating them into a holistic unit of analysis.

This method of triangulation which contributes to the research design is applied to ensure that the findings have more validity. It allows for the discovery and verification of discursive elements. Additionally, it offers in-depth understanding of an issue while, as Denzin (2017) maintains, it also circumvents intrinsic bias that arises from studies that solely employ one theory or method. Despite these checks and balances, no discourse analytic enterprise guarantees absolute 'objectivity', because each 'technology of research' must be acknowledged as conceivably incorporating the beliefs and ideologies of the researcher and therefore predisposing the analyst towards their existing preconceptions (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 31). By stepping away from the data from time to time and ensuring analytical rigour through accurate and systematic analysis, researcher preconceptions are well managed. From the foregoing and in line with existing categorizations of triangulation (see Denzin, 2017), this study can be said to be situated within theoretical and

methodological triangulation, where theoretical notions from CDA are used to collect and examine datasets, discursive interaction, and linguistic means of realization to attain an in-depth understanding of the subject being investigated. Still, I assume in this study the position of many scholars who have argued that "the right interpretation does not exist" (Wodak & Ludwig, 1999, p. 13) because all interpretation relies on the background knowledge of the speakers and hearers and is therefore subjective. Since CDA does not "pretend to be able to assume an objective, socially neutral analytical stance" (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 8), the findings in this present study cannot be said to have generalizability or claim absolute freedom from researcher's bias.

3.7 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has described the methodological design deployed in this study in terms of the text materials used for this study and the analytical procedures employed. It has situated the study within the ontological and epistemological reasonings of the DHA which offer rich alternative insights on how data collection can be approached, and analysis conducted to arrive at a nuanced interpretation of the data. The entire work is hinged on a triangulation design of critical discourse analysis involving a methodological tool that dissects the dataset at three distinct but allied levels of macro, meso and micro analysis. It has also presented in some detail the procedures that will be operationalized to achieve the study's aim of finding out the variations in Rawlings' self-representation and the strategies of self-legitimation in his discourse from 1979-2000 at all levels of analysis, especially the macro-level. The subsequent chapters will focus on the actual discussion and analysis of the data.

CHAPTER 4 POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF SELF IN A MILITARY REGIME

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the Ghanaian revolutionary leader Jerry John Rawlings' political presentation of Self in the military regime as a specific socio-political period in which he conceptualized and performed politics. It examines the various linguistic tools (i.e., lexical choices, syntactic structures, semantic and pragmatic tools) and discursive strategies he used to construct specific discourses which serve to create coherent self-representations and unique identities that have the potential of influencing society's trajectories. The data analysis focuses on how Rawlings drew on language resources in a systematic narrative to conceive and perform identity and the politics of self-representation at a critical period in Ghana's history. In detail, I analyze the dominant themes, the discursive strategies and their linguistic means of realization that contribute to the construction of his revolutionary identity which the study found to be the nucleus of his self-representation. The focus on self-representation is essential because specific identities can serve as conceptual maps to specific political behaviours and action as well as ideologies. Since politics is performed in a context, it is likely that the content of Rawlings' speeches may have been impacted by the broader political, economic, and social contexts (discussed in Chapter 1 above) within which the speeches were produced and therefore should be kept in mind throughout the subsequent thematic and linguistic analyses.

4.2 Rawlings and militarism in Ghana

To better understand the representations of Rawlings and their wider significance to his identity in his military regime, it is vital to go back into history, however brief, to take a look at the nature of military interventions that precipitated the revolutions in Ghanaian politics. The colonial period (1821- 1957) preceding the independence of Ghana introduced a form of political culture in which the functional norms, especially of governance, rendered the military's involvement in politics non-germane. The British occupation of the Gold Coast territory from 1821 onward, itself, began with a subjugation of the local militaries of the states within the Gold Coast (Addo-Fening, 2013). A direct consequence of British rule is the imposition of an indirect rule system in which an appointed governor by the Queen of Great Britain sat at the top of the hierarchy of the colonial officialdom. Together with other colonial officials, the governor formed a colonial civil service

that helped to implement the policies of the government. Although the colonial government made room for educated Ghanaians to join the civil service, only a few were allowed, even after massive protests, perhaps due to what Davidson (1993, p. 41) refers to as the "crude and inchoate prejudices of the slaving centuries" and "racist ideology" that only sought to highlight the incapability of educated Africans in general and Ghanaians in particular to rule. The denigration of educated Ghanaians and their widespread exclusion from the colonial government, contributed to the incitement of agitations for more inclusion and representation in the government, leading to independence in 1957. Therefore, in post-independence Ghana and prior to the rise of military interventionism, the norms of political behaviour remained largely hinged on civilian rule devoid of military politics. This challenges the belief that the involvement of the military in Ghanaian politics is a surviving legacy of the ex-colonial system. Rather, it seems to support the hypothesis that the military interventions that saw the removal of civilian rulers from power may have been motivated by a deep political consciousness of nationalism that dawned on young military officers, a "real prise de conscience" (Hansen & Collins, 1980, p. 4) causing them to take up arms and change the status quo. Before Rawlings' first botched insurrection in 1979, the political climate was characterized by gross economic mismanagement, widespread corruption and tyranny on the part of the ruling junta made up of only senior military officers.

The failure of the military administration resulted in a significant depletion of public confidence in the army as a credible alternative, non-democratic institution of governance. When Rawlings successfully led the revolution on June 4, 1979, and December 31, 1981, leading to the execution of eight senior army, air force and naval officers, three former Heads of State and the removal from office and incarceration of many top public officials, the immediate problem he had to overcome was the public's lack of faith in the army for the suffering they went through in the previous regime. The legitimate question therefore was "Will the masses of Ghanaians approve of another military rule?". Studies (see Brenya et al., 2015; Hansen & Collins, 1980) have shown that there was a rapturous reception of his revolutions from the majority of the people which may have been informed by the provision of a series of justificatory reasons through rhetoric. The justification is not so much about why Rawlings intervened militarily as it is about his identity as a man of the civilian masses, which is, at once, problematic given the clear military-civilian dichotomy in the Ghanaian system. Against this backdrop, one crucial issue that a military

takeover brings is the issue of legitimacy - the legitimacy of the military apparatus for rule and the legitimacy of the military leader(s) themselves. In line with this thinking, it is conceivable that Rawlings' speeches would draw on various strategies to justify his revolutions and the situated identity they create that enabled him to gain public approval in leading a military junta at a time where, arguably, the people desired a civil democratic government because of the positive trajectory of the country in the First Republic of democracy under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah and due to the failure of the previous military regimes. The regime, also known as the revolution era, covers the period 1979 to 1992 and therefore the discursive strategies that are analyzed in this section of the chapter namely, referential/nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivation and intensification strategies draw on the speeches of Rawlings that were produced in this period.

The dataset analyzed in this chapter is comprised of thirty-five texts produced by Rawlings during his military rule between 1979 to 1992, also known as the revolutionary era. The texts were produced at formal discourse events that offered Rawlings a platform to formulate and express his ideology and articulate his political agenda for the nation. These specific discourse events are anniversaries of the revolutions, festivals of cultural communities, national Independence Day celebrations, international conferences, presidential receptions and New Year addresses. To examine how Rawlings performed identity and self-representation during his military rule, I derived themes, using thematic analysis (see discussion in Chapter 3 section 3.7), which reveal the dominant ideas that held Rawlings' attention. The initial round of categorizing the data into smaller units of analysis yielded 173 pithy codes from the 35 texts analyzed in this chapter. Next, I grouped these codes into categories based on the similarity of topics they express. This made it easier to derive themes from the categories to form a preliminary thematic framework for the analysis. During this process, my focus was on themes I considered to be frequent and repetitive in the speeches as they were indicative of identity categories that conveyed information about who Rawlings is or how he may have wanted to be perceived by his audience. As such, two broad themes emerged based on two main trajectories which were relevant to the study's focus:

- First, Rawlings framed a nationalist discourse that aimed to highlight the pursuit of national interests, a new framework for national politics and the importance of institutional structures for national progress.

- Second, transnational discourses that emphasized his support for continental African emancipation through the pursuit of unity and development as well as a fight against the common enemies of (neo)colonialism, imperialism, and diverse forms of western domination.

As can be seen above, these broad themes were made up of sub-themes. While the main theme of nationalism was composed of the sub-themes of reforms, national interest and democracy, the main theme of Pan-Africanism was made up of the sub-themes of African unity and African struggle for independence and emancipation. Table 7 shows a breakdown of the final themes and their sub-themes that form a coherent narrative of Rawlings' self-representation during his military rule.

Table 7: Final themes in Rawlings' speeches in the military era

Final themes	**Number of codes**	**Percentage of total codes**
Nationalism	119	69%
Pan-Africanism	54	31%
Total	**173**	**100%**
Sub-themes of nationalism		
National interest	46 (of 119)	27%
Democracy	21 (of 119)	12%
Reforms	52 (of 119)	30%
Sub-themes of Pan-Africanism		
African unity	24 (of 54)	14%
African struggle for independence and emancipation	30 (of 54)	17%
Total	**173**	**100%**

Having finalized the prominent themes in the data as illustrated in Table 7, the analysis proceeds to look at the different discursive strategies along with the linguistic means of realization emerging in these speeches, while identifying and interpreting their contribution to identity construction and self-representation against the micro and macro contexts.

4.3 Summary of discursive strategies and their linguistic means of realization found in the themes of nationalism and Pan-Africanism

In the discourse of Rawlings associated with his presentation of Self during the military regime, the analysis reveals that all five discursive strategies in Reisigl and Wodak (2001) namely referential or nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivation and intensification strategies and their linguistic means of realization were found in Rawlings' speeches in relation to the construction of the themes of nationalism and Pan-Africanism. Table 8 shows a summary of the discursive strategies and their linguistic means of realization found in the themes of nationalism and Pan-Africanism.

Table 8: Summary of discursive strategies and their linguistic means of realization found in the themes of nationalism and Pan-Africanism

Themes	Discursive strategies	Linguistic means or realization
Nationalism	-Referential/nomination	Membership categorization (using pronouns), metaphor lexis, metonymy, synecdoche
	-Predication	Predicate adjectival clauses, evaluative expressions, metaphor and predicate nouns
	-Argumentation	Topoi: uselessness/disadvantage, realty, history, comparison, advantage, responsibility and consequence
	-Perspectivation	Temporal references, framing, use of deictic references, building metaphor and evaluative descriptions

	-Intensification	Expressive adverbials, superlative intensifiers, deontic modality, intensifying adjectives and number lexicon
Pan-Africanism	-Referential/nomination	Membership categorization, metonymy and war metaphor lexis
	-Predication	Positive evaluative adjectives (positive self-presentation), predicate clauses of explicit denotations, attributive adjectives and the attributions of positive traits
	-Argumentation	Topos of history, drawing on emphatic temporal markers, specific historical figures and lexis of the past
	-Perspectivation	Verb phrases, performative and devotional verbs
	-Intensification	Deontic modality and emphatic adjectives

In the subsequent sections, the contextual manifestations of these discursive strategies and their linguistic realizations are further explored in the speeches in which they occur in relation to the sub-themes under nationalism and Pan-Africanism.

4.4 The theme of nationalism

The concept of nation is central to nationalism because "nationalism involves assumptions about what a nation is" (Billig, 1995, p. 5). That is why theories of nationalism have intuitively focused on defining the term 'nation.' However, the term has proven difficult to define and there seems to be no consensus among scholars on what it is, making it a problematic concept. For example, Armstrong (1982) views 'nation' as a concept that evolves from ethnicity. In other words, the concept of 'nation' is contingent on ethnic identity. From a different perspective, Gellner (1983) identifies two factors- will and culture- as vital in the formation of a nation and avers that the concept of 'nation' emerges when an entire population becomes homogenous mainly because of its continued practice of high cultures and by unifying these high cultures, represents "a kind of unit with which men willingly and often ardently identify" (p. 55). While acknowledging the complexity that underlies the concept of nation, Anderson (2006) defines the concept of 'nation' as "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (p. 5). Based on these different perspectives on the concept of 'nation', I assume a workable definition of a nation in this present study as a group of people gathered together in a defined geographical territory, bound together by a common culture and shared ethnicity, and having the sovereignty for self-determination within their territory. The complexity of the concept of 'nation', unsurprisingly, makes the definition of nationalism convoluted owing to its semantic vastness such that no one definition has gained universal acceptance. Wilson (1908) has referred to nationalism as an overarching bond of identity among a group of people borne out of a "common political consciousness" (p. 283) by which they act responsibly and contribute to society. While Armstrong (1982) views the shared or common political consciousness as leading to "the intense group identification that today we term a 'nation'" (p. 3), Marx (2005) views nationalism as a "collective sentiment or identity bounding and binding together those individuals who share a sense of large-scale political solidarity" (p. 6). Gellner (2006, p. 1) on his part maintains that nationalism is a "political principle which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent" because it celebrates a nation's pristine desire to exercise political sovereignty over its territorial borders and to have the right to embrace the responsibilities and privileges that come along with it. In discussing the spectrum of discourses that constitute the theme of nationalism in Rawlings' rhetoric, it is important to mention that I have not pretended to capture the breadth of the concept of nationalism as manifested in its diverse conceptualization by scholars nor have I ignored the

complexity that makes its definition unprecise, alloyed, and difficult to capture from a single explanatory lens. From these varied definitions, nationalism seems to draw a relation between the elements of culture or a common political consciousness (i.e. a shared belief that underlies the way a people act or behave), collective identification (i.e. a sense of belonging, for example, by a bond of history and culture, etc.) and polity (i.e. the way a society organizes, controls and rules its people). These elements offer a plausible basis to take nationalism, in the present study, to mean the ways of thinking, talking, feeling, behaving, and acting, that shows a shared sense of solidarity with other members, echo the desire for political sovereignty and demonstrate love for one's country, as will become clear in the analysis that follow. The discourses that are associated with Rawlings' nationalist agenda are framed by three sub-thematic components namely, reforms, national interests and democracy. These components correspond to specific information he aimed to convey about himself and the kind of politics he set out to perform and are therefore subsequently discussed.

4.4.1 Rawlings and reforms

The motivation for the revolutions of Rawlings hinged on the need for socio-economic and political reforms in post-independence Ghana. Although revolution and reform are constituents of social change and have been linked to social conflict (see Riordan, 1997; Wang, 2019), they are viewed as different concepts with different outcomes. While reform refers to resorting to non-violent, gradual means of making changes to the status quo power structure, revolution is often accompanied by fierce disruption and brutality in toppling the existing power structure (Wang, 2019). It is therefore important to state at the outset that in this study, I do not treat revolution and reform as polar entities but as concepts that influence each other. My position finds resonance with Rawlings' own admission that "our revolution is no copy of any ideology. It seeks to make us true, proud Ghanaians"[2] which suggests that the term, apart from its conventional meaning, may have a slightly different application and in its interaction with reform, reflecting understandings in local politics.

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[2] An excerpt of the address of the Head of State and Chairman of the P.N.D.C. Flt. Lt. J.J Rawlings on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of Achimota School on Saturday, March 7, 1987

As was noted earlier, before 1979, the year Rawlings attempted his first act of military insurgence, the Supreme Military Council (SMC) made up of senior military officers led by General Ignatius Kutu Acheampong who ran the nation's administrative machinery. Allegations of widespread corruption in public service, deep inequality, social injustice, and the control of the nation's wealth by an elite minority made the government unpopular. This created a social cleavage that served as a catalyst for the emergence of a new system with a new breed of leaders who will champion the cause of social and institutional reforms. When Rawlings discovered how corrupt the system was and how the socio-political conditions created an entrenched, centrally sustained high politics that was discriminatory and exclusionary, he rose as the voice and face of the invisible majority. He thus was an embodiment of the much-needed reform of the time. Reform here refers to changes in status quo governmental and institutional policies, practices, and rules due to their inefficiency in achieving the goals of socio-economic well-being and development. It also refers to available alternative government, institutions, policies, practices, and rules that would outperform the established order. Through the revolution, Rawlings saw an opportunity to bring needed reforms to all sectors of society including education. He therefore took advantage of different discourse events to emphatically articulate educational reforms which he believed would yield greater intellectual dividends for the development of Ghana. Thus, at the 1987 durbar, a ceremonial gathering organized by chiefs, in the Brong Ahafo region, Rawlings makes it abundantly clear in his address what kind of reform he fought for and why:

(1) ***One of the objectives of our revolution is that the youth must be given the education that will help equip them for the role they will be called upon to play as leaders in industry, commerce, and agriculture***. Our present educational system is producing a disproportionate number of dissatisfied unemployables because their training does not orient them to productive work. ***It is to address this imbalance with the educational system that the Junior Secondary School system is being introduced as a revolutionary measure.*** (Durbar of the people of Dormaa- Ahenkro, 1987)

In extract (1), although Rawlings does not explicitly mention reform, it is not hard to see the link between reform (i.e., modifying or transforming the existing educational structures) and revolution (i.e., the complete replacement of the existing SMC government) in that the latter served as an agency for achieving the former. It can therefore be said that the revolutionary cause was a fight

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for positive change and Rawlings' reformist thinking comes to the fore in his suggestion that education in general or in its details is necessary for the revolutionary change on which national development was contingent. Arguing that one of the core motivators for the revolution was the provision of a particular programme of education to the youth of Ghana, Rawlings implies that this may not have been previously historically available. In so doing, he establishes a connection between some form of past educational practices and the present educational programmes and moves, in a typical fashion of reformists, to diagnose the problem, indicating that over time the status quo has failed to meet the evolving educational needs of the people. In pointing to the mark left by the current educational model, Rawlings strategically argues for the outright rejection and discontinuation of the status quo, resorting to the topos of uselessness or disadvantage (see Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 76). The topos of uselessness or disadvantage claims that if an existing action or cause does not help to achieve or reach a declared objective, it should be changed. Thus, by indicating in line 4 that the graduates produced by the current educational system are a bunch of 'unemployables' (1) whose 'training does not orient them to productive work' (1), Rawlings claims that the current educational system has not shown a positive, advantageous, locally useful, and practical impact on individuals and society at large and therefore should be abandoned. Rawlings uses the topos of uselessness or disadvantage in relation to student productivity by identifying the failure of education to equip students with the relevant training to contribute to national development. It is vital to note that by using the noun phrase 'leaders in industry, commerce, and agriculture' (1) in line 2 and the noun 'unemployables' (1) in line 4, Rawlings interdiscursively links his discourse of educational reform to the theme of employment and leadership, creating larger socio-economic narratives within which he legitimizes his agenda and seeks support for his reforms. This suggests that the reform is not just about education but also about its outcomes on other important interests such as leadership and employability. The deontic modal 'must' in line 1 in 'one of the objectives of our revolution is that the youth must be given the education…' can be seen as a grammatical resource that indicates necessity, which goes to show that Rawlings' educational reform is the right and only option to meet the needs of the youth. Again, the use of the deontic modality 'must', connotes urgency which places an obligation on Rawlings and his government to ensure that the goal of the revolution in terms of implementing new educational reforms as a catalyst for national development is not hindered. Thus, the necessity, urgency and obligation connoted by the deontic modal 'must' can be considered as an

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intensification strategy that helps to create a justification for the revolution which, as Rawlings argues, was aimed at national reforms including education, thereby asserting the credibility of his reformist identity.

Throughout history, young people have been seen to champion reforms, possessing a creative force that makes them innovative. Although some young people may demonstrate apathy towards political participation, in many countries, under repressive regimes and conditions of acute unemployment, the youth have driven "significant political changes" and "have been at the centre of socialist movements" which became a "major catalyst for [national] uprisings" (Woodman & Wyn, 2014, p. 2). At the time of the revolutions, Rawlings himself was a young man at the prime age of 32 years. Given what we know on a macro level about youth and reforms, it is not out of place to admit that contingent historical narratives provide argumentative support for Rawlings' identity as a reformist. Also, it is not a coincidence that he spotlights the 'youth' as the focal point of his reform and major beneficiaries of the dividends of the revolutionary cause. Rawlings segments society via explicit labelling of identity categories (i.e., *youth, leaders*). Being a young person and a leader at the time, this categorization helps Rawlings to create affinity with and win the affection of the youth of the society. However, the use of the noun phrase 'the youth' in line 1 can be seen as metonymic of Ghanaians in that his educational reform was not only for young people but for the benefit of the entire Ghanaian society. This claim follows from a number of studies (Abadzi, 2003; Amedzro, 2004; Aoki, 2005) which found that Rawlings' educational reforms comprised a national literacy campaign through non-formal education for school dropouts and adult learners.

As a reformist, Rawlings must claim necessary grounds that legitimize his identity. The verb process 'is producing' (1) in line 3, in its present continuous form, operationalizes the topos of reality (see Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 76) and reifies the idea that although the status quo is functional, it continues to produce synthetic products, to borrow the metaphor. In part, the statement here also serves as Rawlings' eloquent admission that he has no hand in the ongoing entropy in the established order because it was only inherited by the revolution, which it aimed to address. Rawlings does not explicitly claim that past policies or reforms have yielded significant benefits or negative outcomes, but it is not hard to imagine that he may have invoked a mental

reference to a past educational model by which to draw some form of comparison in the present to spur his reform. Whether this is real or imagined, it helps Rawlings to prosecute a contrast of the present with a clear aim to make the future better. This is justified by invoking the topos of numbers by saying that the system produces 'a disproportionate number of dissatisfied unemployables' (1, lines 3 & 4). The emphasis on the allegedly high number of people heavily disadvantaged by the system is achieved by the adjective 'disproportionate' (1, line 3) which simultaneously achieves an intensification strategy. Although he does not substantiate this claim with specific figures from highly credible empirical sources, it is implied that the status quo has failed to meet the practical educational aspirations of Ghanaians and must be changed- a change his educational system namely, the Junior Secondary School (JSS) system identifies him as a reformer.

On another occasion, specifically the festival of the people of Anlo in the Volta region of Ghana, Rawlings seized the platform as Guest of Honour in his capacity as the chairperson of the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC)- the ruling military regime- to construct discourses that discursively and systematically create a coherent narrative of his political reforms (thereby creating the identity of a reformist politician) by remarking:

(2) I am informed that there are some amongst you who are still skeptical about the value of the JSS concept. I wish to point out to those ***doubting Thomases*** that ***at this stage of our national development, that the long overdue Junior Secondary School programme will serve as a catalyst for rapid development and progress***. ***We would not introduce any programme in this country unless we are convinced that it is in the best interests of the majority of the people.*** When Dr. Nkrumah in 1951 introduced the Tuition Free Education Scheme in this country, ***many were those*** who opposed the scheme and ridiculed the whole concept. We have been witnesses to what that scheme achieved for this country. When he formed the Ghana Educational Trust to put up Secondary Schools all over the country, ***many people*** said that this would only lower standards, and ***yet out of those schools have come hundreds of thousands of useful citizens***. It is our hope that the ***detractors and the doubting Thomases***…have been wrong in their apathy. (Festival Of The Chiefs And People Of Anlo, 1987)

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By establishing a correlation between his educational model and 'rapid development and progress' (2, line 4), Rawlings provides a justification for his reform, lending credibility to his identity as a reformist. The use of the adjective 'long overdue' in (2) line 3 indicates that in the past the implementation of the reform may have encountered some bottlenecks for which it did not materialize, most likely due to opposition. However, the present, signalled by the deictic 'this' in line 2 in the construction 'at this stage of our national development,' (2) suggests that the present time is the right temporal setting for the reform to be implemented as it will stimulate national progress. The use of the first person plural pronoun 'we' (2) in lines 4, 5 and 8 can be seen as performing membership categorization and group identification because it constructs an inclusive discourse. In line 4, 'we' appears to be vested with power or authority to determine what is right and wrong on behalf of the entire country and would not execute an agenda except if it would benefit the people. The authority of 'we' is more explicitly emphasized in that what is considered to further the interest of the people of the country lies in the absolute determination of 'we'. Put differently, 'we' authoritatively embodies the interests of the people. In line 8, the use of 'we' is generic and refers to the Ghanaian public who experienced the success of the Tuition Free Education Scheme which Dr. Nkrumah introduced in the country in 1951. Although it is not clear who constitutes the 'we' in lines 4 and 5, it can be assumed, based on what 'we' does in context, that the PNDC government is implied. Thus, in using 'we' (as in lines 4 & 5), Rawlings, claims affiliation with the PNDC as the political unit responsible for the design and implementation of the structural reforms. Less obvious but noteworthy is the fact that by this inclusive pronominal use, Rawlings gives credibility to his personal voice of authority and indirectly offers the Ghanaian people his personal assurance that 'we would not introduce any programme in this country unless we are convinced that it is in the best interests of the majority of the people'. The tone of assurance in Rawlings' message is likely to evoke strong emotional sentiments in his audience thereby creating an attachment that ultimately aids his populist politics.

Pronouns can strategically function as linguistic tools to construct identity, particularly in the construction of Self and Other (Bramley, 2001). The pronouns used in (2) construct a favourable ingroup of which Rawlings is a member. Although there is no explicit use of pronouns in reference to Other, through the implied binarity that pronouns often underscore and the use of expressions such as 'doubting Thomases' (line 2), 'many' (line 7) and 'many people' (line 10), Rawlings

constructs an oppositional outgroup. Under such categorization, while the actions and behaviour of the outgroup are highlighted as detrimental to the rest of society in a negative Other presentation, the positive values associated with one's ingroup are shared by members who identify with the group. It can be inferred that positive values such as carefulness, diligence, sensitivity, pragmaticism and people-centeredness are implied in the expression '…unless we are convinced that it is in the best interests of the majority of the people'. Given that the unfolding discourse is immediately related to the topic of reforms, these positive values can be taken as the characteristics of his reformist approach. The doggedness of the approach and indeed of the person of Rawlings, are emphasized by the certainty in the negative declarative 'we would not introduce any programme' and the indication of due diligence introduced by the adverb 'unless'. By implying a 'we-action' in relation to the reform, it makes sense to think of the implementation of the new educational programme as a collective initiative. I argue, however, that as leader of the PNDC, Rawlings exploits the self-referencing resources of the inclusive pronoun 'we' to indirectly refer to himself and to make a bold statement that his reformist approach, unlike the previous regime, will not fail. Such self-promotion using self-reference or self-mention pronouns allows a speaker to clearly indicate the novelty and originality of his ideas (Hyland, 2001) and make them appear relevant and innovative (Myers, 1989).

To further represent himself as a reformist among the top echelon of political leaders to champion strategic reforms specifically in Ghana and more generally in Africa, Rawlings exploits public memory to seek ideological alignment with and to conceptualize his reform as an extension of Kwame Nkrumah's highly successful and popular educational scheme. Rawlings does so by establishing a link between the past and present educational programmes introduced by political leaders in Ghana's education sector. Kwame Nkrumah was Ghana's first president and leader of the independence struggle who is credited for several reforms in Ghana's political history. As such, Rawlings merges and aligns the form and content of the educational system of Kwame Nkrumah and his JSS programme and in the process ascribes to the latter a similar status as the former although it is yet to be implemented and comparatively less grand. Rawlings is direct and explicit in his positive evaluation of Nkrumah's scheme and strategically argues for public assent and mass support for his programme by drawing on the topos of history (see Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 76). By resorting to the topos of history, which originates from Ciceronian topos of "historia magistra

vitae", that is, "history teaches lessons" (see Wodak et al., 1999, p. 150), Rawlings claims that as historically educational programmes (Nkrumah's in this case) have endured, yielded benefits and shown positive impact on the people of the Ghanaian society, similar ones (in the form of the JSS programme) should be given the benefit of the doubt and embraced. By creating cognitive and affective associations to previous reforms in terms of their social impact in equipping students with the necessary skills and training for national development, Rawlings legitimizes the need for reforms, creating their necessity through the topos of history. Through the topos of history, he invites his audience to think of the idea of his reform as one influenced by and traceable to a similar event in history which played a key role in revolutionizing the colonial legacy- the struggle for Ghana's independence.

At the same time, the concept of reform that appears to be central to Rawlings' revolutions brings its patently opposite coordinate in the form of resistance. This is made obvious by referring to a presumably high number of people who opposed Nkrumah's reforms, who are most likely still around. This reference, made possible by the quantifying determiner 'many', realizes an intensification strategy which reinforces the reality of oppositional forces in every reformation agenda. By signaling the presence of oppositional forces, the reference to 'many were those who opposed the scheme and ridiculed the whole concept' can be perceived as a perspectivation strategy that predicts, on the one hand, the fate of the naysayers and on the other hand, his resilience in pursuing the reform no matter the opposition. The deictic demonstrative 'those', together with the nominal expressions 'detractors' and 'doubting Thomases', realize a predicational strategy which enable Rawlings to further distance himself from these oppositional forces who constitute the outgroup.

It is not random that Rawlings uses the label 'doubting Thomases', which is a metaphor in the repertoire of Christian vocabulary. This is perhaps due to the dominance of Christianity in Ghana's religious landscape. Islam and traditional religions are the other two religious fraternities that exist in Ghana and together are practiced by about 29% of the population (Ghana Statistical Service, 2021). This suggests that religion is inseparable from the everyday life of the people even though Ghana is a secular country according to the laws of the constitution. Thus, historically, Ghanaians can be described as a religious people and the Ghanaian cultural ethos is influenced by religion

and its multifaceted beliefs and practices. In this regard, Omenyo (2006, p. 24) avers that "the Ghanaian's epistemology and ontology is religious". As such, religion in Ghana can be said to shape the organization of society, drive social change, and influence socioeconomic attainment despite the diversity of religious groups (see Heaton et al., 2009). The introduction of Christianity in Ghana is believed to have taken place during the late 15th century by the coming into contact with the Portuguese explorers, accompanied by Roman Catholic missionaries, who were embarking on a trade expedition (Amanor, 2004; Debrunner, 1967). From that time until now, Christianity in Ghana has grown with about 71% of the population embracing it (Ghana Statistical Service, 2021). On the basis of this statistical evidence, some commentators have asserted that "Ghana's ethos, is recognizably Christian" (Omenyo, 2002, p. 34) . Thus, it is not strange that Rawlings used a Christian terminology in his rhetoric given the likelihood of many Christians in his audience. 'Doubting Thomases' alludes to the encounter between Jesus Christ (also known as the Messiah) and one of his disciples, Thomas Didymus (see John 20:25-29), who would not believe the news of Jesus' resurrection from the dead unless he had experiential evidence. The experience has since been used to refer to someone who strongly doubts what is true on account of the lack of direct personal experience. It is implied that if the 'doubting Thomases' are the oppositional elements who doubt the possibility of the success of the reform, the Messiah can only be Rawlings himself who introduces the reforms. That is, Rawlings is the saviour. This subtle comparison with Jesus Christ finds resonance within normative beliefs and local Ghanaian politics. Concerning the former, individuals who rise to lead transformation and reforms in society are normally viewed as Messianic figures (like Jesus Christ) because their ideologies and actions tend to bring redemption from precarious social conditions and inspire the establishment of a new order of things in society (see Musendekwa, 2018). Consequently, Rawlings positions himself as a prophetic leader on a messianic mission to redeem the people of Ghana from the impractical decisions of the previous regime that plunged the nation into stagnation. In other words, he has been chosen by God to deliver Ghanaians from regression and the means of accomplishing this mission is the reforms. In the case of the latter, the comparison finds echo in a historical event in Ghanaian politics. In 1979, after a failed attempt to overthrow the allegedly corrupt SMC government, Rawlings was arrested together with his fellow junior military officers and put on trial for the crime of treason. Being the leader, he accepted sole responsibility for the botched mutiny to the peril of his own life and the exoneration of his colleagues. This act of self-sacrifice,

to die for his deep conviction of a revolution, to see the change that produces societal reforms, earned him the moniker "Junior Jesus" chanted in his honour by his supporters.

Another way Rawlings attempted to situate himself in the broad narrative of leaders with a record of successful reforms can be seen in the embodied reference to Kwame Nkrumah whose leadership brought victory in the struggle for independence from colonial rule. Although Nkrumah had passed on at the time of Rawlings' speech, the legacy of his leadership was and is still considered to be a "potent force in the politics of Ghana" (Saaka, 1994, p. 263) and his leading Ghana from colonialism to independence and advocacy for continental union government remain a historical memory that is celebrated by the Ghanaian and African public till date (Biney, 2008). As an ardent opponent of (neo)colonialism, economic imperialism and western domination, Ghana's post-independence reforms between 1957 and 1966 were all championed by Nkrumah. Rawlings makes much of Nkrumah's distinctive status, portraying him as someone who 'introduced tuition free education', 'formed the Ghana Educational Trust' and 'put up secondary schools all over the country' as part of his argumentation strategy to find legitimacy in his own reforms. His remark that 'out of those schools have come hundreds of thousands of useful citizens' can be seen as a perspectivation strategy that identifies Rawlings with Nkrumah, sharing in his attributes of a visionary leader and national reformer. By alleging that an unspecified number of people have benefited from the educational scheme, Rawlings invokes the topos of numbers to negotiate support for and continuation of similar reforms. Given that the audience of Rawlings' speech was mainly the Ewe or Anlo people of the Volta Region of Ghana who had gathered to celebrate the Hogbetsotso festival, it appears that Rawlings exploits ethnic history to make his message about reforms more culturally appropriate and relevant. Historically, the Ewe people were settlers of Notsie of Togo and under the tyrannical rule of its leader Torgbui Agorkorli until their quest for change led their forefathers to plan an escape to the land they presently occupy in Ghana (Azaglo & Kemevor, 2022). The festival, therefore, affords the local people the opportunity to commemorate their escape (Gborglah, 2010) and celebrate the exploits of their forefathers whose ingenuity brought freedom and change. Given their history, the audience understands the significance of messianic figures not only in the history of their ethnicity but also the history of Ghana's march to freedom of colonial rule, of which Kwame Nkrumah was a leader. Since the audience Rawlings was addressing knew that Kwame Nkrumah was widely acknowledged as the

leaders of Ghana's independence struggle and a great reformer not only in Ghana but also in African politics, by establishing a historical link with him, I argue that Rawlings vicariously assumes the same status as Nkrumah as part of a constructive strategy, drawing on the topos of similarity to frame his own identity as a reformist politician.

Finally, Rawlings shows more evidence of his deep reform consciousness as he structures his discourse within the global concern for good leadership based on the principle of democracy. He does so by calling attention to the positive values his reforms have for individuals and society at large, on one hand, and highlighting the negative impacts of the status quo, on the other hand. With respect to the latter, Rawlings creates a sharp awareness of the magnitude of the problem with the existing order to make it more cognitively and emotionally real as a way of mobilizing public conscience to reject it. In the case of the former, he reifies the benefits of the reforms to create public affection and support for the reforms. The extracts (3) and (4) illustrate how Rawlings makes a case for his reforms by attempting to negotiate a cross-over from the old, undesirable system to a new, highly beneficial system as is expected of reformist politicians:

(3) It is the passionate desire of the PNDC *to ensure that the programme of democratic reforms leads to the creation of an open society in which the pluralism of ideas will be harnessed for national development*…the PNDC *has announced measures* to intensify the democratic process and guarantee this country a peaceful transition to constitutional rule. However, there are some individuals and groups who want to advocate a violent road to *our political future*. Such *anarchists and confusionists* sometimes pretend to speak in the name of democracy and yet their activities betray them as *real enemies of democracy*. (8th anniversary of June 4, 1987)

(4) *On the 31st of December 1981*, *a bold decision was similarly taken* to abandon an old, decadent, and oppressive system that was *serving the interests of only a few people* in our society…*we also began a journey towards true freedom and democracy*. *We embarked on a search for a new system* that would promote the fullest participation of all the people in this count; *having taken the bold decision to embark on a revolution*, it is important to ensure that the establishment of *the new structures* that will bring about the necessary transformations in the lives of the people are successfully carried out…The unity we desire and for which *we must struggle and be prepared to die for*, however, is not the unity of one clan, not the unity of one

Region, but ***the unity of our whole country, the indivisible, unshakable unity***. (Durbar held in connection with Sasadu Festival at Sovie, 1987)

In the extracts (3) and (4), it can be inferred that Rawlings assumes the identity of a reformist politician in the way he mobilizes public conscience to reject dysfunctional systems and embrace new, functional and universally acceptable reforms. His use of constructions such as 'to ensure' (3, line 1), 'leads to the creation' (3, line 2), 'embarked on' (4, line 3), 'has announced measures' (3, line 3), 'taken a bold decision' (4, line 5) to denote a pragmatic, action-oriented leader, who is prompt in dealing with social problems. That is, these linguistic choices suggest that Rawlings is a leader who has critically assessed and diagnosed the malaise in the system and has taken the steps that lead to a change in the status quo, creating for himself the image of a reformer that will likely resonate with the people. By referring to the 'PNDC' in (3, line 3) which is the political party of which he is a member, Rawlings uses group identification to underscore not only the kind of reforms he has embarked on but also their impact on the organization of society.

The emphasis on the impact of the reforms on society can be seen as a predicational strategy meant to assign positive evaluative attributions that enable him to construct a reformer identity for himself. Evaluative attributes and referential labels are also employed by Rawlings to categorize the outgroup who are made up of 'some individuals and groups' in the society. By calling them 'anarchists' and 'confusionists' (3, line 6), Rawlings identifies his outgroup as the enemy of the reforms because 'their activities betray …democracy' (3, line 7). The enemy is represented as an elite entity profiled in terms of decadence, oppression, self-serving patriotism, and corruption. This can be contrasted with how ordinary Ghanaians are categorized, embodied by the ordinary, by innocence and righteousness. This enemification of the outgroup, while negatively representing the Other (the elite group) as foe, serves to positively present Self (Rawlings) as friend. This unfavorable characterization of the enemy implies an agenda of nothing less than the destabilization of the nation's democracy. It allows Rawlings to project his reforms as a panacea to their nefarious plans which aim to rob ordinary citizens of their 'political future' (3, line 6). At the same time, it ascribes personal and moral heroism to Rawlings and his reforms in terms of how they 'guarantee this country a peaceful transition to constitutional rule' (3, line 4) which is fundamental to democracy. In other words, Rawlings makes his outgroup look bad so that his

ingroup can look good in the eyes of the public so as to win their support in his reform agenda. The implied heroism in Rawlings' reformist persona echoes in what Lindenberg (2002, p. 15) refers to as "heroic politics, inebriated with events, weighty decisions and dramatic fundamentalist principles".

It is expected that in the politics of reforms, weighty decisions have to be taken. In line 1 of (4), the adjective 'bold' used to qualify the noun 'decisions' is indicative of the bravery and audaciousness that is required to initiate the steps that will revolutionize society. Such boldness is perhaps warranted given that the status quo is not always easy to change, particularly when it serves 'the interests of only a few [powerful] people in our society' (4, line 2). It is perhaps important to mention here that the 'few [powerful] people' referenced in line 2 in extract (4) is the top military leaders of the SMC and their appointees in the public sector. They were alleged to have created a closed system that thrived on cronyism and created deep social inequality. This eventually incensed the public and served as a catalyst for Rawlings' led revolutions that caused widespread systemic reforms in Ghana. Hence, the adjectives in (4) 'old' (line 1), 'decadent' (line 2), and 'repressive' (line 2) contribute to a negative representation of the status quo. This negative framing of the status quo helps Rawlings to justify the need to retire it. To aid his argumentation in this regard, Rawlings repetitively uses the adjective 'new' in attribution to systems and structures which is evocative of reforms. By placing the old and the new side by side, Rawlings employs the topos of comparison to foreground the differences between the systems, old and new, to justify the discontinuation and annulment of the former.

As mentioned earlier, a patent counterpart of reforms is resistance. Where there is resistance, especially in a revolution, a degree of struggle is implied due to the underlying contentions that may be taking place between groups or polar entities. Because metaphors are useful in evoking particular mental scripts (see Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 92), Rawlings invokes war metaphor in the construction 'we must struggle and be prepared to die for' to capture metaphor's conceptual usefulness. The semantic scope of the war lexicon 'struggle' reveals two sides of the contention which simultaneously takes place for which battle-readiness is required to attain the reforms: a struggle against the elite minority whose sectarian interests make them oppose any reforms and a struggle for national unity in which 'new structures' will materialize 'the necessary

transformations in the lives of the people' (4, line 6). On one hand, disunity, owing to a system where only a few people benefited, is demonized and given an unfavourable description using extremely negative evaluative attributes in line 1 and 2 of extract (4) which identifies it as a threat to national unity. On the other hand, unity is promoted as a national desire and represented in positive terms with lexemes associated with strength and durability (i.e., indivisible, unshakable). Situated in this discursive duality, the connotation of 'struggle' indicates that sectarian politics and class system are lethal to national cohesion and therefore must be called to an abrupt end through a new pragmatic approach of pursuing national unity, thereby projecting his revolutionary reforms as brave political actions that will nullify the threat and bring about the "unity of our whole country, the indivisible, unshakable unity" (4, line 9) as well as lending credibility to his self-promotion as a reformist politician.

Apart from war metaphor, Rawlings also uses a journey metaphor in 'we also began a journey towards true freedom and democracy' (4, line 3) in the service of his reformist identity. Journey metaphors are strong source domains because they specify a path that begins from one clearly distinguishable point and terminates at another. Charteris-Black (2011) argues that journey metaphors rhetorically realize the purpose of achieving positively evaluated purposes like progress, development, national unity, etc., by evoking sentiments of solidarity. In the extract above (4), the domain targeted by the journey metaphor is freedom from oppression and national development through democratic governance. According to Hansen and Collins (1980, p. 1), Ghana's political climate before the revolution created a "seemingly endless cycle of poverty, deprivation, and want" which worsened their living conditions. Thus, the change targeted by this metaphor can be seen as one that guarantees the true freedoms of the people and fulfills their welfare aspirations, positioning Rawlings as a game-changing reformist. This discursive positioning of Rawlings in light of his reforms is similar to how sociopolitical actors sometimes "represent [themselves] as a guide, [their] policies as maps" (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 46). Thus, it can be rationalized that Rawlings conceptualizes his revolutionary reform as a redemptive political action which was instrumental in producing a transition to true participatory democracy that includes all.

The inclusive pronoun 'we' in line 3 of (4), which initiates an inclusive discourse and transforms an individual initiative into a collective political agenda, creates the binary 'we' vs. 'they', corresponding to an ingroup vs. outgroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Rawlings, thus, exploits this dichotomy to identify with his revolutionary reforms in very strong emotional terms by saying that not only must 'we' struggle, but 'we' must also be "be prepared to die" (4, line 8) for a genuine national cause. Also, the use of the deontic modal 'must' indicate both the necessity and possibilities of the revolutionary struggle, giving a strong impression that Ghana's desired future of an open, fair society can be achieved via strategic reforms. Projecting the positive value of his social reform further, the use of the phrase 'prepared to die for' in line 8 of (4) suggests that the struggle is a cause worthy of sacrificing one's life for. The evocation of death serves to create an emotional attachment to the revolutionary action, signaling that it is a matter of fate and destiny involving risk of losing lives while at the same time exhorting all Ghanaians to view the struggle as heroic, of which their participation will yield far greater benefits. This functions as a footing strategy in that it indicates Rawlings' position relative to his audience as far as the mission to unite the whole country is concerned and helps to discursively construct his identity as a pro-reform politician. Overall, what this metaphorical expression underlines, in context, is similar to what goes on in a typical Marxist tradition where oppressed social groups fight or struggle against all forms of injustices perpetuated against them, usually, by upper class, dominant social groups such as political elites (Gogorosi, 2009). Here, in line 2 of (4), Rawlings distances himself from the elite whom he claimed operated a repressive system that only served their parochial interests but identified with the people whom he called upon to fight against the status quo, even at the peril of their lives. While positioning himself as a reformist politician, Rawlings frequently sustains this identity within narratives of national interest. That is, he articulates his personal desires as those wanted by the people and his actions as every Ghanaian will take. Therefore, how he frames discourses of national interests to negotiate a nationalist identity is the focus of the next section.

4.4.2 Rawlings and the pursuit of national interests

Frankel (1970, p. 15) argues that the concept of national interests is "singularly vague" because its meaning is context dependent and varied. This means that no one meaning has been commonly accepted as its ultimate meaning. Whether we look at it from an objective standpoint as something

that is fixed or subjectively as something that is constantly evolving, national interests point to what is best for a nation. It is my view that the semantic scope of national interests should be wide enough to include all matters, actions, goals, concerns, endeavours that benefit or impact a nation and its people and limited enough to exclude personal or sectarian interests that benefit individuals or small groups of people in the society. As such, I define national interests as the ends beyond the level of the individual that a nation's legitimate representatives consider in promoting nationhood in the nation's internal or external affairs. The importance of national interests, in this study, derives from the view that it creates coherent discourses that provide a background not only for the promotion of a national cause but also the construction of a nationalist identity. Thus, the premise on which Rawlings negotiates a nationalist identity is hung on his identification with the pursuit of various national objectives. His nationalistic tendencies become apparent when he demonstrates zero tolerance for any form or shape of politics by the few and for the few but promotes allegiance and patriotism to the nation. According to Billig (1995), politicians (in this case Rawlings) frequently make use of nationalistic thought in their everyday communication in such a way that it goes unnoticed. In the extract (5), Rawlings can be seen to be evoking nationalist thinking in his discourse that help to frame his nationalist identity:

(5) ***We must all recognize that as a nation***, ***we face a great task of national reconstruction and development***. This underscores the need for us to strive hard to produce enough for ourselves and for export. It is our duty to extend development to every corner of the country; this is not an easy task. We are, however, doing all that we can with limited resources available to us to improve upon the quality of life of our people especially those in the rural areas, who, though they create the bulk of the wealth of this nation, have been the most neglected. In the pursuit of this objective, it is imperative that each and every one of us should make his contribution towards the national reconstruction effort. (Festival Of The Chiefs And People Of Anlo, 1987)

In this extract (5), Rawlings' core argument concerns the need for patriotism for national progress. The argument is firmly situated in civic responsibility which has an impact on 'national reconstruction and development' (line 1). In 1987 when Rawlings delivered this speech primarily to the Anlo or Ewe people of the Volta Region of Ghana who were celebrating their historic festival, seems that the nation was not producing enough food to feed its people, making it difficult to export goods and products for foreign revenue. It can also be deduced that there were economic

inequalities between the rural and urban areas, making it challenging to bridge the social gap and ensure uniform living conditions. Rawlings' speech therefore addresses this concern by advancing the argument that the bond of nationalism, that is, the love for country and the wellbeing of others, could inspire pragmatic actions that can transform the nation into one that is more self-sustained and equitable. Rawlings' argumentative strategy with regards to the need for patriotism draws on the topos of advantage/ usefulness, 'pro bono publico' (i.e., to the advantage of all) (seeWodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 73). That is, if the task of national reconstruction and development, which the verb of mental process 'recognize' suggests, is believed to be beneficial to the whole nation, all Ghanaians should take part in contributing towards it, as it will be advantageous to their future living conditions. This argumentative strategy listing the usefulness or beneficial outcomes of a 'national reconstruction effort' (line 8), can be interpreted as arousing nationalistic sentiments in his audiences as a way of admonishing them to embrace their civic responsibilities to ensure national growth.

As a nationalist, Rawlings expresses his awareness of the fact that a nation can be built from the devotion and efforts of its citizens and government initiatives. Billig (1995) wrote that nationalistic views are often evoked when politicians deliver their speeches, and they can achieve this effect by using simple words in different contexts. In the extract above, the use of these simple words is evidenced by the pronominal choices Rawlings makes. With his choice of the first person plural (inclusive) pronouns 'we' and 'us', he draws his audience (i.e., the citizens) into his argument by involving them in this national cause. However, the reference of these pronouns shifts in 'we are, however, doing all that we can with limited resources available to us.' (line 4) from the generic allusion to the citizens, to an exclusive reference to his government. When the citizens are the focal point of his reference, the use of the pronouns helps him to delineate their responsibility and prescribe for them what they should do. When the reference invoked is the government, these pronouns help to underscore the political actions he will take to ensure that the nation's best interests are catered for. These groups, that is, the citizens and the government, are not oppositional but rather constitute a binary force that is drawn together by the demands of patriotism and its outcomes through the topos of responsibility. It is this responsibility that must guide 'each and every one of us' (line 7) to make 'contribution[s] towards the national reconstruction effort' (line 8). Being able to prescribe social roles and performing political actions in the interest of the nation

helped to project Rawlings as a conscious nationalist who is aware of the problems and knows how to solve them.

The reference to people from the 'rural areas' (line 5) is a perspectivation strategy that enables Rawlings to identify with a group of people who are socially disadvantaged and sometimes excluded from national economic benefits. This identification serves the purpose of including and creating a sense of belonging for them by prioritizing their interests as citizens of Ghana. To justify such prioritization, the complex predicates 'they create the bulk of the wealth of this nation', and '[they] have been the most neglected' (line 6) function as a predication strategy that allows Rawlings to construct a representation of rural people based on their socio-economic conditions, labelling them on one hand as productive and on the other hand as deprived. This contrasting representation intensifies the plight of rural people and adds urgency to the effort by government to take decisive actions that will transform the prevailing state of affairs. The suggestion that the majority of Ghanaians are deprived, reinforced by the quantifier determiner 'most' makes Rawlings look like a true nationalist who is out to seek the interests of the masses by ensuring social equity through equitable developments and even distribution of economic resources.

The pervasiveness of nationalistic views in Rawlings' discourse that enables him to assert his nationalistic identity is made obvious in extracts (6) and (7) which are part of a speech he delivered at the Flagstaff House in Accra to a mixed audience of military and civilian people to mark the June 4 revolution anniversary. He does so by using the pronoun 'we' to create an inclusive discourse around nation-building, inviting all Ghanaians including himself to be ready to commit and be involved in rebuilding the country in order to make it a better place for all.

(6) Those of us who now hold power over the June 4 soldier and over millions of our fellow Ghanaians cannot and must not ignore those issues of accountability. ***The June 4th uprising was not meant only to overthrow corruption, theft and embezzlement of public funds and such other crimes. It was a violent reaction to grossly irresponsible use of power that had become evident everywhere***. (Speech at the wreath-laying ceremony of the June Fourth, 1989)

(7) December 31st, 1981 has reaffirmed the validity of the June 4th revolution and aims to deepen the processes that were initiated then so that what was achieved can be sustained, and additional

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victories won*. **Our country needs to be completely rebuilt through the sweat and toil of Ghanaians**. It is necessary for each Ghanaian to commit himself or herself to this task. There is no other way by which we will make this country a better place. (Speech at the wreath-laying ceremony of the June Fourth, 1989)

Evidently, this extract carves a patriotic image of Rawlings and indicates how his love for the country drove him to stage the revolution. By carefully listing the positive outcomes of the revolution (6), Rawlings transforms it into a positively represented legacy, hedging it from any form of negative association. Omitting information about the ills of the revolution, while emphasizing its benefits also modifies or reconstructs the revolution as a matter of national interest because it rid the nation of systemic graft. By stating that 'issues of accountability'(6, line 2) can no longer be ignored, Rawlings signals that he is ready to play the role of a watchdog of the public purse to prevent a recapitulation of the old system. This is not surprising as nationalist movements, in general, and nationalists, in particular, tend to "respond to economic dislocation by proposing to protect ordinary citizens from both the vicissitudes of [local politics] and the out-of-touch elites that promote it" (Mylonas & Tudor, 2021, p. 118). A further justification to this is the framing of the conditions that led to the revolution as being preponderant by the use of the spatial deictic 'everywhere' (6, line 5) which is part of a syntactic construction with an agentless subject. The deictic expression also serves as a perspectivation strategy that enables Rawlings to construct his subjective opinion of the (mis)use of power as an objective reality experienced by everyone. Given this universalization of his personal observation, it is plausible to see why the negative evaluative adjective 'violent' (6, line 4) is chosen to discursively qualify the reaction that led to the revolution. Such an evaluation is descriptive of the negative impact of the prevailing socio-political circumstances for which Rawlings' brutal revolution, which saved the country from 'grossly irresponsible use of power' (6, line 4), only makes him a national hero. The expressive adverb, 'grossly', further intensifies the undesirability of the status quo and makes it look like Ghanaians are suffering from power abuse by the SMC government for which they need a saviour. In this context, Rawlings presents himself, through his revolution, as one that has saved Ghana from what would have been a perpetuation of power abuse, repression and domination by the existing power structure.

Not only does he demonstrate that he was on a national rescue mission with his revolution, but he also positions himself as a nation builder when he opines in line 3 that the country has to be 'rebuilt' (7), thus invoking a building metaphor. It conceptualizes the nation in terms of a building or house made up of different parts and characterized by systematic processes. Hence the use of the adverb 'completely' (7) implies that no part of the house must be left standing in its reconstruction. The way Rawlings used building metaphor here suggests that the revolutionary reform is about tearing down a corrupt and oppressive entity and rebuilding from scratch a country that is purer and freer. It can be inferred, therefore, that the metaphorical construction serves to intensify the nation-building agenda, highlight the immensity of work required to achieve it, prescribe the attitudes that must accompany it, all of which bolster his image as dogged reformist politician.

Given that institutional dysfunction, corruption, irresponsible use of power and abuse of office posed significant challenges to the nation, it is not surprising that nation-building was high on the agenda of Rawlings' politics. Anderson (2006) in his theses on *Imagined communities* aptly observed that "a genuine, popular nationalist enthusiasm" (p. 163) is at work in nation-building. It is this authentic enthusiasm that creates a blatant imagery of national belonging in the revolutionary actions of Rawlings and enables him to legitimate his reforms and assert his identity. In another speech, Rawlings argued "…we are now on the path to building a new Ghana. It has been tough but there's no turning back"[3]. Again, Rawlings represents his revolution as the evolution of a 'new Ghana'. He places the journey metaphor path side by side the building metaphor 'building' to positively evaluate the revolution. Such a juxtaposition is strategic in its communicative purpose as both metaphor categories are strong source domains that specify the starting and end point of a path. The view expressed by the metaphors here can be taken to mean that the revolution provides the road that begins the nation's journey to sociopolitical and economic development and forms the foundation on which the nation will be built. At the end of this building process, a 'new nation' will emerge, and its foundation will be the principles of the revolution that gave birth to it. The view that a new Ghana will emerge, I argue, supports the idea that Rawlings is the founder of the new nation, which solidifies his nationalist identity. Several

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[3] Speech delivered by the Head of State and Chairman of the PNDC, Flt.-Lt. J.J. Rawlings during a parade at the Accra sports stadium on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the 31st December revolution - Saturday, December 31, 1988.

national interests were contingent on the revolution of Rawlings. One thing that was of supreme importance to Rawlings and the revolutionary cause is democracy. At first sight, this observation may seem surprising, since revolutions and democracy are competing paradigms and mutually exclusive concepts even if revolutions lead to the pursuit of democracy in some instances. Whereas in a democracy who has political power is determined by the ballot box, revolutions determine who wields power by force (Snyder (1999). Also, while democracy thrives on the respect for pluralistic views and consideration for different interests, revolutions force the different interests of the people into a common one manipulated by a clique. But if one pays attention to Rawlings' creation of a relationship between his revolution and democracy through the variety of linguistic choices and concepts in relation to the historico-political contexts in which they were deployed, there is more clarity as to why this was so. Thus, in the next section, I focus on discourses that Rawlings deployed to express his belief in democracy as the most practical form of government for Ghana and construct himself as a democrat albeit in the climate of a revolution.

4.4.3 Rawlings and the negotiation of democracy

At the turn of the 1980s, when Rawlings took over the reins of power as head of the military junta, the nation had already been plunged into deep economic hardships by previous regimes. Normative beliefs maintain that poverty and economic deprivation impede the sustainability of democratic practices (see Diamond et al., 1997). At the same time, in countries where poverty has been reduced or eradicated, good governance, associated with democratic principles, has been a foremost reason (see Brenya et al., 2015; Leftwich, 2011). On this basis and given the pervasive poverty, want and deprivation in Ghana at the time, it is at once commonsensical to see why Rawlings may have relentlessly promoted democratic values in his discourse, which ostensibly conveys information about who he is, that is, his identity. As indicated in Chapter 1 Section 4, Rawlings came to the limelight through his revolutions, validating his revolutionary identity. On June 4, 1979, when Rawlings and his forces of military men seized power from the SMC, he had to, as is typical in revolutionary contexts, address the nation as the new leader. For a novice such as Rawlings, this platform offered him the opportunity to express his basic ideology and what he believes to be the supreme political interest of the nation. Below, in the extract, is what Rawlings had to say when he addressed Ghanaians using the platform of the National Broadcasting House:

(8) ***Fellow Ghanaians***, as *you* will notice, *we* are not playing the national anthem. In other words, this is not a coup. *I ask for nothing less than a revolution- something that will transform the social and economic order of this country*. ***Fellow*** citizens it is now left to **you** to decide how this country is going to go from today. ***We are asking for nothing more than popular democracy. In other words, the people should be part of the decision-making process of this country***. (Speech at National Broadcasting House, 1979)

In extract (8), Rawlings makes it abundantly clear that the revolution was about democracy. It must be borne in mind that at the time of this speech he was a military officer, and his immediate audience was the civilian population in the country, hence, the use of the National Radio to broadcast his message. The choice of the mode of communication suggests that Rawlings did not only aim to communicate an important message at a critical period of the country but also intended to persuade the people, seek public legitimacy for his revolution and create a national bond through which a new cohesive and people-centred society would be built. Beginning his speech with the address term 'fellow Ghanaians' in line 1 is strategic to the overall aim of his rhetoric in that he creates a common ground on which he claims affiliation and identification with the entire Ghanaian population. In this instance, the nomination 'fellow Ghanaians' can be seen as a generalizing synecdoche that helps Rawlings to create solidarity and bonding with the nation that ultimately serves his nationalist agenda and puts him in a position to decide what is best for the country. However, the nomination strategy, which creates an undifferentiated, unified national identification, quickly dissolves, giving way to a military-civilian categorization. This is made obvious by the inclusive pronoun 'we' which creates group identification with the military forces who helped him to execute the revolution, which he claims, 'is not a coup' (line 2). The blatant denunciation of the revolution as a coup may have been influenced by the negative connotation of the word. For example, according to Kebschull (1994, p. 566) a military coup is widely understood to be a "speedily executed, and extralegal takeover of a government by a conspiratorial group, mostly consisting of army officers, that uses force or the threat of force to remove the government and assume power for itself". In the extract above, Rawlings does not give any impression that he is a conspirator, nor does he want political power for himself. Rather, he does indicate his democratic beliefs which will catalyze development for the benefit of all.

It is worthy to note that the referential labels in Rawlings' discourse change, corresponding to changes in his identity. The switch in his identity affirms the suggestion that self-categorization is pliable and contingent on context (see Turner et al., 1994) which can create distinctively polarized social groups, leading to ingroup bias and intergroup discrimination (see Tajfel et al., 1971; Voci, 2006). In the way that he activates the switch between his civilian and military identities via pronominalization, I argue that Rawlings intentionally blurs the boundaries as a necessary precondition towards creating a democratic society where the military and civilian are equal. Even more dramatically, the categorization goes from 'fellow Ghanaians' (all of us) to 'we' (the military) to 'I' (Rawlings), manifesting discursive shifts in his identity. The first person singular pronoun, together with the performative verb 'ask', which also serves as an imperative, does not only underscore Rawlings' agency and active role in the revolution but even more saliently indicates the kind of appeals a leader is likely to make to his people. It is synonymous to how the top hierarchy of the military makes requests of their subordinates and at the same time suggests an invitation to participate in bringing into fruition a new socio-economic order, reflecting his military inclinations and democratic aspirations.

By saying that in line 4 that 'we are asking for nothing more than popular democracy' (8), the objective of the performative verb 'asking' contributes to a request for participatory democracy. That is, Rawlings signals to the people that, even as a military person, he recognizes that it is only when everyone takes part in the decision-making and governance of the country that we can 'transform the social and economic order' of the country. This may not be entirely true given that, historically, not all relatively successful countries which underwent massive social transformations did so through formal democratic practices; however, Rawlings authoritatively articulates this perspective with absolute certainty. The importance of this perspective is intensified by the statement 'the people should be part of the decision-making process of this country' (line 5), expressing Rawlings' conviction that to ensure social transformation, democratic governance is the (only) viable alternative. Here, Rawlings seems to be claiming an association between economic transformation and democracy even though the direction of causality between the two is vague. When the notion of economic transformation is drawn upon in the democratic era (See Chapter 5, Section 3.1), pragmatic leadership is presented as the causal factor. These differences in emphasis, I argue, are conditioned by the specific nature of the regimes. It is understandable

why Rawlings emphasized democracy in the military regime because rather than it directly impacting economic reform, democratic appeals were used to secure legitimacy for the regime, to make it popular. On the other hand, democracy and its concomitant requirement of stability and the guarantee of extensive rights make it necessary, perhaps, to underscore leadership, in general, and pragmatism in particular as a necessary precondition for economic transformation in the democratic regime.

The significance of participating in governing the country as a result of democracy is further amplified by advancing the view in lines 3 and 4 that 'it is now left to you to decide how this country is going to go from today' (8), suggesting, via the cognitive verb 'decide', that the power to determine the destiny of the nation is vested in the people. It is instructive that he uses the temporal reference 'from today' which suggests that until now, the people had no say in governance and their views did not matter, but beginning from this temporal point, they can write a new history. Thus, a diachronic link is established between the past and present, forcing a comparison between a despotic history and an envisaged democratic future. Here, Rawlings appeals to the topos of history and comparison to appeal to his audience to learn the bitter lessons from the autocratic and repressive tendencies of the previous regime and decide a new and better path for the country, while at the same time building on a topos of comparison to create a futural expectation with democratic incentives. There is no denying the fact that Rawlings, during his military rule, was preoccupied with framing a governance system based on democracy and giving the impression that he was, in principle, a true democrat (not a member of the US Democratic Party)- someone who supports democracy. It is vital to point out that Rawlings' idea of democracy was a gradual one. It took off on the assumption that to create a strong democracy that is sensitive to the indigenous needs of Ghanaians and serve the political aspirations of its future youth, the bricks and pillars of its foundation have to be laid in a systematic manner that demystifies the concept of governance, allows for greater transparency, demands responsibility and accountability, builds a momentum for grassroot participation in national politics, and slowly but purposefully socializes the citizens into the democratic practices that will ensure national progress and development as shown in the extracts (9), (10) and (11).

(9) ***Democracy is not so much like a house which can be hurriedly put together out of blocks to the owner's design. It is more like a tree which must be nurtured and whose branches cannot extend further than its roots have spread in the ground***. Only a few days ago I was reading in a western publication an article which said that nothing has happened in Ghana's pursuit of democracy since the district level elections over a year ago. ***This sort of pretense of unawareness is not only unreal but callously misinformative. They*** cannot pretend that they do not see what is happening, and the closer we get to our goals, the less ***we*** should expect any reduction in this sort of antagonism. (Reception for President of the Republic of Mozambique, H.E. Mr. Joaquim Chissano,1990.)

(10) ***Let me remind you all that on June 4 the people forced the door open for the ordinary man to assert his democratic right to participate in the decision making process***. That door will remain permanently open. (June 4, 1991)

(11) The popular revolt of June 4, 1979, was part of ***our struggle for moral decency as well as for a democratic society*** in which the voice of each and every Ghanaian will matter in the decision-making process of government. The **courageous** men and women who inspired and participated in the events of that era were ***militant and democratically minded citizens*** whose passionate desire was to see the realization of true freedom and social justice. (June 4, 1991)

The use of expressions that deploy metaphorical allusions and lexicalization to indicate meticulousness suggests the processual nature of democracy from the extracts above. This may have been the reason why the western media, constructed in villainous terms, failed to see any immediate visible results of the processes initiated by Rawlings to materialize democracy in Ghana. To admit to or remain quiet about this 'unreal but callously misinformative' (9, line 6) article may come across as a docile acquiescence to the opinions of Western powers implicitly framed through the synecdochical anthroponym: 'western publication [media]' (9, line 4) which ultimately invalidates the veracity of his democratic identity. Employing metaphors, Rawlings uses the topos of comparison to help his audience make more sense of the state of affairs. He compares democracy to a house, which comes with the conceptual entailment of a building which, from formulaic knowledge, unavoidably requires time-consuming and painstaking processes to put up. This gives the impression that Rawlings has expert knowledge on how democracies are built not only in Ghana but elsewhere, making it understandable to call western opposition as a 'pretense'

(9, line 5). To further build on the topos of comparison, Rawlings associates democracy with a tree, which is a plant metaphor, to indicate the growth processes that characterize democracy. This may also reflect the evolution of Rawlings as an individual politician coming through military ranks to democratic leadership.

Rawlings' use of metaphor which involves a house where people live and a tree that must be nurtured, I argue, is not a mere demonstration of his rhetorical ability and intellectual sophistication; rather, it appeals to the cultural value of family in traditional patriarchal Ghanaian society where a father assumes the responsibility to nurture the members of his household collectively with norms, beliefs, customs and principles that will improve them and build society. It is therefore not possible to imagine democracy in this family context without seeing Rawlings as that fatherly patriarch who is cultivating democracy in his family- the nation. And given that whatever the father passes on in patriarchal systems is received with almost no objection and hesitation, which in a way creates oneness and a sense of sticking together as a unit, it is almost certain that his presentation of Self as democrat will be endorsed by all.

To assert his identity as a democrat in military apparel, Rawlings uses an argumentation strategy that serves to positively evaluate his military background in light of a more acceptable association with democratic ideals by saying in line 2 that the revolutionary struggle was 'for a democratic society in which the voice of each and every Ghanaian will matter in the decision-making process of government' (11) and the participants, which included himself, were 'militant and democratically minded citizens' (11, line 4). It is as if to say that a true democrat, in the context of a repressive regime ruled by autocratic elements such as Ghana's, will use every means possible including violent and militant means to 'force the door open' (10, line 1) for the ordinary Ghanaian 'to assert his democratic right to participate in the decision making process' (10, line 2). An allusion to the undesirable circumstances that precipitated the use of force, violence and militancy can be seen in the use of the cognitive verb 'remind' (10, line 1) in combination with the temporal element 'June 4' (11, line 1). Rawlings exploits historical memory that uses the topos of consequence of the state of affairs as a legitimate excuse to launch the revolution on the status quo in order to change it, all of which make up a coherent narrative of his 'passionate desire [..] to see the realization of true freedom and social justice' (11, line 5) as a true democrat. Therefore, while

it can be argued that Rawlings' revolution was a pro-democracy revolution which was aimed at overthrowing post-colonial durable military regimes, the question that might quite reasonably be asked is, 'Why was Rawlings preoccupied with creating an identity of a true democrat under a military revolution?'. A rationale for this question is that the decision to revolt was not a product of democratic processes neither was the means of execution. It is my view that the focalization of the theme of democracy in Rawlings' discourse was not merely an action to overthrow the existing repressive elitist order but more strongly to divert attention from the authoritarian undercurrents of the revolution that naturally portray him as a military despot. I therefore submit that by promoting a pro-democracy rhetoric, Rawlings creates the impression that the decision to embark upon the revolution was the people's decision, responding to their democratic aspirations which can be analyzed as an image-cleansing strategy to remove the despotic connotations that may be associated with his military identity.

It is instructive that Rawlings consistently maintains the subject of democracy in his discourse during this period of the military rule. It is common knowledge that the system of rule in the army as an institution is fundamentally different from what obtains in democratic institutions. It should have been normal to expect a wide range of military vocabulary or linguistic features descriptive of military discourse such as commands and orders in Rawlings' speeches. This was not necessarily the case. In fact, the evidence is to the contrary. It is my contention that the prolific evidence of democratic intuitions in Rawlings discourse strongly suggests that a calculated political deliberation was at work to secure legitimacy for his military rule using his constant affirmations of the values of democracy and support for democratic processes and structures.

On a nation-wide radio and television broadcast of the speech to mark the 30th anniversary of Ghana's independence in 1987, Rawlings declared unequivocally that 'our efforts to re-establish grassroots participation is part of Africa's heritage of democracy' (Rawlings, 6 March, 1987). From the referenced excerpt, it can be deduced that Rawlings is not only seeking to consolidate his image as someone who is committed to founding democracy in Ghana but also in Africa at large. This also suggests that the conditions that necessitated the pursuit of democracy in Ghana are most likely the same elsewhere in the African continent. Based on this assumption, it can be concluded that, as far as democracy is concerned, Rawlings does not see himself as an asset for

Ghana only but also for Africa, underscoring a fluid identity from a local Ghanaian democrat to a wider African democrat. That is to say, his Ghanaian identity is a subset of his Africa identity, making him a Pan-Africanist of a sort. Identifying as someone with African sentiments, Rawlings' discourse, in several instances, focused on issues relating to Africa. It is therefore my view that we cannot meaningfully explore the identity and self-representation of Rawlings during his military rule without paying attention to how his discourse creates a coherent view of him in that regard. As such the next section focuses on the analysis of a variety of issues concerning the African continent under the theme of Pan-Africanism which enabled Rawlings to assert his Pan-Africanist identity.

4.5 Rawlings and Pan-Africanist ideas

Pan-Africanism, an ideology that morphed into a global movement, traces its historical origins to the 1900s when mainly educated Africans begun a struggle to liberate continental Africa and Africans all over the world from slavery, colonization and western imperialism.(see Falola & Essien, 2014; Kumah-Abiwu & Sabella, 2022). It thrives on the idea of African unity both on the continent and in the diaspora, a shared identity and a sense of belonging based on a common cultural heritage. In a nutshell, it promotes oneness and togetherness and conceives Africa as a nation undivided by physical geographical borders but united by a common descent. According to Kumah-Abiwu and Sabella (2022, p. 91), this notion of the 'African nation' "encourages common solidarity and unity for political, economic, cultural, and social progress by uplifting both Africans on the motherland and in the diaspora" which ultimately will create a formidable and resilient African front that will fight against the exploitation of Africa, extol African history and preserve African culture. The discourse of Rawlings analyzed in this section is situated within this macro context and manifests a combination of the core ideas of Pan-Africanism as explained above. From the analysis, Rawlings' Pan-Africanist identity is framed around African unity and African struggle for independence and emancipation, and these are subsequently discussed.

4.5.1   African unity

On the 25th of May 1988, at the Organization of African Unity (OAU) conference in Addis Ababa to commemorate 25 years of the organization's existence, Rawlings presented a speech that dealt with several concerns of the African continent and Africans in general. Being a Pan-African

organization, the yearly conference of the OAU offers an opportunity for African leaders to meet and discuss issues that affect their nations and people and to make resolutions to tackle them. The following extract is from Rawlings' speech from the conference in which he constructs his Pan-Africanist identity by making a passionate appeal to other African leaders about the need for Africa to be one, strategically emphasizing the core value of African unification.

> (12) Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, shall we let this occasion mark a new beginning so that 25 years from now we can proclaim - we have bequeathed to a new generation a real opportunity for survival. If we can cut the umbilical cord that still ties us to our ***former colonial masters*** in diverse ways, if we can see ourselves as Africans and not as ***Anglophones and Francophones***, if we can avoid ***alliances that threaten*** African interest and the stability of our neighbours, if we can lower ***trade barriers*** between us, if we can make the **colonial boundaries** bequeathed to us less formidable ***obstacles to interaction*** between our peoples, if we can ***translate our commitment to African liberation*** into more deeds than words, if we can ***create an African defence organization***, if we can ***achieve the Economic Community*** we are aiming at, if we can ***improve upon the mechanisms for solving our disputes***, if we can ***apply diligently the decisions*** that we take; indeed, if we can ***die a little for Africa's glory*** and have this new awakening reflected in the revised charter of the OAU we would come here 25 years later with a feeling of satisfaction that we have significantly improved upon the prospects for achieving the unity that was the overwhelming desire of our peoples 25 years ago. (25th Anniversary of the founding of the OAU, May 1988)

In extract (12), Rawlings makes links to the past and present of the OAU's role as a bridge to the future of the organization and the continent it was created by its founding fathers to serve. By building his argument through a systematic reflection of time, he positions himself with the authority and credibility that will make his appeal for oneness more meaningful and the call to pursue African unity more urgent. The domination of Africa began with enslavement in the early 1600s, European invasion through trade and the colonization of the continent from the late 1800s, creating what is referred to as the 'Scramble for Africa' (see Bryceson, 2002; Kumah-Abiwu & Sabella, 2022). An immediate effect of the scramble was that arbitrary borders were imposed in a partitioning exercise (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2016) that created strongholds for different European nations to extend their empires on the continent of Africa (Pakenham, 2015). Consequently, the continent was subdued and conquered through this strategic division which

facilitated colonialism and imperialism. Thus, the fight to end slavery, the struggle for independence from colonial rule and imperialism serve as the background for the resistance, the quest for freedom and the call for a united Africa led by the Pan-African movement and later the OAU.

In line 1, by calling for a 'new beginning' (12) which will define new approaches, new actions, and new ways of thinking, he suggests that the leaders should abandon the old way of doing things which by implication has failed to deliver the objective of uniting the continent. This comparison between the old and the new makes obvious important differences that can motivate vital new actions and discontinue inefficient old ways which have stalled the movement for African unity. It is instructive that Rawlings travels through time flexibly with his audience by going back '25 years ago' (line 14) and racing forward '25 years from now' (line 2) in establishing a trail of the organization's impact. This helps to make more vivid and real the historical trajectory of the unification effort and creates an emotional attachment with the projection of a desirable future. The temporality marked by '25 years ago' (line 14) also invokes the topos of history in Rawlings' argumentation. Clearly, though there may have been some gains made since the establishment of the OAU, not much has been achieved in the area of unity. Here, the topos of history allows Rawlings to invite his audience to learn from the past what has caused the collective agenda to stagnate. Since we can find (de)legitimacy in past events and occurrences to inform our present actions, this strategy provides evidence for the discontinuation of the old practices because of their undesirable outcomes in favour of viable alternative methods that can perform better.

The Pan-African agenda derived from the patent observation of systemic disadvantages Africans suffered in their homeland and in the diaspora at the hands of western colonial powers. Accordingly, to insist on change, the unfavourable conditions ought to be identified and appropriate measures devised to overcome them. It is therefore common in Pan-Africanist rhetoric to see a profound diagnosis of these unfavourable conditions together with pragmatic approaches that will lead to transformation and freedom. Rawlings made much of this tendency via a predication strategy that enabled him to make allusions to the common inhibitions to the attainment of African unity: ties to former colonial masters, Francophone-Anglophone division, alliances that threaten African interests, trade barriers, colonial boundaries, and obstacles to interaction. By their

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denotational meanings, the aforementioned come together to form a disapproving appraisal or evaluation of the past and present state of Africa that makes it difficult to achieve unity. This sets the stage for Rawlings to propose an alternative functional approach that will catalyze and materialize the vison of continental unity which holds implications for Africa's future. This approach is made up of six action points which includes: *(i) to translate our commitment to African liberation (ii) to create an African defence organization (iii) to achieve the Economic Community we are aiming at (iv) to improve upon the mechanisms for solving our disputes (v) to apply diligently the decisions that we take and (vi) to die a little for Africa's glory*. By discursively qualifying the mission for African unity with predicative clauses, Rawlings makes a positive evaluation of his action plan and approves it as a genuine and efficient means for reaching the goal of African unity. This disapproval of the past and current practices of the Pan-African organization which has attained little to no success and the identification and approval of a new pragmatic approach that will achieve 'the unity that was the overwhelming desire of our peoples 25 years ago' (12, line 14), presents Rawlings as a true Pan-Africanist who does not only know about the conditions that have kept post-colonial Africa divided but also has the solutions, which if implemented would make 'us [African leaders] come here 25 years later with a feeling of satisfaction' (12, line 13) for accomplishing the mission of African unity which will serve as 'a real opportunity for survival' for the new generation of Africans.

The idea of the independent nations of Africa coming together evokes an understanding that aligns with the old trope that there is strength in numbers. That is, the more we are in number, the stronger we become. Knowing this, Rawlings expressed belief in and promoted the idea of African unity as a matter which impacts other interest of the wider African society such as sovereignty, security and the economy as can be seen in the extracts below.

(13) ***We have to preserve our unity for in that unity lies our strength***. (October 25, 1987)

(14) ***Only genuine co-operation can preserve our right*** as Africans and our sovereignty and independence. Only real unity promises us a secure future. Ghana has always been ready and willing to make whatever sacrifice is necessary to make this possible. (25th Anniversary of the founding of the OAU, May 1988)

(15) ***In 1963 Dr. Kwame Nkrumah had the foresight to call for an African currency, an African Monetary zone, an African Central Bank and indeed common African citizenship.*** As in 1963 I believe that that call may be considered utopian today. However, I venture to proclaim that it is still a valid way forward for Africa. (25th Anniversary of the founding of the OAU, May 1988)

In (13), (14) and (15), Rawlings' use of the pronouns 'us', 'our', 'we', 'I', reifies the ideological patterns which create group polarity in society. The speech from which extract (13) is taken was delivered by Rawlings at the wreath-laying ceremony in honour of the assassinated Burkinabe revolution leader, Thomas Sankara, at the Independence Square in Accra. While commiserating with the people of Burkina Faso for the death of their leader and great African revolutionary, Rawlings sought to use the occasion to call on Africans in general and African leaders in particular to protect and consolidate the gains of the revolutions they fought for. In this regard, the pronoun 'we' and 'our' in (13) can be taken to be metonymic of African leaders who are constructed as the ingroup of which Rawlings is a member. The inclusiveness of these pronouns also create affinity, a sense of belonging, solidarity and arouse nationalist sentiments that can facilitate the mobilization of a collective action. Because of his membership of this group, he is an actor of the verb 'preserve'(13) (also repeated for emphasis in (14)), which presents him as one out to ensure that the long-standing desire of past African emancipators to see a united continent does not change or get abandoned. In 1987 and 1988, when Rawlings delivered the speeches from which extracts (13) and (14) are taken, not all African countries were members of the OAU. Specifically, Namibia, Eritrea, South Africa, South Sudan and Morocco were, at the time, not yet members of the organization. This implies that although the majority of African countries were part of the OAU, the total unification of Africa in terms of the coming together of all African states was not achieved. As such, the use of the word 'preserve', on the one hand, can be taken to mean keeping the unity that was already attained but on the other hand can be taken to mean keeping the hypothetical or imagined unity between the nations of Africa based on their common ancestry, geography and history. Viewed from a hypothetical point of view, it makes sense that Rawlings appeals to the leaders to strive to make continental unity material and real. Thus, the metonymic use of pronouns to create and claim membership to a positively represented group strategically helps Rawlings to assert his image as a true Pan-Africanist who defines what must be done. This is reinforced by the deontic modality 'have to' (13) which functions as an intensification strategy

indicating the necessity of action and obligation to duty if the already achieved unity is to be kept and the ultimate goal of total unification of all African countries is to be achieved because 'in that unity lies our strength' (13). That is to say, as long as African countries remain individually isolated from each other, they will remain weak, vulnerable, and open to the harm that has been relentlessly perpetuated by colonialists that has denied the continent of the benefits of the heritage that originally unites them. Such a demonstration of love for the continent in Rawlings' discourse reflects his posture as a selfless activist who is on a mission to superintend the achievement of the common good of African unification.

One of the features of Pan-Africanist discourse, which has a more political orientation, is persuasion and Rawlings' exploits this discourse function to mobilize action for African unity. The emphatic use of the adjective 'only' (14, line 1) suggests to his audience that there is just one and no other way that leads to the goal of total unification of all African countries. What this means is that, besides 'genuine co-operation' (14, line 1), there is no room for trial and error or a piecemeal approach as far as the vision of total continental unity is concerned as this will only frustrate the necessity 'to preserve our right as Africans and our sovereignty and independence' (14, line 1). The use of positive evaluative adjectives 'genuine' and 'real' in (14, line 1) build up a predicational strategy that allows Rawlings to represent discursive process in positively evaluated terms. I submit that these adjectives are also implicitly descriptive of the kind of Pan-Africanist Rawlings is and indeed the kind that will help achieve African unity. This also realizes positive self-presentation which provides a basis for categorizing persons who do not have the stated attributes as Other, thus adding credibility to his Pan-Africanist identity. Further to this implicit self-referencing strategy, Rawlings intimates in line 2 and 3 of (14) that 'Ghana has always been ready and willing to make whatever sacrifice' obviously towards African unity. It can be deduced that by making reference to the country, Rawlings employs metonymy as a rhetorical trope to keep himself in the background of his claim in line 2 and 3 of extract (14) that over a long period of time, Ghana has been in constant support of Pan-Africanism (this may be partly justified by the fact that Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president, is believed to be a founding member of Pan-Africanism). Following Wodak et al. (2009, p. 43), the kind of metonymy at work here is country for persons. That is, Rawlings uses the label 'Ghana' (14, line 2) as a referential strategy to ascribe to himself positive values of readiness and 'sacrifice' (14, line 3) that only serve to bolster his

image as a Pan-Africanist whose love for Africa will make him do anything necessary to make the dream of unity possible.

It is instructive that Rawlings mentions Kwame Nkrumah in his speech in (15, line 1) given the role of the latter in the founding of the Pan-African movement and as a lead activist for continental union government. He exploits historical memory by calling to attention the central defining components of the Pan-Africanist struggle namely, *African currency, an African Monetary zone, an African Central Bank and African citizenship*. Given that Rawlings' speech was delivered later than Kwame Nkrumah's, one can infer that the topos of history is at work as Rawlings attempts to refresh the memory of his audience and to situate his convictions within past, historically significant values of the movement's pristine aims. By reiterating these core aims, Rawlings indicates that they are not utopian as was believed by some during Nkrumah's era and underscores the fact that they are realistic and achievable. Kwame Nkrumah is believed to have been one of the most prominent Pan-Africanist since the 1945 Pan-African Congress (see Kumah-Abiwu & Sabella, 2022). By combining the self-referencing pronoun 'I' and the performative verb phrase 'venture to proclaim' (15, line 3), Rawlings advances his point of view with absolute authority that makes Nkrumah's vision of African union 'still a valid way forward for Africa' (15, line 4) now. I submit that by discursively positioning himself in Nkrumaism, that is Nkrumah's political ideology on African union (see Nartey, 2019 for detailed discussion on Nkrumah's philosophy), Rawlings uses a perspectivation strategy which expresses Nkrumah's views as his and thus claims a similar status as Nkrumah, which authenticates his identity as a prominent Pan-Africanist. It is the pursuit of these ideals of a common nation originated by Nkrumah and emphasized by Rawlings that shaped motivations for the Pan-African struggle. It is therefore important to analyze Rawlings' Pan-Africanist identity by looking at how he framed it around the African struggle, which I discuss next.

4.5.2 African struggle for independence and emancipation

Since its earliest inception in the 1900s , the struggle for liberation from colonization and its later forms of imperialism has been the central quest of the Pan-African movement which morphed into the OAU (Falola & Essien, 2014). As argued by Falola and Essien (2014, p. 64), Pan-Africanism was seen "as a struggle of the educated classes that began as late as the American Revolution

during the eighteenth century". Although this quest, in later years, appears to be the desire of all Africans, not all African leaders can be labelled as Pan-Africanist. That is, it is not a title earned by virtue of African descent or heritage. Rather, one of the distinguishing factors can be seen in active participation in the nationalist cause which can be patently observed in the language or discourse of those who claim such identity. Leaders known to be Pan-Africanist often articulate concerns that are beyond the interests of their individual nations. They tend to think that what affects one African nation, affects all of Africa in that we are one people who are only separated by artificial boundaries imposed by colonization. There is evidence in Rawlings' discourse of his support for and role in the struggle for African liberation as he seized different occasions to articulate his convictions in that regard as can be seen in the extract below.

(16) *Today the struggle of the African people in southern Africa is the culmination of our total continental struggle for freedom.* The targeting of the front-line states by the Pretoria regime, which prevented President Kaunda, from being with us, has been part of the racists' plan of depriving those countries of needed resources for development and national reconstruction. *We pledge that we in Ghana will continue to stand in the trenches with those who battle against apartheid.* All our efforts here to build a better world for ourselves will have no meaning as long as racial discrimination persists and human beings are denied the right to freedom and justice (Independence Anniversary Celebration, March 6, 1987)

In this extract (16), Rawlings' sentiments of African nationalism and resistance to colonial and imperialist powers come to the fore, enabling him to authoritatively call out the enemy in an attempt to mobilize African forces to get rid of the enemy. That Rawlings believes in Pan-Africanism and considers the threat to one or a few countries as a threat to Africa's right to political self-determination is evident in his declaration that the fight for freedom by the natives of Southern Africa is the ne plus ultra of 'our total continental struggle for freedom' (16, line 2). That is, he casts himself in the role of a Pan-Africanist who only sees the significance of the independence of each member country as deriving from the total liberation of the continent and therefore seeks to unify the nations of Africa. In the hope of attaining unity, the use of the inclusive pronoun 'our' (16, line 1) creates a sense of oneness, bond and identity that emanates, more precisely, from the desire for holistic unification of the continent, a belief that is supposedly shared by Africans as a homogeneous group. To intensify the struggle, Rawlings uses the adjective 'total' (16, line 1)

which helps to construct his status as a true Pan-Africanist. A more poignant reason why Rawlings identifies with the cause for an African revolution that will lead to a purer continent free from the manipulation of colonial powers is that their unwelcome intrusion has led to a palpable deprivation of the 'needed resources for development and national reconstruction' (16, line 4). Given this disadvantage associated with colonial presence in Africa, Rawlings proceeds to identify the enemy of the struggle via a mechanism of explicit labelling that also serves as a referential strategy. Using this strategy, Rawlings is categorical about who the enemy is by using the labels 'racists' (line 3) and 'apartheid' (line 6). This invokes a membership categorization frame that enables Rawlings to construct the oppositional outgroup that must be fought against if the efforts 'to build a better world' (line 6) for Africans can materialize.

It is worth calling to memory that as far as the quest for freedom in most African countries is concerned, one important dimension from which the struggle for liberation has unfolded is the activism and resistance of native African revolutionaries against the external impositions of colonialism and imperialism. In 1986 when Rawlings delivered the speech from which the extract (16) is culled, South Africa was still under the Apartheid regime- a regime in which the minority White population exercised political rule, supremacy, and domination over and discriminated against the majority Black South Africans (see Blomqvist & Lundahl, 2002). This minoritarian rule was essentially segregationist and created a society in which racial bigotry and conflict escalated, leading to White-Black polarization. This polarization invokes the imagery of a war scenario with competing forces at play- the forces of evil vs the forces of good. The war metaphors realized by the war lexicons 'struggle' (line 1 and 2), 'battle' (line 6) and 'target' (line 2) underscore the militancy and combat-readiness in Rawlings' revolutionary ideology of African liberation. Here, Rawlings maps out a structural relationship in which he conceptualizes the African continent as the warfront, the majority of native Africans and the minority of white supremacists in Southern Africa as polar entities at war, and apartheid and the Pretoria regime as the enemy. Through these metaphorical expressions, Rawlings portrayed the oppositional group as 'racists' (line 3) who perpetuate 'racial discrimination' (line 7) that denies Africans 'the right to freedom and justice' (line 7) and himself (and others who engaged in the fight) as a warrior who will launch an attack and defeat the enemy, thus, foregrounding, on one hand, the universal polarity of 'Good vs. Bad' and on the other hand, asserting his identity as a true Pan-Africanist. While

'struggle' and 'battle' trigger the search for and identification of the opponent which is the apartheid system and its white adherents, 'target' identifies the object of the enemy's onslaught, which, in this case, is the African natives. Together, they underscore the fact that the conflict that is described is a physical one. Representing the African liberation in terms of physical struggle, this study contends, allows Rawlings to transform the vision of Independent Africa into a basic need that must be fulfilled at all cost to ensure Africa's wellbeing, survival and self-sustainability.

As mentioned earlier, the use of the inclusive pronoun 'we' (16, line 5) creates fellow-feeling, a sense of belonging, solidarity and a common collective identity. The use of 'we' (16, line 5) and the deictic element 'those' (16, line 5) refer to the same identity- Pan-Africanists- in both Ghana and Southern Africa who are engaged in the fight for African independence. By using the devotional verb 'pledge' (16, line 5), Rawlings further asserts his identity by evoking the connotational meaning of serious commitment which can be taken as perspectivation strategy employed by Rawlings to underscore his personal involvement in the fight for freedom. Identifying as a committed Pan-Africanist, Rawlings fully embraces the responsibility the identity comes with and publicly promises his dedication to achieving the ultimate aim of continental union. His use of the verb phrase 'will continue to stand' further constructs his perspective as it underscores the perennial nature of his vow, implying that irrespective of the circumstances, the war on apartheid and indeed racial discrimination will continue unabated and he will not back down from his pursuit of African unification as a true Pan-Africanist. The longevity signalled in his pledge is indicative of the kind of attitude and mental disposition required in the 'battle against apartheid' (16, line 6).

 It can be inferred that Rawlings' use of the label 'Ghana' (16, line 5) is not in reference to the generality of the Ghanaian people as its denotation implies. Although 'we in Ghana' (16, line 5) points to a particularized synecdoche of the type a *group for a nation* at work, it is not farfetched to say that Rawlings exploits a reverse generalized synecdoche of the type *country for person(s)* to make the legitimation of his Pan-Africanist identity more acceptable since Ghana is a founding member country of the Pan-Africanist movement, with its first president acknowledged as a prominent founder of the movement (Adi & Sherwood, 2003; Kuryla, 2023). In this way, he hedges his identity from contestation and challenge as any opposition to his identity can be seen as opposition to Ghana's status as a Pan-African country.

The ultimate goal of the struggle is for the emancipation of Africa and its people all over the world. In Rawlings' Pan-African discourse, he makes reference to African emancipation, the genesis of which started with founding fathers such as George Padmore, Kwame Nkrumah, and W.E.D Du Bois. As shown in the extract below, Rawlings indicates that the cause that was started several years ago is a significant one worthy of continuation.

(17) ***Our historic commitment to compassion, brotherhood and love imposes on us the responsibility to build a new society***. This is a duty - our obligation on any living person and demanded of ***us*** by history, by ***the blood and memories of the nationalists*** who led the way towards African emancipation. ***There is an immediate priority about the liberation of Namibia and South Africa, the last bastions of colonial domination which racists rule to this day***. The tragic but heroic struggle that even young children wage in southern Africa provides us crucial lessons about how to mobilize our people ***against the forces that have plundered us*** and continue to maintain a stake in our resources. (Independence Anniversary Celebration, March 6, 1987)

In (17), drawing on the collective pronoun 'our' in line 1 and historic memory signalled by the adjective 'historic' (line 1), Rawlings lists the values and virtues that are required to emancipate Africa by using the predicative nouns 'compassion' (line 1), 'brotherhood' (line 1) and 'love' (line 1) which add up to a predicational strategy that positively evaluates the necessary qualities needed for building a 'new society (line 2)' that is devoid of imperialist control in any form or shape. As a member of the group created by the pronoun 'our', Rawlings constructs a perspectivation that indicates his involvement in 'the responsibility' (line 2) to evolve a new Africa. The evolutionary process is compared to the construction of a house by using a building metaphor 'build' (line 2) to show that, although highly desired, African emancipation cannot be achieved in a rush. It therefore places a 'duty' (line 2) and an 'obligation' (line 2) on Rawlings himself as a member of the ingroup to persist, drawing inspiration for the journey from the experiences of past nationalist. In the context of African emancipation, these past nationalist are no less than Pan-Africanist who stood up in their various countries across Africa to lead the fight against the continued presence of colonialism and imperialism. Thus, as the appeals are directed at his ingroup, these appeals serve to cast Rawlings in the role of a Pan-Africanist who is being called upon to continue the struggle from where the predecessors left off. The comparison to past African nationalists is made more

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forceful by drawing on the topos of history realized by the adjective 'historic' (line 1) and prepositional phrase 'by history' (line 3), which enables Rawlings to construct an argument that by reflecting on past successful stories of African nationalists, present day Africanist, including himself, are obliged to reenact or recontextualize past actions because it will lead to the achievement of the collective desire of African emancipation. The expression 'by the blood' (line 3) evokes images of casualty and fatality, indicating that the task of redeeming Africa is life threatening. It also connotes sacrifice which seems to be a defining trait by which one can assert his identity as a Pan-Africanist. By constructing an identity reminiscent of the past, Rawlings claims the trait of sacrifice as a tool for validating his Pan-Africanist profile.

As stated in Section 1.5, Rawlings was the Head of State of Ghana at the time of this utterance. This imposes a primary obligation on him to prioritize Ghana given his nationalist identity as discussed earlier in this chapter. In his speeches, Rawlings constantly refers to other countries and seems genuinely interested in what is happening there, why it is happening and how, if at all problematic, can be tackled. Here in this extract, Rawlings admits that the 'immediate priority' (line 4) of this continental emancipatory agenda is about 'the liberation of Namibia and South Africa' (line 4), which constitute the 'last bastions of colonial domination which racists rule to this day' (line 5). The emphatic mention of South Africa and Namibia was due to the fact that these countries were yet to gain independence from colonial rule and therefore received a lot of attention from Pan-Africanist leaders. Other countries were less emphatically mentioned perhaps due to the fact that they had attained independence and were part of the OAU at this time. I suggest that the constant mentions of other countries, such as South Africa and Namibia, apart from Ghana, his own country of origin, constitutes a referential strategy that enables Rawlings to tell a coherent story of his Pan-Africanist beliefs.

Drawing on an 'us' vs. 'them' distinction realized by the pronouns 'our' (line 1), 'us' (line 3) and their implied counterparts 'their', 'they', Rawlings constructs the people who defend 'the last bastions of colonial domination' (line 5) as conspiratorial enemies whose racist regimes discriminate against native Africans and create social injustice. That is, they are a hostile outgroup whose actions have harmed the ingroup (Geis, 1987). By identifying them and representing them in negatively evaluated terms, which serves as a predication strategy to highlight what is bad about

the enemy, Rawlings indirectly alludes to the desirability of African emancipation, asserting his Pan-Africanist desire. Again, by drawing on the topos of history as a teacher, Rawlings gives the impression that he is a good student of history because of its potential to teach us things about the present and future by drawing from the past. He refers to a past struggle which he discursively qualifies as 'tragic but heroic' (line 6) because the young people who arose to fight in southern Africa were brave even at the sight of death. This historical event, therefore, 'provide us crucial lessons' (line 6). It is these lessons that Rawlings believes yield insights 'about how to mobilize our people against the forces that have plundered us and continue to maintain a stake in our resources' (line 6 and 7). That is, based on the history that young Pan-Africanist elsewhere put up a brave show in defence of their rights and quest for freedom, a true Pan-Africanist who is a good student of history feels the obligation to reenact similar actions in a different context in the hope of achieving the same results.

4.6 Discursive strategies and linguistic means of realization in the self-representation of Rawlings in military regime

Rawlings' speeches were replete with discourse strategies and their linguistic means of realization (see Table 9 for summary of the findings in this chapter). Table 9 presents an overview of the discursive strategies and the linguistic elements that were deployed by Rawlings to underscore specific ideological themes that aided his political presentation of Self as a noble revolutionary. The specific related themes and sub-themes Rawlings focused on in the analysis in this Chapter and the discursive strategies he used are stated in the first and second columns respectively. In the third column, the linguistic means resorted to by Rawlings to realize each strategy are presented while in the fourth column, the purpose of the linguistic realization of the strategy is briefly stated.

Table 9: Representation of military identity in the discourse of Jerry John Rawlings

Themes and sub-themes highlighted	Discursive strategy	Linguistic means of realization	Objective
Nationalism -*Reforms*	Referential/Nomination strategy	*Explicit labelling and membership categorization*	To create affinity with and win the affection of a particular group of society with whom

		Creating the ingroup of young future leaders by the use of the labels 'youth' and 'leaders'	he identifies and who are the primary target of his reforms
		Self-reference using *inclusive pronoun* 'we' to create an ingroup of military government	Used to achieve a belonging to the PNDC government that was embarking on national reforms and personalize the positive values associated to the ingroup
		Ingroup vs Outgroup The few *elite* vs ordinary *masses*	To highlight the marginalized and disadvantaged status of the masses compared to the few elites to mobilize the masses for action toward national reform
			By backgrounding Ghanaians in reference to the young

		Metonymy ('youth' stands for Ghanaians)	people, it allows Rawlings to insinuate that his educational reform is for the benefit of the entire Ghanaian society
		Metaphor The use of 'struggle', 'battle' as a metaphor of war	To assert that there are 'enemies' or opposition to be fought against in quest for desired changes
	Predication strategy		To describe a group of people who constitute
		Predicate nouns as explicit labels (e.g., detractors, doubting Thomases anarchists and confusionists)	opposition to his reform agenda and to distance himself from this group
		Metaphor (the use of doubting Thomases)	They assign positive attributes that bolster identity
		Evaluative clauses ('We have taken a	

		Argumentation strategy	bold step', 'we embarked on a search)	The lack of meaningful impact of current educational policy is used to justify the discontinuation of it in favour of a new one.
			Topos of uselessness (disadvantage)	
				To emphasize the reality of a dysfunctional system therefore the need for reforms
			Topos of reality	
				The success of past positive educational programmes and the need for similar present educational reforms to be implemented and continued
			Topos of history	
		Perspectivation strategy		To show that in the past reforms may not have materialized but will materialize in the present dispensation

		Temporal reference (deictic 'this', 'long overdue')	To position Self with a group excluded from national economic benefits to claim solidarity
	Intensification strategy	*Frame*: Past temporal frame of reforms in Ghana by using tense, deictic demonstratives, retrospective narrative account)	To emphasize the high number of unemployed people due to irrelevant education
		'Disproportionate number' (intensifying adjective + numerative lexicon)	To express the obligation and necessity to give the right education that will equip the youth for future leadership roles which Rawlings' educational reform offers
		Deontic modality ('must')	
Nationalism -*National interests*	Referential/Nomination strategy	Ingroup of Ghanaians and the PNDC government through the use of *inclusive pronoun* 'we' and 'us'	To prescribe social roles in performing political actions in the interest of the nation

	Predication strategy	*Predicate adjectival clauses* (e.g. clauses describing 'rural people' such as 'the bulk of the wealth of this nation' and 'most neglected')	Labelling a part of society unfavourably and favourably to evoke solidarity sentiments
	Argumentation strategy	*Topos of comparison* Using comparative adjectives (i.e., old vs new)	To foreground the differences between the old and new systems and to justify the discontinuation and annulment of the old system
		Topos of advantage/usefulness	To emphasize the importance of patriotism
		Topos of responsibility	Each Ghanaian is responsible for national reconstruction
	Perspectivation strategy	Citing of discriminatory	To emphasize the widespread abuse of

		experiences in 'rural areas'	power caused by the government in power
		Use of *spatial deictic* (e.g., everywhere)	To qualify the reaction to the abuse of power that led to the 'people's' revolution
		Evaluative description using a negative evaluative adjective (e.g., violent)	To report an event that must take place and to positively evaluate it (i.e., nation-building through the revolution)
		Metaphor of building (e.g., rebuilt, building)	
	Intensification strategy	Determiner 'many'	To emphasize the great number of people who oppose reforms
		Use of *superlative or adverbial intensifier* ('most neglected')	To emphasize the plight of rural people as a national problem that requires a decisive national action

		Expressive adverbials (e.g. grossly, completely)	Used to emphasize the undesirable state of the nation that requires saving (i.e., Ghana is in a bad state and must be redeemed or rebuilt)
Nationalism - *Democracy*	Referential/Nomination strategy	*Pronominalization* Pronominal shifts; 'us'(fellow Ghanaians), 'we'(the military) and 'I'(Rawlings)	To mark his civilian and military identity as equal and necessary for democratic society
		'We' together with performative verb 'ask'	To ask for participation in democracy
		Synecdoche (i.e., using generalizing expressions e.g., fellow Ghanaians)	To create solidarity with the nation by blurring the civilian-military divide
	Argumentation strategy	*Topos of history*	To appeal to the citizens to learn lessons from the autocratic past and decide a new path of democracy

		Topos of comparison Using metaphor (e.g., house, tree)	To emphasize the processual nature of democracy and the corresponding virtue and expertise it requires
		Topos of consequence	The negative effects of the autocratic regime of the elite as a justification for a revolution of democracy
	Intensification strategy	*Deontic modality* ('should be')	To indicate that democratic governance is the only viable alternative for social transformation
Pan-Africanism -*African Unity*	Referential/Nomination strategy	*Metonymy* ('we' and 'our' stand for African leaders)	To create a sense of belonging and arouse African nationalistic sentiments
		Metonymy (country for person i.e., 'Ghana' stands for 'Rawlings')	Ghana's pledge to continental unity is Rawlings' pledge to continental unity

	Predication strategy	Use of *Positive evaluative adjectives for positive self-presentation* (e.g., 'genuine', 'real')	To assign positive characteristics to Pan-Africanists
		Explicit denotation of common inhibitions to African unity in predicate clauses (e.g., trade barriers, colonial boundaries, etc.)	To give a disapproving evaluation of the past and present state of Africa that makes it difficult to achieve unity
		Attributive adjective (e.g., 'only')	To ascribe exclusivity to group effort as the only means to continental freedom
	Argumentation strategy	*Topos of history* Through emphatic temporal marking (e.g., 25 years ago)	As efforts to unite Africa in the past have failed, leaders must act differently to succeed in the present

		Topos of history Through specific historical figures (e.g., Kwame Nkrumah)	To affirm that Rawlings' aim of African unity is the same as the founding members'
	Perspectivation strategy	*Performative verbs* (e.g. venture proclaim)	To show alignment with the Pan-Africanist ideology of Nkrumaism
	Intensification strategy	*Deontic modality* ('have to)	To express the obligation to pursue African unity
Pan-Africanism - *African struggle for independence and emancipation*	Referential/Nomination strategy	Ingroup of Africans through the use of *inclusive pronouns* 'our' in 'our efforts', 'our struggle' and *deictic pronouns* (e.g., those)	To mark belonging to Africa as a homogenous group and the agenda of unity as a continental agenda
		Outgroup of the enemy using *categorical terms* (e.g., racists, apartheid)	To identify Africa's conspiratorial enemy

		Metaphor The use of 'struggle', 'battle' as a metaphor of war	To assert that there are 'enemies' or opposition to be fought against in quest for desired changes
	Predication strategy	*Attributions of positive traits* (e.g., 'compassion', 'brotherhood', 'love')	To emphasize the values and virtues that are required to emancipate Africa
	Argumentation strategy	*Topos of history* Through specific lexis (e.g., history, historic)	Reflect on past successful stories of African nationalists as a justification to reenact similar actions now
	Perspectivation strategy	Use of *verb elements* (e.g., 'pledge', 'will continue to stand')	Showing involvement in the fight for continental freedom
	Intensification strategy		

		Emphatic adjective (e.g., total)	To emphasize the absoluteness of the kind of emancipation that is desired

Nationalism

In discussing the theme of nationalism, Rawlings used referential/nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivation and intensification strategies. These five strategies were used in foregrounding the sub-themes of reforms and national interests. However, only three namely, referential/nomination, argumentation and intensification strategies were used in his discourse on the sub-theme of democracy. Rawlings used referential/nomination strategy to underscore social categories of people whose activities or actions either connoted or denoted ideas that are associated with nationalism and to claim belonging to these groups. In constructing his personal identity as a nationalist, Rawlings employs a range of categorization devices such as explicit nominal labels and pronouns mainly to foreground group identification. The use of inclusive pronouns such as 'we' and 'us' helps to create an ingroup of civilian or military identity. While he positions himself as an ordinary Ghanaian like anyone else whose needs must be met in his civilian identity, he asserts his military identity by aligning with the PNDC government that is responsible for pursuing social transformation and institutional reforms in his military identity. The use of pronouns, therefore, helps Rawlings to configure and prescribe social roles in performing various political actions that are necessary for achieving national interests and reforms. As far as the use of explicit nominal labels is concerned, Rawlings identifies the 'youth' as the heart of the nation whose interests are metonymic of national interests and calls out the 'few elite' whose actions have hurt the country. This strategic alignment to the 'youth' and distancing from the 'few elite' presents Rawlings as a nationalist crusader who is doing what is right to achieve what is desired by all. Mindful of his military status and aware of the democratic yearnings of the people, Rawlings deploys the further use of pronouns (e.g., I, we, and us), in combination with the device of synecdoche to mark shifts in his identity as a way to blur the commonly known distinctions between his military and civilian statuses in order to create the impression that in the evolution of a new society founded on principles of democracy all will be equal. This suggests that Rawlings'

pursuit of nationalism was aimed at creating a more equal society devoid of social inequalities and discriminatory classifications.

Rawlings also uses various war metaphors to map out a structural relationship in which he conceptualizes the Ghanaian socio-economic system as the warfront by using lexemes such as 'struggle', the ordinary Ghanaian represented by Rawlings himself and the political elite as the polar entities at war, and the status quo as the enemy that must be defeated to make room for reforms and social transformation. This suggests that the elite are responsible for the unfavourable status quo created by bad governance and are therefore the 'enemy' that must be eliminated to make way for the emergence of a new society. Using the war lexicon makes the implied conflict more vivid and physical as, on one hand, it makes real the efforts that Rawlings makes to achieve victory and on the other hand transforms what may have been Rawlings' personal agenda into a national desire with benefits for all the people, making it a national 'struggle' worth pursuing together. Further, with the use of predication strategy, Rawlings embarks on an overt self-description using positive evaluative adjectives such as 'genuine' and 'real' in articulation of the pursuit of national interests. These interests are further positively evaluated by using evaluative clauses such as 'we have taken steps' and 'we have embarked on a search…' that suggest that Rawlings' quest for nationalism is not a mere rhetoric. To assert the reality of his pursuit of national interests, Rawlings draws on a religious metaphor that describes his opponents as non-believers of national reforms (i.e., doubting Thomases) in contrast to himself as a national hero whose reforms will bring a kind of national redemption.

A further claim to the identity of a national reformer is highlighted by an argumentation strategy that draws on the topos of uselessness/disadvantage in combination with the topos of reality and of consequence to highlight the dysfunctional nature of the status quo, creating a need for its replacement while at the same time using the topos of responsibility to justify his instigation of a military-styled revolution to initiate a national reconstruction agenda which he frames as a useful patriotic act with the help of the topos of usefulness/advantage. Framing the need for radical reforms on grounds of usefulness is bolstered by the interdiscursive reference to 'when Dr. Nkrumah in 1951 introduced the Tuition Free Education Scheme in this country', alluding to a past successful implementation of a radical reform that draws on the topos of history. That

Rawlings' claim of being a nationalist pursuing national reforms in his revolutionary politics is credible is made more justifiable by the topos of comparison where the old system is compared to a new system as a justification to retire the old system.

Rawlings' use of perspectivation strategy enables him to position himself, as much as possible, with one part of the nation (i.e., rural areas) who have felt disconnected from the rest of the country due to sustained discriminatory practices by the SMC government in an attempt to create equality in the spirit of nationalism. This sustained discrimination is reported as widespread, marked by spatial deictic and temporal references. By creating an impression of the perpetuity of this social injustice in the past, Rawlings appeals to his audience's judgement and invites their support in a radical reform that will transform the Ghanaian society through the revolution. Given the duration of the disadvantage suffered by the majority of the rural population and in order to secure their participation in bringing desirable socio-economic changes, Rawlings prescribes for his audience an attitudinal orientation by using negative evaluative adjectives (e.g., violent). Representing the revolution as a cause for nationalism, Rawlings also employs the use of building metaphor (e.g., rebuilt, building) to indicate its instrumentality in nation-building. The use of intensification strategy, realized by linguistic means such as expressive adverbials, deontic modality, number lexicon, intensifying adjectives, superlative and adverbial intensifiers helps Rawlings to create a picture of a dire national situation that requires immediate decisive actions on a national scale to address it. The illocutionary effect of these linguistic means of realizing his intensification strategy helps to present him in the light of nationalist who deeply understands the problems of the country both in scope and depth and possesses the right characteristics to bring to reality the nation's supreme interests.

Pan-Africanism

There were five discursive strategies associated with Rawlings' rhetoric on the theme of Pan-Africanism. These were referential/nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivation and intensification strategies. All five discursive strategies were employed by Rawlings in expressing the sub-themes of African unity and African struggle for independence and emancipation. The discourse of Rawlings on these two sub-themes, drawing on the five discursive strategies and their means of linguistic realization, during the military regime, portrayed him as a Pan-Africanist who sought the unity and emancipation of the continent in various ways. Through the use of referential/

nomination strategy Africa is marked as a homogenous group representing Rawlings' land of nativity through membership categorization. This group is presented as engaged in a 'battle' using war metaphor with a clearly identified 'enemy' by use of categorical terms such as 'racists', 'anarchists', 'apartheid' to construct an 'evil' outgroup. By suggesting that all of Africa is one country, Rawlings presents himself as a leader of this homogeneous people and further underscores the collectivism that must underlie their actions through the use of inclusive pronouns (e.g., our efforts, our struggle). By alluding to the presence of a conspiratorial enemy through a negative outgroup presentation underscored by the metaphorical conceptualization of African's emancipation as war, Rawlings employs the strategic use of metonymy (i.e., person for country metonymy) in which he makes personal statements of his devotion to the African cause under the guise of the nation in an attempt to secure credibility for his Pan-Africanist identity.

A Pan-African identity must be clearly distinguished from others. Thus, Rawlings employs a predication strategy that makes reference to the attributions of positive traits (e.g., 'compassion', 'brotherhood', 'love') in an indirect self-description of the values and virtues that are required to emancipate Africa, which he, like other Pan-Africanist possesses. These Pan-Africanist values point to underlying challenges for which they are required. To highlight these challenges, Rawlings uses predicate clauses that explicitly denote grave limitations to African unity and emancipation. This is justified by Rawlings via the topos of history, arguing that efforts to unite Africa in the past have failed and therefore Pan-Africanists must act differently to succeed in the present time. An alternative way of acting has to be one that will facilitate and ultimately lead to the fulfillment of the African dream of unity and emancipation. Rawlings identifies this alternative way as genuine cooperation by all African countries and uses an attributive adjective 'only' to ascribe exclusivity to group effort as the only means to continental freedom.

Rawlings strengthens his argumentation yet again through the topos of history by making an emphatic reference to the historical period when the call for African unity was first made (i.e., 25 years ago), suggesting that as a Pan-Africanist he is a custodian of African history. He juxtaposes this temporal reference with another one oriented to the future (i.e., 25 years from now) to mark temporal shifts in projecting the changes that can take place if the exemplary leadership of previous Pan-Africanists is emulated. As a later Pan-African leader, Rawlings found it necessary to stake a

claim of his rootedness in Pan-Africanism as an ideology. He achieved this via a perspectivation strategy in which verbal elements (i.e., the performative verb 'proclaim', the devotion verb 'pledge' and the verb phrase 'will continue to stand') were utilized to articulate his commitment to Pan-African ideas (e.g., Nkrumaism) and his faith in their longevity. These verbs suggest that there are specific actions that must be taken to materialize African unity and total emancipation.

Hence, in claiming an epistemic status of a Pan-Africanist, the use of intensification strategy allows Rawlings to accentuate his views about what he believes should be done and in what manner. This is achieved by the use of deontic modality (e.g., have to) and emphatic adjective (e.g., total). These linguistic structures affirm Rawlings' self-identifying role as a Pan-Africanist leader who has the right to pontificate about the obligation and urgency that is required to pursue African unity and the absoluteness of the emancipation that is desirable for the continent.

4.7 Chapter summary

This chapter has critically analyzed how Rawlings constructed identity during his military regime and shown that the narrative of his self-representation is framed around various themes that portray Rawlings as a reformist politician, a democrat, a nationalist who seeks the interest of the country and a Pan-Africanist who seeks continental unity and wellbeing. It also examined these identities within specific sub-thematic components that derived from the main themes of nationalism and Pan-Africanism as well as the discursive strategies and their linguistic means of realization that contributed to the construction of his revolutionary identity which the study found to be the nucleus of his self-representation. As military Head of State of Ghana during this period of his rule, Rawlings creates a coherent narrative with his speeches that suggests that he sought for what was best for his country more specifically and Africa more generally, resulting in a discourse of nationalism and Pan-Africanism respectively.

In his speeches that focus on Ghana, reforms, democracy and national interests serve as topical domains that account for the projection of his identity as a revolutionary local politician whose primary object is to change the Ghanaian society. This enables him to seek reforms, insist on a new system of government and pursue socio-political ends that benefit the country, corresponding to specific identities. What is more, Rawlings uses a trans-national discourse centred on the values

of African nationalism to establish his identity as an archetypal African politician whose significance transcends national borders. Thus, the identity emerging from this discursive representation is that of a Pan-Africanist.

To construct these identities, Rawlings repeatedly used pronouns, verbal categories, lexical choices, emphasis and other grammatical resources to perform his self-representations either as an individual distinguishable from others or in the collective representation of a group of which he clearly identifies as a member. The various linguistic tools (i.e., lexical choices, syntactic structures, semantic and pragmatic tools) were found to combine with metonymy, metaphor, and synecdoche which Rawlings used to reference discursive processes and phenomena in specific discourses that project various identities. In terms of discursive strategies, Rawlings utilized referential or nomination, perspectivation, predication, intensification and argumentation, together with the recurring use of the topos of history, topos of uselessness or disadvantage, topos of advantage and topos of numbers. The interaction between the lexico-grammatical elements, the discursive strategies and the topoi contributed to a coherent framing of Rawlings' identity. Since Rawlings' leadership spanned two distinct periods on a time continuum, it is vital to analyze Rawlings' identity construction in his democratic rule to see if there is convergence with that of the military regime or a divergence. In the next chapter, I therefore, turn to a detailed analysis of Rawlings' self-representation in his democratic rule.

CHAPTER 5 POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF SELF IN A DEMOCRATIC REGIME

5.1 Introduction

This thesis examines the identity of Rawlings in two distinct time periods in his reign as Ghana's longest serving leader. As the previous chapter focused on Rawlings' political representation of self during his military rule, this chapter focuses on his representation of self during his reign as president in the 4th Republic of Ghana's democracy. The way politics is performed is shaped by both micro and macro factors in the environment or context in which political activity takes place. This means that while the socio-political setting can provide useful political information, it serves as a powerful intervening mechanism in the production of political discourses that frame specific identities of political actors. And as argued by Chilton (2004) that political discourse is a discursive process in which political actors exploit language resources to create, maintain, or contest social realities, thus highlighting the close interconnectedness between (the conceptualization of) politics and discourse, this chapter claims that democracy as a socio-political setting influenced the content of political discourse that shaped the formation and construction of Rawlings' identity or political representation of self. To assess this claim, it is necessary to first take a brief look at Ghana's democratic situation in historical perspective.

5.2 Rawlings and democracy in Ghana

Democracy can be said to be a form of government in which the voice of the people or their elected representatives matter in the decision-making and administration of a country. The origins of Ghana's democracy can be traced to its attainment of a republic status in 1960 under the leadership of its first president, Kwame Nkrumah, where the 1960 Republican constitution vested the power to rule or govern in the people. Against this backdrop, some have argued that democracy is a post-colonial phenomenon in Ghana which, of course, has been contested by others on the basis of the belief that long before the emergence of colonial rule, African societies, in general, were democratic (Onwumechili, 1998). That is, there were democratic practices that characterized the traditional system of rule in African societies. For example, as Onwumechili (1998) argued, the African family life was based on the principle of equality, promoted individual freedom and existed as an undivided, cohesive unit that is tolerant of divergent views and dissent. Additionally, the palaver- a concept that explains the practice of African communities meeting in public places

to deliberate communal affairs, resolve conflicts without resorting to violence and maintain social cohesion- was an egalitarian institution on which precolonial democracy thrived (see Scheid, 2011). This has forced a distinction between 'formal' or western-styled democracy characterized by different factors including liberal ideologies, elections, multiparty system, constitutional government, rule of law, etc. and the pristine form that thrived on the continent in the precolonial era where, among others, public consent was sought on matters of communal interest. What is meant by Ghana's democracy, in this thesis, is therefore the embraced western-styled democracy which can be viewed as a legacy of the British colonial system.

As indicated in Section 1.4, the practice of 'formal' democracy in Ghana, as an emergent philosophy from republicanism, was interrupted by the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah in the coup d'état in 1966, leading to political instability and suspension of constitutional rule. The National Liberation Council (NLC), led by General Joseph Arthur Ankrah, toppled Kwame Nkrumah's government and effectively ended the First Republic, giving way to the first of many military regimes in Ghana's history. The second democratic dispensation or Second Republic was ushered in through the 1969 elections that saw the Progress Party and its leader, Kofi Abrefa Busia, elected to office in a bid to return the country to civilian rule. In 1972, severe economic conditions created by the government's inability to settle its external debts and provide basic social amenities led to another coup initiated by General Ignatius Kutu Acheampong and the National Redemption Council (NRC) which later morphed into the Supreme Military Council (SMC), terminating the Second Republic. The SMC was toppled in June 1979 in an uprising led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings and his Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) which ended the Second Republic. Later that year, the AFRC supervised the 1979 general elections which Dr. Hilla Limann and his People's National Party (PNP) won. With that, begun the Third Republic which sought to consolidate democratization in Ghana.

Again, for reasons of widespread poverty, inequality and general economic mismanagement (Haynes, 2022), Rawlings staged a revolution in 1981 to end the Third Republic. The revolution gave birth to a military regime led by Rawlings' AFRC which was reorganized as the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) and ruled from 1981 to 1992. Through a series of actions including the establishment of local government structures, district assemblies, the setting up of

the National Commission on Democracy (NDC) to find ways of institutionalizing participatory democracy, and the establishment of the Consultative Assembly (CA) to draft a new constitution, Rawlings set the tone for a new chapter of governance that promised a more sustainable and durable democracy. The PNDC's policy to decentralize governance which motivated a mobilization for grassroot participation, the expert findings and report of the NCD and CA, and to a large extent 'pressure' from foreign and donor countries (see Annan-Aggrey et al., 2022; Nugent, 2009; Shillington, 1992) paved the way for the 1992 general elections to be held- a move believed to be the right step toward consolidating previous efforts of establishing democracy. To compete as a civilian, Rawlings resigned from the army, dissolved the PNDC and formed the National Democratic Congress (NDC) of which he became the flagbearer and presidential candidate in the elections. Rawlings emerged as the winner with an overwhelming majority to form the new civilian government in a long time, beginning Ghana's Fourth Republic and Rawlings' democratic reign. Ghana's constitution limits the presidential term to a two four-year tenure. Rawlings ended his first term of office in 1996 and was reelected to serve a second term ending in 2000 (He officially handed over on 7th January 2001). Today, Ghana's durable democracy can be credited to Rawlings and his politics.

Given this background, this chapter assumes that Rawlings' use of language and discourse will enable him to foreground certain key themes in his rhetoric that will draw on the democratic context to represent himself. Hence, building on the analysis in Chapter 4, this chapter illustrates how politicians utilize discourse strategies and linguistic choices, in combination with rhetorical devices to construct identities that align with dominant ideological themes in performing politics. As the analysis in this chapter forms part of Rawlings' identity in his political leadership through time, the discourse and context of his military rule (in Chapter 4) become part of and a necessary condition for the democratic setting, creating a dynamic context from which the analysis and discussion in this chapter proceeds. This agrees with van Dijk's (2008, pp. 84-85) argument that "in a dynamic context [of discourse], previous discourse [including context] becomes a condition for the current state of the [new] context". It is therefore possible that the identity of Rawlings during his military rule analyzed in the previous chapter may be projected in his discourses during the democratic era, indicating that while politicians may construct dynamic identities for

themselves, they can sometimes maintain certain static identities over time to achieve specific ideological agendas.

The in-depth analysis presented in this chapter is based on 25 speeches produced by Rawlings during his democratic rule from 1993 to 2001. Rawlings became president of Ghana through the general elections held in 1992 when he contested under the ticket of the National Democratic Congress (NDC). Formally, as stated earlier in this chapter, it brought an end to the Third Republic which was headed by President Hilla Limann and his PNP government and initiated the Fourth Republic. As far as the dynamics of power between the state and civil society is concerned, the Fourth Republic differs significantly from the Third Republic. In the Third Republic, too much power controlled by the state made the legitimacy the state required from civil society in order to have a semblance of democracy unnecessary. This was mainly due to the lack of checks and balances between the executive, legislature and judiciary, posing a challenge in the country's institutional design (Sefa-Nyarko, 2022). However, in the Fourth Republic, not only was there a more harmonious power relationship between the state and civil society which allowed the expression of pluralistic opinions and encouraged more public participation in governance but also made more visible checks and balances between the executive, legislative and judiciary arms of government (see Sefa-Nyarko, 2022), which arguably marked the birth of democracy and multi-party politics in Ghana. As president of the Fourth Republic, Rawlings is expected to deliver speeches at various functions locally and internationally. These functions make it possible for Rawlings to communicate his ideologies, policy actions, visions, promises and plans as well as his identity to his local and international audiences. To examine how Rawlings performed identity and political representation of self during his democratic rule, employing thematic analysis (see discussion in Chapter 3 Section 3.3.4), I carefully examined the speeches and identified the most prominent themes in his discourse. The speeches were produced by Rawlings at various discourse events including anniversaries of the revolutions, festivals of cultural communities, national Independence Day celebrations, international conferences, presidential receptions and New Year addresses.

The focus on dominant themes is based on the view that they constitute the ideological content of actors and these ideology-laden themes become the structures on which they organize their

identity. That is, the ideas that hold the attention of political actors, whether they recur or receive strategic single emphasis in their speeches, can serve as a conduit for making valid deductions about the kind of information they aim to convey about themselves in terms of who they are. In the democratic regime, two final themes were derived which are the focus of this chapter: effective leadership and building of strong institutions as a legacy of his politics. These themes were derived from 103 pithy codes based on the categorization of the data into smaller units of analysis and the subsequent grouping of the codes into broader topics based on the similarity in the ideas they express. While the theme of effective leadership comprised sub-thematic discourses that portrayed Rawlings as a pragmatic, visionary, economic revivalist, and ethically and morally upright leader, the theme of building strong institutions emphasized the institutionalist identity of Rawlings. Table 10 shows a breakdown of the final themes and sub-themes that helped Rawlings to construct his identity during the democratic rule.

Table 10: Final themes in Rawlings' speeches in the democratic era

Final themes	Number of codes	Percentage of total codes
Effective leadership	68	66%
Building of strong institutions	35	34%
Total	**103**	**100%**
Sub-themes of effective leadership		
Pragmatic	16	24%
Visionary	18	26%
Economic revivalist	20	29%
Ethically and morally upright	14	21%
Total	**68**	**100%**

The thematic and linguistic analysis that follow, while exploring how various discursive strategies and linguistic choices in the selected speeches contribute to Rawlings' identity formation, take cognizance of the physical, political, institutional, socio-economic and even global setting in which

the speeches were produced, distributed and consumed because they are likely to impact the choice of language and the discursive process of his communication.

5.3 Summary of discursive strategies and their linguistic means of realization found in the themes of effective leadership and building of strong institutions

The analysis of Rawlings' discourses associated with his presentation of Self during the democratic regime revealed that four discursive strategies in Reisigl and Wodak (2001) namely referential or nomination, predication, argumentation, and perspectivation strategies and their linguistic means of realization were used by Rawlings in his speeches to express the themes of effective leadership and building of strong institutions. Table 11 shows a summary of the discursive strategies and their linguistic means of realization found in the themes of effective leadership and building of strong institutions.

Table 11: Summary of discursive strategies and their linguistic means of realization found in the themes of effective leadership and building of strong institutions

Themes	Discursive strategies	Linguistic means or realization
Effective leadership	-Referential/nomination	Membership categorization (using pronominal switch and inclusive pronouns), religious metaphor, familial terms
	-Predication	Predicate nouns, noun phrases, positive evaluative adjectives, verb processes, explicit self-labelling
	-Argumentation	Topoi: numbers, authority, history, comparison, advantage, necessity

	-Perspectivation	Presupposition, interdiscursive reference and depersonalization expressions
Building of strong institution	-Referential/nomination	Membership categorization, using group labels, personal pronouns, ingroup vs outgroup categorization
	-Predication	Attributions of positive traits
	-Argumentation	Topos of cause and effects
	-Perspectivation	Spatial deictics, framing lexis and self-constructed discourse

From the thematic analysis, the discourses of Rawlings that emphasized effective leadership frequently intersected with his ideas for developing the country and the identification of the relevant institutions that can facilitate and materialize his developmental agenda. This suggests that there is a relationship between effective leadership and the building of strong institutions in order to make development a reality. The relationship is briefly examined before proceeding with the analysis of the key themes identified and the specific discursive strategies and their linguistic means of realization utilized by Rawlings to construct his identity.

5.4 Rawlings and the theme of leadership

The relationship between effective leadership and the building of strong institutions

According to Van Wyk (2007, p. 5) political leaders are:

"the primary holders, controllers and distributors of power and resources in a particular institution (i.e., institutional power) and/or territory (i.e., geo-political power). This includes leaders who gained power through the ballot, and those who gained power by bullets, including, warlords, vigilante and rebel leaders."

Leadership can therefore be construed as the process of ensuring the distribution of power and resources for and on behalf of a group of people. Drawing on this definition, effective leadership is conceptualized in this thesis as an approach that is concerned with the efficient management of public resources to meet the needs of citizens by taking wise policy decisions backed by well-defined principles and values. Strong institutions encompass state and social organizations, laws and legal frameworks, constitutional practices, principles of governance and policies as well as the administrative practices of state machinery that ensure integrity in public office, prevent corrupt practices and realize the material wellbeing of the people.

Studies (Agulanna, 2006; Nzau, 2011) have shown a correlation between effective leadership and strong institutions particularly in the African context where for decades bad leadership has been hypothesized as the bane of the continent's continuous underdevelopment even after the cessation of colonialism . Without strong institutions, a nation's development will be greatly inhibited as these institutions help to mobilize state resources and public action for participation to "facilitate policy coherence and coordination and ensure that actions at all levels of government are fully aligned to pursue broader development objectives" (Annan-Aggrey et al., 2022, p. 6). Therefore, effective leadership requires strong institutions to realize development. This study therefore takes these key themes to be inseparably related and therefore constitute a coherent narrative of Rawlings' identity. In the next sections, the contexts in which the themes of effective leadership and building of strong institutions manifest and the discursive strategies and the linguistic elements used in their realization are further explored in the speeches in which they occur.

The theme of leadership in general is very crucial in African politics and particularly in post-independence Ghanaian politics. For a long time, Africa's under-development and mismanagement of resources has been attributed to poor leadership and governance (Nwankwo & Richards, 2001). The emphasis on effective leadership in Rawlings' rhetoric perhaps derives from the view that countries which have experienced positive developmental gains have profited from good leadership while those with bad leadership have been saddled with poor development and sometimes accompanied by political instability. The link between political instability and bad leadership which often manifests in the mismanagement of the economy appears to be a common post-colonial scenario in Ghana in particular and Africa in general (O'Connell, 1967; Osei-Hwedie,

1985). In the case of Ghana, the evidence is difficult to ignore. A few years after independence in 1957, the country was in a relatively good condition financially, boasting of a huge reserve of foreign exchange from the sale of cocoa and the export of other natural mineral resources (see Osei-Hwedie, 1985). With such a great promise for rapid national development and the abundance of natural resources, not much appears to have been done to minimize the socio-economic hardships of the people which included poverty and unemployment. These hardships were exacerbated by widespread corruption and poor fiscal management. The failure of political leaders to meet the masses' socio-economic needs, resulted in public appeals for leadership replacement which has been mostly done through the use of brute force- a phenomenon that has seen leaders changed beginning with Kwame Nkrumah and his CPP government to Hilla Limann and his PNP government by means of coup d'état. That many coups, aimed at replacing the existing order of leadership, took place in Ghana in a relatively short period of time after independence attests to the existential leadership crisis that had engulfed the once "shining star" of Africa.

In the military regime discussed in Chapter 4, leadership was not identified as an explicit key theme in Rawlings' discourse although it can be reasonably inferred that he demonstrated leadership, for example, in seeking the extension of economic benefits to the rural areas in the pursuit of national interests. In this chapter, covering the democratic regime, it is unsurprising that leadership emerged as a key theme, mainly because of what can arguably be considered as the motif of Rawlings' leadership. This motif is captured in the slogan 'power to the people' (Kumah-Abiwu & Sabella, 2022) introduced in 1979, which drove the quest for a new leadership paradigm distinct from the previous SMC-led military regime which was elitist in nature and concentrated power on a few minority. Such a slogan summarizes Rawlings' leadership ideology and privileges an association between leadership and democracy. In reality, the slogan never materialized in the military regime, apart from processes which were initiated to ensure people's participation in governance. With the inception of democracy in the 4th Republic, beginning with multi-party election and constitutionalism, the theme of leadership (based on the slogan 'power to the people') became much more pronounced in Rawlings' discourse hence offering a means for his self-representation. To Rawlings, therefore, the outlook of the Ghanaian society is dependent on the type of leadership in operation which aligns with Agulanna's (2006) argument that thriving societies are a product of effective leadership while slow progress is attributable to ineffective

leadership. The basic concern of effective leadership is the efficient management of resources based on clearly defined goals aimed at providing better socioeconomic conditions for the people. Rawlings, thus, frames his effective leader identity by constructing discourses that project not only his prudence in the management of (scarce) public resources but also his sheer determination to meet the material aspirations of the citizens at any cost. Rawlings' discourse of effective leadership (EL) analyzed in this section draws heavily on the model proposed by Annan-Aggrey et al. (2022) in Figure 5.

Basic drivers of EL

- -Leader's need for meaning
- -Leader's preoccupation with values, morals and ethics
- -Leader's vision and concern for the future

Effects of EL

- -Economic efficiency: efficient management of resources
- -Social cohesion: equitable distribution, social connectedness, unity, solidarity
- -Environmental/social responsibility: effective management of resources and their consumption value for environment

Impact of EL

- -Inclusion
- -Equity-Patriotism
- -Motivational
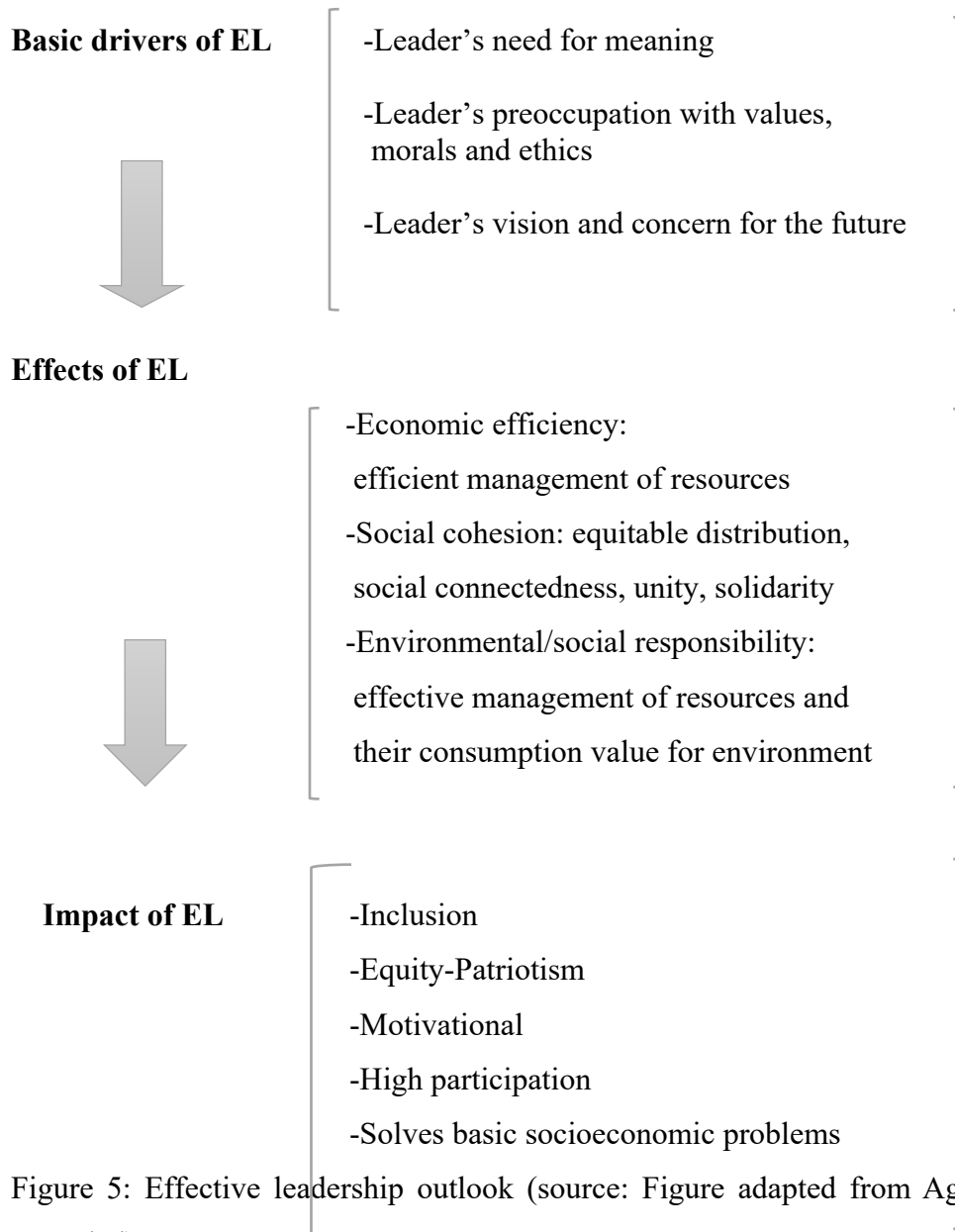- -High participation
- -Solves basic socioeconomic problems

Figure 5: Effective leadership outlook (source: Figure adapted from Aggrey et al (2022) and extended)

Figure 5 illustrates an effective leadership model that seeks societal transformation through the efficient management of public resources. The model underscores the need for ethics, vision and upholds human values and principles in the efforts to achieve specific goals even when a combination of factors such as lack of access to education, class struggles, food shortages, unemployment, housing, climate change and corruption pose a challenge (Aggrey et al., 2022). In adapting the leadership framework in Figure 5 to the present study, I have connected what Aggrey et al (2022) referred to as 'effects' and 'impact' to what I have labelled 'drivers of effective leadership' with emphasis on the leader rather than an individual. These drivers constitute the rationales for Rawlings' leadership. Additionally, although the descriptive category 'solves basic socioeconomic problems' under 'Impact of EL' is not captured in Aggrey et al (2022), it has been adapted in the present study as it captures the ultimate goal of Rawlings' leadership. From the Figure 4, the discourse to be analyzed is composed of the drivers of Rawlings' effective leadership, the specific effects achieved and overall impact in the lives of the people. There is evidence in these discourses to suggest that the key theme of effective leadership hinges on the sub-themes of being pragmatic, visionary, efficient economic revivalist, and ethically and morally upright leader. These are subsequently discussed with illustrative examples.

5.4.1   Rawlings as pragmatic leader

Pragmatic leadership is problem-solving oriented and performance-driven. That is, it is a leadership concept in which the leader identifies basic, practical problems confronting the people and the nation and embarks on an active search to find solutions to those problems. This makes it natural for Rawlings to construct discourses that indicate that he has carefully observed the socio-economic system to identify practical needs of the people, deliberated on the key solution interventions and will apply low-cost strategies to maximize benefits for all (Gardner, 1993). As was seen in the military regime in Chapter 4, Ghana's economy was in severe crisis in 1981. This led to the search for intervention, the key of which was the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), which was a set of economic reforms set as conditions for countries undergoing economic crisis in order to secure loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (see Kraus, 1991). The period of implementation covered the military regime from 1983 to 1990. Although Rawlings claims that the implementation was most successful in Africa, the post-Structural Adjustment

Programme period, which covers the democratic regime, continued to face economic and industrial underdevelopment (Arthur, 2002), with poverty still the unvanquished enemy of the masses. One condition that impeded the poverty alleviation objective of the SAP was the lack of improved physical infrastructure such as roads which created a geographical isolation between the urban and rural regions of the country. The huge population of rural dwellers were therefore cut off from the urban centres where they could access marketing facilities due to the absence of transport networks. This spatial-cum-mobility disadvantage made it difficult for the rural people, who were mostly farmers, to transport their farm produce to the urban centres for trade. This situation made poverty endemic among the majority of rural people (Watkins, 1995). Thus, in the democratic era, Rawlings had much to prove for his rhetoric on people-centered government which required a more pragmatic approach in order to achieve the regime's goals and build a legacy for posterity. The following extracts are illustrative examples.

(18) As I have already indicated, ***despite the unfavourable developments on the world market,*** Government decided to maintain the government' selling price at ¢2,250,000 per ton ***to further reduce poverty*** in the rural areas where over 800,000 families depend on cocoa for their livelihood; and to fulfil government's pledge to give our cocoa farmers their due share of the value of their produce. (January 13, 2000)

(19) We remain committed to our policy of making the private sector the engine of economic growth and development. ***Pragmatic policies will continue to be the cornerstone of our programme for sustainable growth*** of industry and agriculture and the building of strong links between the two sectors which will in turn provide additional impetus to our poverty alleviation efforts. (January 15, 1998)

(20) ***We are honest about the current status of development in the country, and we have not glossed over our shortcomings***. (January 6, 1995)

In extract (18), Rawlings teases out the benefits of his pragmatic approach to assert himself as an effective leader. It is instructive that Rawlings uses the first person singular pronoun 'I' as part of a presuppositional construction. It appears the objective of Rawlings' discourse here is 'to reduce poverty' (line 3) in the country although this will require dealing with 'unfavourable developments

on the world market' (line 1). The use of 'I' in line 1 can be taken to function as an explicit self-reference that is aimed at distinguishing his voice and detaching his personal opinions from that of his party or government, allowing him to articulate personal stance and own his statements. By introducing his remark with 'I', Rawlings subjectifies his discourse which in turn indexes "the attitudes of [his] political self" (Johansson, 2008, p. 400). Presented this way, it creates the impression that whatever follows in the unfolding discourse should be taken as Rawlings' personal authoritative view and accepted as representing his identity even if he is speaking on behalf of his party or government. Thus, though he employs the referential category 'government' (line 2) as the agent of the sequence of actions described by the verbs 'decided' (line 2), 'reduce' (line 3), 'maintain' (line 2), and 'fulfil' (line 4), I submit that it may be a strategy of implicit self-reference to make his voice more authoritative since the term connotes the idea of a person or entity vested with power to act on behalf of others. It is worthy of note that the identity-related term 'government' (line 2), due to its wide range of semantic reference, can be vague because the same term can refer to a person or a group or the state and its administrative machinery. Given this vagueness, politicians, including Rawlings, can sometimes employ its usage in a manner that can absolve them (on a personal level) from blame particularly in the event of failed and unfulfilled promises. The use of the referential labels 'I', 'government' and 'our' in (18) suggests that Rawlings aimed to highlight specific aspects of his identification. It is reasonable to infer that Rawlings' use of 'I' at the start of extract (18) was to underscore agency and draw attention to himself as the principal actor of the actions being undertaken. His use of the word 'government' seemed to draw on the legitimacy the society has given to the governing body through the democratic process of elections to authorize his actions and the use of 'our' created a sense of inclusion in the decision making process of government and identification with all Ghanaian 'farmers', which can be taken as a means of fulfilling the 'power to the people' mandate. That said, these verbal categories help to frame Rawlings' identity as a pragmatic leader who is actively engaged in 'doing something' to change the existing undesirable socio-economic situation. This implies proactivity and positive action which are basic attributes of a pragmatic leader.

Again, in extracts (18) and (19), Rawlings makes a bold claim that he is a leader who is 'committed' to 'pragmatic policies' as the mechanism to seek 'economic growth and development' (18, line 1) of the country. As words can serve as useful links to identity and ideology, the adjective

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'pragmatic' serves as a predicational strategy that enables Rawlings to assert his identity as an effective leader of the pragmatic type. Though the use of the word 'pragmatic' is in attribution to the noun 'policies', it performs more than a grammatical function in its syntactic position. From a critical lens, its usage connotes a more pragma-linguistic role in that it portrays Rawlings in a light that generally describes his leadership style and more specifically assigns a positive evaluative attribute to his person. This leads to the possible inference that Rawlings is the kind of leader who has knowledge about and sensitivity to the nation's problem of sustainable growth and consequently comes up with practical policies that will address them. Perhaps the attribute 'pragmatic' is desirable for Rawlings because of the possible perception of his opponents that his long reign, from the military regime, has been an experiment with no concrete results and a tinkering of convictions given that issues of economic crisis inherited from the previous military regime still remain largely unaddressed. Studies (Hunter et al., 2011; Mumford, 2006; Mumford et al., 2008; Mumford & Van Doorn, 2001) have also found that the attribute 'pragmatic', together with "ideology and charisma" are "capable of achieving highly successful and equally effective performance" (Lovelace et al., 2019, p. 97) in leadership. Extract (19) provides evidence of what a pragmatic attribute might entail. A problem-solving ability is not only what is being underscored but also an effective way of communicating performance by making logical appeals which can potentially rationally persuade his listeners who were mainly elites- a strength Mumford and Van Doorn (2001) identified as an attribute of pragmatic leadership. These logical appeals can serve as indirect invitation to the expertise of his elite audience to come on board and help to tackle the challenges identified (Mumford, 2006). These logical appeals can also be interpreted as Rawlings' attempt to fulfil the 'power to the people' mandate which he had promised at the beginning of the revolution in 1979. Additionally, it also entails a diagnosis of the problem and a clear prescription of viable solutions (e.g., sustainable growth) even if it remains at the idealistic level. According to Lovelace and Hunter (2013), the ability to diagnose problems, as Rawlings appears to be doing in extract (19), is a skill pragmatic leaders have which goes with "seeking new opportunities" (Lovelace et al., 2019, p. 98) to situation-based problems. To naturalize his pragmatic ability into the minds of his audience, he uses the auxiliary verb 'will' together with the lexical verb 'continue' in (19) line 2 to frame a timeless prediction of the durability and imperishability of pragmatism in his approach to issues of national leadership which he admits constitutes the 'cornerstone' (19, line 2) of the government machinery driving the national development agenda. It is not hard to see

why Rawlings delivers such an authoritative verdict of the possible future outcomes of his 'pragmatic policies' (18, line 2). The specific policies referred to in this context are industrial growth, agricultural expansion and public-private partnerships even though Rawlings makes little investment in providing any substantial evidence beyond rhetoric concerning how they will be systematically achieved. One may, however, argue that to be pragmatic also means to be able to intellectually stimulate the minds of followers through effective communication with specific measures of addressing core national problems, which Rawlings seems to be strategically doing.

As was found in Chapter 4, prior to Rawlings' appearance on the political scene, previous leaders were said to have plunged the nation into severe economic austerity and superintended mass deprivation leading to poverty (Hansen & Collins, 1980), creating what Rawlings referred to as a need to 'transform the social and economic order' of the country. It is in this context of transforming the social order that the choice of a pragmatic leadership finds justification in that it is essentially a functional problem-focused approach that is principally concerned with solutions to given or identified problems. Therefore, the choice of lexical clusters in extract (19) such as 'sustainable growth' (line 3), 'the building of strong links' (line 3), and 'poverty alleviation' (line 4) function as predicative noun phrases which do not only form a predication strategy of positive self-evaluation but also form the basis for his argumentation that his proposed approach is the right one to solve the problems, thereby asserting his identity as a pragmatic leader who seeks the interests of the people. It is quite instructive the manner in which Rawlings draws on the notion of economic reform in the democratic era which is remarkably different from the military era. Unlike in the military regime where Rawlings appeared to highlight people's participation in decision-making as the key in bringing about this desired economic transformation, which was aimed at asserting his belief in democracy to secure legitimacy for his military rule, in the democratic regime, as the analysis shows, there is a shift in emphasis from 'the people' to pragmatic leadership as the key to changing the economic order. Also worth noting is how this apparent discursive shift in the modus operandi of economic reform is expressed across the regimes. While Rawlings expresses it using a perspectivation strategy realized by a performative and saying verb (e.g., asking) which signalled his involvement, he seems to draw on a predication strategy realized by means of predicate nouns (e.g., poverty alleviation) that positively evaluate his abilities and underscore positive outcomes of his pragmatic leadership.

Scholars on leadership such as Mumford and Van Doorn (2001) have argued that pragmatic leaders, because of their focus on crafting viable solutions to various problems, tend to focus less on personal meaning and identity, insinuating that "followers will have less investment in the leader as a person or as a source of identity expression" (p. 282), which can lead to the followers not having any meaningful affective investment in the leader (Shamir et al., 1993). While this may have been a patent observation in the cases they investigated, there is evidence to suggest that in the case of Rawlings this observation may not be entirely true. This could be because he possessed an appealing charisma and functioned in a political culture where problem-solvers are easily glorified and sometimes deified which can serve as a means for emotional connection with the people. As stated earlier in Section 4.4.1, in Ghanaian cultural epistemology, which is religious, there is a common belief that certain social problems, especially those that appear to have survived time, can only be solved when certain individuals with special ability and power, whether innate or acquired, rise up to provide the solutions for the benefit of all the people. When they do so, society tends to regard them as appointees or representative of the 'gods' sent to alleviate their suffering, hence their deification (see Minkus, 1980; Sackey, 2000). I argue that charisma and normative cultural practices make Rawlings the pragmatic leader whose identity resonated well with the people. My position, on one hand, agrees with Bass (1990) that leaders with charisma are more likely to generate strong emotional reactions in their audience than those who are not. On the other hand, my position finds resonance with a statement made by a protégé of Rawlings, Dela Coffie, in an interview:

> "**Chairman Rawlings was touched by the cries, hunger and the suffering of the people**, especially the ordinary people who could not afford a ball of kenkey. His emergence after the 1979 coup sent a **spontaneous jubilation to the people throughout the country**. He was hailed and received by Ghanaians for his boldness and forthrightness. **Some even called him Junior Jesus and the Saviour**"[4].

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[4] This is an excerpt of an interview granted by Mr. Dela Coffie who is a member of the opposition National Democratic Congress and a political activist. Mr. Coffie claims to be a mentee of Rawlings and obliged the interview to recount Rawlings' life. The interview was published online by Opera News Ghana in 2021 as part of a tribute to honour the memory of the late ex-President who passed on in 2020.

In line with the normative practice of deifying individuals who demonstrate high problem-solving skills in Ghanaian society as, for example, in the case of Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president who was called 'Osagyefo' meaning redeemer, for his role in Ghana's independence from colonial rule, Rawlings was referentially called 'Junior Jesus and the Saviour' by some people in an explicit comparison with the Biblical person of Jesus Christ who was feeding the poor and hungry (see Mark 6:30-44) as Rawlings sought to do in Ghanaian society. By drawing on a religious metaphor in this referential labelling, it can be argued that not only do his supporters seek to heroize him for his nobility but also to (re)present him in a more positive light to hedge the negative aspects of his revolution. And given that the majority of Ghanaians are Christians, the cognitive appeal this metaphor evokes in creating widespread acceptability for Rawlings' persona and politics is both powerful and persuasive.

It is clear from the excerpt above that Rawlings' entry into politics was to find a pragmatic solution to the existential needs of Ghanaians in the form of 'hunger and suffering'. Rawlings himself admitted to this dire problem when he remarked "I am just an ordinary, **hungry**, screaming Ghanaian who wants to realize his creative potential, who wants to contribute…"[5]. The physical and socio-economic conditions of the country warranted Rawlings' explicit self-description as 'hungry'. This happened between 1981 and 1983 during the military regime when long drought, adverse weather conditions and wild bush fires destroyed food crops resulting in acute shortage of food, along with its concomitant domestic price increases, leading to famine and severe hunger (USAID, 1984). Apart from the inability to reverse the natural factors which had caused the drought, the situation was further aggravated by a deteriorated macroeconomic context that made it impossible to secure aid from the IMF to address the acute food crisis (see Stryker, 1990 for detailed discussion on Ghana's economic situation; USAID, 1984). Without any immediate practical solution to the crisis, Rawlings' demonstration of empathy to the plight of suffering Ghanaians was helpful. His identification with the 'ordinary' citizens, coupled with the fact that he was not known to be a long practicing politician, may have reassured the public that he was the right man to champion their struggle for a decent livelihood, hence stirring public contentment. Thus, the word 'jubilation', which connotes intense emotions of joy and excitement, can be

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[5] An excerpt of interview with the BBC News Africa after the revolution in 1979. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZxAVKXmHQOw

associated with the hope that his emergence will lead to the desired changes and the provision of the basic needs of the people. Although there was no famine in the democratic regime, the issue of macroeconomic stability (e.g. sustainable export-oriented diversification) and structural reforms (e.g., investment in basic infrastructure, agricultural growth, private sector development) was high on the agenda as a practical mechanism to improve the living conditions of Ghanaians. It is in this context that Rawlings' pragmatism came to the fore. To achieve this, certain attributes, underscored by predicate nominatives 'boldness' and 'forthrightness' can be said to add more appeal to Rawlings' pragmatic identity.

In making this pragmatic leader image more natural, the presuppositional declarative "as I have already indicated' (18, line 1) can be seen as an invitation to his audience to recall an earlier relevant background information on which the current argumentation rests. Rawlings does not repeat the actual information presupposed, which can create vagueness in the minds of his audience. As such, Rawlings proceeds to present his assumptions as reinforced truths. Without helping his audience to connect his present discourse with the previous one more accurately, it can be said that Rawlings may be attempting to manipulate his audience in a way that allows him to project his version of truth about his achievements and assert his identity as a true pragmatic leader without contestation. The influence of pragmatic leaders is problem-focused (Mumford & Van Doorn, 2001). That is, their impact is measured by the problems they solve as indicated also in Figure 4 in Section 5.4. This implies that, to frame oneself as pragmatically oriented, a given problem ought to be delineated and foregrounded. Rawlings demonstrates this by saying that trends on the world market are 'unfavourable' (18, line 1). This comes across as a perspectivation strategy that makes an unsubstantiated allusion to events on the world market to give authenticity to his claim and implicit assumption that these unavoidable negative global dynamics have significantly affected Ghana's local economy. His use of the preposition 'despite' is an attempt to establish a contrasting relationship between the purported problems on the global economic scene and the pragmatic policies he has implemented in an attempt to make the outcome of poverty alleviation and fair distribution of wealth to deserving citizens more surprising. Invoking this element of surprise, which is indicative of a highly unexpected economic turnaround, Rawlings potentially elevates his pragmatic leadership to the status of a miracle-working economic expert to bolster his image as a problem-solver. To further validate this identity, he employs numbers

'¢2,250,000 per ton' (18, line 2) and '800,000 families' (18, line 3) as a topos to rationalize the impact of his pragmatic approach. It is important to mention here that the speech from which the extract was taken was produced in Ghana's House of Parliament. This means that the profile of the audience can be classified as elite in terms of their knowledge and education. Generally, numbers are proxies of facts in opposition to conjecture and estimations. It therefore makes sense that Rawlings deliberately employs the topos of numbers to justify his argument of the positive effects of his effective leadership by presenting information in numeric terms so as to make his intimations more objective and believable and his identity more assertive and credible.

As indicated in Figure 4 in Section 5.4, one fundamental driver of effective leadership is a preoccupation with moral and ethical values. Thus, Rawlings constructs his personal integrity by using the first person plural pronoun 'we' (20, line 1). This indicates that he categorizes himself into a group to which he claims membership and identification. The group Rawlings refers to here is the executive arm of government made up of himself and his cabinet ministers who ensure the day-to-day administration of the country. The use of 'we' can create inclusion and solidarity (Pennycook, 1994, p. 175) and when used in political discourse, it expresses shared responsibility and creates the understanding that 'any actions perhaps not only, or not fully [are] the responsibility of one individual' (Wilson, 1990a, p. 76). Therefore, by saying 'we are honest' (20, line 1), Rawlings implies that, like everyone else in this group, he shares in the collective characteristic by which the group is identified. This aligns with the social identity theory of Tajfel and Turner (1979) which states that people categorize themselves and others into social groups based on common characteristics and this in turn shapes their self-concept and behavior. Based on the idea of shared responsibility signalled by 'we', Rawlings equally suggests that he shares in the attribute of 'shortcomings' which he claims 'we' have not 'glossed over' (20, line 1-2). It is perhaps necessary for Rawlings to make this public acknowledgement of his integrity (that is, honesty) and at the same time admit to his flaws as a pragmatic leader who is performance driven because it is likely that he may have been out of touch with reality, over-promised and under-delivered in some respects which warrants the statement. For example, at the start of the military regime, Rawlings' had promised to rebuild the economy which had collapsed due to corruption and poor fiscal management. By subscribing to the SAP, supervised by the IMF in 1983, Rawlings put the nation back on track to economic growth and development by reducing government's huge expenditure

and promoting privatization of state-owned enterprises (Watkins, 1995). These policies, among others, inspired hope among the citizens that their economic conditions would change drastically. However, studies (Brydon & Legge, 1996; SAPRIN, 2004; Watkins, 1995) have shown that poverty conditions in Ghana did not improve significantly and although minimum wage increased to about 75%, much of the economic gains that were made in the early phase of the SAP did not have real-life impact on the ordinary citizens due to hikes in food prices and social services (Konadu-Agyemang, 2018). These failures may have informed Rawlings' honest rhetoric and plain admission of his government's weaknesses.

On a closer look, describing himself as honest but with flaws enhances his integrity profile as a pragmatic leader whose aim is to move society and people forward. Several studies have foregrounded the desirability of integrity in leaders (see Ete et al., 2022; Moorman & Grover, 2009) as a mechanism for motivating various outcomes in their followers. This implies that followers can extrapolate based on their evaluation of a leader's current integrity whether or not he/she will behave in a certain way in the future. The lack of confidence in previous regimes, leading to the events that catalyzed the revolutions is due, in part, to the inability of those regimes to fulfil their promises to the people, evidenced by the inconsistency between their rhetoric of accountable, equitable governance and their practice of graft, loot and share. This perhaps gives explanatory power to Rawlings' honesty as a core aspect of his pragmatic leadership as a way of not only inspiring public confidence in his leadership but also to demonstrate the "hallmark of a morally intelligent person"(Lennick & Kiel, 2007, p. 7). Based on the foregoing discourse of honesty, this thesis, in general, is not dismissing the possibility of a trace of pragmatism in Rawlings' leadership in the military era. However, the claim in this chapter is that the focus of Rawlings' pragmatic leadership in the democratic period appears to be remarkably different from the period of the military regime. In the military regime, it seems Rawlings' pragmatism was more theoretical and could be found mostly in his discourse than in concrete actions. This reveals a possible asymmetry between rhetoric and practice which, arguably, was a characteristic of the previous military regimes. This asymmetry may have been caused by the lack of institutional means (e.g., specialized institutions, civil society organizations) to ensure accountability. However, in the democratic regime, the study found a more positive or symmetrical relationship between what was promised and what was actually achieved. This positive relationship may have

been caused by the democratic environment the regime privileged Rawlings while at the same time obliging him to, among others, proactively disclose the activities of governance to stimulate participation and create relevant institutions to ensure transparency and accountability which are part of democratization. Thus, it can be fairly concluded that the quest to deepen democracy through the establishment of rule of law, independent judiciary, legislative, district and municipal assemblies, etc., promoted a culture of honesty which "improved participation trust and eventual reduction in poverty" (Krah & Mertens, 2020, p. 681). It seems the lack of congruence between rhetoric and practice that characterized previous military regimes equally applied to Rawlings' military rule even if not on the same scale as the others. For example, his promise to return the country to democratic rule did not materialize until 19 years after the military takeover, leading to his critics branding him as lacking integrity throughout the military regime. Attributions to integrity or honesty can function as " a proxy for necessarily missing information about leadership outcomes and offer followers needed confidence that their decision to follow is correct" (Moorman & Grover, 2009, p. 102). Therefore, Rawlings' use of the attributive adjective 'honest' (19, line 1) which draws on a predicational strategy functions to evaluate him as a leader with integrity, trustworthiness, reliability and dependability. Additionally, the use of pronominalization serves as a referential strategy that uses positive self-description of ingroup (members of his government) to assign a desirable characteristic of the group to Rawlings (van Dijk, 2006c).

5.4.2   Rawlings as a visionary leader

The provision of basic human needs coupled with the need to establish functional political processes and the relevant social structures for national transformation make visionary leadership in politics inevitable and indispensable (Dror, 1988). A brief reflection of history shows that whether from classical times, modern history or in the post-modern era, the global stage of politics has witnessed a number of visionary leaders albeit from different geo-historical contexts. From a more contemporary Western context, mention can be made of Winston Churchill of Britain, Charles de Gaulle of France and Angela Merkel of Germany whereas Mao Zedong of China, Mahatma Gandhi of India, Nelson Mandela of South Africa and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana can be cited from the tall list of visionary leaders from the non-Western context. What these leaders have in common, whatever their perceived flaws may be, is not just ideas and visions that paint a picture of the ideal societies they aimed to create but also specific actions and mobilization

strategies they employed towards achieving those visions. In this respect, the visionary leader is one who demonstrates the willingness "to sacrifice tangible short-term benefits for intangible long-term gains" (Keohane, 2005, p. 45). Discourses of visionary leadership will therefore include words and expressions that indicate goals, temporality, futuristic views, and what I call trans-personal perspectives which come in the form of statements that express wishes and desires beyond the individual level to include future generations, be it leaders, groups of people or society in general. Through the use of these linguistic choices, Rawlings conveys information to his listeners that he is a visionary leader who is laying a foundation for the nation that will yield immediate benefits in the present as well as secure the ultimate fulfilment of the people's aspirations in the future. It does appear from Rawlings' discourse that a democratic environment obligates him to articulate a rhetoric of vision. This can be inferred from how he makes reference to democratic institutions such as parliament and the constitution that require him to do so. By far, these democratic elements were missing during the military regime and can be said to be an underlying reason why there was perhaps less obligation on Rawlings' visionary representation. It has also been opined that though "Rawlings proclaimed he would radically reorganize Ghana's political system via revolution", in reality "he had no clear idea how he would change things or what precise form the new revolutionary order would take" (Haynes, 2023) including the transition to democracy. This has led to many accusing Rawlings of lacking vision (Haynes, 2023). Politically, therefore, it makes sense to somewhat create a distinction between his leadership in the military and the democratic regimes by clearly representing himself as a visionary leader in the latter regime, which potentially can correct the impression his opponents may have had about his vision for the country. Additionally, the analysis in this chapter suggests that Rawlings, though hopeful of proving his critics wrong, seemed to have a primary personal need to create a new narrative for posterity about who he really is, which led him to not only talk about specific visionary goals (e.g., grassroot participation) but also their achievement (e.g., decentralization of governance) and need for the future Ghanaian society. It is my claim that this need to rewrite his own history is tied to the need to create a legacy of his leadership, knowing that he had much less time in the democratic regime compared to the military regime to rewrite his own history in Ghanaian politics. Together, these discourses, as the extracts (21) to (24) demonstrate, help to evaluate Rawlings as an effective leader:

(21) Mr. Speaker, Members of Parliament, Article 36, clause 5 of the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana stipulates that within two years of assuming office, ***the President shall present to Parliament a coordinated programme of economic and social development policies, including agricultural and industrial programmes at all levels and in all the regions of Ghana***. In accordance with this provision, I presented to the Speaker yesterday ***a document which we have called "Ghana-Vision 2020".*** (January 6, 1995)

(22***) We need to have a vision of what we would like Ghana to look like in the next 50 years.*** Indeed, in the next 100 years. We need to lay the foundations for a solid nation-state to bequeath to our children, our children's children and to ***generations yet unborn***. (January 13, 2000).

(23) The time has come finally when a responsible government, when the people's government of this country, must lay an irreversible foundation. We will do everything, everything possible to lay a sound political atmosphere. We need a sound economic foundation, so that ***even if Rawlings has to go, whoever comes, let's make sure that we don't wind back the clock as we keep doing on this Africa continent***. (June 26, 1995).

(24) In the heat of the uprising, the ordinary people made it abundantly clear that they rejected cheating, injustice and oppression. ***They glimpsed a vision of a future of dignity and social justice***. But few of us at that time realized how long and laborious would be the painstaking and sometimes painful process of ***working towards that vision***, of putting in place, the practical measures needed ***to build a truly participatory democracy, an orderly economy and a more equitable society***. (June 4, 1993).

Rawlings' representation of self as a visionary leader is borne out of a 'vision' (22, line 1) of how he wanted 'Ghana to look like" (22, line 1) not just for his immediate audience but even more determinedly for 'generations yet unborn' (22, line 3). He makes a strong cognitive and emotive appeal of this "imagined community" (Anderson, 2006) of the Ghanaian people by characterizing it as a 'more equitable society' (24, line 6) which, on one hand, will rest on 'a sound economic foundation' (23, line 3), producing an 'orderly economy' (24, line 5) and on the other hand will create a 'sound political atmosphere' (23, line 3) in which 'participatory democracy' (24, line 5) and the principles of 'dignity and social justice' (24, line 2) will thrive. His ability to single-

handedly frame an imagination of the ideal Ghanaian society underscores the power he possesses as the president of the country and thus, positioning himself as a powerful authoritative figure, Rawlings proceeds to express what appears to be his personal vision of the Ghanaian society as if it is what everyone wants. This may not be out of place for Rawlings to do since, by virtue of his being democratically and constitutionally elected, he represents the will, dreams and aspirations of the people and can therefore articulate his vision as if it is the people's vision.

Rawlings appeals to the topos of authority by referring to the 'Constitution of the Republic of Ghana' (21, line 1), the nation's supreme authoritative body of laws, rules and principles of governance, which mandates him to present a comprehensive 'programme' (21, line 1) indicating key developmental targets of society, areas of social, economic and agricultural development. He is enabled by this topos to present the 'Ghana-Vision 2020' (21, line 6) agenda as a national vision that will eventually produce a 'solid nation-state' (22, line 2) which, as he claims, would be a legacy to leave for 'our children, our children's children' (22, line 3). The appeal to the power of the constitution helps to create legitimacy for his visionary leadership and makes him appear as a lover of democratic processes, which the study found to be influential in constructing his identity as a true democrat. In itself, Ghana's transition from military rule in the revolutionary era to constitutional rule was orchestrated by Rawlings and his Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) (Ayee, 1996). From this historical background, it can be argued that Rawlings was a leader whose visionary programmes initiated the revolutionary processes that were aimed at the innovative transformation of the Ghanaian society.

As extracts (21) to (24) show, the portrayal of Rawlings as a visionary is enacted by a number of referential categories and nominative lexical clusters. In his sessional address to the House of Parliament, Ghana's legislative assembly, Rawlings' use of the identity term 'president' (21, line 2) to identify himself as the visionary leader behind the programme of policy actions that has been presented. This depiction does not only suggest that politics is being performed at the state or institutional level but also transforms Rawlings' image into a professional politician with expert knowledge on matters of political governance, social and economic development, and therefore adds credibility to his visions and makes his visionary representation more assertive in the eyes of the public. This identity seems to be maintained by employing the use of the first person singular

pronoun 'I' (21, line 5) in combination with the collocating performative verb 'presented' (21, line 5) in a self-referencing function through which Rawlings represents himself as the originator of the visions contained in the 'document' which he nicknamed 'Ghana-Vision 2020' (21, line 6). At the same time, the use of the pronoun 'we' (21, line 6) elicits group identity associated with the executive arm of government which is made up of the executive president and his appointed ministers, and implies that the action being described, 'called' (21, line 6) , is not individual but collective. At first glance, it appears contradictory, if not confusing and unnecessary to make such pronominal switches in his discourse. However, upon close examination, at least two possible reasons may provide explanatory power to resolve this seeming lexico-grammatical perplexity. Firstly, although now a democratically elected president, Rawlings' past as leader of the longest military junta in Ghana makes it easier to associate him with the image of a dictator (Larcom et al., 2016, p. 584) with autarchic tendencies that can manifest in the use of the first person singular pronoun 'I' (21, line 5). Using 'we' (21, line 6), while preserving the self-referencing function of the pronoun, I submit, can function as a linguistic escape from criticisms of any possible inference of autocratic and authoritarian dispositions that may be unconsciously signalled by Rawlings in the use of the first person singular pronoun 'I' in his presentation of the national vision. Secondly, this may simply be a case of politicians attempting to present multiple 'selves' so as to appeal to the constantly heterogenous audiences they address. So, while Rawlings' self-representation as a visionary leader is preserved in this discursive manipulation, what notably shifts is the referential categories. Thus, the referential labels used here can be considered as deliberate choices to present individual and group identities when necessary to shape support for his visionary agenda.

According to Benjamin (2020), the first step towards achieving visionary goals is to demonstrate a clear sense of purpose, mobilize public and political support and lead the people to realize those goals. Two connotations become apparent from this conceptualization: first, that the visionary must show a sense of responsibility and commitment to the vision he/she is articulating, and second that the visionary must secure resonance with the public that makes him/her identifiable with the people, which constitutes a referential strategy. Thus, referential expressions like 'a responsible government' (23, line 1) and 'the people's government' (23, line 1) identify Rawlings as a visionary who is effective and as illustrated in Figure 4 in Section 5.4, his leadership is inclusive and likely to inspire patriotism. While expressions of inclusivity in national governance are

indicative of the thriving of democracy, I argue that the prevailing democratic dispensation within which Rawling is performing his politics more strongly necessitated the use of such language. As a visionary leader, Rawlings also insinuates that he is a nation-builder by drawing on building metaphor through the repetitive use of the building lexicon 'foundation' (22, line 2; 23, line 2). While the metaphor evokes imageries of building a nation from scratch, a nation that will not bear a semblance of the past because its structures were too weak to support the political future projected by Rawlings' visionary leadership, the expression 'lay an irreversible foundation' (23, line 2) serves a s a predicational strategy that discursively describes the action a visionary leader must take to realize innovative and long-lasting social transformations.

Also, as stated earlier in this thesis (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5.2), referential strategies, though can be distinguished, may realize predicational functions (Hart, 2010). It is important to reiterate that that distinction is not upheld in this study. Rather, based on where I think the linguistic evidence leads, I decide which of the two is the most appropriate strategy being used. For example, verb collocates can contribute to both the discursive construction and qualification of social actions, realizing referential and predicational functions respectively (see Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). To the construction of Rawlings' visionary leadership, the choices of verbs such as 'lay' (22, line 2), 'do' (23, line 2), 'make' (23, line 4) and 'build' (24, line 5), in his discourse made a notable contribution. The collocation of these verbs with their explicit pronominal or nominal subjects illustrates social processes that are linked to the speech acts Rawlings is performing. As such the semantic categories of these verbs form part of a referential strategy that portrays Rawlings as a pragmatic and visionary leader. On account of this, the pragmatic and visionary leader identities of Rawlings weave into a holistic tapestry of Rawlings' effective leadership.

Further, Rawlings repeatedly makes use of goal-oriented lexemes and phraseology such as 'vision' (22, line 1), 'programme' (21, line 3), 'Ghana-Vision 2020' (21, line 6) and 'practical measures' (24, line 4) which are indicative of the national plan for strategic development. In talking about the 'Ghana- Vision 2020' (21, line 6), it is instructive that Rawlings employs the attributive expression 'coordinated programme' (21, line 3) to describe it. It suggests a heavy cognitive investment in its production and a wide expert consultation before its finalization, giving the impression that Rawlings' visionary leadership is effective and commits high participation as

stated in Figure 4 in Section 5.4. It can be deduced from the relative clause 'which we have called' (21, line 6) that the document presented, which is essentially a national development plan, is the first of its kind, making it visionary. Historically, and more specifically in 1995, this plan was designed as a long-term vision that will ensure that "by the year 2020, Ghana would have achieved a balanced economy and middle-income country status and standard of living, with a level of development close to the present level of development in Singapore"[6]. It is therefore unsurprising that Rawlings sometimes uses the pronoun 'I', which can be analyzed as a strategy of foregrounding subjective agency and authoritative voice, claiming ownership of the vision as a means of asserting his visionary leader identity. The novelty of this vision and its expected transformative outcomes make it natural for Rawlings to be more assertive of his visionary role by employing the deontic modal constructions 'need to have' (22, line 1) and 'needed to' (24, line 5) to frame a condition of necessity, obligation and urgency in relation to the vision which will ensure national growth and development 'at all levels and in all the regions of Ghana' (21, line 4). It goes without saying that the specific reference to Singapore in the vision statement is instructive and strategic. It realizes an argumentation strategy that draws on the topos of comparison and history to naturalize the idea that nations require visions to transform, and visionary leaders are indispensable. The argument favoured here by Rawlings' strategic implicitness is that the historical success of Singapore in attaining social and economic transformation teaches the lesson that if we (Ghana) pursue the same vision, we will achieve similar outcomes. The comparison that is pictured is both historic and prophetic. Historically, Ghana is only a few years older than Singapore by date of attaining independence. Arguably, the two countries were at the same place economically and in the same social conditions given their colonial heritage. However, it is obvious that Singapore has made much more progress than Ghana for which the comparison is logical and meaningful. Prophetically, the comparison imagines Ghana's destiny as that of Singapore's but only if mediated by the pursuit of a well-crafted realistic vision which Rawlings has presented. Though Ghana and Singapore are different geo-politically, their imperative similarities make it reasonable for Rawlings to compare them. Ghana and Singapore are both former colonies of Great Britain

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[6] The complete speech from which the extract was culled is from the *Republic of Ghana (1995).Ghana Vision 2020 (The First Step 1996-2000) Presidential Report on Coordinated Programme of Economic and Social Development Policies (Policies for the Preparation of 1996-2000 Development Plan)*. Portions of this speech are repeated in the President's sessional address to Parliament at the State Opening of the Third Session of the Parliament of Ghana on 6th January 1995 used as source speech in this analysis.

and attained independence around the same period, 1957 and 1979 respectively. Both countries were significantly underdeveloped at independence and classified as third world countries. While Singapore achieved high income status in the 1970s (IMF, 2013), Ghana remained a third world country until its now questionable lower middle income status attained in 2011 (IMF, 2013). What Rawlings seeks to do with this comparison is to eloquently underscore visionary leadership as the vital key to Singapore's economic fortunes and to claim that that with a similar vision and leadership, he will bring Ghana to the same place. Thus, subtly elevating himself to the status of transformative visionary leaders similar to Singapore's, whose success serves as a historical model for Ghana, Rawlings exploits both referential and predicational strategies to assert his visionary identity.

In addition, the use of temporal elements such as '2020' (21, line 6), 'in the next 50 years' (22, line 1), 'in the next 100 years' (22, line 2), 'the time has come' (23, line 1), 'the clock' (23, line 4), futuristic views such as 'generations yet unborn' (22, line 3), 'a future' (24, line 2) and trans-personal expressions such as 'to our children' (22, line 3), 'our children's children' (22, line 3), 'even if Rawlings has to go' (23, line 4), 'Ghana' (21, line 5), 'country' (23, line 2), 'African continent' (23, line 5) and 'society' (24, line 6), can be analyzed as lexico-grammatical resources that help to frame discourses in which Rawlings negotiates the identity of a true visionary leader. The time based elements in combination with the futuristic views evoke strong imageries of the destiny of the nation. Indeed, one might go so far as to say that Rawlings imagined the nation's fate, as in an auspicious prophetic vision, well before its reality occurred. Based on this audacious divination of the future of the nation, not only does Rawlings reinforce his identity as a nationalist but also represents himself as a selfless leader whose quest for personal meaning (see Figure 4 in Section 5.4) is unavoidably interlinked with the fulfilment of the material aspirations of the people as expertly captured in the Vision 2020 plan such that 'even if Rawlings has to go' (23, line 4), irrespective of who assumes the reins of leadership, the people's needs would be met because he, as the visionary, would have laid an 'irreversible foundation' (23, line 2) as a legacy for the next generation. The caution that we should not 'wind back the clock' (23, line 4) as appears to be the case on the 'African continent' (23, line 5) is suggestive of a patently observed cycle of retrogression among countries in Africa including Ghana. This can be taken as asserting his Pan-Africanist identity but even more specifically highlights the heavy task of local economic recovery

process in the absence of a consolidated plan of progression. There is therefore a link between effective leadership and the calibration of processes that can lead a nation out of an economy that had fallen into a downward spiral to national growth, expansion and development. Next, I examine Rawlings' economic revivalist identity as he pursued an agenda of economic rebirth of the nation.

5.4.3   Rawlings the economic revivalist

Post-independence Ghana has been characterized by political instability that has destabilized governance and prevented the rapid consolidation of the modest gains from the nation's struggle for independence (Hansen & Collins, 1980). Prior to Rawlings' entry to politics, the economy of Ghana encountered deep crisis and entered into a period of recession as a direct consequence of the corruption and widespread economic indiscipline necessitated by piecemeal economic policies, the absence of proper structures and unfavourable market trends in world trade. The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few people sponsored by the elitist practices which plunged the nation into economic austerity in the 1980s suggested that climbing out of this abyss with the same crop of leaders will prove an arduous, long and consequently impossible process. This, as noted by many scholars (see Hansen & Collins, 1980; Shillington, 1992; Yankah, 2018b), catalyzed Rawlings' revolutions leading to the establishment of the his AFRC and PNDC-led military regimes before the transition to democratic rule. Rawlings himself acknowledges the depth of the economic challenges at the time and the necessity of his intervention when he said in an interview "[it] was a reaction to the cumulative events that had been happening in the country, there was hardly any electricity, failures all the time, no water. The situation was so volatile…there was no alternative" (March 1, 2000)[7]. Expectedly, Rawlings' preoccupation over the next decades was domestic economic renewal which became a consuming priority for his regime. Knowing that recovery will require a growth model that is more resilient and well-coordinated in its implementation to ensure sustainability and socio-economic equity, Rawlings formulated a rhetoric that was suggestive of a revival (i.e., a coming back to life of or a thriving of) taking place in the economic management of the nation. I define economic revival in the current study as a new phase of economic transformation that follows a period of crisis and recession and aims through

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[7] The quote is an excerpt from Rawlings' interview with the BBC about his reflections on his role in the revolutions. In this interview, Rawlings attempted to justify his revolutionary actions and presented it as a matter of political expediency. The excerpt is included in the Appendix.

the implementation of a well-coordinated strategy or plan to restore an economy to either the pre-crisis or pre-recession state or establish a new dispensation altogether. In this regard, it is similar to the notion of recovery which will require choosing the 'best' economic strategy that can deliver the desired future outcomes and, among others, inspire perseverance among the public due to the processual nature of its implementation as the extracts below illustrate.

(25) With the recent ***improvement in the economy*** resulting from the ***implementation of the economic recovery and structural adjustment programmes initiated by Government*** in the early 1980s and which is generally acknowledged as the ***most successful in Africa***... (September 26, 1994)

(26) My dear countrymen and women, ***a revolution is a process***. It is not a one-time act that suddenly ***removes all economic and social problems that the nation faces***. We will, therefore, ***need to persist in the struggle to overcome the economic problems we face*** (June 4, 2000)

(27) ***We have come a long way on the economic front***…we rather ***introduced new*** vocabulary to the socio-economic and moral aspects of the country's life-the watchwords of which are probity and accountability. (January 13, 2000)

In projecting the image of an economic revivalist, Rawlings uses lexical items such as 'recovery' (25, line 2), 'improvement' (25, line 1), 'overcome' (26, line 3) and the active clause "we have come a long way' (27, line 1) which are indicative of a transformation of states. The idea of this transformation is elicited more forcefully by the word 'revolution' (26, line 1) which has the potential to 'remove all economic and social problems' (26, line 2). By mentioning the word 'revolution' (26, line 2), it can be inferred that Rawlings conceives his revolution as part of the grand agenda of national economic recovery that will not just transform the status quo but also create new institutions and structures that can potentially spur the developmental agenda of the nation and meet the aspirations of its people. Rawlings' conceptualization of revolution in terms of the economy seems to bear striking similarities as well as remarkable differences across the two regimes. In the military regime as observed in Chapter 4, while Rawlings seems to emphasize the establishment of "new economic structures" as an underlying motivation for the revolution, in the democratic regime in this

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chapter, Rawlings seems to use the 'revolution' to imply a restoration to a previous success as intimated by the self-glorifying statement 'the most successful in Africa' (25, line 3), in referring to past economic growth for which a revival of a sort is needed in the present. Revivals are not episodic; they happen over time through deliberately invested processes. The processual nature of a revival is highlighted by the predicative noun 'process' (26, line 1) and its usage is evaluative in the sense that it describes both the action and the actor of the sentence of which it is a part. It creates the impression that Rawlings is systematic, methodical, thorough and not forcing through a crush economic programme. As noted earlier, Rawlings tends to discursively shift in his use of pronouns which helps him to construct membership categories and identify with different groups and positions. The membership category assigned by the pronoun 'we' in (26) is different from that of (27). In the former, he identifies as a member of the general Ghanaian population and frames the discourse to create a 'we-are-in-this-together' idea. That is, it deactivates the idea that the revival is an individual's subjective initiative and transforms it into a national desire by implying a 'we-activity'. This kind of inclusive discourse allows political actors to prescribe certain actions and behaviours as necessary for the citizens such as indexed by the attitudinal verb 'persist' (26, line 3) in combination with the deontic modality 'need to' (26, line 3). Additionally, it can help to construct and legitimate various identities without any contestation since any resistance or challenge will undermine the group's identity. It is also instructive how by this use of the pronoun the power hierarchy between Rawlings and his audience (see Chapter 3 Section 3.3.1 for audience to event mapping) made up of active and retired personnel of the army and ordinary civilian supporters of the revolution is suspended as different sub-identities coalesce to form a larger identity of people seeking a revolution, an economic transformation. This deliberate dissolution of power to achieve a collective identity has the potential of creating a feeling of solidarity and mobilizing public support for a national agenda. Concerning the latter, that is (27), 'we' is used to categorize the government. This is made obvious by the discursive action signalled by the verbs 'introduced' (27) and 'initiated' (25) which qualify the government of which Rawlings is part as the social actor undertaking the exclusive action of 'economic recovery and structural adjustment programmes' (25, line 2). So, though the ingroup described here by 'we' can be seen as introducing the revival process of economic transformation, I submit that the discursive variation in the use of the pronoun is not

coincidental. That is, while their distinctive use may point to the same discursive process (economic revival or revolution), the discursive actions they are a part of are strikingly different in that they potentially achieve different ideological purposes which help to assert Rawlings' identity.

Further aiding the construction of an economic revivalist image, Rawlings deploys an argumentation strategy that claims that the notable 'improvements' (25, line 1) in the economy are due to his launched economic programme. To validate his claims, he draws on a language of hyperbolization in which he appears to be making an exaggerated evaluation of the success of the programme as 'the most successful in Africa' (25, line 3) without providing any empirically verifiable data to that effect. It is of worthy note that Rawlings does not include a precise reference to the discursive opinion being propagated. This achieves a strategy of depersonalization which draws the attention of Rawlings' audience to 'experts' conclusions on the outcomes of the programme as a subtle way of projecting his personal evaluations. In the end, it helps to assert Rawlings' identity as the most successful economic revivalist or 'recoverer' in Africa.

The image of Rawlings as someone who was concerned about the economic transformation of Ghana and sought to revive it from stupor finds support in Kraus' (1991) view that Rawlings' desire to turn around the economic recession which created "disastrous economic conditions" made him turn to "the IMF and World Bank [as] the only alternative" (p. 21) to reinvigorate the economy. This led to the implementation of the 'structural adjustment programme' which included among others devaluation, trade liberalization, privatization and tax issues (Kraus, 1991). It is therefore not surprising that one of the key initiatives of Rawlings was a new tax regime aimed at mobilizing revenue for sustainable development. By highlighting the theme of taxation as illustrated by the extract below, Rawlings makes it clear that the economic recovery process revolves critically around taxes.

(28) ***The VAT [Value Added Tax] is a necessity***, and there is no doubt about it because it reaches out to every corner of economic activity to make sure we all pay our appropriate and due share. (June 26, 1995)

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From the above extract, Rawlings draws on the topos of necessity to foreground the need to pay taxes. It elicits the suggestion that because the outcome of paying of taxes may have had a significant impact on the economies of other countries, the action must be embarked upon in Ghana. To make it more commonsensical, he avers, via the depersonalized statement 'there is no doubt' that the possibilities of taxes in transforming the economic fortunes of the country cannot be argued. The use of the topos of necessity and the strategy of depersonalization constitutes a perspectivation that foregrounds Rawlings' viewpoint as if it is the common position of everyone. The expression 'every corner' (28, line 2) indicates the scope of the implementation which suggests at the same time that the results of the implementation will have a similar scope of impact, making it a truly national recovery. In line with the earlier observation that pronouns can be used strategically to construct different identities and also initiate discursive actions for citizens that prescribe behavioural and attitudinal patterns, Rawlings moves from the identity of the government that is implementing the tax regime to the identity of a member of the general Ghanaian population whom he charges to 'pay our appropriate and due share' (28, line 2). It is as if to say that it is only when 'we' (28, line 2) who desire economic revival from the deep recession faithfully pay our correct taxes that the revival will materialize. I submit that as political leaders align themselves with specific policies and construct convincing discourses around those policies, they give out information about the kind of leaders they are whether explicitly or implicitly. Thus, by emphasizing the 'necessity' (28, line 1) of the VAT as an essential component of the 'structural adjustment programme' and sensitizing public conscience to fulfil tax obligations, Rawlings does not only convey information about his political beliefs but also carves himself in the mould of a revivalist on a mission to realize an economic renaissance. In imagining his ideal society, Rawlings makes it clear that the revolutionaries who fought for a better, more desirable future rejected the moral and ethical vices of 'cheating, injustice and oppression' (24, line 2) which deprived the nation of growth, social equality and development in favour of 'a future of dignity' (24, line 2) that will be built on the foundation of strong moral and ethical values. This forecasts Rawlings' identification with morality and ethics as part of his effective leadership in creating a better Ghana. In the next section, I discuss, with illustrative examples, how he created the identity of a morally and ethically conscious leader.

5.4.4 Rawlings the ethical and morally upright leader

In the effective leadership model proposed in Figure 4, one fundamental driver is the emphasis on moral and ethical values. The idea has its origins in the political philosophy of the Greeks from the Middle Ages although it was discussed in the context of virtue in leadership (Rhode, 2006). As a distinct feature of office holders and leaders, a more recent energetic focus on morality has been necessitated primarily by different forms of power abuses and scandals in various leadership domains especially in politics (see Rhode, 2006). The word morality originates from the Latin origin word 'mores' which refers to normative behaviour, habit or character. Ethics, from the Greek work 'ethikos', has its origins in Greek philosophy and it also deals with character, custom or normative behavior and habits. The semantic similarity between the terms has led many scholars to use them interchangeably and in reference to issues relating to the judgement of right or wrong. This study favours the popular usage of ethics and morality as interchangeable terms referring to right or wrong principles and practices. Thus, to be morally and ethically upright can be realized by displaying "a commitment to right action" (Rhode, 2006, p. 4) which may include actions with negative consequences as can be seen in Rawlings' discourse in the illustrative texts below.

(29) ***My brothers and sisters, every nation on earth has at one time or another, had to go through the cleansing experience that we undertook on June 4, 1979***. The very history of the world teaches us that whether it is Europe, America, Russia, China, Latin America, the North or South Africa, revolutions have taken place in the just struggle for national political independence… for the majority's rejection of the gross abuse of power and exploitation at the hands of the privileged minority. (June 4, 2000)

(30) My brothers and sisters, we in government have demonstrated our ***commitment to fight corruption and crime***. I have not hesitated to invoke constitutional procedures and ***apply legal and administrative measures against high-level government functionaries and other public officials against whom allegations of corruption and abuse of office have been made and substantively established***. (June 4, 2000)

Rawlings' use of the identity-related terms 'my brothers and sisters' to address his audience is very instructive. I submit that it sets the tone for the successful naturalization of the theme of his

unfolding discourse, which is moral and ethical behaviour, into the consciousness of the people as can be seen in the extracts above. My reasoning is based on the fact that those identity categories are familial terms that connote family. As a Ghanaian, it is common knowledge that, culturally, the family is the strongest bond and common source of identity where people are socialized into communal values such as responsibility, morality, obedience and reverence for customs. The use of such family identity terms can help to rationalize a relationship between Rawlings and the people that may in fact be non-existent and evoke intense emotions of oneness and activate a deep feeling of belonging even if illusive. It is my view that as Rawlings opens his speech with this referential strategy which sets in motion a family discourse, it allows him to assume the traditional position of an elder sibling and to talk to his younger siblings about proper behaviour and practices that are of utmost importance to the Ghanaian family system. This deduction is not far-fetched given the patriarchal nature of the Ghanaian society which makes paternalistic big brotherly roles culturally significant. Culture, therefore, determines how a leader negotiates his/her identity as far as moral and ethical standards are concerned (Gardner, 1989). The relational configuration created by the nominal expression 'my brothers and sisters' makes Rawlings an excellent exemplar of the moral and ethical values he is preaching in that he leads the 'commitment to fight corruption and crime' (30, line 1) which are immoral acts. While this cultural-linguistic situation enables Rawlings to more naturally assert his identity as the moral and ethical exemplar of the Ghanaian society, it can also perform an additional function of masking ideological motivations that can manipulate the public into taking certain actions and behaviours.

We can also deduce from the extracts above that leaders who identify as moralists or pro-ethics put in place effective systems to detect wrongful behaviour and dishonest practices such as '(economic) crime' (30, line 2), 'corruption' (30, line 2), and 'abuse of power' (30, line 4), and use all means available to them to prevent or punish by 'apply[ing] legal and administrative measures' (30, line 2 and 3) and sometimes perform a 'cleansing' (29, line 2) which functions as a metaphor. Thus, by drawing on this cleansing metaphor, implying that the Ghanaian society has been 'defiled by dirt' due to the wrongful and dishonest acts, Rawlings implicitly carves himself in the mould of a morally pure person whose sinlessness makes him the right candidate to perform the rite of cleansing in similar ways as religious priests do for their congregants. Manifestly, Rawlings invokes the conceptual metaphor purifying is cleansing (Lizardo, 2012) as an

argumentative strategy to assert his moral pureness and legitimizes the chosen means of purification that will bring about moral purity in society. Rawlings' argument, in essence, is that since the nation is 'dirty', the only reasonable thing to do is to clean it. This draws on the topos of necessity and usefulness which provide justification to his methods of 'washing' away the 'dirt' in society and helps to paint a saintly picture of his person. It appears here that the revolution is being treated by Rawlings as a purifying tool which differs from its treatment in the military regime in Chapter 4 where it was treated as a tool for achieving democracy and educational reform. The religious discourse/metaphor Rawlings seems to be employing here to create a pious representation of himself lends credence to the earlier observation that leaders who appear in such light tend to be deified. While this argumentation strategy constructs a positive image of Rawlings, it can persuade listeners away from detecting the manipulative function it realizes in concealing the excesses of the cleansing process which can make leaders such as Rawlings act ultra vires without question.

What Rawlings means by a cleansing experience is the revolution of which he was a leader, and the filth to be cleansed is what he refers to more specifically as 'gross abuse of power and exploitation' (29, line 5). In a speech elsewhere, Rawlings creates an analogous relationship between the revolution and morality by calling it a 'struggle for moral decency' (Rawlings, June 4, 1991). This manufactured relationship favours the logic that if Rawlings is the leader of the revolution, then he evidently is the righteous leader of this 'moral war' aimed at ridding the nation of filth. Further, he uses the topos of history as teacher to normalize revolutions and his so-called morally decent identity by comparing the revolutions in Ghana to revolutions in different parts of the world, including 'Europe, America, Russia, China, Latin America, North Africa and South Africa' (29, line 3 and 4), insinuating that they were also moral struggles and their leaders moral heroes. This makes it look like revolutions are the lifeblood of all countries in the world. To his local audience, this (topos of) comparison signals the message that if these nations went through these cleansing rites before experiencing social transformation, Ghana needs to go through the same as a vital precondition for development. To his international audience, it is a gratuitous reminder that Ghana has come to the same place they were some time ago in the past and that he, by implication, should be seen as the moral hero who has fought, like the other leaders, and won the crusade against social immorality for Ghana. At the same time by saying 'the very history of

the world teaches us…' (29, line 3) not only is Rawling drawing lessons from the past to legitimize present actions but also saying that in the future, moral cleansings will be necessary given that crime, corruption, power abuse, etc., exist. Consequently, history predicts a more convincing future of the Ghanaian society and creates an eternal identity of an effective leader who will continue to fight the moral and ethical battles in society. Again, it is common knowledge that not every country has gone through a revolution. However, Rawlings uses the attributive determiner 'every' (29, line 1) in combination with the prepositional phrase 'on earth' (29, line 1) to make a generalization that is not entirely accurate, yet it adds weight to his argumentation and helps to validate his actions and assert his moralist identity as one that should equally be recognized and accepted in 'every nation on earth' (29, line 1). Using language this way can be analyzed as hyperbolic or exaggerative which can potentially emotionalize facts (Menz, 1989, p. 237) to make one's actions more real and the projection of 'Self' more believable.

An element of metaphor is also deployed by Rawlings to strategically communicate his identity as a moral and ethical leader. The use of the word 'fight' (30, line 1) triggers a metaphorical process that conceives the campaign against 'corruption and crime' (30, line 2) as a conflict or war. The metaphor makes the conflict or war more physical and real and therefore triggers the search for the opponent who must be defeated with the right ammunition. The identification of and subscription to 'constitutional procedures' (30, line 2) as the weapon to defeat the public enemies of 'corruption, crime and abuse of office' (30, line 2 and 4) demonstrates Rawlings' belief in the constitution not only as the supreme moral code of the land but also a leader who has by example earned purity in the eyes of the law to prosecute those who fall short of it in line with the maxim that one "who comes into equity must come with clean hands" ("The Meaning of "Clean Hands" in Equity," 1922). Given that the aim of the 'fight' (30, line 1) is to win the moral battle, Rawlings parades himself as a moral hero whose exploits will completely annihilate the 'enemies', creating a society that is morally pure and ethically beyond reproach. It is implied in Rawlings' tone that the Ghanaian society can only be free from the plague of corruption, crime and the abuse of office by government functionaries when the old and morally dysfunctional polity is destroyed in favour of a more functional, morally and ethically good polity which must be based on the propagation of sound principles and the establishment and functioning of appropriate institutions, processes

and structures. It therefore makes it necessary to examine Rawlings' effective leadership in light of building strong institutions.

5.5 Rawlings and the building of strong institutions

The chapter has established that there exists a nexus between effective leadership and strong institutions which form a coherent narrative of Rawlings' political identity in his democratic rule. Democracy itself, as a system of governance and blueprint for political administration of a country requires the availability and functionality of institutions. It is the relative strength of these institutions and their underlying structures and processes that, in turn, inform the outlook of democracy. Arguably, Rawlings' desire to transition the nation from a military rule to democracy cannot be divorced from his insistence on laying the proper foundation for strong institutions that will promote good governance practices and create a political culture in society that will lead to development, growth and expansion. It can be argued therefore that a potential culmination of Rawlings' identity as an effective leader is the building of strong institutions which can help achieve the nation's developmental aspirations. That is, strong institutions are necessary proofs of effective leadership hence its thematic recurrence in the discourse of Rawlings, identifying him as an institutionalist.

The institutionalist identity referred to here is taken basically to mean a support for various institutions, political structures and processes due to their perceived role in the evolution of society. Carved in this mould, Rawlings can be seen as articulating a persuasive rhetoric that demonstrates his belief in the necessity, creation and resourcing of institutions because of their critical role in development and dealing with socio-economic challenges such as inequality, poverty and limited access to basic services. Rawlings' advocacy for strong institutions is situated in the context of Africa which has been identified by several scholars (see Everest-Phillips, 2012; Ochola, 2007) as a continent bedeviled by a "crisis of institutions" (Annan-Aggrey et al., 2022, p. 6) which manifests either in the absence of key institutions or poorly resourced institutions, keeping the continent underdeveloped despite its enormous wealth of resources (Birdsall, 2007). Hence at the Millennium Summit of the United Nations in 2000 in New York, Rawlings' remark makes an emphatic statement of his belief in institutionalism:

(31) If developing countries are to assure their peoples the decent quality of life which flows from a stable developed environment, their capacity to govern responsibly needs to be reinforced, particularly, through increased development assistance. *__The absence of strong and resilient institutions in regions like Africa has encouraged corruption from within and without__*. (September 7, 2000)

This remark by Rawlings clearly underscores institutionalism: the idea that institutions and how they interact form an indispensable backbone of the transformation and development of African societies. The general tone of his remark is suggestive of a leader who has extensive knowledge of the historical and social evolutionary processes of African countries which positions him to pass a verdict on how things are likely to be in the future as if he were an expert. To frame a persuasive rhetoric of expert knowledge in relation to one of the key problems of Africa is not surprising given the forum in which the speech was made. The Millennium Summit was the largest gathering of world leaders who met to reach agreements on the goals to adopt for the new century. It therefore required the leaders to be convincing and factual in their presentation of the specific problems and challenges in their respective regional or national contexts as Rawlings appeared to do. Framing his rhetoric this way was probably necessary in attracting global attention for assistance to the fragile and ineffective institutions in Africa more generally and Ghana in particular. Thus, the use of 'Africa' (31, line 4) can be seen as a synecdochical of Ghana which he more specifically represents. That is, if Africa's problem is weak institutions, Ghana's problem is, by entailment, weak institutions.

To construct his institutionalist identity, Rawlings employs an argumentation strategy that draws on the topos of cause and effect. This topos assumes the logic that if X is present or absent, Y will happen. This is evidenced by the logical relation between the lexical choices 'absence' (31, line 3) and 'encouraged' (31, line 4) which indicates that the non-existence of institutions is the direct cause of the immoral practice of corruption. By foregrounding the missing link in Africa's developmental equation, Rawlings creates an identification with institutions as both the problem and solution of Africa's developmental challenges. As a continent with no or poor institutional structures, world forums like the Millennium Summit offer an opportunity to solicit help from leaders from other countries and global institutions. Rawlings seems to be making a clarion call to the United Nations and its allied partners to come to the aid of Africa's institutional crisis through

'increased development assistance' (31, line 3) although how that assistance can translate into concrete social transformation is not indicated by Rawlings. It is informative how Rawlings subsumes his personal belief and evaluation of the African problem under the depersonalized expression beginning with "if developing countries…' (31, line 1). Judging from the general meaning of the sentence, there is reason to believe that Rawlings was making a subjective diagnosis of the situation which locates the solution in the 'capacity to govern responsibly' (31, line 2). The verb 'govern' (31, line 2) evokes imageries of leaders and the institutions, structures and processes that allow them to lead and exercise control. Describing the discursive process of which the verb is a part, with the adverb 'responsibly' (31, line 2), suggests that the active agent performing the action of the verb is not merely institutions. Evidently, it foregrounds a disposition and describes an attitude that is part of the attributes that only humans are capable of demonstrating. Such a personification strategy helps to identify the referent as the leaders of these countries that run the state institutions. Being that Rawlings is the president of a developing country, Ghana, the advocacy to reinforce the 'capacity' (31, line 2) to govern can be taken as a referential strategy that categorizes Rawlings into a group of leaders who believe that the current profile of institutions is inadequate and ineffective in providing 'a decent quality of life' (31, line 1) for the people and therefore their capacity must be enhanced to make them efficient in producing a 'stable environment' (31, line 2) for development.

According to Bamberg et al. (2011, p. 179) the analysis of wholistic themes takes into consideration the different aspects held together by the theme. These different aspects can be single or strings of linguistic structures which can index specific meanings that aid the presentation of self in everyday discourse. In extract (31), there is no doubt that in Rawlings' diagnosis of the African problem, the spine on which his message hung is institutionalism. His choice and use of lexical items to make his identity relative to the focalized theme of his rhetoric, reveal the kind of information about himself he wanted to convey. The adjectives 'strong' (31, line 3) and 'resilient' (31, line 4) used in describing the noun 'institutions' (31, line 4) are indicative of Rawlings' depth of knowledge about what exactly African countries need in their post-colonial evolution. This serves as a perspectivation strategy that allows Rawlings to frame his viewpoint about a social phenomenon whether or not that is true. It adds credibility to the assertion of his institutionalist identity as it creates the impression that such a bold appraisal can only be made by someone who

possesses technical knowledge and expertise on institutions which can make his position more believable and acceptable. Further, it can be rationalized that since institutions do not have intelligence of their own and require human persons to run and administer them, the attributive adjectives 'strong' (31, line 3) and 'resilient' (31, line 4) can be taken to be equally descriptive of the leaders who favour institutions and vow to make them work. So, by describing the kind of institutions required for development, Rawlings implicitly assigned to himself the attributes of strength and resilience as an institutionalist.

The discourse event that provided a platform for Rawlings to promote the need for strong and resilient institutions in Africa as an essential component of its governance architecture is one that was organized by a global institution which subscribes to basic tenets such as human dignity, equality and equity and the guarantee of individual freedoms which are constitutive of democracy. Where these values are absent, a country is said to be undemocratic in its practices and constitute a major factor that weakens Africa's public institutions (see Mudacumura & Morçöl, 2014). Therefore, coming to the forum as a democratically elected leader, Rawlings is constrained by the political and organizational contexts in which he delivers his speech, and his choice of words must reflect his democratic background. However, projecting an institutionalist identity is not merely a matter of the linguistic choices Rawlings makes. Importantly, this institutionalist identity draws on the socio-historical elements situated within a significant socio-political period of Ghana's democracy. This leads to the patent observation this study makes that Rawlings' institutionalist identity is not limited to linguistic means of realization but more strongly associated with the democratic context, whether globally or locally, in which he delivers his speech. That is to say, a combination of linguistic and specific social factors interact to produce specific manifestations of political identities. As president of the country, his speech will carry weight in terms of the themes he articulates and the identities he constructs can have more impact in his audience's behaviour and actions. In the following extracts, Rawlings reinforces his belief in institutionalism:

(32) There can be no lasting freedom without justice. Where, after independence, the ***institutions of State, the security agencies, the public service and our economic production units*** were all systematically destroyed through the corruption and mal-administration of the elite, ***June 4 and 31st December came to restore the security of persons and property, disciplined conduct, accountability of persons in authority and the productivity of our economy***. (June 4, 2000)

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(33) 7th January 1993 marked an important stage in our country's quest for a ***constitutional order*** enshrining freedom and justice. ***In my oath of office, I pledged myself to the "service and well-being of the people of the Republic of Ghana to do right to all manner of persons"***.(April 29, 1993)

From the extracts above, Rawlings makes it clear that institutions are the only guarantee for 'lasting freedom and justice' (32, line 1). These are inalienable rights that are not guaranteed by word of mouth. Reference to them, therefore, gives an indication that Rawlings is intentional about using institutional means to ensure their provision and guarantee their enjoyment. The primary state institutions that is responsible for the provision and protection of 'freedom and justice' (32, line 2) are the legislature, the law making arm of government, and the judiciary. Although they are not clearly mentioned, it is implied by using the referential label 'state institutions' (32, line 2). It is not random that Rawlings lists several institutions including 'state' (this obviously includes the legislature, executive and judiciary) (32, line 2), 'security agencies' (32, line 2), 'public service' (32, line 2) and 'economic units' (32, line 2) which deal with different areas of the society. It appears wholistic and suggests that every area of society must be run by these relevant institutions without which the social organization of life would be strenuous if not impossible. That is why the statement 'there can be no lasting freedom without justice' (32, line 1) although forms Rawlings perspectivation or personal framing of a discursive reality, appears objectively convincing because establishment and benefit of these basic inalienable rights are solely contingent on the right institutions. Based on this explicit negotiation of their importance, damage to the existence of these institutions signalled by the verb 'destroyed' (32, line 3) makes it undermining of the democratic foundations that have been laid. Although the verb 'destroyed' (32, line 3) is not a metaphor, it connotes the kind of consequence brought about by wars such as ruin, annihilation and demolition. Naturally, the evocation of war imagery triggers the search of an enemy whose villainy has perpetuated the destruction. The identification of the enemy determines the kind of ammunition that will be deployed to unleash the combat but even more so leads to an ingroup vs outgroup categorization that thrives on the strategy of positive ingroup presentation and negative outgroup presentation (Van Dijk, 2006). Given that the context of the speech in extract (32) is the post-independence period from March 7, 1957, to June 3, 1979, the ingroup and outgroup would be the elite ruling class and the ruled ordinary citizens respectively. Rawlings, thus, identifies the 'elite'

(32, line 4) as the enemy who, as far as the theme of institutions is concerned, can be called anti-institutionalists because their 'mal-administration and corruption' (32, line 3) have 'systematically' (32, line 3) torn down the institutional structures which were meant to serve as pillars for the post-colonial independence development and social transformation of Ghana.

Rawlings' categorization of persons into groups using explicit labels, which draws on membership categorization frames, enables him to foreground his identity by choosing to align with the positive attributes of his ingroup while retaining the right, in this case, to punish and eliminate the enemy who is the outgroup. The justification for the elimination of the perceived enemy is based on the assumption that their hostility has harmed the ingroup (Geis, 1987). To deal with these anti-institutional elements, Rawlings prosecutes his revolutions which is indexed by 'June 4 and 31st December' (32, line 4) as the legitimate means to defeat them. Viewed this way, it helps Rawlings to present the resolutions, which recorded excesses including violence and killings, as a good warfare designed to smash the enemies of Ghana's institutional growth. That is, the institution of the revolution is for the resurrection of institutions. The idea of bringing back these pivotal institutions is supported by the verb 'restore' (32, line 4) which is connected to the discursive event of the revolution led by the pro-institution Rawlings against the anti-institution elites. As it describes the action of the agents foregrounded in the discourse events, the verb 'restore' (32, line 4) functions as a predicational strategy describing specific actions being taken by Rawlings who is the agentive social actor. In portraying the benefits of this restoration, it can be deduced that by mentioning 'security of persons and property', 'disciplined conduct', 'accountability of persons in authority' and 'productivity of our economy' in (32) lines 4 and 5, Rawlings identifies areas which can be said to correspond to security, social, political and economic institutions respectively, which the revolutions helped to bring back to life. Together, these institutions depict Rawlings as someone who supports or favours the organic existence of institutions and helps to assert his identity as an institutionalist and makes his pro-institution rhetoric more persuasive.

To further demonstrate his faith in institutionalism, Rawlings negotiates with the spatio-temporal elements '7th January 1993' (33, line 1) and 'stage' (33, line 1) to background a historical episode that he claimed was 'important' (33, line 1) to the establishment of an institutional practice which he identifies as a 'constitutional order' (33, line 1). The verb 'marked' (33, line 1) which indicates

beginning suggests that before the time stated, there was no constitutional order. As would be plain later, this constitutes a discursive framing of an event that exploits historical memory to validate a claim. Rawlings was elected to office as president in 1992, taking office on 7th January 1993. Prior to this time, the country was under military rule led by Rawlings and his PNDC. I submit that the military era of Rawlings' rule served as a significant onset of the institution of democracy as a form of government which later initiated Ghana's 4th Republic. This claim is based on the evidence from the analysis which shows that the democratic identity of Rawlings was discursively constructed and naturalized into the minds of Ghanaians throughout the military regime. This discursive representation is somewhat surprising and perhaps paradoxical given that Rawlings was still in the army and always clad in military apparel in his public appearances. So, from its nascent stages beginning with Rawlings' establishment of the National Commission for Democracy (NCD), which was charged with, among others, the duty to "formulate for the consideration of Government a programme for a more effective realization of true democracy in Ghana"[8], the 'quest' (33, line 1) for a transition to constitutional rule was born. The noun 'quest' (33, line 1) connotes a crusade, adventure or expedition. This will require someone whose dream is to see a revolutionary transformation of society and the reconstruction of key intuitions to lead the mission. That is, someone who will not stop until the dream becomes real and the mission is accomplished. This calls attention to qualities like commitment, determination, a sense of duty and perseverance, inter alia, which must reflect the nature of the coming into being of institutions. Rawlings identifies as the leader of this mission by the use of the self-referencing first person singular pronouns 'I', 'my' and 'myself' (33, line 2). These pronouns foreground the agency and voice of Rawlings and indicate ownership of the truth claims he makes. These self-referencing elements more directly enable Rawlings to assert his identity based on the focalization of his discourse on institutions. Given what may be required as a leader to pursue institutionalism in a context such as Ghana, where the historical example is undesirable, it makes sense that an 'oath' (33, line 2) is required to execute this mission, even if enjoined by the constitution to do so. An oath connotes a covenant with well-defined terms that binds the parties in the covenantal relationship. It indicates seriousness and responsibility on the part of Rawlings in this national 'quest' (33, line 1). The

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[8] This is part of the functions of the NCD delineated by PNDC Law 42. The full law reference is: Republic of Ghana, PNDCL 42: Provisional National Defence Council (Establishment) Proclamation (Supplementary and Consequential Provisions) Law (Accra: Ghana Publishing Corpora- tion, 1982), Section 3.

intention to ensure that the constitution works, which will require multiple institutions such as the judiciary, the legislature, the executive, the police service and all law enforcement agencies to work in concert, is underscored by the illocutionary force of the performative verb 'pledge' (33, line 2). Although the action being referred to is not concurrently being performed at the time of the speech, it is indicative of Rawlings' conviction, resolve and dogged attitude 'to do right' (33, line 3) which creates an image of a trustworthy leader who can be depended upon to lead the mandate of (re)establishing functional institutions to accelerate national development.

5.6 Discursive strategies and linguistic means of realization in the self-representation of Rawlings in democratic regime

This section provides an overview of the use of discursive strategies and their linguistic means of realization by Rawlings in his speeches during the democratic reign to construct his identity of a noble revolutionary. His speeches mainly focused on two themes- effective leadership and building of strong institutions- which were likely influenced by the context of democracy in which Rawlings performed his politics as these themes are essential components of democratization. Drawing on Wodak's DHA and Reisigl and Wodak (2001), how the strategies were used and the means by which they were linguistically realized in relation to the themes identified is schematically presented in Table 12. In the first column, the specific related themes and sub-themes Rawlings focused on in this Chapter are highlighted, while in the second column the discursive strategies identified in the speeches are stated. The linguistic means resorted to by Rawlings to realize each strategy and the purpose of the linguistic realization of the strategy are presented in the third and fourth columns respectively.

Table 12: Discursive strategies and linguistic means of realization in the speeches of Rawlings during the democratic regime: constructing the identity of a noble revolutionary

Themes and sub-themes highlighted	Discursive strategy	Linguistic means of realization	Objective
Effective leadership -*Pragmatic*	Referential/Nomination strategy	*Membership categorization*	

		Use of identification labels (e.g., government)	To form association with a specific group (i.e., the NDC government in power)
	Predication strategy	*Predicate nouns and noun phrases* (e.g., boldness, forthrightness, poverty alleviation, sustainable growth)	To ascribe positive traits to self as an effective leader
		Use of *Positive evaluative adjectives for positive self-presentation* (e.g., 'pragmatic', 'committed', 'honest')	Positive self-evaluation of his identity as a pragmatic leader
		Verb processes to describe discursive actions (e.g. 'build', 'lay', 'do', 'make')	To portray self as pragmatic in approach to finding solutions to national problems
	Perspectivation strategy	*Presupposition* (e.g., 'as I have said')	To reiterate a personal position about the

			practical approach to find solutions to the economic problems
		Interdiscursive reference: (e.g., reference to global economy in discoursing about local politics)	To make allusions to external global factors to authenticate personal claims of local economic success
		Depersonalization expressions	To make his personal views about effective governance through a hand-on approach and the building of public institutions appear truthful and valid by alluding to common or generally known facts
Effective leadership -*Visionary*	Referential/Nomination strategy	Pronominal switch (I-we)	To identify self and mark group belonging as a means of appealing to different audiences to seek support for his visionary ideas

	Predication strategy	*Explicit self-labelling using goal-oriented lexemes (e.g., 'vison', 'future', 'future generation', etc.)*	To ascribe visionary attributes to self
	Argumentation strategy	*Topos of authority (e.g., reference to constitution, laws)*	To transform a personal vision into a national vision through the power of the constitution
Effective leadership - *Economic revivalist*	Referential/Nomination strategy	*Pronominalization* *We*- shifts	To identify with different groups and positions in relation to the transformation of the economy
		Religious Metaphor The use of 'Junior Jesus' in reference to Rawlings	To allude to the hope of socio-economic changes based on Rawlings' perceived shared similarities with the redemptive mission of a social

			actor (i.e., Jesus Christ)
	Argumentation strategy	*Topos of numbers*	To rationalize the positive impact of his economic policies
		Topos of necessity	To justify the collection of appropriate taxes for national development
	Perspectivation strategy	*Depersonalization expressions*	To make his personal views about effective governance through a hand-on approach and the building of public institutions appear truthful and valid by alluding to common or generally known facts

Effective leadership - *Ethical and moral*	Referential/Nomination strategy	*We-inclusive* indicating group identification	To create affiliation with the NDC government which is being positively evaluated on grounds of moral integrity
		Exclusive group identification using familial terms (e.g., brothers and sisters)	To create and claim affinity with the rest of society as one cultural family of which Rawlings is leader.
	Predication strategy	Use of war-like lexicon (e.g., 'battle, 'fight') to describe a discursive phenomenon and prescribe a discursive action	To represent self as moral hero fighting the nation's principal enemies of corruption and crime.
	Argumentation strategy	*Topos of usefulness (advantage) through a cleansing metaphor*	To justify cleaning Ghana's social fabric from the filth of corruption

		Topos of comparison	To justify the phenomenon of moral cleansing as a universal phenomenon, hence Ghana was right to undergo cleansing under the supervision of Rawlings
		Topos of history	To justify instigating Ghana's revolution as a lesson from world history because revolutions create decency in the system and are the lifeblood of every society
Building strong institutions	Referential/Nomination strategy	Membership categorization	
		Group distinction of leaders using 'us' vs. 'them'	To claim affiliation with leaders who believe new institutions should be established to propel development
		Self-reference using personal pronouns (I, my, myself)	To uniquely claim agency and voice in the quest to revive and

		deepen institutionalism
		Ingroup vs Outgroup (i.e., Rawlings and his ingroup of Ghanaians against the elites who are the 'enemies' of progress)	To ascribe positive traits (i.e., integrity, accountability) to self and negative traits to others
	Predication strategy	*Attributions of positive traits* using material process verbs (e.g., 'restore')	To construct positive self-evaluation of his actions to re-establish key national institutions for development
	Argumentation strategy	*Topos of cause and effect*	To justify the necessity of strong institutions by asserting causality between the absence of strong institutions and corrupt practices

	Perspectivation strategy	Use of *spatial deictic* (e.g., everywhere, every corner)	To make his personal views about effective governance through a hand-on approach and the building of public institutions appear truthful and valid by alluding to common or generally known facts
		Framing by lexicalization (e.g., using evaluative adjectives such as 'strong', 'resilient')	To indicate the nature of institutions needed for post-colonial evolution
		Self-constructed discourse	To attribute a discursive reality to an (non)existing phenomenon (e.g., freedom and justice are real only if proper institutions exist to ensure them)

In this chapter referential/nomination strategy is used primarily to construct distinction from and affiliation to a group. The use of binary pronouns (e.g., us vs them), ingroup and outgroup categorization and identification labels such as government are used by Rawlings to demonstrate his membership to specific groups that are engaged in or in favour of actions aimed at changing

society. Pronominal switches (mainly within the class of first person pronouns) also indicate that Rawlings distinguishes between the subject of the discursive actions that are ongoing in the discourse either through the self-referencing 'I' or the inclusive 'we' to construct difference between his subjective voice and agency in relation to ideological and policy stances and the collective appeals he makes where the mobilization of public consensus and support in relation to his revolutionary politics is concerned. More specifically, the shifts in the use of the first person pronoun 'we' helps Rawlings to differentiate between social categories but at the same time prescribe to these groups politically meaningful roles with beneficial outcomes. When the use of we-inclusive refers to the government, Rawlings identifies with the NDC party in power of which he is leader and claims the positive attributes associated with the success of the government. Mainly, he presents himself as the initiator and originator of those policies, visions and programmes that have or will yield beneficial outcomes. When we-inclusive is used in reference to all Ghanaians, Rawlings identifies as an ordinary citizen whose responsibility is to support the policies of the government to succeed. The appeal to Ghanaians to exercise their responsibility is intensified by the use of categorical familial terms that create a family bond on one hand and allow Rawlings to assume the temporary role of an elder sibling, on the other hand, to mobilize the rest of the family to support government's agenda.

Although Rawlings demonstrates flexibility in the identities, he creates through the different groups he identifies with, he ensures that identities that positively represent his leadership are not obscured. This is achieved via metaphorical allusions, specifically, religious metaphor, by which Rawlings claims embodiment of the hope of socio-economic redemption in a similar fashion as a religiously significant actor (in this case, Jesus Christ). By claiming shared similarity with a highly regarded religious personality, especially among Christians, not only is Rawlings' effective leadership in providing pragmatic solutions to the existential needs of the people highlighted but also, even if remotely, his deification by his supporters.

By using predication strategy, Rawlings ascribed positive labels to himself and other social actors belonging to his ingroup in his discourse. The use of predicative nominals with positive connotations and positive evaluative expressions as explicit self-defining labels enabled the positive construction of Rawlings' leadership and advocacy for strong institutions as a basis for

national development. To realize this positive self-presentation, attributions of desirable leadership traits were made using material verbs of process, vision-based lexemes and war-like lexicon that suggest the efforts Rawlings is making in providing a blueprint for leadership and the establishment of key public institutions that will drive and sustain the nation's development agenda. While the use of predication strategy enabled Rawlings to foreground a positively evaluated self in a context (i.e., the tenets of democracy in a democracy) where much was expected from Rawlings in terms of leadership, in the background, it allowed Rawlings, more generally, to create a difference between himself and previous leaders and more specifically between himself in the military and democratic regime.

Argumentation strategy found to be used in this chapter was hinged on justifications and claims with regard to the key themes of building strong institutions and providing efficient economic, moral and visionary leadership by Rawlings. From the analysis of the topoi used in the democratic era, the use of the topos of history suggests that Rawlings' actions as a revolutionary are based on good lessons learnt in the past. This creates the impression that his present actions are a continuity of historically relevant events with meaningful outcomes, which becomes apparent in the comparison he draws between Ghana and other nations through the topos of comparison, all in the name of justifying the claim that his revolution, like others elsewhere in the world, terminated moral indecency and economic indiscipline. This argumentation is further strengthened by a self-serving positive evaluation of the revolution as a beneficial social action through the topos of usefulness/ advantage and a cleansing metaphor because it washed away, as it were, the filth of corruption which had become an economic canker in the polity, hence asserting the ethical and moral leadership he instituted.

Given the fact that the national coffers have been depleted by many years of corruption supervised by the previous regimes, Rawlings demonstrates his awareness of the economic problems of the nation by implementing policies aimed at revenue generation for national development. Rawlings' argumentation for collecting appropriate taxes (i.e., Value Added Tax (VAT)) to increase revenue mobilization was justified via the topos of necessity in an effort to revive the ailing economy. This, implicitly, sculpts Rawlings' identity as an economic revivalist on a mission to redeem the Ghanaian economy. The topos of authority suggests that having taken cognizance of an existing

constitution (i.e., the 1992 constitution of Ghana) and the responsibilities it assigns the president including the presentation of a clear programme of action for national development, Rawlings, in the years of his democratic reign, around 1995, takes advantage of this fundamental legal requirement to carve the identity of a visionary leader by putting together a unique programme of action in Ghana's political history referred to as "Vision 2020". The "Vision 2020" document contained a wide range of policies and projects aimed at national development. To justify the continuation of economic policies, Rawlings employed the use of the topos of numbers to rationalize the impact of those economic policies on poverty alleviation and sustainable growth, thus sustaining the credibility of his agenda of economic revitalization. The need for relevant public institutions that must ensure the proper execution of government policies, offer checks and balances on state functionaries, enforce economic discipline and promote development is justified by asserting causality between the absence of such institutions and the presence of corrupt practices through the topos of cause and effect. This also implies that the presence of strong institutions can curtail corruption. The focus on building strong institutions can therefore be seen as a logical extension and necessary proof of Rawlings' effective leadership.

Rawlings further constructed his identity as an effective leader with the help of a perspectivation strategy. The use of reiteration via presupposition to articulate personal views about practical approaches to find solutions to the economic problems of the nations revealed Rawlings' pragmatic leadership. To further support this position, interdiscursivity is employed by deploying global economic discourses to assert local political discourses making claims of economic success in what appears to be a kind of strategic juxtaposition, from a broad global perspective to a narrow local perspective. The use of depersonalized expressions that draw on experts' opinions together with spatial deictics (such as everywhere, every corner) enabled Rawlings to make his personal views about effective governance through a hands-on approach and the building of strong institutions appear truthful and valid by alluding to common or generally known facts. The use of lexicalization as a discourse framing mechanism indicated the nature of institutions needed for post-colonial evolution, which was constructed using evaluative adjectives such as 'strong' and 'resilient'. This also gives an indication of the nature of the problems that exist in society for which institutions with such descriptive attributes are needed. In emphasizing these attributes, Rawlings uses a self-constructed discourse to formulate the perspective that the guarantee or enjoyment of

desirable social values such as freedom and justice is only contingent on the availability and functionality of proper structures and institutions. To foreground such personal perspectives depicted Rawlings as an effective leader who believes in institutionalism as a means of national development.

5.7   Chapter summary

Against the backdrop that specific settings can inform and shape the construction of political identities and that discourse themes constitute the ideological content of socio-political actors that serve as the basic structures on which they organize their identity, this chapter analyzed the dominant themes in Rawlings' speeches within a democratic setting in which he performed politics to establish how they contribute to his discursive political representation of self. Two main themes-leadership and the building of strong institutions- were discussed. These themes, in combination with various strategies such as referential or nomination, predication, argumentation, and perspectivation strategies linguistically realized by lexico-grammatical and rhetorical elements such as adjectives, predicates, allusions, evocations, topoi, metaphor, synecdoche, and depersonalization, were found to portray Rawlings, first, as an effective leader who is a pragmatist, visionary, economic revivalist and moralist and, second, as an institutionalist who favoured the (re)creation of and reconstruction of weak institutions. The political dispensation in which Rawlings constructed his discourse meant that the situated meanings of his identity were largely shaped by a global appeal to democratic politics and a local desire to institutionalize democracy as a form of government.

Discursive strategies (see Wodak, 2001a) are not just techniques employed by actors in their discourse but they also point to vital discursive practices that speakers intentionally or unintentionally employ to achieve specific aims, whether political, ideological or social. In aiding the positive presentation of self (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 73), these discursive strategies offer Rawlings argumentative power, given that the climate of Ghana's socio-economic and political development was greatly hampered primarily by long years of bad leadership, to construct and naturalize the identity of a morally upright and ethically sound leader with a realistic vision to transform the nation and lay long-lasting foundations for development. In doing so, Rawlings exploits the general yearning of the Ghanaian public for salvation from decades of deprivation,

poverty, lack of access to basic public services brought about by institutional indiscipline and systemic immorality. Against this backdrop, the actions he takes, whether good or bad, can be rationalized as seeking the interests of the people, serving as a form of legitimation of the identity he portrays in those discursive actions. How Rawlings legitimates his revolutionary identity which the study found to be the nucleus of his identity in that the revolutionary ideology informed the kind of politics he performed is the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6 LEGITIMATION STRATEGIES- MILITARY VS. DEMOCRATIC REGIMES[9]

6.1 Introduction

Chapters 4 and 5 examined Rawlings' representation of political self during his reign as Ghana's longest serving leader. Specifically, Chapter 4 examined how the themes of nationalism and Pan-Africanism served as discursive sites for the construction of his identity during his military rule. The analysis and discussion in Chapter 5 focused on how Rawlings represented himself during his democratic regime by examining the themes of effective leadership and building strong institutions which were dominant in his rhetoric. The analyses in these chapters reveal that Rawlings' identity was created by and situated in specific themes which he articulated as part of his political performance. Hence, this thesis claims that the focalization of specific themes in Rawlings' discourse provided evidence for the discursive construction of his identity which additionally conveyed information about his political ideologies. The actions that are taken based on these themed ideologies provide validations for the identity they help to construct. As stated earlier in Chapter 1, when politicians like Rawlings perform politics in distinctively unique epochs, it is conceivable that they may have evolved and that changes may possibly have occurred in their representation of reality over time which can be accounted for, *inter alia*, by variables including political dispensation of their rule, the audiences they address, the occasion of their speeches and their ideological stances.

Building on Chapters 4 and 5, which examined Rawlings' self-representation in the military and democratic regimes respectively, the legitimation strategies used by Rawlings in the military and democratic era are examined in this chapter, to see how their similarities and/or differences may have influenced Rawlings' representation of self. The analysis in this Chapter follows from the assumption that discourse is not merely used as a representation of legitimation but that it constitutes it. That is, legitimation is socially constructed and understood in language use or discourse. A discourse can therefore be said to be lending legitimation when it introduces tenable propositions in support of discursive actions or social activities on the basis of "good reasons,

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[9] Aspects of the chapter can be found in Ganaah et al. (2023). Legitimation in revolutionary discourse: A critical examination of the discourse of Jerry John Rawlings. Journal of Language and Politics, 22 (1), p. 66 – 86.

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grounds or acceptable motivations for past or present action" (van Dijk, 1998b, p. 225). To do the analysis, the discourse-historic approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009), which serves as the main analytical framework of this thesis is integrated with Van Leeuwen's (1996b) discourse-analytical approach that uses a set of legitimation categories (see Chapter 3), an approach which has previously been applied to other studies including the legitimation of immigration control (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). These categories are authorization, rationalization, moralization, and mythopoesis. Only the categories that were found to be prominent together with new categories developed from the analysis (see Chapter 3 Section 3.5.3) are discussed in relation to the identities associated with his military and democratic regimes.

It is important to bear in mind that legitimation strategies are not mutually exclusive. That is, one form of legitimation can at the same time invoke multiple strategies and this applies also to the discourses they inhabit. This is because as far as the assertiveness of Rawlings' identity is concerned, many of the legitimation discourses could be analyzed for two or three other legitimation strategies. The relevant speeches analyzed yielded 251 instances of legitimations. Some texts contained only one example of legitimation while others contained many, making their general distribution across the data varied. Of the four strategies in Van Leeuwen's (2007) framework mentioned above, three were found to be present in Rawlings' speeches, with additional two new strategies identified namely, historicization and claim of sacrifice. The following table breaks down the distribution of the kinds of legitimations found in the analysis:

Table 13: Distribution of legitimations in the data

	No. of Occurrences (*n*) and ratio to total no. of occurrences		Total number of speeches occurred in	
Types of Legitimation Strategy	Military regime (MR)	Democratic regime (DR)	MR (out of 35 speeches)	DR (out of 25 speeches)
Authorization	38 (37%)	34 (23%)	20	13
Rationalization	24 (24%)	48 (32%)	14	18
Moralization	40 (39%)	46 (31%)	20	22
Historicization	0 (0%)	15 (10%)	0	7
Claim of sacrifice	0 (0%)	6 (4%)	0	6

Total	102	149		

6.2   Legitimizing the revolutionary identity of Rawlings in the military and democratic regimes

The analysis in this section takes as its entry point, the finding in Chapter 4 that the construction of a revolutionary identity is the nucleus of Rawlings' self-representation in this thesis. The analysis therefore builds on the contexts of Rawlings and militarism in Ghana in Chapter 4 and Rawlings and democracy in Ghana in Chapter 5. This implies that the themes of nationalism and Pan-Africanism associated with Rawlings' identity analyzed in Chapter 4 and effective leadership and building of strong institutions analyzed in Chapter 5 revolve around his revolutionary identity. Thus, the analysis in this chapter, on the one hand, reveals that the legitimation strategies Rawlings employed enabled him to construct himself as a selfless nationalist and Pan-African revolutionary leader (see Chapter 4) with noble intentions who will deliver Ghana from a quagmire of corruption, indiscipline, mendacity and mismanagement as well as lead Africa's campaign out of the shadows of (neo)colonialism, and on the other hand, as an effective, pragmatic revolutionary leader (see Chapter 5) who is out to build and bequeath a legacy of good governance anchored on strong institutions, ethical and democratic principles. Drawing on Van Leeuwen's (2007) framework, three legitimation strategies- authorization, rationalization and moralization- were found to be most commonly utilized by Rawlings to legitimate his identity in the military and democratic regimes. In addition to these three strategies, two new strategies- historicization and the claim of sacrifice- were found to provide explanatory and argumentative power to enable Rawlings to legitimate his identity as an effective leader. Below, I illustrate with examples how these strategies were used in the military and democratic regimes.

6.2.1 Legitimation via authorization- military vs. democratic regimes

Authorization is legitimation comes from reference to law, tradition or "someone in whom institutionalized authority is vested" (Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999, p. 104). Authorization is one of the key legitimations in Rawlings' discourse in his leadership. In the military regime, Rawlings' authorizations derived from his role in the 1979 and 1981 revolutions that established him as leader of the military junta. His conceptualization of political rule and governance was shaped by his background as a military person, making him an autocratic leader. However, in the democratic

regime, Rawlings' authorizations mainly derived from his identifications with the legitimacy of democratic structures. His argumentations about why specific socio-political issues are the way they are or why they ought to be carried out in some ways and not others, are articulated from the position of a democratically elected president backed by a constitution. In both regimes, Rawlings legitimizes his revolutionary discourse with an authorization strategy by referring to the authority of 'self'. As noted in Section 6.1, authorization legitimation can be realized in a number of ways. In the analysis in this section, while the personal authorizations in the military regime presented Rawlings as a reliable authority with (divine) power to pontificate about the rewards and necessity of the revolutions and prescribe the code for the post-revolutionary period, in the democratic regime, personal and impersonal authorizations directly self-referenced his authority in making certain claims based on the institutional power vested in him, which of course derives its legality from the 1992 constitution of Ghana which was in force. Together, these authorizations provide the legitimations that anchored Rawlings' identification as a revolutionary in both regimes. While the legitimacy of his military revolutionary rule was based on the exercise of political power by an elite minority, in the democratic regime, the legitimacy of his rule was based on the people's will, guided by the principles of representative and participatory democracy. It is therefore not far-fetched to conclude that the change from military to democratic rule marked an evolution in Rawlings' ideology. Since Rawlings' legitimations appear to be deriving from himself without any explicit reference to the constitution, his authorization strategy in the military regime can be analyzed as a form of self-glorification aimed at sociopolitical legitimation. Similarly, given that Rawlings' authorizations in the democratic regime appear to be grounded in the constitution based on which he was elected president, the discourses he draws on to validate his identity, one may argue, are "legitimated by the authority of the law itself [whether personal or impersonal], as an autonomous institution which requires no anchoring in some overarching moral order" (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999, p. 104). In this way, Rawlings is able to portray an image of a law-abiding leader who holds himself accountable to the supreme law of the land in demonstration of how democracy works and the manner in which governance should be executed. This makes Rawlings' legitimation of self in the democratic regime as a true revolutionary emerging from a military past more credible and the quest to build the foundations of a democratic future on strong and functional institutions a legacy to be desired. Before comparing both regimes, I illustrate with

extracts (34)- (36) how Rawlings used authorization legitimations in the military regime and with extracts (37)-39 how he used authorization legitimations in the democratic regime.

(34) ***Let us remember today that the June 4 and 31st December Revolution linked together have created conditions in which the majority of our people can look forward to the future with hope***. Out of the numerous opportunities created for the economic growth and personal advancement, most ***Ghanaians now feel secure within their own country***. Gone are the days when some denied their Ghanaian nationality because of the level our nation had sunk to. Businessmen, traders, and others have recovered their sense of security, and they acknowledge that for the first time their investments are safe in this country. (June 4, 1991)

Authorization via the use of numerative expressions and personal pronouns

Rawlings uses a number of positive declarative statements and the first-person plural pronoun 'our' (34, line 2) as a form of inclusive discourse to justify the revolutions and suggest that they have been immensely beneficial to Ghanaian society. He authorizes his claims and opinions by making a general reference to cross-sections of Ghanaian society, including 'businessmen, traders and others' (34, line 5), and also uses the numerative expressions 'the majority of our people' (34, line 2) and 'most Ghanaians' (34, line 4). These noun phrases can be analyzed as an authorization strategy that exploits the notion of conformity and thus provides legitimacy by referring to the majority (van Leeuwen 2007). The reference to businessmen and traders as the majority is perhaps due to the fact that most Ghanaians grew and sold agricultural crops as well as traded in gold and cocoa which are common natural resources found in the country. Even though Rawlings does not advance any evidence to substantiate the claim that most Ghanaians and indeed businessmen and traders feel safe about their security and investments and can therefore be optimistic about the future, he articulates these views with absolute certainty. Typically, in a non-competitive regime dominated by a single actor (Gel'Man, 2008) such as Rawlings' military regime, the source of authority tends to be arbitrary and the legitimations that derive from such authority are not always based on justifiable grounds of reasoning. This way, the dominant actor makes propositions that may not necessarily be true (although in some cases they might be true) but can be used to assert both ideology and persona to gain political advantage. In the case of Rawlings, this authoritative posture which, arguably, gave him unlimited rhetorical power led to the use of unjustifiable propositional references to frame his revolutionary actions as acceptable and lend support to the

credibility of his revolutionary identity. It can be said that the identity this type of authorization helps to construct is one that portrays Rawlings as a leader whose actions aim to create a conducive climate in which all Ghanaians would thrive and benefit from an equitable distribution of national resources.

Given its pervasiveness in political discourse, conformity legitimation yields a considerable amount of social power that can hardly be avoided in the talk of politicians which, in the case of Rawlings, can be said to assert his nationalist identity and facilitate his populist performance because of the overt celebration of the people and a somewhat boasting of their welfare (Taggart, 2000). Against the background of populism, Rawlings authorizes his personal views as though they are the embodiment of the people's wishes. This is perhaps why Rawlings does not provide evidence to validate his claim that the revolution has been beneficial to all the people because, after all, he is only a vicar of the people's voice. As a representative of the people, expressing what they already believe to be true, Rawlings' role lends support to his authoritative posture and justifies his portrayal of the identity of noble revolutionary with good intentions for the people of Ghana.

Authorization realized via verbal and modal choices
As it is typical of politicians to represent their actions in positive light and offer justifications for their actions, whether good or bad, Rawlings presents his revolutions as significant events and connected them to more beneficial outcomes as illustrated in extract (35).

(35) ***Those principles of probity and accountability which June 4 placed on our national political agenda will remain yardsticks for measuring dedication to the cause of our motherland. That era has therefore come to constitute a new chapter in our history***. It has defined among others, new parameters and code of behavior for those entrusted with the responsibilities at the political, community, management and workplace levels. (June 4, 1991)

To reinforce the significance and purported benefits of the revolutions, Rawlings asserts that the principles that informed the uprising 'will remain yardsticks for measuring dedication to the cause of our motherland' (35, line 2). The modal 'will' (35, line 2) in combination with the verb 'remain' highlights the perpetual significance of the revolutions. That is, not only were the revolutions

needed at a certain point in Ghana's history, but also the principles that undergirded them are still relevant and will continue to be relevant as far as Ghana's governance and political system are concerned. The attempt to give the revolutions permanence by linking them to Ghana's past, present and future enhances the authorization mechanism employed by Rawlings to validate his revolutionary actions. That is, he sculpts himself in the mold of an authentic, dependable leader who has the authority to divine the fate or destiny of Ghana or to decide Ghana's true interests. I argue that the attempt to ascribe permanence to the revolutions can be taken as an implicit discursive strategy to construct and maintain a durable personal identity of a noble revolutionary in Ghanaian politics. It is this self-acclaimed positionality that enables him to declare that the '[revolutionary] era has therefore come to constitute a new chapter in our history and has defined new parameters and code of behavior for those entrusted with the responsibilities at the political, community, management and workplace levels' (35, lines 3-5). The claim that the dawn of a new era has come is not at all out of place in view of the socio-economic climate of Ghana prior to the revolution. The apparent systemic failure superintended by the SMC regime and its accompanying mass deprivation and poverty caused by widespread corruption made it reasonable for Rawlings to pontificate a desirable new system that would deliver the aspirations of the people in a lasting manner. At the time of the speech, Rawlings was the Chairman of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) which constituted the main governing body of the military regime. With the constitution displaced, Rawlings' authority can be said to be self-arrogated but transformed into a legal authority which appeared to be born out of the will of the people. What aided the transformation of an otherwise illegitimate authoritative identity into a more acceptable, somewhat 'legitimate' persona of Rawlings is the situation of the revolution's relevance within nationalistic sentiments signalled by the noun phrase 'the cause of our motherland' (35, line 2). By invoking a personal authorization therefore, Rawlings legitimates an identity of a true revolutionary whose conviction is anchored in an overarching nationalist agenda for which the revolution was initiated as a means to its fulfillment. Perhaps, it is not inconceivable to imagine that such legitimation may have been necessitated by Rawlings' need to create a distinction between himself and his predecessors whom he accused of not being patriotic and lacking a nationalistic conscience, an accusation which forms part of what Rawlings claims to be a justifiable cause of the revolutions.

Authorization via membership categorization

The binary thinking of Rawlings is exemplified in his identification of groups and their role in either causing the conditions that gave rise to the revolutions or being the reason the revolution was initiated as shown in extract (36).

(36) ***Admittedly, there are others who have felt insecure since June 4 and 31st December Revolution***. Ironically, they are the very ones whose greed, arrogance and disdain for the common man were responsible for the insecurity of their own brothers and sisters in Ghana. ***Such persons have failed to realize that a new wind of change is blowing in Ghana today. They have found it difficult to realize that the ideals and principles behind the processes initiated by the June 4 and 31st December Revolution are irreversible***. (June 4, 1991)

In extract (36), Rawlings draws on an 'us' vs. 'them' distinction which is realized by the pronouns 'our' (36, line 3) and 'others' (36, line 1), to represent the people who felt insecure because of the revolutions as conspiratorial enemies 'whose greed, arrogance and disdain for the common man were responsible for the insecurity of their own brothers and sisters in Ghana' (36, line 2). That is, they are a hostile outgroup whose actions have harmed the ingroup (Geis 1987). As stated earlier, sometimes, to legitimate one's authority, other social actors are represented negatively and assigned personality traits that portray them as enemies or opponents. By calling them out and adding that they cannot stop the new wind of change blowing in Ghana, Rawlings again alludes to the desirability and irresistibility of the revolutions and implies that the earlier any opponents come to terms with them, the better it will be for them. Reinforcing this position, he states that 'the ideals and principles behind the processes initiated by the June 4 and 31st December Revolution are irreversible' (36, line 5). In another speech delivered on the same day elsewhere, he submits that "that on June 4, the people forced the door open for the ordinary man to assert his democratic right to participate in the decision-making process. That door will remain permanently open" (Rawlings 04/06/1991). The use of the adjective 'irreversible' and the adverb 'permanently' is instructive as it amplifies the absolute certainty with which Rawlings expresses his personal authority, thereby strengthening the legitimation of his revolutionary actions and identity via personal authorization.

Authorization via the use of aphorisms

Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999, p. 104) note that authorization legitimation occurs when a referenced authority, say a politician with institutional powers, answers the question 'Why is it

so?' with an answer 'Because I (or another authority) say so'. In other words, the authorization lies in their personal testimonies of the way things are or how they ought to be, which may be based on facts or opinion. Rawlings' use of authorization in the speeches examined in this thesis does not always explicitly follow the 'formula' above. Rather, based on certain positions/identities he assumes, whether as the military leader or the people's man, he articulates quite forcefully certain positions in the form of aphorisms which are not meant to be argued because they appear to be final pronouncements on different issues and events. Historically, this may be conditioned by Rawlings' military institutional background and the cultural norms in Ghanaian society. Firstly, it is common knowledge that in the military, information is passed from the Chief of Command down to subordinate soldiers with the latter accepting and acting on the information without challenging or arguing it. The information is usually the final order and truth of the moment. As Head of State leading a military junta, Rawlings often made statements in his address to civilian audiences that had the semblance of imperatives which he expected them to accept as final authority on the issues he addressed as if they were in the military. As Serafim (2022) notes, imperatives can be used to affect a target audience's mood, decisions, responses, actions and behaviour in general. So, in Section 1.2, in the speech delivered by Rawlings on the dawn of the 1979 revolution at the Broadcasting House, several imperatives were issued in a typical military fashion. These imperatives can be seen in the following constructions- 'do not stand in their way', 'do not move', 'the judgement will come', and 'the new Revolutionary Council that has come to replace the Supreme Military Council (SMC)'- and asserted Rawlings' authority, gave orders to the people, issued warnings and stated without question the new direction of the affairs of the nation. To this extent, Daft (2014) patently observes that, as a military leader, Rawlings' leadership followed the pattern of giving task-based instructions to subordinates to achieve specific, politically meaningful outcomes. For example, Rawlings does not leave room for argument when he says, 'the June 4 and 31st December Revolution are irreversible' (36, line 6). It is uttered as a statement of fact given by the Chief in Command to his subordinates as the reality to be accepted without debate, thus asserting his personal authority. Secondly, Rawlings' authorizations might be a derivative of the cultural understanding of his role as a 'chief' of the Ghanaian society which allowed him to function as the final arbiter of truth. In the Ghanaian and indeed African society, the traditional mode of rule is chieftaincy, particularly in pre-colonial times (see Anamzoya, 2013). Chieftaincy is an institution in which chiefs or monarchs rule.

According to Brobbey (2000, p. 32) the term "chief" means the head or leader of a tribe or clan in a town or village, and who is in charge of, and answerable to the people in the town or village". A chief's authority is based on traditions which he must pass on to his and successive generations. Given this important role, his statements are normally received as axioms and even sacred, and therefore uncontested. Even though Rawlings did not have the official title of a chief, traditionally he is the ruler of the Ghanaian people and therefore, like a chief, is held in that regard. This view is supported by a common practice among various traditional communities in Ghana where (ex)presidents, statesmen, etc., are enstooled or enskinned as chiefs in their lifetime. For example, the Ghanaweb online news publication reported Rawlings' enstoolment and enskinment as chief of the Anlo on October 29, 2016, and Waala traditional area on June 3, 2017, respectively (Ghanaweb, 2017, 2021). It is the position of this thesis that Rawlings draws part of the authority of his rule from this cultural notion which arrogates to him the right to articulate what he believes to be in the best interest of the people he represents. By assuming the right to seek the best interests of the people, Rawlings' authority is accentuated, helping to legitimize his identity as leader who knows what is best for his people.

Authorization via the means of moral character construction
Indeed, the representation of self by authorization strategy contributes to Rawlings' identification as a noble revolutionary. For example, he declares in an earlier speech that "by becoming revolutionaries as you know we have imposed on ourselves standards which we must strive at all times to achieve, and we must also judge ourselves severely when we violate the code of the Revolution" (4/06/1991). He thus portrays himself as a selfless leader who has Ghana's interests at heart. The noble revolutionary that he claims to be, he indicates that he is not pursuing a personal objective and proceeds to articulate the standard of behavior for revolutionaries. He thus arrogates to himself the power and ability to prescribe the code of conduct for revolutionaries, dictate people's actions and determine Ghana's true interests. By so doing, he self-authorizes the revolutions as a worthy cause and suggests that they have momentous significance. By framing his revolutionary actions in honorable terms, thereby projecting himself as a noble revolutionary, Rawlings can be said to be engaging in a moral character construction that implies his prioritization of the needs and concerns of the people of Ghana. That is, he appears to be "having the right

intentions", "thinking right", "sounding right" and "telling the right story" (Charteris-Black 2014, p. 94). From the analysis so far in this section, it can be reasonably inferred that Rawlings' use of authorization legitimations in the military rule draws attention to his personal authority as an autocratic ruler. Next, I examine how Rawlings used authorization legitimations in the democratic regime in (37)- (39) before drawing comparisons between the two regimes.

(37) The question has been asked, *why did the outgoing PNDC Government have to present a budget two days before the new Constitution*? The answer is quite simple: this is exactly what *the new Constitution anticipated*. (April 29, 1993)

Authorization via personalized authoritative claims

The speech from which extract (37) is taken is very significant in several ways. It was delivered at the sessional meeting of Parliament at a time when military rule had finally succumbed to a new dispensation of democratic rule and constitutional government. That is, it marked a watershed in Ghanaian politics as the military junta established through the December 31, 1981, revolution was retired and the 4th Republic which ushered in a new era of democratic rule was inaugurated. The audience Rawlings addressed in this speech are 200 members of Parliament elected by their constituents to the legislative assembly in keeping with the principle of representative government. Given the scope of representation, the floor of Parliament can be considered a 'frontstage' (Goffman, 2016; Wodak, 2011) on which politicians like Rawlings stage a type of politics that enables them to articulate their ideologies, visions and policies for the nation in such a manner that can lend legitimations to a positively represented identity. Here, he clearly articulates his firm belief in the legitimate structures of civil governance such as the constitution and the principles that make them thrive such as elections or the rule of law. For a constitution to work in a democracy, an independent body vested with institutional power must be in place to ensure that its provisions are adhered to. It can therefore be admitted that Rawlings, by expressing faith in the constitution, asserts the importance of the judiciary as an arm of government that must defend the integrity of the law, interpret and apply it justly. It is instructive that Rawlings delivered this speech in his capacity as the president of Ghana as prescribed by the constitution after winning the elections because it is quite evident that he capitalizes on the legitimacy it provides to somewhat assert

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the image of someone whose actions have been guided by law. Given that this speech was delivered by Rawlings as head of the executive to members of the legislature in which he explicitly affirms the supremacy of the constitution whose integrity is defended by the judiciary, underscoring the vital role of these arms of government, it is not far-fetched to conclude that Rawlings' identification with strong institutions as a foundation for a thriving democracy and society's development is evidently legitimated. Further, the supposed question about the actions of his government to present a budget statement prior to the inauguration of a new constitution might as well be hypothetical or an assumption rooted in the supposedly arbitrary ways in which military regimes tend to conduct their affairs; however, Rawlings invokes the essence of it to somewhat authorize the rightness of his action by referring to the authority of the constitution. It reinforces the idea that military or aristocratic regimes do not always act ultra vires and can sometimes be democratic in their orientation even if limitedly or selectively. It goes so far as to justify Rawlings' claim that his military rule was only a means to a democratic future for which the revolution was initiated as a means to lay its foundation. By justifying the action he took, he simultaneously asserts the identity it sculpts- a revolutionary leader who is out to model the best governance practices as a legacy for posterity. Actions and behaviours and their corresponding identities that are legitimated this way are hardly contested because they are anchored in an overarching system of rules accepted previously accepted by the majority.

Authorization via impersonalization of authority

The impersonal authorization that embeds extract (37) suggests that Rawlings is indeed a revolutionary as he transitions from one regime to another and demonstrates his awareness of the demands of the new system of governance which imposes a culture of adhering to the law and proper administrative procedures. He underscores this transition by use of the adjectives 'outgoing' and 'new', which indicate that the old regime, which was essentially military, is being phased out for a new regime dictated by a constitution. To an extent, the insinuation that the PNDC regime may have acted within the expectation of the 'new constitution' and therefore ought not to be judged as violating a standard code, can be taken as an implicit legitimation of the military regime although it was mainly accused of acting in excess of its powers. It goes so far to say that even during the military regime, Rawlings knew about the

right procedures to follow and the right ways of doing things which were compatible with democratic principles of governance. Hence, the frequent reference to the authority of the constitution and the legitimations it provides in validation of Rawlings' actions can be regarded as a positive sign of his own evolution from an architect of unconstitutional military regime to a civilian, constitution-abiding ruler. Perhaps, it was strategic but also logical for Rawlings to appeal to a powerful entity apart from himself and imbue his discourse with legitimations that derive from the authority of the constitution because at the time of the speech, Ghana was on the verge of consolidating processes of (re)democratization as part of transitioning from military to civilian rule. Such references to impersonal authorizations can serve to assure the people that, indeed, the transition would be durable, the tendency for abuse of power would be held in check, governance would be more structured, and the legitimate aspirations of the people would be fulfilled by an overarching body of laws within the framework of the 'incoming' constitutional democracy. This is further exemplified in extract (38).

> (38) ***The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana stipulates*** that within two   years of assuming office, ***the President shall present*** to Parliament a coordinated programme of economic and social development policies, including agricultural and industrial programmes at all levels and in all the regions of Ghana. ***In accordance with this provision, I presented to the Speaker yesterday a document which we have called "Ghana-Vision 2020"*** (January 6, 1995)

Studies (Hartlyn, 1984; Middlebrook, 1981) have suggested that, among others, the role of key individual political actors, generally, affects the transition processes from military to democratic regimes. Other factors that can catalyze such processes include influences from the international community and domestic political factors such as agitation, activist activities and opposition. As the case may be in authoritarian regimes where the abuse of power is likely to occur, the resentment and dissatisfaction of the people is itself a mobilization of support against the military junta. This thesis claims that Rawlings' desire to return the nation to democracy through the 'power to the people' mantra propagated through the revolutions and a growing public dissent with an unexpectedly long authoritarian rule interacted to put pressure on Rawlings to look for an alternative means to legitimize his rule- constitutional, majoritarian representative democracy. Against this backdrop, the discourses of Rawlings were naturally imbued with references to the

provisions of the 1992 constitution of Ghana which came into force with the inauguration of the 4th Republic. It can happen that the constitution can be employed to provide a veneer of legitimacy to keep a government in power and create an unlawful political longevity as the case is, particularly, in many African countries that experienced military coups with a promise to undergo (re)democratization. To prove that the transition was genuine and not a political charade, it was necessary for Rawlings to choose the appropriate language to represent himself as such and commit to institutions and structures that will ensure the durability of democracy.

It is revealing that in extract (38) he legitimizes his performance as 'the president' (line 2) by referring to 'the constitution of the Republic of Ghana' (line 1). It suggests that though he has power as the president of the republic to authorize certain things, it derives essentially from the constitution. His 'personal' authority in his capacity as the president can therefore be considered as subsumed by the overarching authority of the constitution from which he draws the highest legitimations. How these authorizations are invoked, complementarily, by Rawlings to legitimate his action of drafting and presenting a 'coordinated programme' of policies to develop the economic, social, agricultural and industrial sectors in the country goes to demonstrate Rawlings' identification with institutions of government and how Rawlings and such institutions must work hand-in-hand to ensure development. This can be seen in how he, as head of the executive, in the spirit of accountability, presents the plan of action of his government to Parliament, the legislative assembly of Ghana, in accordance with the provisions of the constitution whose integrity is upheld by the judiciary. That Rawlings authorizes his actions this way, demonstrates that he identifies with the idea that these institutions and the checks and balances that must exist between them are crucial for the consolidation of democracy and national development. Apart from the explicit reference to the authority of the constitution, there were occasions where Rawlings self-authorized certain perspectives or claims. In those instances, such as in extract (39), the legitimations drawn upon tend to validate his identity as a revolutionary whose priority is the establishment and functioning of relevant government institutions and the principles and processes of governance that conform to democracy.

(39) ***I am happy to share***… my satisfaction that ***our democratization of government*** through the ***decentralization policy and programme of Local Government reforms has become a model*** not only in Africa but in other regions of the world. (January 13, 2000)

Authorization using personal pronoun and nominal designations

Vested with institutional power as president of the country, the authoritative posture of Rawlings is assumed in extract (39). It is more overtly reinforced by use of the first person singular pronoun 'I' (39, line 1) in what appears to be a personal stance rooted in an implied universal positive evaluation of Ghana's democracy by suggesting that 'Africa' (39, line 3) and 'other regions of the world' (39, line 3) see it as an example worth emulating. The use of nominals such as 'democratization' (39, line 1), 'decentralization' (39, line 1), and 'local government' (39, line 2) are indicative of the focus of Rawlings' legitimations and the identity it creates for him. That is, such nominal expressions contribute to our understanding of the kind of politician he is, how their proper functioning makes him 'happy' (39, line 1) and perhaps the amount of devotion invested for which their successful implementation brings him legitimate 'satisfaction' (39, line 1). It is quite revealing that to legitimate his view of Ghana as the best model of democratic governance, Rawlings engages in pseudo comparative politics in which he authoritatively touts Ghana's reputation as a shining example of participatory government even though he does little to show any empirical evidence of the veracity of such claim as far as African and global politics are concerned. It is as if to say that his view is common knowledge and the majority's opinion across the world. Such a discursive appeal to the legitimacy of an assumed popular opinion can foster the reasoning among the people that Rawlings' revolutionary identity is universally recognized and accepted in light of his actions and ideology. By utilizing a personal authorization that appears to be drawing on the authority of the majority, I submit that Rawlings creates possibilities for accepting his image as a leader who is out to ensure that the institutions that must consolidate democracy and catalyze national development are put in place and are fully functional.

From the analysis of extracts (34)- (36) and extracts (37)- (39), although Rawlings employs authorization to legitimate his revolutionary identity, how authorization was realized, and the aspects of his revolutionary identity authorization highlighted differed from the military and democratic regimes. In the military regime, the use of authorization was based on Rawlings' personal claims and a deliberate allusion to majoritarian interests to secure legitimacy for his rule

and assert his revolutionary identity. However, in the democratic regime, the personal authorizations of Rawlings were based on the 1992 constitution of Ghana and the legitimacy it provided for his leadership. Since the military regime took place during the revolution era, Rawlings' use of authorization, realized by aphorisms, membership categorization, moral character construction and verbal and modal choices, authorized the benefits of the revolution and the nobility it ascribed to his identity. Similarly, in the democratic regime, Rawlings' use of authorization, realized by personal authoritative claims, impersonal references to the 1992 constitution and the use of personal pronouns and nominal designations, focused on demonstrating the constitutional legitimacy of his actions, his law abiding nature and his adherence to the tenets of democracy. It is conceivable that in the military regime, Rawlings' authorizations derived more directly from himself as head of the military junta and not from a constitution, per se, because in military regimes the monopoly of power is usually held by an individual or group of military officers on behalf of the army (see O'Kane, 1989). Similarly, in the democratic regime, the source of the authoritative claims Rawlings made suggested that his authorizations were influenced by the prevailing constitution-based democratic system of governance. This implies that regime type can influence the legitimation strategies that are used in asserting political identity.

As indicated in Section 6.1 that legitimations tend to overlap, these personal and impersonal authorizations Rawlings draws on can also be analyzed as rational arguments in support of the stances he identifies with as such rationalizations serve to legitimize his identity. Hence, in the next section, I examine, comparatively, how Rawlings used rationalization legitimations in the military and democratic regimes to validate his revolutionary identity and the associated ideologies and actions.

6.2.2 Legitimation via rationalization- military vs. democratic regimes
Rationalization is legitimation that invokes knowledge claims based on either the benefit of a social practice or "the way things are", which Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) have termed "instrumental rationalization" and "theoretical rationalization" respectively (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999, p. 105). In the present study, Rawlings' role in the revolutions in the military regime served as the main source of the validation of his core identity as a noble revolutionary. Accordingly, his revolutionary identity is legitimated by rationalizing the revolutions. He does so

by proffering logical reasons aimed at explaining why the uprising was necessary. He thus advances various propositions to prove that his actions were useful and normal. In the same way, during the democratic regime, rationalization provided Rawlings with legitimations that ascribed value, meaning and purpose to the institutional practices and social actions that he engaged in his official capacity as Ghana's leader. The actions and practices that these rationalizations support are indications of the ideological identifications of Rawlings which sought to create a positive image of his person and justify the usefulness of his actions. To see how the rationalization legitimations used are similar or differ in the military and democratic regimes, extracts (40)- (45) taken from the military regime and extracts (46) and (47) taken from the democratic regime are first analyzed and subsequently compared.

(40) The June 4th uprising was ***not meant only to overthrow*** corruption, theft and embezzlement of public funds and such other crimes. ***It was a violent reaction to grossly irresponsible use of power*** that had become evident everywhere. (June 4, 1989)

(41) ***The ultimate goal of our Revolution is the establishment of a society in which all citizens can derive the maximum good from their combined efforts***. To achieve this, we need to establish a political structure capable of sustaining the economic and social well-being of the country and of all our people. (December 31, 1987)

(42) ***One of the objectives of our revolution*** is that the youth must be given the Education that will ***help equip*** them for the role they will be called upon to play as ***leaders in industry, commerce and agriculture***. It is ***to address*** this imbalance with the Educational system that the Junior Secondary School system is being introduced as a revolutionary measure. (January 17, 1987)

Rationalization via the use of means and ends construction
The extracts (40)- (42) show evidence of Rawlings' attempt to validate the revolution by offering rational arguments. He conceptualizes the revolution as a means to an end by claiming that it provided the avenue for change and the institutional resources for realizing those changes, especially in the area of education, social welfare and economic development. By directly associating these outcomes with the revolution, Rawlings draws on instrumental legitimation to assert the relevance of the insurgency and his identity as the main actor responsible for the

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realization of those politically meaningful outcomes. He creates the impression that the country was in bad shape with a dysfunctional system that was saddled with 'corruption, theft and embezzlement of public funds and such other crimes' (40, lines I and 2) and therefore needed saving. He subsequently frames the revolution as the mechanism through which the anticipated national redemption would be achieved. In this rationalization, Rawlings undoubtedly alludes to an undesirable status quo in which the leaders have failed to translate the hopes and aspirations of the citizens into reality. Highlighting the failure and dysfunctionality of the existing polity somewhat gives legitimacy to the revolution as a viable alternative solution to the nation's problems.

As noted at the outset, the period of the military regime was preceded by gross economic mismanagement, widespread corruption and oppression (see Hansen & Collins, 1980) leading to a depleted public confidence in the leadership of the previous SMC regime. Accordingly, this instrumental legitimation of the revolution does not only make the change in government seem justifiable but also makes it reasonable for Rawlings to assert himself as the right person to lead the charges and catalyze the nation's socio-economic development. Although it is not certain that the stated goals would be achieved, legitimation of this kind can serve the purpose of providing a good incentive to people's imagination of a more desirable future which inevitably positions Rawlings as the messiah who will bring about its fulfilment, thus making his revolutionary identity more credible. Consequently, the violence (40, line 3) and political killings that characterized the revolutionary process were legitimized as a necessary medium of getting rid of the 'old' dysfunctional system and transitioning to a 'new' functional system where institutional structures that can sustain the 'economic and social well-being of the country' (41, line 3) would be established and all citizens would 'derive the maximum good from their combined efforts' (41, line2). In extract (40), Rawlings attempts to define the revolution as precisely as possible to clear any doubts in the minds of people and offer clarity on the nature of his own actions. To do so, he draws on theoretical rationalization to legitimize the revolution by saying that 'It was a violent reaction to grossly irresponsible use of power that had become evident everywhere' (40, line 2).

Drawing on the spatial lexeme 'everywhere' (40, line 1), Rawlings seems to suggest that the abuse of power by the elite politicians was too widespread and glaring to escape the watchful eyes of

anyone. That is, the total irresponsibility displayed by the elite was common knowledge. Given this background, it makes sense to think of Rawlings as a patriot who is genuinely concerned about the wrongs of society and takes steps to make them right. Thus, his 'reaction' (40, line 1), which is the revolution, seems to find legitimacy in what can be considered as the public's knowledge of reckless leadership. This makes the uprising appear natural and Rawlings, the emergent revolutionary whose intentions are noble even if some aspects of the overthrow of the previous regime was characterized by brutality and loss of life. A further instrumental legitimation can be seen in how Rawlings conceives the revolution as a mechanism for correcting the 'imbalance' (42, line 3) in the educational system. As part of rectifying this apparent inequality, Rawlings argues that the introduction of a 'new' educational policy was necessary as a 'revolutionary measure' (42, line 4) to retire the old educational system and create a new one that would 'help equip [the youth] for the role they will be called upon to play as leaders in industry, commerce and agriculture' (42, line 2). By advocating and articulating a rhetoric of change in search of the 'well-being of the country and of all our people' (41, line 3), the concept of nationalism is deployed as a tool in Rawlings' discourse to enable him to construct and legitimate his identity as a noble revolutionary with patriotic sentiments. Through the transmission of nationalistic sentiments via discourse, the rational legitimations they invoke in the construction and perpetuation of individual and group identities, that are often ideology-laden, are sometimes used by politicians to ensure what Habermas (1984, p. 30) refers to as "mass loyalty". Based on mass loyalty, one can either secure or assume some kind of rational public consensus from which specific actions can be legitimized.

Rationalization via goal-orientation elements, nominalization and verbal processes

This thesis claims that Rawlings' rationalization of the necessity of the revolutions and its implied need of a brave revolutionary to 'establish a [new] political structure' (41, line 3) that will transform the national polity provided legitimations for Rawlings to assert his identity as a true nationalist on a mission to save a nation from social and economic disintegration. As such, it is not far-fetched to consider the Ghanaian revolution as legitimized in the spirit of ideologies that catalyzed the Enlightenment as well as Marxist views in that it sought to create a society that functioned on egalitarian principles and the guarantee of individual freedoms, social justice and economic growth for the benefit of all. The kind of instrumental rationalization Rawlings employs here is realized by goal-oriented expressions or what Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) refer to as

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"objectivated" (p. 106) activities realized by nominal processes and spatio-temporal references that are associated to these activities. The expressions 'the ultimate goal' (41, line 1) and 'one of the objectives' (42, line 1) are nominalizations that indicate the strategic utilitarian objective of the revolution as a discursive practice, thus providing rational grounds for asserting his noble revolutionary identity. Additionally, the verbs of material processes such as 'to establish' (41, line 3), 'to achieve' (41, line 2), 'to equip' (42, line 2), 'to address' (42, line 3), and 'to overthrow' (40, line 1) underscore the instrumentality of Rawlings and the revolution because the verbal actions they distil from refer to the positive effects they achieve and the national needs they fulfil. Rawlings did not only rationalize his identity based on nationalist discourse but also took advantage of discourse events that had international audiences to assert a trans-national revolutionary identity that had focus on Africa's emancipation and progress.

(43) ***Our efforts to re-establish grassroots participation is part of Africa's heritage of democracy*** (March 6, 1987).

(44) ***We can die a little for Africa's glory*** and have this new awakening reflected in the revised charter of the OAU we would come here 25 years hence with a feeling of satisfaction that we have ***significantly improved upon the prospects for achieving the unity that was the overwhelming desire of our peoples 25 years ago***. (May 25, 1988)

(45) Whatever might have led to this upheaval…should also be a signal for leaders of the ***African revolutionary process*** and cadres ***to close their ranks against*** the machinations and infiltrations of these ***imperialist forces which would not like to see Africa freed from the shackles of poverty, ignorance and deprivation***. (October 26, 1987)

There is evidence in extracts (43) to (45) to suggest that the focus of Rawlings' discourse was on themes relating to Africa, which in Chapter 4 was found to be the source of Rawlings' self-representation as a Pan-Africanist. A closer investigation of the speeches indicates that they were produced at events that were either entirely dedicated to discussing issues concerning the continent such as the annual Organization of African Union (OAU) conferences or those that were open to international audiences such as Ghana's Independence Anniversary celebrations and reception parties for visiting Heads of States and the diplomatic community. Unsurprisingly, they provide a

platform for Rawlings to assert his revolutionary identity as a noble Pan-Africanist whose aim is to see Africa liberated from the vestiges of colonialism as well as imperialist control. Delivering a speech at the Independence Anniversary commemoration in 1987, Rawlings uses Ghana's efforts at deepening its democratic process as a legitimation for Africa's democracy by rationalizing the logic that Ghana is part of Africa and therefore what transpires in Ghana forms an essential component of 'Africa's heritage of democracy' (43, line 1). Earlier, in Chapters 4 and 5, Rawlings made a number of representations by drawing references from Ghana's first president and Pan-Africanist, Kwame Nkrumah. Here in this chapter, he employs the same strategy, even if implicitly. As such, this thesis claims that Rawlings, by linking Ghana's democratic destiny to Africa's, intertextually refers to Kwame Nkrumah's famous Independence speech in which he declared that 'the independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked to the total liberation of Africa' in his belief that Africa's decolonization would be catalyzed by an 'African Revolution' that would derive its force from the masses of African people in and outside the continent in a united effort that would first terminate colonial rule in individual national territories and later completely eradicate imperialism from the African continent (see Haynes, 1988).

Rationalization via *moralized lexico-grammatical structures*

Rawlings' statement that Ghana's democratization is somewhat linked to Africa's democratic destiny in extract (43) can also be taken as a personal authorization that seeks to validate his opinion as a universal truth of which it is implied that his identity as a revolutionary democrat transcends national borders. By constructing a nationalist discourse of Ghana's democracy and linking it to an 'African' discourse of continental democracy which shows the tendency for discourses to draw on each other, it is patently observed that the identities they construct, maintain and legitimate also draw on each other, implying that identities are not isolated references of individuals or groups because one discursively legitimated identity can be used to provide legitimatory force for another identity as extract (44) illustrates. In this case, the former identity (national revolutionary democrat) serves to add more credibility to the latter identity ((Pan-) African revolutionary democrat). This reinforces the earlier observation that legitimations are not mutually exclusive as one type of legitimation discourse can function as another legitimation strategy. To further legitimize his Pan-Africanist revolutionary identity the saying that African

leaders should 'die a little' (44, line 1) can be considered as indexing instrumental legitimation whose effect process leads to the realization of 'Africa's glory' (44, line 1).

The speech from which extract (44) was taken was delivered at the OAU conference attended by Heads of States of member African states. Although it is possible that other non-African audiences may have had access to proceedings at this conference, its essentially homogenous nature makes it appropriate to discuss Africa, which, as I observed from the analysis, influenced the linguistic choices of Rawlings, his discursive representation of self and the legitimations that were indexed as exemplified in (44). It can therefore be inferred from (44) that based on the homogeneity of the audience, Rawlings draws on a background of common history and shared experiences to make his appeal more natural and persuasive. This observation is supported by a number of communication studies that have found a symbiotic relationship between a speaker's audience and the linguistic choices they make or genre they use (see Bell, 1984; Rickford & McNair-Knox, 1994). Framing his discourse with his audience in mind, it makes Rawlings appear to be a selfless revolutionary and a Pan-Africanist at heart who is willing to make the necessary sacrifices to achieve African unity which he constructs as 'the overwhelming desire of our peoples' (44, line 4). The force of this legitimation and the identity of Rawlings it asserts seem to derive its legitimatory effect from the formulation of an explicit purpose from which specific actions acquire their justifications. In extract (44), 'we can die a little for Africa's glory' (line 1) functions as a purpose clause comprised of a 'purpose action' and 'purpose(ful) outcome'. Similarly, in extract (45), Rawlings signals the presence of a common enemy conceived as 'imperialist forces' whose singular objective is to plunder Africa and ensure her continuous suffering. The identification of an enemy configures a war situation in which Rawlings and other leaders of the initiated 'revolutionary process' for Africa's emancipation are at war with the conspiratorial enemy.

Rawlings' clarion call to his fellow Pan-African revolutionaries to 'close their ranks' can be considered as a 'purpose action' that will lead to the 'purpose(ful) outcome' of guarding against the 'machinations and infiltrations' of the enemy. This constitutes instrumental rationalization that helps Rawlings to assert his identity as an authentic African revolutionary who is driven by the sole purpose of Africa's freedom from 'the shackles of poverty, ignorance and deprivation' which, as he argues, are a creation of colonialism and imperialism. The rationalizations that inhabit the

discourses of Rawlings seem to be submerged in morality and therefore assign moral values to the actions or activities that become the 'instruments' through which social practices (in this case the legitimation of both the revolution and identity) are explained, predicted, defined or achieved. The connotations of these moral values characterize the relevant discourses as truth claims even if they are not supported by hard evidence and the linguistic references that realize these rationalization legitimations are what Oddo (2011) refers to as "moralized lexico-grammatical structures" (p. 308). To reiterate, the intimation that Africa has a common enemy suggests the lurking presence of evil. The action 'to close [the] ranks against' can therefore be considered as a 'moralized' construction as its objective is the moral preservation of Africa from unrighteous exploitation.

As stated at the beginning of this section, the rationalizations employed by Rawlings in the democratic regime aimed, generally, at justifying the revolutionary actions but more specifically associating positive outcomes to the revolution in an attempt to represent his identity in a positive light as can be seen in extracts (46) and (47).

(46) In effect, 1979 was a reaction to the cumulative events that had been happening in the country, there was hardly any electricity, failures all the time, no water. ***The situation was so volatile it was like lighting a match. There was no alternative***. (March 1, 2000)

(47) ***My brothers and sisters, every nation on earth has at one time or another, had to go through the cleansing experience that we undertook on June 4, 1979***. (June 4, 2000)

Rationalization via metaphorical allusion

From extracts (46) and (47), it is evident that Rawlings provides rational arguments that seek to validate the revolutions by asserting that the uprising was a fight against corruption, injustice and inequity. Drawing on a cleansing metaphor (47), he implies that Ghanaian society was 'dirty' owing to corruption, indiscipline, mismanagement, etc. and hence needed cleaning or purification. He thus invokes the conceptual metaphor PURIFYING IS CLEANSING (Lizardo 2012) as an argumentative technique intended to give legitimacy to his actions. By associating the revolutions with the purgation of a corrupt and failed system (i.e., 'there was hardly any electricity, failures all the time, no water – (46, line 2)), Rawlings uses his conceptualization of an undesirable status quo

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(i.e., the circumstances surrounding the revolutions) to justify his military intervention, even if illegally. Such a logic constitutes a theoretical rationalization procedure that describes the process of achieving an action by performing another action. In other words, the completion or existence of action/situation A justifies action/situation B or as van Leeuwen (2008) puts it, 'I achieve doing Y because of X or X serves to give rise to Y'. This argumentation scheme realizes a persuasive function as it conceals the negative effects of the revolutions by suggesting that the benefits (to be) gained far outweigh any negatives such as the excesses of the revolutions and the loss of lives and properties.

To further build his argument, Rawlings frames his revolutionary actions as 'a reaction to the cumulative events that had been happening in the country' (46, line 1) and uses a fire metaphor to exaggeratedly assert that Ghana was on the cusp of an explosion. His comparison of the situation in Ghana to a volatile situation and a lighting match gives an impression of desperate times that required desperate measures like a revolution. From his point of view, thus, it stands to reason that the revolutions were a commonsense solution to a dire situation that needed an urgent strategy given the socio-politically and emotionally charged atmosphere. Based on this rationalization, it is not surprising that he maintains that 'There was no alternative' (46, line 3), implying that the revolutions were the only option and hence the logical thing to do was to lead them. The effect of this discursive positioning is the normalization of the uprising as a natural response to a series of events, thereby making the uprising an expected occurrence that is warranted (Fairclough, 2010).

In comparison, in both regimes, Rawlings employed rationalizations to assert the instrumentality of the revolutions and the positive outcomes they generated. However, rationalizations were realized differently. In the military regime, his rationalizations were realized by ends and means constructions, goal-oriented lexis, nominalizations, verb processes and moralized lexico-grammatical structures. These linguistic mechanisms enabled Rawlings to more directly and explicitly enumerate the benefits of the revolutions as justification for their initiation even if the revolutions recorded loss of life and property. It can be concluded that the possibility of associating the revolutions with negative outcomes such as the execution of the high court judges and former Heads of States may have informed Rawlings' linguistic choices in framing the revolutions as a positively represented legacy that provided the means for national reconstruction.   Conversely, in

the democratic regime, the rationalizations were realized by the use of metaphorical allusions. Following Charteris-Black (2004), it can be argued that Rawlings was "concerned with forming a coherent view of reality" (p. 28) as far as the revolutions' significance to Ghanaian politics was concerned, hence his conceptualization of the revolution in terms of a cleansing exercise- a reality that is materially meaningful to his local and international audiences. Given the persuasive nature of metaphors, it is my view that Rawlings' use of metaphor in his rational argumentation in the democratic regime served to construct the revolutions as a common sense solution to Ghana's socio-economic problems and to underscore his nobility in leading the revolutions.

In this section, it has been observed that the rationalizations that inhabit the discourses of Rawlings seem to be submerged in morality. What this implies is that rationalization and moralization are somewhat related and the discourses they inhabit can be used interchangeably to legitimate similar or different discursive acts. Next, I discuss the precise moralization legitimations that were used by Rawlings.

6.2.3 Legitimation via moralization- military vs. democratic regimes

Moralization legitimation is based on moral evaluation and appeal to value systems (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). Rawlings' discourse in the military and democratic regimes were imbued with legitimation via moralization which enabled him to assert his revolutionary identity. In the military regime, Rawlings employed a moralization strategy to legitimize his revolutionary actions and condemn the actions of his (perceived) opponents which also demonstrated ideological polarization. By identifying with those actions, he did not only justify the violent punishment he meted out to individuals he classified as exploiters, tormentors and economic vampires but also legitimated the identity of a righteous revolutionary who knows what is right and is doing what is right. In the democratic regime, his use of moralization legitimations underscored the need for a clear ground plan for national development and the resolve to fight corruption which presented him as a visionary leader. How the moralization legitimations were realized in the military regime is analyzed based on extracts (48)- (52), while the linguistic realization of moralization legitimations in the democratic regime is analyzed based on extracts (53)- (60). This is then followed by a comparison of legitimation via moralization in both regimes.

(48) Let *our detractors* know that the revolutionaries in Ghana and Uganda stand in the same trench, *ready to die for the emancipation of the continent*. (August 26, 1991)

(49) The popular revolt of June 4, 1979, was part of *our struggle for moral decency as well as for a democratic society* in which *the voice of each and every Ghanaian will matter* in the decision-making process of government. (June 4, 1991)

(50) You will find *them* everywhere and you ought to know *them* by now. He may be the departmental head, he may be the managing director, he may be the security officer or the distributor – if *you and I will* not assume the right to arrest *them*, let's not expect anyone else to do it for **us**. (June 4, 1979)

(51) The little benefits that were opened to the ordinary man have evaporated, leaving us once again in *the unsympathetic hand of the economic vampires* in our society. It appears to me that this empty democracy which we are witnessing today is a way of preserving *the exploiter class against the exploited*. I wish to use this forum to call on all Ghanaians, who are today suffering from the *Jackboots of our economic tormentors***,** that they should not despair. (June 4, 1981)

(52) *Probity and accountability* are only alive if they are borne up by *truth and integrity*. *Truth and integrity* can only become a weapon to *defend the honour and well-being of a nation* when that weapon is held by both the rulers and the ruled. In the hands of only one of them, it becomes a danger turned against those who hold it. (August 26, 1991)

Moralization via moralized lexical and grammatical elements

Using moralized lexical and grammatical elements, Rawlings defines and contextualizes the semantic field of morality in his revolutionary discourse. His use of words like 'truth', 'integrity', 'probity', 'accountability' (52, lines 1 and 2) and the expression 'moral decency' (49, line 1) suggests that all aspects of the revolution, including the execution of top officials, have moral value and were therefore necessary. In fact, it is not far-fetched to say that Rawlings conceptualizes the revolution as a struggle for restoring moral appropriacy in society which ascribes to him the identity of a genuinely upright person who possesses the required moral conscience and personal integrity to prosecute this moral war. In extract (48), the moral value that is implied by the expression 'our detractors' (48, line 1) which also signals negative polarity stems from the

evaluation of visionary leadership values. Such a negative categorization and representation of this group of 'detractors' (48, line 1), subtly constructed as enemies of the revolution, serves to present Rawlings in a positive light, thus making the claim of his identity as a noble African revolutionary legitimated on moral grounds. The phrase 'ready to die for' (48, line 2) seems to trigger the moral value of 'good' (see Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 97) because its constituent action suggests that a greater value of immense social significance would be derived by society. The implied action, therefore, portrays Rawlings as a leader who is devoted to the agenda of continental emancipation even at the peril of his life. Discourses that assign values of 'good' tend to be more persuasive and their legitimatory force is particularly emotionally appealing because they deal with the 'rightness' or 'wrongness' of an action especially in the context of Africa's decolonization and struggle for independence. The identities they help to assert, accordingly, derive their legitimacy from the associated moral value. The idea of the 'emancipation of the continent' (48, line 2) can be considered as a moralization of decolonization because of the 'immoral' nature of colonialism and the alleged evil it inflicted on Africa. Therefore, emancipatory discourses can be considered as morally charged discourses that provide legitimations for specific identities of leaders who identify as revolutionaries; that is, crusaders for radical social transformation. The implied evil suggested by the colonialization of Africa can be said to have religious connotations given that the notion of 'evil' itself is associated with religion and spirituality. Hence, moralization tends to imply religious authority or evokes negative supernatural power. This tendency notwithstanding, the way moralization is treated in this chapter is more in terms of truth and ethics and less in terms of religion and spirituality.

Rawlings further draws on a discourse of values that essentializes the interest of the public by referring to the rightness of the revolutionary struggle in ensuring that 'the voice of every Ghanaian matters' (49, line 2). This is then used to legitimate both the revolution and Rawlings' identity as a moral hero who is not only noble but also embodies the collective moral persuasion of the people, which Rawlings claims is the 'popular' (49, line 1) belief of Ghanaians. By signaling an underlying collective morality, Rawlings capitalizes on the notion of vox populi (used here as a shared or popular opinion) to present a moral evaluation of the revolutions (Moffitt, 2020) and hence the rightness of what they sought to achieve. This view is further highlighted by the assertion that the revolutions were 'part of our struggle for moral decency' (49, line 1), a struggle for which he and

the other revolutionaries were 'ready to die' (48, line 2) because it is morally right to do so for one's country, which reinforces his nationalist ideology. Again, it is instructive that Rawlings uses the word 'popular' which suggests that the revolution was approved by most people, giving the impression that it is the people's revolution and despite being an authoritarian military leader with autarchic tendencies, he deploys an argumentation strategy that serves to positively evaluate his military background in light of a more acceptable association with democratic ideals by saying that the revolutionary struggle was 'for a democratic society' (49, line 2) in which each Ghanaian will have the right to assert their democratic right to participate in governance. Therefore, while it can be argued that Rawlings' revolution was a pro-democracy revolution which was aimed at overthrowing post-colonial durable military regimes, the question that might quite reasonably be asked is, 'Why was Rawlings preoccupied with creating an identity of a true revolutionary democrat under a military revolution?' While this strategic focalization of the theme of democracy in Rawlings' discourse underscores his pro-democracy activist identity, it is conceivable that it may have served as a diversionary tactic to turn attention from the authoritarian undercurrents of the revolution that naturally portray him as a military despot. I therefore submit that by promoting a moralized pro-democracy rhetoric, Rawlings creates the impression that the decision to embark upon the revolution was the people's decision as signalled by the word 'popular' (49, line 1) in response to their democratic aspirations which can be analyzed as an image-cleansing strategy to remove the despotic connotations that may be associated with his military identity.

Moralization via membership categorization

Employing the use of relevant pronouns (12), Rawlings expresses social values in terms of group polarity using an 'us' vs. 'them' dichotomy in which positive moral values are assigned to his ingroup and negative virtues are ascribed to the outgroup. The speech of which extract (50) is a part was made on the dawn of the 1979 revolution when public discontent based on the mass exploitation by the SMC regime had reached uncontrolled proportions. Hence, the referent of 'them' is the elite ruling class of the SMC regime while 'us' designates all Ghanaians. Because of the negative moral evaluation of the outgroup, Rawlings mobilizes the conscience of his ingroup to perform a quasi-moral action of arresting the outgroup supposedly, for their embezzlement of public funds which contributed to the economic collapse of the country. In this instance, Rawlings and his ingroup of deprived ordinary Ghanaians identify as righteous people whose integrity make

them the right people to rid society of corrupt elite politicians. The means by which this identity of Rawlings is legitimated is moralization. Again, it is discernible from the group polarity constructed in Rawlings' discourse that the different moral values that are assigned to the categorical groups reflect different ideological alignments which serve as identity markers for the groups. In the context of a revolution such as the ones initiated by Rawlings, ideological views that create ideological struggle between the elite and ordinary people are often used by social actors to perform legitimations by moral evaluation. For example, drawing on this binary distinction via the use of pronouns such as 'us' and 'them' (50), Rawlings dissociates himself from the 'lawless' political elite and identifies with the 'moral' ordinary masses. Using such moral values to foreground ideological polarization between the elite and plebians does not only underscore social stratification and class struggle in society but can also be used to perform populist politics as is apparent in the discourse of Rawlings. In line with social identity theory, Tajfel & Turner (1979) argue that the processes by which people are categorized are materially meaningful to social identity formation as this shapes society's organization and enables people to make sense of it. This contributes to our understanding of inter-group dynamics but, more importantly, what we come to believe about our individual and group identities. Hence, by differentiating an ingroup from an outgroup, Rawlings moralizes the revolutions as a sacred process he used to redress the moral failure of Ghanaian society, rectify the economic and social injustices perpetuated against the masses by the outgroup and purge the system. In these moralized actions, Rawlings appears to be asserting his identity as a moral hero which is portrayed as a trademark of a noble revolutionary.

Moralization via the mechanism of negative other presentation
Rawlings also employs a demonization and an (e)vilification strategy (Lazar & Lazar 2004) to construct the elite as 'economic vampires' (51, line 2) who are unsympathetic to the plight of Ghanaians and have thus become 'our economic tormentors' (51, line 5) who constitute the 'exploiter class' (51, line 3). The categorization of the elite as 'vampires' (51, line 3) and 'tormentors' (51, line 5) is noteworthy because it implies a metaphorical juxtaposition of forces of good vs. forces of evil. Specifically, it invokes intense emotions of morality (i.e., right and wrong) via religion by appealing to an external legitimate source of authority in whom there is no evil. As Graham et al. (2004) note, this kind of religious judgement and membership categorization is usually effective and persuasive because religion is "the ultimate moral force within the societal

order of discourse of the day" (p. 204). Although the extracts (48)- (52) do not make explicit references to God or other religious leaders, it can be inferred that Rawlings' moralization legitimations draw on religious connotations, given that historically, Ghana has been a religious country- traditionally pagan in pre-colonial times and predominantly Christian during and after the colonial administration. Given this background, and the religious diversity notwithstanding, it can be inferred that Rawlings capitalizes on a shared social morality of right and wrong to emotionally appeal to the moral judgement of his audience. Hence, the negative descriptor designators 'vampires' (51, line 3) and 'tormentors' (51, line 5) can be taken as moral verdicts on his opponents that function as a source of justification and validity for the revolutions since they express the view that if there is any appearance of evil, it must be nipped in the bud. Consequently, Rawlings presents himself and the other revolutionaries as the ones responsible for nullifying the evil, purging Ghanaian society and leading a social transformation agenda.

The phrase 'our detractors' (48, line 1) and the metaphorical use of 'jackboots' (51, line 5) intensify the depiction of Ghanaians as a people undergoing suffering owing to corruption, bad governance and mismanagement of the economy. By attributing the plight of Ghanaians to people in positions of influence across the board such as the 'departmental head' (50, line 2), 'the managing director' (50, line 2), 'the security officer' (50, line 2) or 'the distributor' (50, line 3), Rawlings invokes strong emotions of moral and ethical values to mobilize social support for his actions and license his instigation of the revolutions. This attribution coupled with the phrases 'jackboots' (51, line 5) and 'our detractors' (48, line 1) heightens the cruelty of the elite and, more importantly, communicates the idea that since the corruption, ineptitude and injustice found in Ghanaian society stem from the failed leadership of those at the helm, the revolutions constitute a moral response to this failure and represent an ethical means of restoring dignity to ordinary Ghanaians. The negative threat these exploiters constitute must be eliminated, hence the revolutions. By identifying those he perceives as the saboteurs of Ghana's progress, Rawlings legitimizes the revolutions as a necessary outcome of his own moral responsibility and the Ghanaian society at large. Essentially, his negative moral evaluations of the actions of the elite at the helm of power signals that the trajectory of the nation is leading to an economic breakdown which made the uprising a redemptive act and Rawlings the redemptive actor.

Indeed, the concepts of 'probity and accountability' anchored on 'truth [honesty] and integrity' (52, line 1) became the immediate moral hallmark of Rawlings' military regime and later his democratic rule. Therefore, since the military regime, characterized by these moral tenets, helped to sculpt the revolutionary identity of Rawlings, it is the claim of this thesis that Rawlings' core identity rests on the pillar and foundation of morality and the legitimations that arise therefrom. Rawlings may have placed premium on these values because of the allegation that they were conspicuously missing in the administration of the previous regimes and therefore needed to be restored for which the revolution was instigated as a moral mechanism to reinforce them. It is instructive that Rawlings conceptualizes these identity legitimating moral values as 'weapons' (52, line 3), creating a 'war' scenario in which the ranks must be protected against the infiltration of the enemy. Based on the available background information of this era stated earlier, it can be inferred that corruption, embezzlement, misappropriation of public funds and lack of fiscal discipline formed the personified 'evil' forces that opposed the 'honour and wellbeing of the nation' (52, line 2). This view is informed by studies (see Adedeji, 2001a; Annan-Aggrey et al., 2022; Brenya et al., 2015; Kumah-Abiwu & Sabella, 2022) which have identified these 'evils' as the criminal acts that provided justification for Rawlings' overthrow of the previous regimes. Accordingly, a system of highly principled moral values was identified by Rawlings as the 'weapon to defend' (52, line 2) the dignity of the nation. To demonstrate how crucial these values are to Rawlings, he insists that they must not only be upheld by those who rule but also those who are ruled, suggesting that a balance of moral power is what Ghana needs, the imbalance of which would spell danger for the nation's wellbeing. Rawlings' moral evaluations of the socio-economic and political climate of Ghana, the expression of his moral responsibility, the identification with moral principles, as well as the description or exposure of the immoral practices of the elite, combine to provide moralization legitimations for Rawlings' identity as a true revolutionary who was out to seek what is right, do what is right and establish a moral code that will guide the way politics in general is performed.

In the democratic regime, Rawlings also used moralization strategies to underscore ideologically salient values that legitimated specific discursive actions as can be seen in extracts (53)- (60).

(53) ***We need to have a vision*** of what we would like Ghana to look like in the next 50 years. Indeed, in the next 100 years. ***We need to lay the foundations*** for a solid nation-state ***to bequeath to our children, our children's children and to generations yet unborn***. (January 13, 2000)

Moralization via the use of values of leadership

In the extract above, Rawlings draws on the values of leadership to legitimate the necessity of building a robust Ghanaian society by using expressions such as 'have a vision' and 'lay a foundation for a solid nation-state'. In a democratic society, the legitimacy of leadership, to a large extent, depends on its ability to fulfil or at least mirror the numerous and often contradictory aspirations of the people. This expectation is nearly impossible and can in turn threaten the legitimacy of a democratic leader. To deal with this challenge, leaders sometimes resort to moralized discourses that either point to the rightness of certain discursive acts or convey promises that have socio-politically desirable outcomes as Rawlings appears to be doing in his discourse. The interaction between the strong political lexicon 'vision' and the temporal references 'next 50 years' and 'next 100 years' creates the impression that Rawlings is a visionary revolutionary in terms of having a concrete plan for national development. The moral evaluation that is implied here is made more manifest in the answer- 'to bequeath to our children, our children's children and to generations yet unborn- to the question'- "why should we have a vision or why should we lay a foundation for a solid nation-state?". This answer asserts the rightness of Rawlings' action and the desirability of its legacy while at the same time serving to appeal to the developmental yearnings of the people and achieving mass popularity.

According to DeCrane (1996) vision is one of four fundamental qualities effective leaders possess which allows them to stir the imagination of their followers in a compelling manner with images of socio-politically meaningful outcomes beyond what is known in the present. While painting such an uplifting picture of the future is moralized as something to be desired, it additionally legitimates the identity of an effective leader, one that Wilheim (1996) claims has the capacity to see things in a different way than others and can "conceive of new and unseen phenomena" (p. 233). It is instructive that the moral argument Rawlings advances here is centered on leaving a legacy for posterity. Logically, it was at the end of his tenure of office in the year 2000- a time in democratic politics where politicians aim to leave lasting impressions in the memories of the public

about their tenure in office. Fong et al. (2019, p. 451) note that "politicians have a strong interest in cultivating a positive, broad, and enduring legacy because memories of them influence policy debates long after they leave office". In the aftermath of his tenure, this view appears to be corroborated by the findings of several studies (Adedeji, 2001a; Brenya et al., 2015; Kumah-Abiwu & Sabella, 2022) that Rawlings legacy is enduring, thus, making him a visionary and transformational leader. For example, Brenya et al., (2015) identified women empowerment to take part in government, the promotion of girl-child education, the introduction of the Intestate succession law that specifically gave women a share of their husband's properties in the event of their death without leaving behind a clear will, and the institutionalization of probity and accountability in an effort to fight corruption in governance as legacies of Rawlings. This identity is further enhanced by the use of the word 'foundation' which is a building metaphor. It conceptualizes the nation as a house that must be built on strong pillars on which its physical structure can stand. The amount of work that is required in building a house and the planning that goes into it are implicitly moralized as actions that would yield a greater good for the entire society. Ultimately, it projects Rawlings as someone who believes in building strong structures in the form of institutions to create and sustain national development. Part of this institutional means is the use of government apparatus to fight graft and indiscriminate use of public funds.

(54) My Brothers and Sisters, we in government have demonstrated our ***commitment to fight corruption and crime***. ***I have not hesitated to invoke constitutional procedures and apply legal and administrative measures*** against high-level government functionaries and other public officials against whom allegations of corruption and abuse of office have been made and substantively established… The same conspiracy by our political opponents and their media to aid, abet or condone the criminal destruction of the conditions for national progress that June 4 and December 31 gave to this country is observed in ***the national fight against the rampant civil lawlessness that has been creeping since 1992***. (June 4, 2000)

Moralization via values of objectivity

From extract (54), Rawlings draws attention to what is transpiring in his government using a moral abstraction. He does so in a less explicitly argumentative manner to assert the moral struggle against the forces of corruption and 'civil lawlessness' (54, line 8). Expressions such as 'constitutional procedures' (54, line 2) and 'administrative measures' (54, line 3) appeal to what

Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) refer to as "the values of scientific objectivity and precision" (p. 108). This moral value is employed here to underscore the impersonal nature of Rawlings actions in dealing with corruption which derive from established procedures that are formulated on the basis of objective scientific thinking and can be generalized across the board. That is, irrespective of whether it is 'high-level government functionaries and other public officials' or ordinary citizens, Rawlings was prepared to use the moral whip on anyone who was found culpable of any form of crime. He, however, identifies an outgroup of political opponents evaluated as conspirators and saboteurs of 'national progress' that was guaranteed by the revolutions. By so doing, Rawlings moralizes the revolutions as blessed conduit through which the values of social order can be achieved. In another speech, Rawlings argues more explicitly that "June 4 uses [its] principles to judge our strides in the nation building, we can say that the principles…have become the bedrock of Ghana's moral and political philosophy. (Rawlings, March 6, 1998). What this implies is that the revolutions were not just a means for changing government but also for institutionalizing ideology by which his identity as an ethical leader who insists on the proper things being done is legitimated. Moral abstractions tend to answer the question 'why should an action be done' with the answer 'because it has a particular quality that is desirable because of its moral benefit'. In the extract above, the commitment to the fight against widespread 'corruption' (54, line 2), 'crime' (54, line 2) and 'civil lawlessness' (54, line 7) is tied to the moral outcome of national progress for all. Another way Rawlings moralizes the revolutions is, in retrospect, a more intentional evaluation of the instrumentality of the revolutions. This has been called heroization in this thesis and was found in the speeches analyzed during the democratic regime. Rawlings employs the strategy of heroization to transform the revolution into a positively represented legacy in order to legitimate a durable positive identity that makes his actions appear noble and heroic, carving for him the identity of an ethical leader. In extracts (55) and (56) Rawlings draws on social morality to sanction the revolutions and advocate its necessity.

(55) My brothers and sisters, *every nation on earth has at one time or another, had to go through the cleansing experience that we undertook on June 4, 1979*. (June 4, 2000)

(56) When the explosion happened in that '79… - *it [also] happened in France, the Revolution in Russia, etc., etc*. (January 3, 2000).

Moralization via heroized values

In extracts (55) and (56), Rawlings heroizes the revolution as a universally required act which is essential to social evolution. By referring to the revolution as a 'cleansing experience' (55, line 2), Rawlings implies that the society has been sullied purportedly by the widespread corruption of the elites. This act of 'cleansing' led to political enemy executions as a deterrent politicians and public officials. Equating Ghana's revolution to 'France' and 'Russia' (56, line 2) and that of 'every nation on earth' (55, line 1) which can be taken as hyperbolization of the facts, Rawlings suggests that revolutions are part and parcel of the sociopolitical life of all countries in the world. The deontic modal 'had to' (55, line 1) connotes obligation, morally evaluating the revolution as an unavoidable universal action. This idea implies that Ghana's revolution served a justifiable cause and must be evaluated in the same favourable light as all other revolutions. I argue that this constitutes a strategy of equalization that achieves a heroization of the revolution as a moral redemption for the Ghanaian society. In extracts (57) and (58), Rawlings attempts to offset the revolution's shortcomings by foregrounding its advantages.

(57) We could not have turned the country round, nor come this far, without taking some difficult, painful, unpalatable but necessary decisions. In the process, we have offended some people. We have upset some people. We have hurt some people. To all such person, I say we are sorry. ***Consider your personal offence, upset or hurt the small price you have had to pay for the greater collective good***. (January 13, 2000)

(58) Fellow Countrymen and Women, l have said before that ***the social, political and economic renaissance that June 4 created for our country*** did not come without the unfortunate loss of some innocent lives. I have personally expressed regret for the excesses. (June 4, 2000)

Rawlings admits to 'unpalatable' (57, line 2) consequences of the revolution in a tone that sounds remorseful. It shows that he has taken responsibility for what happened and can be considered a placatory gesture towards national reconciliation. The use of the cognitive verb 'consider' (57, line 4) is instructive because it invites the audience to a re-perspectivation that evaluates the 'unfortunate loss of some innocent lives' (58, lines 2 and 3) as a sacrificial 'small price' (57, 4) to pay for the 'greater collective good' (57, line 5). By using the word 'renaissance' (58, line 2) here,

I submit that Rawlings recontextualizes Ghana's revolutions which helps to make more prominent how he 'turned the country' (57, line 1) around leading to the 'social, political and economic' (58, line 1) transformation. This act of neutralizing the negative impacts of the revolutions through an implicit moral juxtaposition strengthens the heroization of the revolution which permits Rawlings to elevate it as indispensable as extracts (59) and (60) show.

(59) In effect, 1979 was a reaction to the cumulative events that had been happening in the country, there was hardly any electricity, failures all the time, no water. The situation was so volatile it was like lighting a match. ***There was no alternative***. (March 1, 2000)

(60) ***We had no choice*** but to start rounding up the others, those generals... If we had to punish them with ***executions, that is all people wanted***. (July 13, 2000)

From extracts (59) and (60), expressions such as 'there was no alternative' (59, line 3) and 'that is all people wanted' (60, line 2) suggest that the revolution was bound to happen because it promised a moralized desirable outcome. It makes it look exigent so much that whatever its perceived or actual losses are, its gains are presented as compensatory and far more rewarding. The exigency is further asserted by using the deontic modal construction 'we had no choice' (60, line 1), making the revolution a commonsense 'reaction to the cumulative events' (59, line 1) including lack of access to basic services and deprivation in the country. Without justification, Rawlings frames the revolution as a 'all people wanted' (60, line 2) which suggests that the revolution was sanctioned by vox populi. On one hand, such a representation achieves social acceptance (Reyes, 2011) and on the other hand it promotes a populist ideology. Through the strategy of heroization, even the 'executions' (60, line 1) of 'those generals' (60, line 1) which Rawlings claims 'all people wanted' (60, line 2) help to elevate the revolution as a political and moral remedy which contributes to the legitimation of Rawlings' self-representation as a radical moral exemplar.

From a comparative point of view, Rawlings' use of legitimation via moralization in the military regime drew on moralized lexico-grammatical elements, membership categorization and negative other presentation while in the democratic regime, legitimation via moralization was realized by the values of leadership, values of scientific objectivity and heroized values

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to depict his moral heroism. The linguistic means of realization in the military regime suggested that Rawlings' ideology for governing a country was rooted in morality which opposed corrupt practices. To demonstrate this ideological inclination, Rawlings used moralized lexico-grammatical elements to illustrate the necessity of the principles of integrity, probity and accountability in public office and to distinguish between good and bad leaders. Using membership categorization, the bad leaders were categorized as an outgroup of elite politicians whose dishonest leadership has collapsed the economy. To further represent these bad leaders as undesirable elements who must be ousted, Rawlings used negative other presentation to present these elite politicians as evil, while at the same time indirectly presenting himself as righteous and good. Together, these linguistic means of realization provide justification for the revolutions as an ideology that established the moral principles of governance and an ammunition for destroying corruption including the execution of corrupt public officers. The foregoing reasons for Rawlings' use of these specific linguistic means to achieve legitimation via moralization can be said to provide an adequate answer to the question "why did you (Rawlings) initiate the revolutions?" Similarly, in the democratic regime, the linguistic means by which Rawlings expressed legitimation via moralization indicate that his primary focus was on his leadership motivation to leave a legacy in Ghanaian politics. To validate this motivation, Rawlings employed a moral evaluation strategy that draws on the values of leadership to underscore his concern for the next generations of Ghanaians and his selfless desire to pursue a clear path of vision to national development. With national development as his main objective for governance, Rawlings' intention to get rid of saboteurs and opposition seemed to inform his use of the values of scientific objectivity to deal with crime and criminals in government using constitutional procedures that have been established based on objective reasoning. In this regard, the revolutions are constructed as the objective means through which the moral war against corruption was won. Given the success of the coups in ousting the regimes in 1979 and 1981, Rawlings employed the values of heroization to glorify his revolutions as a moral redemption for the country. Eventually, these heroized values attempted legitimize Rawlings' revolutions as heroic and his actions as right, which makes him appear as a moral hero. From the analysis of extracts (55) and (56), there is evidence to conclude that Rawlings' focus on being an effective leader – one who identifies and solves problems- motivated the specific linguistic means he used to express legitimations

via moralization in the democratic regime. Together, these linguistic means of realizing moral legitimations also seem to answer the question "Why do you (Rawlings) want to lead and how do you (Rawlings) intend to lead?". So, despite the fact that moralization legitimations were used in both regimes, their linguistic realizations differed due to the differences in the ideological themes that held Rawlings' attention in both regimes.

Earlier in extract (58), it was argued that Rawlings draws on the process of recontextualization to heroize his revolutions by associating it to the renaissance as a form of moral legitimation to his self. History plays a role in this process and sometimes can be used to provide legitimacy to specific discursive acts in the present. In the analysis of the texts of Rawlings in this thesis, there was evidence for development of a 'new' category of legitimation as an innovative extension of Van Leeuwen's (2007) framework. This has been labelled historicization and is subsequently explained with illustrative examples.

6.2.4 Legitimation via historicization in democratic regime only

Another type of legitimation which Rawlings uses to provide justification for his revolutionary actions and its corresponding identity is historicization, which is achieved by using historical reflection to provide evidence to the legitimacy of present discursive acts based on their shared similarities, whether actual or assumed. This strategy was only found to be utilized in the democratic era but not in the military era. The identity as a revolutionary leader was found to be legitimated via historicization in the democratic texts of Rawlings that were studied in this chapter. Rawlings justifies his revolutions as necessary social practices that form part of every nation's history and foregrounds their usefulness despite their adverse consequences. Historicization suggests that history never dies; hence, it provides a reason for previous events to be partially or completely re-enacted and legitimated. By utilizing historicization, Rawlings presents himself as one who is knowledgeable about Ghana's history and world events and hence situates his revolutions in the context of both national and global affairs as shown in the extracts below.

> (61) ***The very history of the world teaches us*** that whether it is Europe, America, Russia, China, Latin America, the North or South Africa, revolutions have taken place in the just struggle either for national political independence in demand for class or ethnic or religious equality, or for the

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majority's rejection of the gross abuse of power and exploitation at the hands of the privileged minority. (June 4, 2000)

(62) *Where such historic political events like the 28th February 1948 Osu Cross- roads shooting incident and Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah's positive action set the scene for our struggle for freedom from British colonial bondage*, the June 4 Uprising and 31st December Revolution relocated the path of our nation building on the basis of concern for the welfare of the ordinary Ghanaian. (June 4, 2000)

(63) *Our independence from British colonialism in 1957* was exploited by our indigenous rulers in their own interests, June 4 reminded these rulers that real power should rest in the hands of the ordinary people. Where independence unleashed our insatiable thirst for freedom at the expense of justice, as happened through the 1960s and 1970s, June 4 reminded us that social justice for the majority and the probity of leaders should not be sacrificed for the privileges of a few (June 4, 2000)

Historicization via the use of the topos of history and historical recontextualization
In the extracts (61), (62) and (63), Rawlings exploits historical memory and collective experiences for sociopolitical gain. He uses the topos of history (Wodak, 2009) as teacher to naturalize his revolutions by comparing them with revolutions in different parts of the world (61). Through this normalization mechanism, he suggests that revolutions are part and parcel of the sociopolitical life of all countries because they are aimed at protecting national interests. He thus implies that like other nations, the revolutions he led in Ghana constitute a form of inevitable rite of passage that phases out the old system and ushers in the new. The implication of this worldview is that Ghana's revolutions, like all other revolutions, served a justifiable cause and must therefore be favorably evaluated. I argue that this ideological perspective that lays claim to pursuing national interests does not only create historical correlates to justify the revolutions, but also neutralizes dissenting voices and invalidates any criticisms. To strengthen his argument, Rawlings states that "every nation on earth has at one time or another, had to go through the cleansing experience that we undertook on June 4, 1979" (04/06/2000). Although the one-to-one mapping he establishes between Ghana and 'every nation on earth' may not be entirely accurate, it helps him to legitimize his revolutionary actions via the mechanism of historicization. Such an enunciation can also be

analyzed as the hyperbolic use of language in the service of emotionalization of the facts to cultivate belief in the legitimacy of his revolutionary actions.

To further (re)contextualize his revolutions, Rawlings refers to significant events/periods in Ghana that serve as historical antecedents to validate his actions. In this vein, he uses expressions such as 'June 4' (62, line 3), '31st December' (62, line 3) , '28th February 1948' (62, line 1), 'in 1957' (63, line 1), 'as happened through the 1960s and 1970s' (63, line 4) and 'such historic political events' (62, line 1) to transform the revolutions into a positively represented legacy despite the adverse consequences of the revolutions. Intertextuality and interdiscursivity are useful for historicization; hence, Rawlings' reference to past events such as 'cross- roads shooting incident' (62, line 1), 'Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah's positive action' (62, line 2) and 'our independence from British colonialism' (63, line 1) highlights how previous experiences can be used to explain current social practices and how ideological motivations of past actions can shape new actions. The 'politics of memory' refers to the ways in which groups, collectives, and nations construct and identify with particular narratives about historical periods or events (Maurantonio, 2014). Hence, Rawlings' association of his revolutions with some of Ghana's most salient shared previous experiences (e.g., colonialism and the struggle for independence) helps him to exploit Ghanaian cultural values such as collectivism and communality for sociopolitical gain.

It is apparent that Rawlings' revolutionary discourse borders on nationalism. This is evident in extracts (61)- (62) via lexicalization such as 'nation-building' (62, line 4), 'the welfare of the ordinary Ghanaian' (62, line 5), 'the hands of the ordinary people' (63, line 2) and 'social justice for the majority' (63, line 4) and they enable Rawlings to promote himself as a nationalist whose task is to build the nation. This arousal of nationalistic sentiments is strategic as it is essential to revolutionary discourses, and it enables the masses to make sense of revolutions despite their unpleasant effects. The metaphorical use of 'nation-building' is instructive as it suggests that Rawlings conceptualizes the nation in concrete terms – i.e., as a physical building. This metaphor expresses the view that the sociopolitical and economic development of the Ghanaian nation is a process that begins with a foundation that the revolution has established. The end-product of this construction process is a 'new nation' with a solid foundation on which the new political and economic pillars of the nation firmly stand. By articulating this 'nation-building' (62, line 4)

ideology, as has been done by revolutionaries elsewhere, Rawlings ascribes to himself the founder of the new post-revolutionary nation of Ghana, thereby legitimating the identity of a noble revolutionary.

6.2.5 Legitimation via the claim of sacrifice in democratic regime only

Legitimation by claim of sacrifice refers to the justification of the execution of regime enemies on the basis that their elimination is an antidote to the threats their existence poses to the social order. The claim of sacrifice (Ganaah et al., 2023) is a novel legitimation that was found in the democratic discourse of Rawlings. It provides an effective appeal used by political leaders especially in constructing populist discourses that elicit a commonsense approval from the masses. In the data analyzed in this thesis, instances of claim of sacrifice were relatively less frequent compared to moral evaluations. And yet they contribute to our understanding of Rawlings' perspectivation of the revolution and of his revolutionary image. It legitimizes an action by implying that something must be forfeited before a perceived benefit can be realized, and that what is forfeited is the high price to pay but less costly when compared to the anticipated positive outcome. In pursuit of radical social transformation, the discourse of revolutionary leaders can motivate ideological actions that "display an incredible indifference to costs in other to achieve their ideological goals" (Stedman, 1991, p. 12). Rawlings utilizes this strategy to justify political enemy executions which was part of asserting his individual identity as revolutionary as illustrated in the extracts below.

(64) ***We had to contain it within the military so it didn't spill into the civil front – if it had it would have been terrible. We had no choice but to sacrifice the most senior ones*** – the commanders. I'm taking responsibility for it all. (March 1, 2007)

(65) ***There were some of them who probably deserved it. Pardon me for putting it that way***. There were some of them who did not — very brilliant, beautiful officers. But we had no choice but to make that sacrifice. (September 22, 2000)

(66) ***I commend you all for your distinguished achievements and sacrifices for peace in   the world***. My brothers and sisters of the revolutionary organs, l salute you also and commend you for the immense contributions you have made towards consolidating the gains of June 4. (June 4, 1994)

Legitimation that lays claim to sacrifice implies that if the perceived cost of an action is low, no matter the consequence associated with it, the risk to commit it is rewarding insofar as it saves us from a far worse outcome. I submit that this process begins by identifying supposed counter-revolutionary forces who are constructed as rivals of the so-called 'new order'. Based on this ideology, the killing of dissident groups perceived to be opponents of the revolutionary agenda is legitimized. The extracts show that Rawlings considered the execution of some top officials as the only way to prevent the social discontent from getting out of hand. After the 1979 coup, Rawlings established and became chairman of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). Before handing over power to President Hilla Limann and the People's National Party, he and the AFRC ruled for 112 days and arranged the execution by firing squad of eight military officers, including general officers and three former heads of state. There were also reports of a much wider 'house-cleaning exercise' after both the 1979 and 1981 coups involving the killing and abduction of several Ghanaians. In the extracts above, Rawlings alludes to (some of) these killings and rationalizes them by intimating that some, if not all, were necessary to prevent the perpetuation of corruption and injustices (64), contain a situation and prevent a spill over (64) and make people suffer the consequences of their nefarious activities (65). In other words, the revolutions were necessary to avert a worse outcome of the people's anger against the individuals and institutions that had failed Ghanaian society. Rawlings thus makes an appeal to 'the will of the people' and claims that the executions were a necessary evil.

Making a claim to sacrifice also serves to understate the excesses of the revolution as it enables Rawlings to informationally de-emphasize the negative effects of the revolution. In the statement "here you have the list of innocent good people who would have to die to save hundreds" (13/07/2020), the predication 'would have to die' functions as a hypothetical construction rather than an actual event and thus conceals the emotional, psychological and social impact of the death of the people referred to. Rawlings then proceeds to offer a positive evaluation of the death of the innocent people as a sacrifice 'to save hundreds' of Ghanaians, thereby suggesting that the benefits of the revolutions are a justification for these deaths. When political leaders exploit a claim to sacrifice, especially in the context of revolutions, the process of legitimation follows a commonsense approach that begins with demonizing the candidates for the sacrifice (Kim 2018; Reyes 2011). Consequently, they are assigned negative attributes that depict them as threats that ought to be nullified by any means possible, including death. Generally, the motivation for such

legitimation is predicated on the premise that 'if we destroy the bad [ones], we will save the good [ones]'. However, as shown in extract (65), Rawlings asserts that 'there were some of them [very brilliant, beautiful officers] who did not deserve [to die]' (line 1) but they had to be killed to safeguard the national interest. In this regard, Rawlings' justification of killing good people can be likened to the sacrifice of Jesus Christ – i.e., a good, sinless man dying as a sacrificial lamb for the salvation of mankind (cf., 1 Peter 1: 19). It will not be far-fetched to submit that Rawlings' exploitation of the notion of sacrifice derives from the sociocultural context in which his discourse is produced. Given that Ghana is a predominantly Christian nation, Rawlings' audience is likely to be familiar with the sacrifice of Jesus Christ; therefore, it can be said that he capitalizes on the religious sensibilities of his audience to legitimize a callous and condemnable act in a way that makes him appear compassionate under pugnacious circumstances.

Based on the analysis in Sections 6.2.1- 6.2.5, the legitimation strategies and their linguistic means of realization used by Rawlings to assert his identity in the military and democratic regimes are presented in Tables 14 and 15 respectively.

Table 14: Legitimation strategies and their linguistic means of realizations used by Rawlings to validate his identity in the military regime

Legitimation strategy	Linguistic means of realization	Purpose	Themes highlighted
Authorization	Numerative expressions e.g., majority of our people, most Ghanaians	To create conformity through the authority of numbers	National interests
	Use of *personal pronouns* to create inclusivity e.g., our people	To identify with the people to seek their approval to legitimate actions	National interests

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		To authorize a view as truthful and natural	National interests
	Verbal and modal choices e.g., remail, will		
		Positive self-presentation and negative other presentation	National interests
	Membership categorization- 'us' v 'them'		
		To shield personal authoritative claims from debate and make them appear factual	
	Aphorisms		
		To present self as moral exemplar	Moral and ethical leader
	Moral character construction e.g., insinuating selflessness		
Rationalization	Using *ends and means* constructions e.g., from 'old' to 'new'	To rationalize the revolution as a means to an end	National interests
	Nominalization through noun phrases e.g., the ultimate goal		
		To indicate the utility of the revolution	National interests
	Goal-oriented lexemes e.g., goal, objective		

	Verbs of material processes e.g., 'to address', 'to achieve', 'to overthrow'	To emphasize the specific goals the revolution aimed to achieve	Nationalism
	Moralized lexico-grammatical elements e.g., 'die a little'	To highlight the importance of continental emancipation	Pan-Africanism
Moralization	*Moralized lexico-grammatical elements* e.g., 'truth', 'probity', 'integrity'	To ascribe positive moral attributes to self	Nationalism and Pan-Africanism
	Membership categorization- 'us' vs. 'them'	To distinguish between lawless elites and law-abiding Ghanaians to evoke patriotic sentiments	Nationalism
	Negative other presentation using vilified terms e.g., vampires, tormentors, detractors	To ascribe negative traits to those who exploit the nation	Nationalism

Table 15: Legitimation strategies and their linguistic means of realizations used by Rawlings to validate his identity in the democratic regime

Legitimation strategy	Linguistic means of realization	Purpose	Themes highlighted
Authorization	*Personal authority* claims	To emphasize belief in the legitimate structures of civil governance	Building of strong institutions
	Impersonalized authority, with reference to the constitution e.g., the new constitution	To authorize actions and claims as supported by external authority	Building of strong institutions
	Personal pronouns e.g., first person pronoun 'I'	To author personal stance as universal truth to justify actions	Effective leadership
	Nominalization- using designating terms e.g. democratization, local government	To assert the usefulness of democracy to governance	Building of strong institutions
Rationalization	Using *metaphor (fire and cleansing metaphor)* e.g*.,* lightening a match, cleansing	To necessitate the revolution	Nationalism

Moralization	*Values of leadership* e.g., 'have a vision', 'lay the foundation', etc.	To rationalize building a robust Ghanaian society	Visionary leadership
	Values of scientific objectivity- e.g., use of the constitution to justify actions	To use the appeal to the constitution to rationalize the fight against corruption	Moral leadership
	Use of heroized values using statements of universal appeal e.g., every nation on earth, it happened everywhere	Because of the heroic nature of the revolution, it was bound to happen	Moral leadership
Historicization	*Topos of history*	To justify Ghana's revolution because revolutions are a historical phenomena	Nationalism
	Recontextualization using historical antecedents e.g. Ghana's independence in 1957, 28th February	To positively represent the revolution by assigning historical meaning	Nationalism

	1948 crossroad shooting		
The claim to sacrifice	*Negative Other presentation* (Using negative attributes e.g., 'bad')	To assign negative traits to political opponents in order to justify sacrificing or executing them	Nationalism

6.3 An overview of the use of legitimation strategies in the military and democratic regimes.

This section teases out the differences and similarities of the various legitimations used by Rawlings in his military and democratic regimes and the factors that may have occasioned their use. To begin with, the nature of the regimes may have potentially informed the number of legitimations used, resulting in the differences in the ratio as can be seen in Table 13. In autocratic regimes, where power rests with the dictator or military leader, in the case of a military regime, dissenting voices and a discerning opposition tend to be strategically muted which allows for covert practices to take place, often requiring no justifications. Rawlings may, therefore, have needed fewer instances of legitimations in the military regime because, whether or not certain actions were adequately justified, they could be carried out by the military apparatus without opposition. Against this background, it is plausible to assume that in the democratic regime, where power resides in the people, the need to employ more legitimations may have been conditioned by the tenets of democracy because it obliges Rawlings to offer justificatory reasons to his actions, which are not hedged from debate and dissent, in the spirit of transparency and openness.

Also, given that legitimation reflects ideology (Breeze, 2012) and functions through discourse to achieve specific aims, it can be said that the democratic discourse of Rawlings was more ideologically imbued than the military one. The variation in the distribution of the legitimation in the two periods is not an indication that Rawlings was innately more ideologically competent or even sophisticated in the democratic era than in the military era, although the evolution of his ideas cannot be denied. Rather, the variations are more logically accounted for by the fact that in the military regime there was less need for Rawlings to be more recurrent with the legitimations that

provided legitimacy for his ideologies because of the expected acquiescence of the citizens to his totalitarian rule which prevented resistance, while in the democratic regime, the space for pluralistic views, dissent and ideological contestation may have logically compelled Rawlings to be more articulate in the justificatory arguments he provides for his ideologies. This also reveals a fundamental difference between military regimes and democratic regimes in that the structure of the former tends to support little or no justification for specific acts and decisions taken whereas the latter, which derives its legitimacy from the will of the people, is obliged to seek public consent through argumentation. It can also be hypothesized that the association between legitimation and ideology means that the more legitimations there are in a discourse, the more ideology there is at work in that discourse, which goes to show that ideology was more robustly articulated during the democratic era than in the military era. Because a leader's ideological stance contributes to the success or failure of their vision, it follows from the argument above that in the two regimes, Rawlings adopted the strategy of legitimation to assert the ideological positions that underlaid his agenda for the country. However, there were more justificatory arguments offered in the democratic era than in the military regime, making the assumption that there was more success in his leadership in the democratic regime (see Kumah-Abiwu & Sabella, 2022) reasonable.

Further, authorization, rationalization and moralization were used by Rawlings in both regimes, indicating that these legitimation strategies are similar across the regimes although the number of instances vary. These variations are worth commenting on. The common strategy that was identified in the military era was moralization as opposed to rationalization in the democratic era. The next, more frequent strategy in the military regime is authorization followed by rationalization whereas in the democratic regime, moralization is a close second to rationalization, followed by authorization. The small difference between moralization and authorization in the military regime and rationalization and moralization in the democratic regime suggests that these strategies, respectively, have, more or less, the same degree of salience as far as Rawlings' use of discursive strategies is concerned.

Despite the closeness in the figures of some of the strategies as indicated, it is not difficult to infer why moralization may have been slightly more frequent in the military regime, for example. The PNDC regime which evolved from the AFRC came to power largely on the campaign of instilling

a new moral consciousness in Ghanaian society. As has been noted in this thesis, the major accusation against the SMC regime as admitted by Rawlings is the "uncontrolled corruption [that] had created a sense of wretchedness and despair amongst our people" leaving them with "a deep sense of hopelessness" (Engmann, 2022, p. 3). To justify the revolutions and indeed his revolutionary identity, Rawlings resorted to a moralized rhetoric in which he highlighted the moral failure of the ruling regime while proposing new moral values of probity, integrity and accountability. It makes sense, therefore, that his discourse at this time was more moralized than rationalized or authorized. It was expected that moralizations would be less in the democratic regime in comparison to the military regime. This is because, in the transition from military to democratic rule, Rawlings succeeded himself which implies that he was his own predecessor and could not have spoken out against his moral failures nor constantly indulge in self-glorification. It is my argument that, in place of explicit moralizations, Rawlings employed rationalization, instead, to assert his actions and validate the identities they foreground. This appears calculated in that it enabled Rawlings to focus more on justifying the utilitarian aspects of his actions and not the moral values, per se, that inform his leadership, for which he was variously accused during the regime (see Adedeji, 2001). Some these accusations border on the execution of the high court judges and former Heads of State based on allegations of their involvement in corruption.

A major difference in the moralizations that were used by Rawlings in both regimes can be seen in the originally new sub-category that this thesis found to embed discourses in the democratic regime - heroization. Although there is no correlation or association between a particular political dispensation and the use of heroized moralization according to the definition offered earlier, it was particularly striking that there were no discourses in the military regime that explicitly sought to transform the actions of Rawlings into heroic ones. One reason immediately accounts for this. In a speech elsewhere, Rawlings admitted "My dear countrymen and women, a revolution is a process. It is not a one-time act that suddenly removes all economic and social problems that the nation faces" (Rawlings, June 4, 2000). The processual nature of the revolution suggests that the timing was not ideal during the military regime for heroizing the revolution as several of the reasons for which it was initiated were yet to materialize or yield conclusive political outcomes. For example, the establishment of constitutional rule, the return to democracy, and multi-party politics which were essential aspects of the revolutionary struggle, had begun to thrive in the

democratic era, providing a more convenient and appropriate temporal reference for hailing the revolutions as heroic in what they had helped to achieve in Rawlings' leadership. This, coupled with the general tendency for leaders to positively evaluate their past actions or practices in order to legitimate their contribution to current or future outcomes, I submit, explain the patent inexistence of heroized legitimations in Rawlings' discourse during the military reign.

Two other legitimation categories found to be complementary to Van Leeuwen's (2007) framework - historicization and the claim of sacrifice - were found only in the texts of the democratic era. Although these strategies are different in the legitimations they provide, they form part of Rawlings' retrospective assessment of the revolutions' historical significance and legacy and how that informed some of the actions and decisions that were taken at the time. One vital reason why they may have been present in the democratic era and not the military era is that most of the speeches that embed historicization and claims of sacrifice were delivered in the year 2000 when Rawlings' term of office as president was coming to an end, and like many other politicians, the desire to bequeath a heritage to Ghanaians is relatively high compared to when he first entered office. Knowing that he would be judged by his actions during the period of his rule, it was incumbent on him to present a narrative that could potentially shape the citizens' evaluation of himself and regime; hence, the use of historicization and claim of sacrifice to present the revolutions as a positively represented legacy because of their purported benefits to the future of society based on their actual or assumed past benefits in the world for which politicians who identify as revolutionaries make sacrifices to initiate them.

One area where remarkable similarities and differences showed in Rawlings' use of legitimations can be seen in the topical content of the common strategies in each regime. All the legitimations, whether in the military or democratic regime, relied on the topic of the revolution itself to provide justificatory arguments for Rawlings' identity and ideology. This has informed the claim in this thesis that the nucleus of Rawlings' identity is the noble 'revolutionary' because it was his most central ideology. Even when Rawlings addressed a more internationally diverse audience such as at the OAU conference, he talked about the 'African revolutionary' agenda. It suggests that when an ideology is central to a politician, it tends to be continuously legitimated and over time, comes to be associated with his identity. Although politicians like Rawlings, who rule for a long time in

two distinct regimes, can experience shifts in their ideologies and the related justifications that are employed to assert these ideologies, the identity they highlight can sometimes be durably static even if there is reason to believe that they may have evolved in other aspects. Dominant ideologies help to mobilize political support and where leaders change their most dominant ideology, it can affect mass loyalty. Leaders therefore aim to carve out symbolic and real identities based on these ideologies and the mechanism by which they can achieve this is by appropriating different strategies of legitimation so that those identities can be preserved and remain useful to public discussion long after they have left office. It nourishes the view that if a politician comes to be identified with a particular ideology that promotes the acceptance of his political actions, he/she would most likely invoke different legitimation strategies to assert and preserve that ideology and identity. This notwithstanding, it is also noteworthy that the content of these strategies is different across the regimes in terms of the legitimacy it engenders for political self-representation.

As has been seen in the analysis and discussion so far, the focus of Rawlings' revolutionary rhetoric in the military regime was centered on the redemption of the nation from further economic disintegration and the articulation of the values, ideals and principles that would promote economic growth for the benefit of the ordinary Ghanaian. It also emphasized the laying of democratic foundations for participatory governance and reforms in different sectors including education as against the rule by the elite minority which in Rawlings' opinion caused the economic collapse of the country. African emancipation and the quest for independence was also an emphatic topical focus in the discourse of Rawlings mainly because the era coincided with the struggle for independence by some African countries who were still under colonial rule as well as against (economic) imperialism. Contrarily, the content of legitimations in the democratic regime tended to focus on the constitution and its provisions that allow for the success of democratic governance. Thus, Rawlings' vision of leadership which sought to establish proper governance and institutional structures to fight corruption and bring development, economic and political stability became essential aspects of his argumentation.

Where the revolutions were referred to, it was so done to support the legitimation of these topics that reveal the ideologies that held Rawlings' attention (i.e., promote economic growth, political participation, etc.). On one hand, these differences can be accounted for by the historical time

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periods of the two regimes and the prevailing domestic and international conditions that dictated what was important in public discourse. Internally, due to widespread corruption, the economic indicators were not positive and the international community classified Ghana as a "failed state" (Kumah-Abiwu & Sabella, 2022, p. 274). Obviously, this made the agenda of national reconstruction a logical topical focus in the discourses that provided legitimations for his actions. The agenda of national reconciliation was aimed at producing a 'new' society, with 'new' ways of doing things, led by a 'new' breed of patriotic leaders who are willing to make certain sacrifices for the benefit of all Ghanaians. In the democratic era, there were suspicions about the genuineness of Rawlings' transformation from a totalitarian military leader to a civilian one because, historically, such transitions sometimes fail to materialize, leading to a relapse to totalitarianism wholly or in part.

Additionally, international donor countries and organizations whose aid helped to resuscitate the economy, had begun rating Rawlings' human rights records and Ghana's democracy as part of their decision to (dis)continue their aid. This put a considerable amount of pressure on Rawlings to consolidate the budding democratization, build the intuitions that will make democracy thrive and support and sustain the processes that were initiated for social, economic and political change. Thus, it is not far-fetched to conclude that Rawlings had much to prove to himself and his observers, which I claim informed the content of the legitimations he relied on during this era. These legitimations that were used by Rawlings across the two regimes, do not only provide insights into the strategies individuals who rule in military and democratic regimes in succession use to legitimize the identities that are associated with the ideologies they stand for in their political performance, but also highlight important differences and similarities between military and democratic regimes around the world.

6.4 Similarities/differences in the linguistic means of the legitimation strategies in the military and democratic regime

Authorization legitimation strategy

Authorization was realized by a number of linguistic elements. To identify with the authority behind a claim, personal pronouns were employed by Rawlings to indicate the source of the authority. The first person singular pronoun 'I' was found to be used in both regimes to assert

personal authority, which legitimated the speeches it helped to construct. However, additionally, in the military regime, authorization was realized by the use of verbal and modal choices (e.g., 'will' and 'remain') to assert personal authority. For impersonal authority, while numerative expressions (e.g., majority, all, etc.) were used by Rawlings in the military regime to assert the authority of the views he constructs, in the democratic regime, nominal designations (such as appeals to 'the new constitution') were used to validate specific claims. These claims, therefore, derived their authenticity from the constitution that supports them. The claims that were legitimated using these linguistic devices suggested that the idea of nationalism was the focal theme of Rawlings' discourse. Membership categorization, drawing on an 'us' vs. 'them' grouping, in which Rawlings presented himself as having the right and not others, to pontificate about what the true interests of the nation are, was deployed in the military regime but not the democratic regime. Given the autarchic tendency of the military, it was also commonplace for Rawlings to use aphorisms to shield his personal authoritative claims from contention in order to transform them into axiomatic beliefs. This was achieved through cultural positioning as a chief whose judgements are uncontested and held as truth. Sometimes, authorizations can draw on moral character construction. Rawlings used this means in the miliary regime to represent himself as a moral exemplar.

Rationalization legitimation strategy

The rational constructs that were used by Rawlings differed across the regimes in terms of the linguistic means of realization. Based on the speeches analyzed, rationalization was realized via metaphorical allusions in the democratic regime while a range of linguistic devices was utilized in the military regime. The metaphors that were used were mainly fire and cleansing metaphors that helped Rawlings to rationalize the need for the revolutions that served as a catalysts for nationalism. Ends and means constructions and goal-oriented lexemes justified the revolution as a means to an end and performed a utilitarian function respectively. The utilitarian aspect of the revolution was further rationalized through the process of nominalization using noun phrases that connoted the usefulness of the revolution. Furthermore, verbs of material process were used to rationally assert the instrumentality of the revolutions, which were the object of Rawlings' rational argumentation. These linguistic elements helped to underscore the theme of nationalism in the discourse they embed. A further way rationalization was linguistically realized was through

moralized lexico-grammatical choices that ascribed the moral value of 'good' to the quest for continental emancipation as part of Rawlings Pan-Africanist discourse. These moralized lexico-grammatical elements were, however, not found in the rationalizations that were made in the democratic regime.

Moralization legitimation strategy

Rawlings' moralization strategy was achieved through three linguistic means in the military regime that were not the same as the three mechanisms used during the democratic regime. Moralized lexico-grammatical elements, membership categorization and negative Other presentation, corresponding to the themes of nationalism and Pan-Africanism, were used in the military regime, whereas the values of leadership, the values of scientific objectivity and heroized values, corresponding to the theme of leadership, were used in the democratic regime. Whereas the use of moralized lexical (e.g., truth, integrity) elements and membership categorization helped to ascribe positive traits to Rawlings, the latter more specifically designated the elite as lawless, who were described in more vilified terms such as 'vampires' and 'tormentors' via the mechanism of negative Other presentation. As his opponents are demonized, Rawlings appears glorified with a pure character that enhances his self-representation. While the values of leadership drew on expressions that connoted visionary leadership, the values of scientific objectivity and heroized values helped Rawlings to construct his revolution as a fight against corruption and a heroic act bringing redemption to the nation, thereby accentuating, more specifically, his moral leadership.

Legitimation via historicization

The use of historicization to legitimate Rawlings' revolutions was found in the speeches analyzed in the democratic regime and not in the military regime. A plausible reason for using historicization to legitimate the revolutions is that the democratic regime allowed Rawlings to look back into time to (re)create a narrative about himself in relation to the revolutions in order to construct a more desirable identity than was associated in the military regime. The strategy was realized linguistically by the topos of history using temporal elements such as 'June 4', and historical recontextualization expressed by references to past events such as 'our independence from British colonialism'.

Legitimation via the claims of sacrifice

The clam of sacrifice was also used exclusively in the democratic regime and probably for the same reason as in using historicization- to (re)create a more desirable narrative about the revolutions that was attributed. It is linguistically realized through the device of negative Other presentation using negative evaluative attributes such as 'bad'. This, then, helped Rawlings to assign negative traits to political opponents in order to justify sacrificing or executing them.

6.5 Chapter summary

The focus of this chapter was to examine the legitimation strategies that were utilized by Rawlings in validating or asserting his identity which was an essential aspect of his ideology in his military regime and democratic regime and to see whether these legitimations converged or diverged and why this may have been so. The chapter analyzed how the use of legitimation strategies and their linguistic means of realization was used to perform various legitimatory functions by Rawlings in his military and democratic regimes. The chapter further examined, comparatively, how these legitimations are exploited by Rawlings in the military and democratic regimes to assert his core identity as a noble revolutionary and the actions it engenders. The argumentative structures that inhabit Rawlings' discourses suggest that he employed three legitimation strategies in his military rule: authorization, rationalization and moralization in his self-representation and the justification of his actions. In his democratic regime the analysis reveals that five legitimation strategies were utilized, the last two of which are new categories that were developed to complement Van Leeuwen's (2007) framework: authorization, rationalization, moralization historicization, and claim of sacrifice. The distribution of these legitimations further points to remarkable similarities and differences in their usage across the two regimes which may be shaped by macro factors. The similarity showed in the use of authorization, rationalization and moralization strategies across both regimes suggests that legitimation strategies are not limited to specific political regimes.

The strategies of historicization and the claim of sacrifice, which the analysis found to be peculiar to the democratic regime, provided justifications for the revolutions' historical significance and the legacy they lend to Ghanaian politics. Moreover, differences were also found in the content the legitimations relied on which can be traced to the essential differences between military and democratic regimes as well as internal (or domestic) and external (or international) expectations.

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Whereas it was more logical for Rawlings to imbue the discourse of his legitimations with topics that revolved around building a new society with new principles, new economy, new foundation for future practices, sector reforms, etc. due to the failure of the previous regime, it was equally natural, in the democratic era, that Rawlings provided legitimations for constitutional democracy and the need for the right institutions and procedures to support and consolidate the democratization process that was initiated by the revolution for the actions he took and the identity he hoped to be associated with. The analysis and discussion in this chapter underscore the view that the use of legitimations in discourse does not only provide insights into how individuals who rule in both military and democratic regimes deploy arguments to legitimize the identities that are associated with the ideologies they stand for in their political performance, but also highlight important differences and similarities between military and democratic regimes and how certain macro factors can function to shape the specific ideologies on which legitimations are based. In the next chapter which concludes this thesis, I summarize the key findings and discuss the implications and limitations of the study. I also offer suggestions for further work.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter brings the thesis to a conclusion. It recaps the aims and the research questions of the study, as well as how they have been addressed theoretically and methodologically. It goes on to outline the key findings and the contributions of the thesis and reflects on the strengths and limitations of the study. Finally, this chapter makes suggestions and recommendations for further research on the identity and representation of individual socio-political actors in discourse.

7.2 Summary of the goals of the study

The overall aim of the study was to examine identity and representation in the discourses associated with the political self-representation of Jerry John Rawlings, Ghana's longest-serving leader, whose transition from head of a revolutionary military government [1981-1992] to first elected president [1993-2001] of a liberal democratic government in Ghana's 4th Republic marked the changing narrative of Ghana's political scene; evolving from a nation suppressed by autocratic rule and economic decline to a democratic and economically viable one rebuilt through the bravery of its revolutionaries. In particular, the study aimed to find out whether Rawlings' identity and self-representations converged or diverged and how they were legitimated during his military and democratic regimes.

The notion of identity, especially in political discourse, is central to political performance and seems to play a key role in how powerful politicians influence the direction and organization of society. Rawlings' identity was framed by institutional discourses or political speeches that were delivered by him in his capacity as Head of State and elected president covering two regimes-military and democratic. The two regimes are distinct and therefore offer different contexts of the representations of Rawlings in terms of his leadership in Ghana's politics. Although some earlier studies have investigated Rawlings' justification of the coups that instituted the military regime and assessed his role in establishing democracy, his identity and representations in his discourse has not been taken into account, neither have the two regimes in relation to his identity been previously compared. The questions about Rawlings' identity arose in his performance of politics, as he began to articulate the ideological motivations of his leadership, reflected on his position towards others locally and in his interaction with the world at large. The emergent identity was

mainly animated by the military and democratic settings within which Rawlings ruled. However less prominent, the discourse events, also contributed to the self-representations of Rawlings in his political performance.

The literature review section of this thesis (see Chapter 2) showed that many studies on identity and self-representation (Albalat-Mascarell & Carrió-Pastor, 2019; Boyd, 2009; Kheovichai, 2022; Moustafa, 2015) employed corpus linguistic tools of analysis and focused mostly on Western politicians. This revealed the need to examine politicians from the Global South and from an in-depth qualitative point of view. Drawing on Wodak's DHA (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak & Meyer, 2001; 2009) allowed this thesis to apply a robust analytical framework to the analysis of the chosen sets of data (political speeches in the military and democratic regime). Given that the speeches were produced in unique regime contexts, there were differences and similarities between the two sets of political speeches in regard to the thematic choices of Rawlings' discourse, the discursive strategies that were deployed and their linguistic means of realization.

The analysis of Rawlings' speeches revealed two main themes in the military regime - nationalism and Pan-Africanism- and two predominant themes in the democratic regime- effective leadership and the building of strong institutions, which enabled him to construct the identity of a noble revolutionary, which the study found to be the nucleus of his self-representation across the regimes. On the theme of nationalism, Rawlings framed a local nationalist discourse that aimed to highlight the pursuit of national interests, a new framework for national politics and the importance of institutional structures for national progress. Concerning Pan-Africanism, Rawlings constructed transnational discourses that emphasized his support for continental African emancipation through the pursuit of unity and development as well as a fight against imperialism and western domination. While the discourses that are associated with Rawlings' nationalist agenda were constructed by three sub-themes namely, reforms, national interests and democracy, the discourses associated with his Pan-Africanist agenda were constructed by the sub-themes of African unity and African struggle for independence and emancipation. The discourses that made up the theme of effective leadership in the democratic regime were found to hinge on sub-themes that portrayed Rawlings as pragmatic, visionary, economic revivalist and ethically and morally upright leader while Rawlings' revolutionary identity was also constructed through the thematic emphasis on building

strong institutions, which goes hand-in-hand with effective leadership. This discursive self-representation was achieved by insisting on laying the proper foundation for strong institutions that will promote good governance practices and create a political culture that will lead to development, growth and expansion. Given that Africa, despite its enormous wealth of resources (Birdsall, 2007), is regarded as a continent bedeviled by a "crisis of institutions" (Annan-Aggrey et al., 2022, p. 6), Rawlings articulated a persuasive rhetoric that demonstrated his belief in the necessity, creation and resourcing of institutions because of their critical role in development and dealing with socio-economic challenges such as inequality, poverty and limited access to basic services. The different aspects of the noble revolutionary identity that the (sub)themes highlighted were associated with Rawlings' idea of revolution which brought him to power and prominence. Although both regimes highlighted the theme of revolution, how it was treated differed across the regimes. It appeared that in the military regime it was treated as a means for achieving democracy and educational reform, whereas in the democratic regime Rawlings constructed the revolution as a purifying tool for purging the nation of corrupt officials. Rawlings' conceptualization of revolution in terms of the economy seems to bear striking similarities as well as remarkable differences across the two regimes. In the military regime, while Rawlings seemed to emphasize the establishment of "new economic structures" as an underlying motivation for the revolution, in the democratic regime, Rawlings seemed to use the 'revolution' as a catalyst for a national revival to assert the need for a restoration to a past robust economic status in the present. This divergence in the conceptualization of the revolution points to an evolution in Rawlings' politics and identity, which underscores the point that politicians change over time, even if minimally.

This thesis also finds that the objective for centering the theme of democracy diverged in both regimes. Rawlings appeared to imbue his discourses in the military period with more appeals to democracy as a means of diverting attention from the authoritarian undercurrents of the revolution that naturally portrayed him as a military despot. By promoting a pro-democracy rhetoric in a military regime, Rawlings created the impression that the decision to embark upon the revolution was the people's decision and a response to their democratic aspirations, which enabled him to distance himself from the despotism associated with his identity as a military person. Additionally, it was realized that Rawlings' constant affirmations of the values of democracy and support for democratic processes and structures, suggested that a calculated political deliberation was at work

to secure legitimacy for his military rule. On the contrary, the emphasis on democracy in the democratic regime sought to demonstrate Rawlings' respect for the will of the people and western donors who insisted on democratization as a key conditionality for securing aid. There were similarities in the way Rawlings demonstrated his ability to deploy a hands-on approach, proposing practical solutions to critical socioeconomic issues. The propositions that Rawlings offered in this regard were a product of a careful diagnosis of the state of affairs, followed by a prescription of the strategies that will lead to desirable changes. The analysis revealed that the ability to diagnose the malaise in the system reflected more prominently in discourses that promoted Rawlings' Pan-Africanist agenda in the military regime but more strongly asserted his identity as an effective leader with a pragmatic orientation in the democratic regime. The main problem of Pan-Africanism was diagnosed as the failure of past leaders to achieve unity and emancipation; a scenario which was caused by systemic divisions artificially created by colonialism. Rawlings, thus, proposed an alternative pragmatic approach based on genuine cooperation as the only remedy. As part of the remedy, Rawlings transformed the vision of African unity and emancipation into a basic need that must be fulfilled. He constructed African unity as a precursor to African emancipation: an assertion, which has also been recognized in Kumah-Abiwu and Sabella's (2022) edited volume in their explanation of the concept of 'African nation'. He also interdiscursively linked the idea of African unity to important interests such as sovereignty, security and the economy which impact the wider African society.

The emphasis on pragmatism, more strongly showed in Rawlings' diagnosis of the socio-economic problems of the country, is typical of pragmatic leaders (Lovelace & Hunter, 2013). Hence, his pragmatic leadership was framed as the source of practical policies that will lead to poverty alleviation and sustainable growth. The pragmatic policies Rawlings highlighted were presented in the form of visions which when fulfilled, at greater costs, will ultimately transform the economy. The study found that the attribute 'pragmatic' is desirable for Rawlings because it helped to neutralize the perception that his military regime has been an experiment and failed to address the issues of economic crisis inherited from the SMC military regime.

In the detailed discussion of the two sets of data (i.e., political speeches of Rawlings in the military and democratic regime), this thesis accounted for the discursive strategies and their linguistic

means of realization (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009; Wodak et al., 2009). The findings revealed that Rawlings utilized referential/nomination, predication, argumentation and perspectivation strategies in both regimes. However, intensification strategy was found in the speeches of the military regime but not the democratic regime, pointing to a difference in the illocutionary force in Rawlings' utterances across the regimes. The frequent use of referential strategy, realized by a combination of linguistic elements, in both regimes enabled Rawlings to categorize and identify with social groups, creating a positive ingroup and negative outgroup (Wodak et al., 2009) distinction. However, it was found that in the military regime, Rawlings combined the use of pronouns and synecdoche to mark shifts in his identity as a way of blurring the commonly known distinctions between his military and civilian statuses. This strategy helped him to create the impression that he would create a society where differences do not matter and suggested that his pursuit of nationalism was aimed at creating an egalitarian society devoid of social inequalities and discriminatory classifications. Additionally, Rawlings employed metonymy to designate Africa as a homogenous group of which he is leader and constructs an evil outgroup which must be fought against by all. The insinuation of being a leader of the 'African nation', made possible by the referential strategy, allowed Rawlings to turn his personal statements into continental discourses representing the desire of all Africans. In the democratic regime, the use of pronouns and familial terms helped Rawlings to display favourable multiple identities (Bramley, 2001). The analysis revealed that when Rawlings used the first person singular pronoun 'I', it was to preserve his personal voice and agency and portray him as the sole initiator and originator of the policies, visions and programmes that have or will yield beneficial outcomes to society. When the first person plural pronoun 'we' was used, it indicated his self-inclusion in reference to all Ghanaians which allowed him to identify as an ordinary citizen with the responsibility to support the policies of the government. The appeal to Ghanaians to exercise their responsibility is intensified by the use of categorical familial terms that create a family bond on one hand and allowed Rawlings to assume the temporary role of an elder sibling, on the other hand, to mobilize the rest of the family to support government's agenda.

There are also differences in connection with the use of predication strategy. Rawlings, in the military regime, undertook an overt self-description, within the framework of national politics, that made him appear as a pursuer of the nation's interests. This act of positive self-evaluation was

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realized by evaluative adjectives in combination with evaluative verb clauses, which sought to explain that Rawlings' pursuit of national interests was beyond mere rhetoric. On the continental level, the use of predicate clauses and attributions of positive traits constituted the predication strategy Rawlings used to assert his Pan-Africanist identity. The findings reveal that the use of predicate clauses was employed to underscore the challenges that confronted the agenda of unity and emancipation while the attribution of positive traits expressed by nouns were used to describe himself in relation to the values that are required to unite and emancipate Africa However, in the democratic regime, Rawlings engaged in a strategic "polarization" (van Dijk, 2006) in which he created a difference between himself and previous leaders and more specifically between himself in the military and democratic regime. This was realized by the use of verbs of process, vision-based lexemes and war-like lexicon that suggested that Rawlings was making efforts in providing a blueprint for leadership and the establishment of key public institutions that will drive and sustain the nation's development agenda.

Although metaphors were used frequently across the regimes, there seemed to be some recognizable differences in the types of metaphor that were deployed in the two periods. War metaphor, realized by war lexicon (e.g., battle, fight, struggle) were used by Rawlings in the military regime to configure a polar relationship in which he represented himself as a national hero fighting against the elite, whom he represented as the 'enemy' that must be eliminated in order to create a new and better society. This usage of metaphor was probably due to the military background of Rawlings. However, the use of religious metaphor was favoured in the democratic regime where Rawlings, designated as 'Junior Jesus', is compared to the Biblical Jesus Christ to underscore the political and economic redemption he brought to the nation. The use of argumentation strategy served different functions in Rawlings speeches in the two regimes. In the military era, the topos of reality and uselessness/disadvantage were employed by Rawlings to justify the reality of a dysfunctional system and its lack of meaningful impact on educational development and the need for its replacement. On the contrary, in the democratic era, Rawlings used the topos of cause and effect together with the topos of usefulness/ advantage to justify the need to rid the Ghanaian society of the filth of corruption. At the same time, these topoi were also used to justify the need for strong institutions to uphold public accountability and integrity by asserting causality between the absence of strong institutions and corrupt practices.

Again, in the military regime, the topos of consequence was used to justify the revolution on the basis that it would replace the autocracy of the elite with popular democracy, representing the will of the masses. However, in the democratic regime, the topoi of comparison and history were used to justify the instigation of the revolutions based on their perceived benefits to other countries which also experienced revolutions. Based on his conviction to revive the economy, Rawlings' use of the topos of consequence in the military regime seemed to share some similarities with the use of the topos of necessity and numbers in the democratic regime. In the former, he employed the topos of responsibility to assert his personal as well as the collective responsibility of the people of Ghana to embrace the task of national reconstruction based on its positive implications for economic growth. However, in the latter, the use of the topos of necessity and numbers was maximized to justify the need to collect appropriate taxes for national development and to rationalize the positive impact of new economic policies. The allusion to positive impact, in combination with the use of the topos of authority, on which basis Rawlings transforms his personal vison into a national vision, drawing on the power of the constitution, contributed to a positive self-representation of Rawlings in the democratic regime as a visionary leader.

Concerning perspectivation strategy, although the use of framing devices, temporal references and spatial deictics were employed across the regimes to primarily indicate the cause and effect of revolutions and their positive representation, in the military regime, Rawlings reflected more on his pursuit of national reforms, drawing an important link between revolution and nationalism as opposed to the democratic regime where the focus was on providing effective leadership. These choices point to a difference in the thematic goals of Rawlings' discourse across the regimes because he appeared driven by national and continental unity in the military regime as opposed to a drive for the creation of a legacy through development-oriented leadership in the democratic regime.

There were no instances of intensification/mitigation strategies used in the democratic regime in the data analyzed, therefore the two regimes could not be compared on the basis of this strategy. However, the fact that Rawlings favoured the use of intensification strategy in the military regime makes evident the claim that the discourse goal of his military rhetoric was an attempt, primarily,

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to pursue national and continental unity. This position finds echo in Rawlings' use of deontic modality, expressive and intensifying adverbials, as well as emphatic adjectives to make his utterances on the pursuit of national interests and African unity more forceful and his identity more credible. The interaction between the themes, the discursive strategies and the lexico-grammatical elements, contributed to a coherent framing of Rawlings' identity as a noble revolutionary across the regimes.

This thesis has also uncovered the legitimation strategies and their linguistic means of realization in the analysis and discussion of Rawlings' speeches covering both military and democratic periods. The findings reveal that authorization, rationalization and moralization strategies (van Leeuwen, 2007) were employed in valorizing Rawlings' revolutionary identity in both regimes. However, two new strategies- historicization and the claim of sacrifice- developed from this thesis, were found to be additionally and exclusively used in the democratic regime. This indicates that there were more types of legitimation strategies used in the democratic regime than in the military, pointing to differences in the intentionality and ideology that animated Rawlings speeches in both regimes. The fewer instances of legitimations in the military regime may have been caused by the autocratic system of rule that tended to favour less argumentation or justification of Rawlings' actions. On the other hand, the more instances of legitimation in the democratic regime were conditioned by the tenets of democracy that obligated Rawlings to offer justificatory reasons for his actions in the spirit of transparency and openness. The dissimilarity in the ratio of legitimations used across the regimes highlighted the fundamental difference between military and democratic regimes in that the structure of the former tends to support little or no justification for specific acts and decisions taken, whereas the latter, which derives its legitimacy from the will of the people, is obliged to seek public consent through argumentation. Rawlings favoured the use of moralization more in the military regime because it enabled him to expose the moral failure of the previous SMC regime and to justify the need for a revolution as the means to restore moral sanity in society. The utilitarian aspects of his actions and not the moral values, per se, were the main focus of Rawlings' legitimations in the democratic regime hence his use of rationalization schemes in this regime. A major difference in the moralizations that were used by Rawlings in both regimes can be seen in the originally developed sub-category that this thesis found to embed discourses in the democratic regime – heroization, a strategy which turns ordinary actions into heroic ones.

Rawlings used this strategy to positively evaluate his past actions in a bid to legitimate their contribution to current and/or future outcomes.

The two developed strategies, historicization and the claim to sacrifice, found only in speeches of Rawlings in the democratic era, are complementary categories to Van Leeuwen's (2007) framework (see Ganaah, et al. 2023 for detailed discussion on historicization and claim of sacrifice). Historicization and the claim of sacrifice were used by Rawlings to present the revolutions as a positively represented legacy because of their purported benefits to society for which revolutionaries elsewhere have initiated them. Their absence in the military regime is accounted for by the observation that they derive their meaning from a retrospective evaluation of a phenomenon. Thus, Rawlings employed them to frame a self-serving narrative towards the end of his term of office as president to positively evaluate himself, his regime and the legacy of his politics.

As far as thematic choice is concerned, all the legitimation strategies centered on the theme of revolution, which supports the claim this study has made that the nucleus of Rawlings' identity is the noble revolutionary because he predominantly framed his ideas around the revolutions. However, there were differences in the discourses that were constructed around the 'revolution' in both regimes. In the military regime, the rhetoric was centered on redeeming the nation from economic collapse and promoting a revolution for continental emancipation. On the contrary, in the democratic regime, the thematic focus of the legitimations was democratic governance and its underlying structures. These differences point to macro contextual factors that are historically rooted. The actions Rawlings' legitimations sanctioned in the military regime were necessitated by the pressing need to save the nation from the decline the SMC regime had caused and the imperialistic exploitation that was being perpetuated by western countries in Africa, hence the focus on nationalist and Pan-Africanist rhetoric. However, in the democratic era, the suspicion that Rawlings had not transformed as a once totalitarian leader and pressure from international donors 'forced' him to imbue his discourse with widespread references to democracy and people-centered leadership as an assurance of his genuine transformation and submission to financial aid requirements.

As far as the linguistic means of realization is concerned, this thesis found remarkable differences and similarities in both regimes. Although the first person singular pronoun 'I' was used to express personal authority in both regimes, it combines with verbal and modal choices to underscore personal authority in the military regime. Impersonal authority was also realized differently. While it was indicated by number expressions in the military regime, nominal designations that reflect authoritative sources expressed impersonal authority in the democratic regime. The use of moral character construction, aphorisms and membership categorization helped Rawlings to position himself as a leader whose words carry the final meaning.

There were also differences in the use of rational constructs. While the discourses in the military regime drew on ends and means constructions, nominalization, objectivated lexemes, and moralized lexico-grammatical elements to rationalize the instrumentality of the revolutions because of the values associated with them, Rawlings drew on fire and cleansing metaphor to rationalize the need for the revolutions. To achieve moralization, the thesis found that three linguistic means- moralized lexico-grammatical elements, membership categorization and negative Other presentation- were used in the military regime, whereas the values of leadership, the values of scientific objectivity and heroized values were used in the democratic regime. His use of moralized lexico-grammatical elements presented him as a moral exemplar whereas membership categorization was employed to designate the elite as a negative outgroup with destructive tendencies, leading to their negative Othering in the military regime. In the democratic regime, the values of leadership highlighted visionary leadership, while the values of scientific objectivity and heroized values helped Rawlings to construct his revolution as a fight against corruption and a heroic act bringing redemption to the nation, thereby accentuating, more specifically, his moral leadership.

As regarding historicization and the claim of sacrifice, although no instances were found in the military era, the way they were deployed aided Rawlings' construction of a more desirable identity. By drawing on historicization, Rawlings often looked back into time to recreate a convincing and favourable narrative of himself in relation to the revolutions. This was realized by drawing on the topos of history, recontextualization and historical examples to juxtapose current actions with past actions in order to highlight their shared similarities. Concerning the claim of sacrifice, Rawlings

employed it as a tool to justify the execution of his opponents in a manner that demonized them and made them repugnant in the eyes of the public. Linguistically, it was realized through the device of negative Other presentation using negative evaluative attributes that made it reasonable to sacrifice them (i.e., to kill them).

7.3 Contribution of the study

This study has contributed to the advancement of knowledge on the identity and representation of individual socio-political actors in discourse in a number of ways.

1. This thesis is innovative, as it approached the issue of identity and self-representation of an individual socio-political actor who transitioned from a military dictator to a civilian president by studying his discourse across the regimes of his leadership- something that remains patently unexplored in the extant literature. Previous studies on the self-representation of political actors (e.g., Albalat-Mascarell & Carrió-Pastor, 2019; Haider, 2016; Moustafa, 2015; Proctor & I-Wen Su, 2011; Reyes, 2011) examined the speeches of democratically elected presidents rather than those with a military-cum-democratic history. Neither have the two regimes, military and democratic, been previously compared or have an African (or country-specific) perspective, taking into account the political and historical contexts, been examined. However, examining the speeches of both regimes, allows us to have a more complete picture of the discursive phenomenon of identity and representation in the discourse of politicians who transitioned from military to democratic regimes. The findings of this thesis showed that Rawlings constructed a fairly stable and durable identity of a noble revolutionary throughout his leadership covering both the military and democratic regimes. However, the discourses that were employed, together with the discursive strategies and their linguistic means of realization to construct the noble revolutionary identity, though showing remarkable divergence across the regimes, accounted for significant similarities in some aspects, pointing to the view that politicians sometimes use similar discourses, discursive strategies and linguistic choices to represent different or opposite accounts of the same reality, thus reflecting the presence of discursive illusions (Bhatia, 2015).

2. So far, studies on identity construction of socio-political actors in their discourse in general and on Jerry John Rawlings in particular remain relatively few in applied linguistic research except for

Kuffoh (2001) and Osam (2008). Besides, the majority of the existing studies on identity and representation of individual socio-political actors, as indicated in the literature review, are quantitative in nature, making the qualitative orientation of the present study an avenue to glean insights into the historical and political contexts of two distinct periods in Ghana's political history, military and democratic regimes, and how they contribute to identity construction and self-representation. The findings of the present study offer valuable insights into the role and impact of specific regimes on the identity of political actors in their performance of politics. In other words, the study contributes to a better understanding of Ghana's socio-political history, in terms of impact of socio-political systems (military and democratic regimes) on political identity and its evolution through a historical timeline. These insights privilege a more nuanced understanding of the nature of democracies and military regimes, which contributes to our political literacy, using Ghana as an example.

3. In comparison to earlier studies on Rawlings, the present study offers a more wholistic picture of the representation of Rawlings in his political performance given that the study examined, in a time continuum, the historical context that characterized his politics and leadership across two distinct periods, military and democratic regimes. The current study recognized the causal importance of history as it made manifest the circumstances that surrounded Rawlings' military and democratic regimes. Thus, in the military regime, the growing disaffection of the people, arising from corruption, elitism, social injustice, and oppressive governance formed the historical context that motivated Rawling's military interventions. The military interventions established the military regime and carved Rawlings' noble revolutionary identity. Similarly, the historical circumstances that led to the democratic regime and portrayed Rawlings as a noble revolutionary included the increasing mobilization of grassroot participation through the decentralization policy of the PNDC, the recommendations of the National Commission for Democracy (NCD) and the Consultative Assembly (CA), and demands from foreign and donor countries.

4. Drawing on Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the present study can be said to be innovative in terms of the theoretical and analytical approach it applied to the study of identity and self-representation in a new context of an African (much less Ghanaian) socio-political actor across two regimes, military and democratic. The DHA

analytical framework adopted by the present study allowed for the integration of macro, discursive and micro contexts, as well as intertextuality and interdiscursivity to aid the in-depth linguistic analysis and interpretation of the data. The DHA allowed for a structured and systematic approach to the two datasets (speeches in the military and democratic regime), which made it more suitable to compare them. This allows for a replication of the study in another/similar context.

5. Furthermore, in relation to theory, the present study has adapted and extended Van Leeuwen's (2007) framework of legitimation strategies by developing two novel legitimation categories-historicization and the claim of sacrifice- from the discourse that constructed Rawlings' identity. These new strategies, historicization and the claim to sacrifice (Ganaah, et al., 2023), allow us to better understand how the historical and cultural factors within specific communities can be exploited to justify political actions, secure public consent on radical political decisions and to negotiate a desirable identity, especially in the performance of the politics of revolution. These two new strategies have implications for the theory of legitimation and legitimacy struggles (i.e., the tension that arises from the interaction between legitimation and delegitimation of social practices) in society. That is, these two new strategies allow us to better explain how the actions of politicians, especially in a revolutionary context such as Russia's recent invasion of Ukraine, might inform our legitimacy beliefs about their leadership either in a positive or negative way.

6. The findings of the present study provide a detailed list of discursive strategies and the means by which they were linguistically realized in the two datasets: the military regime where Rawlings constructed his noble revolutionary identity by focusing on the themes of nationalism (with sub-themes that portrayed him as a reformist politician, a nationalist, and a democrat) and Pan-Africanism (with sub-themes that portrayed him as a continental unifier and emancipator), and the democratic regime where his noble revolutionary identity was represented by highlighting the themes of effective leadership (with sub-themes that depicted him as an pragmatic leader, a visionary, an economic revivalist, and an ethically and morally upright leader) and the building of strong institutions. What this reveals is that discursive strategies and their linguistic means of realization allow politicians to focalize specific themes in their speeches to emphasize different aspects of the same identity in their political performance in order to achieve their ideological goals.

7.4 Limitations of the study

Despite the contributions of the present study, it is necessary to bear in mind that the context of the study may have had an effect on the data and the findings. Below, I reflect on the limitations.

This study set out to use media and political discourse covering the entire period of Rawlings' leadership but ended up using political speeches between 1981-1992 and 1993-2000, covering the military and democratic regimes respectively, in order to compare his self-representation. The restriction to only the speeches of Rawlings was necessitated by difficulty in data access and collection due to the pandemic. As a result, not every single speech delivered by Rawlings within the period was accessible or collected, and the ones obtained, put together, were relatively smaller in number than initially planned. Consequently, the data of Rawlings' speeches compiled for the present study was not suitable for a quantitative approach. Rather, the data yields insights into some of the dominant and recurring themes in relation to the specific focus of the study, revealing the discursive strategies and their linguistic means of realization utilized by Rawlings to perform his self-representations in these specific speeches that were selected.

Given that the notion of identity is trans-disciplinary, research on identity is not limited to the field of linguistics and discourse studies. Identity has been investigated in other academic disciplines such as cultural studies, media studies and sociology and from these disciplinary perspectives, different approaches in terms of theory and methodology have been used, leading to robust but diverse findings. It is beyond the scope of the present study to account for these diverse disciplinary perspectives and the frameworks they deploy. Therefore, the use of the Discourse Historic Approach (DHA) in this present study should be taken as one methodological and theoretical approach to the study of identity construction.   Given that insights on a topic in one discipline and methodological strand may be drawn upon for similar studies in unrelated disciplines, it is hoped that the insights from the analysis of this study would be relevant to academic fields of study whose research focus may be on aspects of identity beyond the scope of this thesis.

Additionally, this study is limited in its account of the wide range of topical issues that emerge from the analysis including nationalism, democracy, revolution, ideology, institutionalism, nation-

building as well as Pan-Africanism and its related concepts of African unity and African emancipation. As it is not possible to cover all these topics in-depth in this study, suggestions for future research are offered in hope that new studies will address them.

7.5 Recommendations for further research

This study used the political speeches of Rawlings as an entry point to examine his identity and self-representation across two regimes of his leadership in Ghana. The investigation carried out in the study determined whether Rawlings' self-representations converged or diverged during critical political periods that covered both military and democratic rule. It further shed light on the discursive practices of legitimation embedded in Rawlings' construction of Self, aiming to reveal the ideological leanings that may have contributed to certain public perceptions of him. Despite the significance of this study, the insights it yields can be extended through further research.

Since this study focused on one revolutionary leader, studies investigating other revolutionary leaders in terms of their language and thematic choices and use of discursive strategies and their linguistic means of realization in relation to identity construction would be useful. As can be gleaned from the literature review section of this thesis, the majority of studies on identity construction in political discourse focus on the Western context and bring to light Western perspectives. Given this background, a more comprehensive understanding of identity construction in political discourse can be facilitated by future work that focuses on African and Asian politicians, integrating the historical and socio-political contexts in which they perform politics, which might yield insights into the relationship between context, language use and identity in the performance of politics. Also, future research that analyzes the speeches of other revolutionary leaders from the perspective of their transition from military to democratic rule would help to shed more light on the claim made in this study that politicians tend to deploy more or less similar discursive strategies and linguistic choices to represent opposite accounts of the same reality as was demonstrated by Rawlings' durable self-representation as a noble revolutionary, constructed differently in the two regimes using identical strategies.

Another area of further research is a comparative study on identity construction in political discourse. Such studies can compare Africa to the West or the East to the West or Africa to Asia

or Asia to the West. The usefulness of such comparative studies is that they can make evident how culture-specific notions within the local contexts in which politics is conceptualized and performed shape language and vice versa. This can bring to light differences and similarities in the linguistic choices, pragmatic devices and discursive strategies that are employed by politicians to construct their identity in different social contexts. For future studies on Rawlings' identity, it might be beneficial to compare the representations in his own speeches with media representations or even those negotiated through interview, which this study had hoped to undertake. This would yield a more comprehensive and nuanced analysis of his identity and politics in African and Ghanaian revolutionary history. Finally, it might also be useful for future research to examine discourses on revolutions in detail and across different sociolinguistic contexts as this could be relevant to the development of a comprehensive theory of revolutionary discourse- a claim this study makes speculatively.

Taken together, even though there is room for further studies in the field of discourse, identity and African politics (politicians), the present study reveals that military regimes differ from democratic regimes and the discourses, linguistic choices and discursive strategies that politicians tend to use also differ in terms of their ideological positioning through strategic thematic choices and identity construction.

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APPENDIX I: SPEECHES OF JERRY JOHN RAWLINGS IN THE MILITARY ERA

Link to the speeches: https://osf.io/vx2kn

1. May 15, 1979 – A Message for the Mutiny/Revolution of 1979

2. June 4, 1979 – Military Takeover at the National Broadcasting House

3. June 4, 1981 – 2nd Anniversary of the 1979 Revolution

4. January 2, 1987 – Reception in Honour of the Diplomatic Corps at the Castle, Accra

5. January 17, 1987 – Durbar of the Chiefs and People of Dormaa on the Occasion of their Kwafie Festival at Dormaa- Ahenkro

6. February 20, 1987 – International Year of Shelter for the Homeless, Accra

7. March 6, 1987 – 30th Anniversary of Ghana's independence

8. April 5, 1987 – Address at the Inauguration of the Federation of Muslim Councils of Ghana, at the Abossey Okai Central Mosque,

9. June 4, 1987 – 8th Anniversary of the 1979 Revolution

10. October 25, 1987 – Tribute to the Late Capt. Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso

11. November 1, 1987 – Durbar Held in Connection with the 1987 Sasadu Festival at Sovie

12. November 7, 1987 – The Celebration of the Annual Hogbetsotso Festival of the Chiefs and People of Anlo

13. December 31, 1987a – Nationwide Radio and Television Broadcast, Accra

14. December 31, 1987b – The Sixth Anniversary Parade of the 31st December Revolution at the Independence Square, Accra

15. January 8,1988 – Reception in Honour of the Diplomatic Corps at Peduase Lodge

16. March 4, 1988 – The Occasion of the Commissioning of the Afram Plains Agricultural Project at Donkorkrom

17. May 25, 1988 – The 25th Anniversary of the Founding of the OAU, Addis Ababa

18. December 31, 1988 – Parade at The Accra Sports Stadium on the Occasion of the 7th Anniversary of the 31st December Revolution, Accra

19. June 4, 1989 – 10th Anniversary of the 1979 Revolution, Accra

20. August 12, 1989 – The 23rd Congregation of The University of Science & Technology Kumasi

21. August 20, 1989 – The Opening Session of the Triennial General assembly of Association of Episcopal Conferences of Anglophone West Africa – Kumasi

22. August 26, 1989 – The Congregation of the University Of Ghana, Legon

23. September 7, 1989 – Ninth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non - Aligned Countries

24. September 10, 1989 – The Closing Session of a Seminar on Local Government Development Administration For District Secretaries, Accra

25. December 30, 1989 – The Eighth Anniversary of the 31st December Revolution, at the El-Wak Stadium, Accra

26. January 2, 1990 – Nationwide Radio and Television Broadcast, Accra

27. February 15, 1990 – Commissioning of the Tease Presbyterian Clinic, Eastern Region

28. March 10, 1990 – The Eightieth Anniversary Celebrations of Adisadel College Cape Coast

29. March 22, 1990 – The 63rd National Annual Convention of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission, Ghana, at Saltpond

30. April 4th, 1990 – Reception Held in Honour of the Visiting President of the Republic of Mozambique, H.E. Mr. Joaquim Chissano, Accra

31. June 4, 1990 – The Occasion of a Wreath -O Laying Ceremony at the Revolutionary Square, Accra

32. July 5, 1990 – The Opening Session Of The Seminar For Presiding Members And Assemblymen And Women, District Secretaries, CDRs

33. January 2, 1991 – Broadcast to the Nation, Accra

34. June 4, 1991 – 12th Anniversary of the 1979 Revolution, Accra

35. August 26, 1991 – Inauguration of the Consultative Assembly, Accra

APPENDIX II: SPEECHES OF JERRY JOHN RAWLINGS IN THE DEMOCRATIC ERA

Link to the speeches: https://osf.io/vx2kn

1. April 29, 1993 – The State Opening of the Second Meeting of Parliament, Accra

2. June 4, 1993 –14th Anniversary of the 1979 Revolution, Accra

3. July 24, 1993 – The Seventeenth FAO Regional Conference for Africa, Accra

4. January 6, 1994 – Second session of the First Parliament of the 4th Republic, Accra

5. September 13, 1994 – The International Conference on Population and Development Cairo, Egypt.

6. December 31, 1994 – Launching of the first anniversary celebrations of the 4th Republic

7. January 6, 1995 – The State Opening of Parliament in Accra

8. March 9, 1995 – The Press Corps at the White House, United States of America

9. June 26, 1995 – Address to the People of Mankessim

10. January 12, 1996 – The Occasion of the State Opening of Parliament in Accra

11. January 21, 1997 – State opening of the Second Session of the Second Parliament of the fourth Republic, Accra

12. January 7, 1998 – 5th Anniversary of the Fourth Republic, Accra

13. January 15, 1998 – The State Opening of the Second Session of the Second Parliament of the Fourth Republic, at Parliament House in Accra

14. March 6, 1998 – 41st Anniversary of the Independence of Ghana, Accra

15. January 14, 1999 –Sessional Address of the First Meeting of the Parliament of the Republic Of Ghana

16. February 24, 1999 – News Conference with President Bill Clinton, United States of America

17. November 7, 1999 – Excerpts of Interview with London Financial Times, London

18. January 13, 2000 – The State Opening of the Fourth Session of the Second Parliament of the Fourth Republic at the Parliament House in Accra.

19. January 17, 2000 – The Trust Dialogue on Challenges of Democracy in Africa, Abuja

20. March 1, 2000 – Excerpt BBC News Report, United Kingdom

21. May 18, 2000 – The Oxford Research Network on Governance in Africa, United Kingdom

22. June 4, 2000 – 21st Anniversary of 1979 Revolution, Accra

23. July 13, 2000 – Excerpt from the Ghana Report, Accra

24.   September 7, 2000 – The Millennium Summit of the United Nations New York

25.   September 22, 2000 – Excerpt BBC Interview, United Kingdom

APPENDIX III: SECONDARY SOURCES

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https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZxAVKXmHQOw

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http://ghheadlines.com/agency/ghana-web-/20161031/36677029/rawlings-enstooled-peace-chief-
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https://gh.opera.news/gh/en/politics/37fdd5c7763570b4a95b85e6dcdfc865

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