"Those Nation Wreckers are Suffering from Inferiority Complex": The Depiction of Chinese Miners in the Ghanaian Press

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Abstract

This article studies the depiction of Chinese miners in the Ghanaian news website entitled Modern Ghana. A total of 87 articles comprising 43752 words were retrieved. Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory of the representation of the social actors was utilised to examine the depiction of Chinese miners in the Ghanaian press. In this regard, six applicable tools were used and these include exclusion, role allocation, genericization and specification, assimilation, indetermination and differentiation, and functionalization and identification. Furthermore, Van Dijk's (1998a) ideological square theory was also implemented to investigate the depiction of the Self and the Other. The results of the study indicated that the Chinese miners in Ghana are regularly depicted in a negative way because they are believed to be a direct cause for the killing of several Ghanaians and also the destruction of the Ghanaian environment.

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1. Introduction

The gold mining industry, a major contributor to Ghana's economic development, has attracted numerous foreigners seeking to trade and invest in the precious metal, over many decades. One of the largest foreign nationalities involved in the industry is the Chinese whose involvement can be traced back to the 1960s (Oxford Business Group, 2011). However, reports indicate that an estimated 50,000 Chinese miners are involved illegally in the trade, and hence have been accused of "worsening the illegal mining" situation (Oxford Business Group, 2011, p. 131). According to Ghana's minister of lands and mines Alhaji Inusah Fuseini, illegal gold mining was not only compromising the environment and the security of this country but the economy as well. In light of these concerns, more than 4,500 Chinese nationals have been repatriated after a series of swoops on illegal goldmines (The Guardian, 15th July 2013).

Consequently there has been a preponderance of media reports and articles on illegal mining activities that depicts Chinese miners in an overtly negative manner. For instance, a Discovery Channel TV program that the researchers watched depicted them as people with homicidal tendencies. In view of such a scenario, the researchers are motivated to examine the depiction of the Chinese miners in Ghanaian media as there has not been any research investigating media discourse to examine the way these Chinese nationals in Ghana are represented.

This study will examine the way Chinese miners are depicted and differentiated from Ghanaians in the Ghanaian news website Modern Ghana. Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory of the representation of social actors will be employed to examine how the Chinese miners are represented as social actors. The framework of the representation of social actors is based on the notion that discourse makers ideologically structure social actors in discourse to express their attitude and ideology towards them. The study will also be informed by Van Dijk's (1998a) ideological square theory to investigate the depiction of the Self and the Other.

2. Theoretical Framework

The field of critical discourse analysis has its origin in the field of critical linguistics which was formulated to uncover how ideology manifests itself in the grammatical and the semantic forms of written discourse and how these forms of discourse formulate meaning and categorize entities, social actors, and happenings (Simpson & Mayr, 2009). As popular and effective critical linguistics was, it had some fundamental weaknesses (Fairclough, 1992). Consequently, CDA which offers "more explicit dialogue between social theory and practice, richer contextualization, greater interdisciplinarity and greater attention to the multimodality of discourse" (Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 168) was designed. Basically, CDA concerns itself with more than the mere description of linguistic features of discourse, to also include how and why these features are utilised by the discourse maker (Simpson & Mayr, 2009). This criticalness also implies that CDA analyses diverse genres of discourse that include news articles, political speeches, advertisements, interviews, counselling sessions, and other genres of discourse that predispose unequal relations (Simpson & Mayr, 2009). CDA perceives the notion of discourse (spoken and written) as a vessel via which aspects of power and ideology are manifested and reproduced to maintain and facilitate dominance, prejudice, and subjugation in society. Hence, CDA is defined as the analysis of "opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as manifested in language" (Wodak, 2001, p. 2).

CDA is known for its diverse theories including Fairclough's (1992) three-dimensional framework, Van Dijk's (1998a; 1998b) ideological square theory and sociocognitive approach, Wodak's (2001) discourse-historical approach, and Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory of the representation of the social actors. The researchers utilized Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory of the representation of the social actors and Van Dijk's (1998a) framework of the ideological square theory to examine the way the Chinese miners are depicted in the Ghanaian press. The former was selected because it offers the opportunity to conduct a multi-layered and thorough linguistic analysis of discourse as well as focus on the depiction of social actors which the researchers believe is fundamental in the analysis of the representation of the Chinese miners in the selected discourse. The latter was selected to reveal how the Self and the Other are rendered in the Ghanaian press.

2. 1. Van Dijk's Ideological Square Theory

The conception of the Self and the Other is a pervasive tactical tool used by discourse makers to distinguish the in-group from the out-group. This strategy of Othering, according to Riggins (1997), is a term that can be traced as far as the era of Plato, who used it to signify the association between the viewer (the Self) and the viewed (the Other). Ideology, Van Dijk (1998a) argues, is a "self-serving schema for the representation of Us and Them as social groups" (p. 69). The dichotomy functions tactically to designate the Self and the Other in a way "that our good things are emphasized and our bad things de-emphasized, and the opposite for the Others – whose bad things will be enhanced, and whose good things will be mitigated, hidden or forgotten" (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 126). The dichotomy of Self-positive presentation and negative-Other presentation is "a key legitimation strategy – an argumentative technique that rhetors employ to justify violence" (Oddo, 2011, p. 289). As this study

looks at the representation of social actors, the ideological square is a viable tool that will inform the examination of the depiction of the Self (Ghanaians) and the Other (Chinese miners).

2. 2. The Representation of Social Actors

The other theory that informs this study is Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory on the representation of social actors via language. Van Leeuwen's analysis requires the researchers to establish the "sociosemantic inventory" of the ways in which social actors are represented. Subsequently, the different categories of representation will be scrutinised to establish their "sociological and critical relevance" in terms of the way they are linguistically realized (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 23).

Van Leeuwen's (2008) approach is based on two notions: 1) the lack of bi-uniqueness of language and 2) meaning is culturally based. The former can be realized in the way agency, for instance, as a sociological concept is analysed. Agency is considered as a fundamental sociological tool that can be used to analyse the roles and the context in which social actors are portrayed. However, sociological agency is not only realized by linguistic agency as it can also be represented by prepositional phrases and possessive pronouns. As clarified by Van Leeuwen (2008, p. 24), there is no "neat fit between sociological and linguistic categories". Hence, he argues against being too closely guided by specific linguistic operations or categories to avoid missing relevant instances of agency. In his view, meaning is interrelated to culture rather than language, and therefore cannot be linked to any precise semiotics. Consequently, the categories, which Van Leeuwen (2008) proposed should be perceived as pan-semiotic as a culture or a context within a culture that does not only have its own "specific array of ways of representing the social world, but also its own specific ways of mapping the different semiotic modes onto this array, or prescribing,

with greater or lesser strictness, what can be realized verbally and visually" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 25). It is also important to note that Van Leeuwen's analysis of the representation of social actors focuses on the sociological categories of discourse, as in exclusion, inclusion, and role allocation, rather than on the linguistic categories, such as prenominal adjectives, nominalizations, and passive agent deletion. The categories of Van Leeuwen's discourse features that are most applicable to this research are explained fully in Appendix 1. Basically, the various rhetorical and linguistic phenomena in this theory are united by the concept of 'social actor' rather than by linguistic concepts (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

There are numerous studies that have investigated the depiction of immigrants and illegals in the media discourse of host countries. For instance, Rojo and Van Dijk (1997) employed Van Leeuwen's (1995) grammar of legitimation approach to investigate the discursive aspects of political legitimation by analysing the speech of the Spanish Secretary of the Interior, Mayor Oreja which discussed the military-style expulsion of a group of African 'illegal' migrants from Melilla. The researchers indicated that migrants are omitted as a group of people from Spain and its general discourse which emphasize the existence of ethnic inequality and racism. Teo (2000) examined the depiction of Vietnamese immigrants in two Australian newspapers. The researcher used the CDA approaches of Fowler (1991), Van Dijk (1993, 1996), and Fairclough (1992, 1995) to analyse the data. The results indicated that there is a systematic dichotomization between the Self and the Other in which Vietnamese immigrants are discriminated by the white majority. KhosraviNik (2008) examined the depiction of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants between 1996 and 2006 in the British press. He implemented Van Dijk's (1991) categories of macro-topics and sub-topic, Wodak's (2001) discourse historical approach and Van Leeuwen's (1996) socio-

semantic categorization of discourse to analyse the data. The results of his research indicated that these groups are associated with economic burden, threat, danger, and law problems. Baker et al. (2008) investigated the representation of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants in the British media. Wodak's (2001) discourse historical approach was applied to analyse the data. The researchers concluded that the overall context in which these groups are predominantly situated is negative. Del-Teso-Craviotto (2009) studied the depiction of Argentinian immigrants in a Spanish internet forum. Van Dijk's (2003) socio-cognitive dimension of xeno-racism was employed in the analysis. The outcomes of his research showed that xenophobia and racism are still pervasive in the Spanish community.

Based on the above review of comparable studies, there has not been any research that has carried out a critical analysis of media discourse to examine the way the Chinese nationals in Ghana are represented. This research amalgamates Van Leeuwen's (2008) approach of the representation of social actors and Van Dijk's (1998a) ideological square theory to examine whether Chinese illegal immigrants are represented positively or negatively in the Ghanaian online newspaper Modern Ghana from 2008 to 2013.

3. Methodology

This research uses a mixed method research where both qualitative and quantitative research methods are combined. The two methods interchangeably complement each other that result in a "richer and more comprehensive" research (Neuman, 2011, p. 165).

The qualitative part of this research is undertaken via CDA whereby both Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory of the representation of the social actors and Van Dijk's (1998a) ideological square theory are used to examine

the way the Chinese miners are depicted in the selected Ghanaian media discourse. The quantitative part of this research is undertaken via corpus linguistics methods that typically involve a computer-based analysis of substantial data that cannot be analysed manually. In other words, raw data is, first generated by corpus linguistics tools which is then analysed qualitatively via CDA.

3. 1. The Corpus

The corpus of this research consists of news articles from *Modern Ghana* news website. The website was chosen because of its substantial database and its user-friendly navigating system. The search term '*Chinese miners*' was chosen to retrieve the relevant articles. A total of 87 articles (approximately 43752 words) published from November 2008 to June 2013 were retrieved from the website's archives.

3. 2. Corpus Linguistics

Generally there are two genres of corpus linguistics research which are corpus-driven research and corpus-based research. A corpus-driven research is conceived as a bottom-up research which generates a theory from the observation in the corpus analysis. On the contrary, a corpus-based research is a top-bottom research whereby a theory is used by the researcher to make sense of the corpus analysis. A corpus-based research was utilised in this study to analyse its corpus.

3. 3. Corpus Analysis Procedure

Concordance, word list, and collocation are the corpus linguistics tools that are considered the most pertinent tools for the quantitative analysis of the data. Accordingly, concordance was applied to provide "a display of every instance of a specified word or other search term in a corpus, together with a given amount of preceding and following context for each result or 'hit'" (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p. 241). To eliminate the possibility of disrupting

the balance between quantitative and qualitative methods, word list and collocation were utilised. Word list was used to establish word frequencies in the corpus while collocation was used to analyse the frequently occurring words on the left and right of the search terms because of its function as a way to reveal the "co-occurrence relationship between two words" (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p. 240). Collocation is a vital tool in the analysis of ideology as it reveals the encoded intention of the discourse maker in positioning social actors in predetermined contexts. Hence, collocation was first utilised to examine the context of this research's six search terms 'Ghana', 'Ghanaians', 'we', 'Chinese', 'Chinese miners', and 'they'. A 5-word window to the left and right of the search terms was used to retrieve the relevant data. Subsequently, concordance was used to examine the validity of the collocates, the overall picture of the dominant discourse surrounding the subject, and their relevancy to the linguistic categories of Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory. Frequency was used to examine individual words in the corpus and their frequencies.

Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory of the representation of social actors and Van Dijk's (1998a) ideological square theory were both utilised to tackle the qualitative part of the study. Van Leeuwen's diverse tools of linguistic analysis were applied to the raw data that was retrieved via corpus linguistics to examine how the Chinese miners in the Ghanaian press are linguistically depicted through the analysis tools of exclusion, role allocation, genericization and specification, assimilation, indetermination and differentiation, and functionalization and identification. Since the "choice of words or of one syntactic construction instead of another will function not just in a vacuum but to articulate ideology" (Carter, 1998, p. 109), Van Dijk's (1998a) theory was used to reveal the ideology behind the linguistic rendering of the Chinese miners

and the way they are alienated from the in-group (Ghanaians).

The tool 'exclusion' was the most difficult tool to implement in the analysis because in order to acknowledge whether the social actors are backgrounded or supressed, the whole news report should be investigated. Hence, the researchers demarcated each article by inserting the word 'article' and its number for the sake of accuracy.

To reduce biasness in the analysis of the corpus, the three researchers analysed the corpus separately and later compared their findings with each other. This is to ensure reliability and credibility of the retrieved data. Subsequently, Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory and Van Dijk's (1998a) approach were applied.

4. Results

Six applicable tools from Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory were used to analyse the data.

These tools are exclusion, role allocation, genericization and specification, assimilation, indetermination and differentiation, and functionalization and identification. The following sections discuss the results yielded from each tool.

4. 1. Exclusion

Exclusion refers to the way social actors are excluded from an action, by either being supressed or backgrounded. Such discourse strategy is intended by discourse makers to suit their purposes and also the purposes of the readers to which the discourse is intended. Suppression is intended to eliminate the social actors completely from the text. Backgrounding, however, is based on the notion that even though social actors are not mentioned in relation to a specific action, they are mentioned somewhere else in the text (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Based on the analysis of this research's corpus, diverse significant patterns emerge. The following table represents the overall data of exclusion:

Table 1
Inclusion and Exclusion in the Corpus

Social Actors	Included %	Backgrounded %	Supressed %
Chinese (N=17)	72.7	27.3	0
Ghanaians (N=4)	0	100	0
Ghanaian Authorities (N=22)	9.1	90.9	0

The Chinese miners are included in the corpus more frequently than they are backgrounded and supressed. This pattern is evident when there are negative incidents involving Chinese miners. This patterning strategy is similar to the in-group and out-group representation as discussed earlier. The bipolar positive representation of the Self and negative representation of the Other is a fundamental strategy in ideologically charged discourse that accentuates the notion that the Self is good, righteous and moral, while the Other, is bad, riotous and immoral. In this part of the research, the Chinese miners (out-group) are

directly rendered as perpetrators in the context of the Ghanaians (in-group) as observed in:

> *Two Ghanaians were murdered through gunshots...**by illegal Chinese small scale miners***
> *Two Ghanaians shot dead **by Chinese miners in Obuasi***
> *The poisonous smoke was generated into the pit **by Shanxii Mining Company***

Chinese miners are rarely backgrounded in the corpus as they are recurrently in the accused position. Two instances where they are backgrounded are:

Two Ghanaians were killed and another left writhing in agony
The people whose farms were destroyed have no avenues to negotiate compensation

Ghanaians, on the other hand, are backgrounded throughout the corpus of this research even when the Chinese miners become victims of Ghanaian aggression. Hence, whenever the in-group is the perpetrator, they are backgrounded. In relation to this observation, it can be noted that even in reports involving the killing of Chinese miners, the perpetrators are labelled as robbers without any information on their ethnic identity. In the researchers' view these reports serve to hide the identity of the offenders, leaving it to the reader to figure it out. Such instances include:

Two Chinese miners were allegedly shot and killed
They were robbed at gunpoint at the same site
A man from Shanglin was robbed and shot 27 times with an AK-47

Ghanaian authorities in the corpus are frequently backgrounded whenever there are arrests and raids involving Chinese illegal miners. This is because most of the raids are based on suspicion of the authorities regarding the legitimacy of the Chinese miners. There are also raids that end in tragedy in which the authorities kill innocent individuals. However, the news reports hide information which may portray the in-group negatively. For instance:

34 Chinese illegal miners were arrested in AngloGold Ashanti concessions
Nine suspected illegal Chinese miners who were picked up at Manso-Nsiena
The death of a 16-year-old Chinese national who was allegedly killed, while around 100 others were arrested
125 Chinese nationals were arrested for engaging in illegal small scale mining

However, Ghanaian authorities are identified whenever there is a positive phenomenon. This vividly depicts the in-group and out-group strategy whereby the in-group (Ghanaian authorities) are deemed decent in treating the out-group (Chinese suspects). For instance:

*They were treated kind **by the taskforce***

4. 2. Role Allocation

Role allocation analyses the diverse roles social actors are given in discourse. It emphasizes the notion that the role of the social actor does not necessitate its congruence with the grammatical role it is given. Social actors in role allocation are either active or passive. Activization describes the instances in which the social actor is given an active and dynamic part in an activity. Passivisation occurs when the actors undertake the activity or at the receiving end of it. The following table depicts the statistics of social actors in terms of whether they are activated, subjected, or beneficialized.

Table 2
Role Allocation in the Corpus

Social Actors	Activated%	Subjected%	Beneficialized%
Chinese (N=127)	63.2	23.6	13.2
Ghanaians (N=37)	51.2	41.7	7.3
Ghanaian authorities (N=26)	100	0	0

As represented in the above table, the Chinese social actors in the corpus are activated significantly more than they are subjected or beneficialized. The analysis of the corpus

indicates that the Chinese social actors are depicted as active participants in incidents that are harmful to the Ghanaians. This phenomenon is consistent with the in-group

and out-group dichotomy which, in this context, functions as a way to emphasize to Ghanaians the 'plight' of the Chinese miners. Such examples are:

The Chinese fired gunshots from pump action guns to scare away the demonstrators
The Chinese destroyed our land and our river
They (Chinese miners) are even degrading our environment
Chinese illegal miners are destroying the environment

However, it needs to be pointed out that in the corpus there are three out of 84 instances that depict Chinese positively as providers of jobs for Ghanaians. Two of these instances represent the way the Chinese social actors are denoted as active entities in increasing job opportunities for the Ghanaians:

They (Chinese miners) had significantly helped to create jobs for the people
These Chinese nationals supported the locals with capital and machinery

The third instance depicts Chinese miners as active participants in flourishing the sex industry in Ghana. Hence, any effort by the government to deport Chinese miners is met with objection from the sex industry, as in:

The Chinese miners have given our business (sex industry) a new lease of life

The Chinese social actors in the corpus are only subjected or beneficialized when the Ghanaians, either the people or the authority, are represented to be acting upon the Chinese miners either by arresting them, resisting them, or in few instances robbing them. Such instances include:

The boys (Ghanaians youth) allegedly caned the Chinese workers
The police picked up two Chinese
Ghana Immigration Service detains 25 Illegal Chinese Miners

Young men used sticks and machetes to chase away a small group of Chinese miners
They (Ghanaians) robbed us with double-barrelled shotguns

The Ghanaian social actors in the corpus are activated more than they are subjected or beneficialized. Ghanaians in the corpus are activated each time there is a resistance or a claim against the Chinese miners or the reporters are criticizing Ghanaians who aid the Chinese miners. For instance:

We (Ghanaians) will do everything to protect our land from the Chinese
The residents tried to force out Chinese nationals
We, Ghanaians, are our own 'worst enemy'
We (Ghanaians) must confront our lawless Chiefs who are colluding with the Chinese illegal miners
The two Ghanaians were among group of Ghanaians who attempted to resist the Chinese miners from encroaching on their land

The corpus depicts that the only instances when the Ghanaians are subjected and beneficialized are when the Chinese act upon them, mostly in a negative way whereby Ghanaians are killed, shot upon, harassed, and so forth. For example:

The Chinese reportedly ambushed and shot at the three Ghanaians
11 Chinese kill 2 Ghanaians
33 Chinese illegal miners fire gun shots to ward off protests (by Ghanaians)
The Chinese, numbering about 10 armed with pump action guns fired at the residents (Ghanaian civilians)

The Ghanaian authorities throughout the corpus are activated. This is in line with their role in Ghana as active participants in securing the country. For example:

Ghanaian authorities say they have rounded up more than 150 Chinese illegal miners
Police arrest 4 illegal Chinese miners
Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) has apprehended 15 Chinese nationals
The security officers arrested 34 Chinese nationals in villages such as Amamom
They (Ghanaian authorities) carried out the operation to flush out the miscreants

4. 3. Genericization and Specification

In this category, social actors are presented with either a generic reference or a specific reference. A generic reference generalizes the social actors into a class of entities while specific reference identifies the social actor individually. Based on the corpus of this research, Chinese miners are most frequently depicted via generic references. For instance:

Chinese illegal miners are returning in drips and drabs
Illegal Chinese miners are currently operating at Manso-Nsiena
Chinese and Indians are at the forefront of the illegal mining operations
Chinese immigrants are working in the small scale mining sector in Ghana

In the corpus, there are only five instances out of 100 whereby only important Chinese officials are individualized. For instance:

Mr. Song Hai Jun, on his part, said: 'We respect the determination of the government of Ghana
He was accompanied by Mr. Yu Jie, Head of the Political Section of the Chinese Embassy in Accra
Chinese delegation led by the Ambassador to Ghana Gong Jianzhong said, although the government must enforce its laws on mining

Ghanaians are individualized more than they are represented via generic references.

Examples of generic reference to Ghanaians are:

Natives are in the habit of assisting the obstreperous infiltrators (Chinese miners)
Authorities are expediting repatriation process to 'kick them out' (Chinese miners)
Eligible Ghanaians are allowed to carry out small scale mining

It is fundamental to note that Ghanaians, whether they are chiefs, from the authorities, or normal people, are individualized frequently in the corpus. Instances of individualized Ghanaians in the press include:

Mr Zumah expressed disgust about the activities of the Chinese company
Mr. Bempong said the exercise was aimed at ensuring that people adhere to the laws of Ghana, irrespective of their nationality
Mr. Koranteng disclosed that the miners had destroyed a lot of properties and farms
The Chairman of MOGPEJ, Mr Nyarba Zombil, said apart from the farmers being affected by the destruction of the sheanuts trees, the water bodies in the area are being polluted

The phenomenon of genericization of the Chinese miners in the corpus, the researchers believe, is planned to distance the Chinese miners, whether they are legal or not, from the Ghanaian reader to strengthen the bifurcation of Us versus Them. This notion was highlighted by Van Leeuwen (2008) who emphasized that social actors are depicted in generic references so that they can be "symbolically removed from the readers' world of immediate experience" and being "treated as distant "others" rather than as people with whom "we" have to deal in our everyday lives" (p. 36).

4. 4. Assimilation

In this category of analysis, social actors are either presented as individuals or as a group. There are two types of assimilation which are

aggregation and collectivisation. While aggregation quantifies social actors and depicts them as statistics, collectivisation does not. To CDA analysts, aggregation is fundamental as it is utilised by discourse makers "to regulate practice and to manufacture consensus opinion, even though it presents itself as merely recording facts" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 37). Individualization of social actors has already been dealt with in the previous genericization and specification whereby the analysis indicates that only top Chinese officials are specified and individualized whereas Ghanaians, whether they are chiefs, from the authorities, or normal people, are individualized more frequently. Hence, this section will mainly focus on aggregation and collectivisation.

The Chinese social actors, throughout the corpus, are frequently aggregated via indefinite and definite quantifiers. Such as:

> *A decade ago **a few** of them (Chinese miners) took their skills to Ghana*
> *The fact that **a few** (Chinese miners) are into some form of illegal small scale mining*
> ***Several** foreign nationals, especially, the Chinese have been apprehended and deported from the country*
> ***Many** Chinese mine workers were hiding in forests and local villages*
> *The security officers arrested **34 Chinese nationals** in villages*
> *More than **190 Chinese citizens** arrested by local authorities*
> ***1,000 Chinese** are engaged in illegal mining in the Ashanti Region alone*
> ***Nine** illegal Chinese miners arrested*

Aggregation, Van Leeuwen (2008) indicated, depicts social actors as "horde" of individuals that are threatening the in-group. This is vividly depicted in the above examples. Chinese social actors are aggregated and portrayed statistically in the corpus more than they are collectivised. Consequently, news articles seem to be occupied with the groups' identity and numbers rather than with the

individuals' identity. This strategy is used to dissociate the Ghanaian readers from the Chinese social actors by depicting them as a group of individuals who are always being chased by the law for their lawless actions. They are also being attributed for plaguing communities and jeopardising the lives of Ghanaians. The news articles further strengthen this notion via aggregating Ghanaians who aid the Chinese, hence, presenting them as the threat within. For instance:

> ***A lot** of local people are also said to be engaged in the illegal act of mining*
> *Illegal mining operations being carried at the upper fringes of the Oda and Jimi Rivers, in collaboration with **some** chiefs in the area.*
> ***Some** chiefs of the town were to be blamed for the increase in the number of foreign illegal miners*

Ghanaians, on the other hand, are collectivised regularly in the corpus, not only via utilising the first person plural "we" but also via expressions that express and identify a group of social actors, as in "Ghana", "the community", "the police", and "Ashanti Regional Police Command". This phenomenon is intended to correlate the reader with the overall community of Ghana for the purpose of resisting Chinese miners or also of opposing the Ghanaians who pave the way for illegal mining. For instance:

> ***We** seem to have given the Chinese so much chance to manoeuvre in this country*
> ***We** will do everything to protect our land from the Chinese*
> *The people were protesting against the galamsey activities of the Chinese, which had terribly destroyed the environment and posed a health hazard to the **community**.*
> *The Chinese started operating in the **community** about two months ago but the rate of destruction to the area was so massive.*

The Ashanti Regional Police Command *has arrested four illegal Chinese miners*
The Ashanti Regional headquarters of the Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) *has apprehended 15 Chinese nationals*
The police *picked up two Chinese for interrogation*
The police *rounded up 38 Chinese galamsey operators in an AngloGold concession*

4. 5. Indetermination and Differentiation

Indetermination occurs in discourse when the social actors are depicted as anonymous entities. Differentiation takes place when a social actor or a group of social actors are differentiated from a comparable social actor or a group of social actors. Throughout the corpus of this research, indetermination rather than differentiation was used in the representation of Ghanaians and Chinese. Indetermination is represented via indefinite pronouns and exophoric references. It is intended to anonymize the identity of the social actor for its irrelevancy. In the corpus of this research, indetermination is also used to emphasize the act of the social actors. Hence, it generalizes the identity of the social actor while also emphasizing his/her action. An instance of such a phenomenon is the act of Chinese miners killing Ghanaians and destroying the environment. For example:

__Some__ Chinese had shot and killed two Ghanaians
__Many__ of whom (Chinese miners) are bent on destroying the environment
__They__ (Chinese miners) leave the rivers and farmlands heavily contaminated

The examples above minimize the importance of the individual identity of the Chinese who act upon the Ghanaians and the environment while emphasizing their actions of killing and destruction to the reader. Hence, such instances are strategized to emphasize that any Chinese mining operation, whether legal or not, can be a threat to Ghanaians and their lands. Surprisingly, in the corpus there are certain instances of Ghanaians who are also depicted via the use of indetermination, for instance:

__Some__ Ghanaians are colluding with the Chinese illegal miners
__Some__ chiefs in the area are engaged in the nefarious activity (illegally mining with the Chinese)
__Some__ illegal Chinese miners and Ghanaians have led to the death of some Ghanaians

Such cases highlight a recurrent notion emphasizing that the Chinese miners are not the only cause of distress in Ghana but also indeterminate the number of Ghanaians who conspire with the Chinese miners ignoring the negative impact on their country and countrymen.

4. 6. Functionalization and Identification

Functionalization refers to the way social actors are portrayed based on an activity or what they do. Identification is denoted when social actors "are defined, not in terms of what they do, but in terms of what they, more or less permanently, or unavoidably, are" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 42). Via inspecting the wordlist and the concordance lines for context inspection, the functionalization of the Chinese miners is negatively oriented. The following figure represents the most frequent functionalization in the corpus:
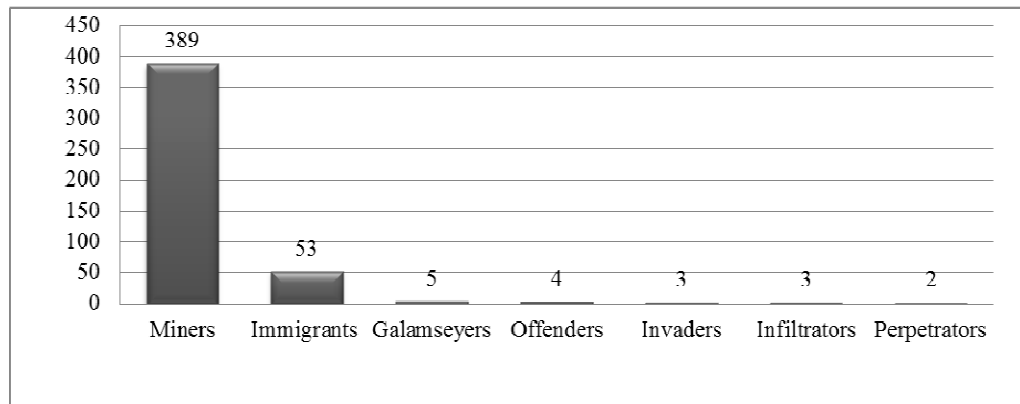
Figure 1

The Frequency of Functionalization Associated with the Chinese Miners

The Chinese miners in the corpus, as indicated in the figure above, are more frequently depicted as miners. However, in the inspection of word list, the notion of being illegal occurs 434 times in the corpus which deems that the majority of Chinese miners are unlawful. The notion of being immigrants is also part and parcel of the depiction of the other or the out-group to separate them from the in-group. The notion of being galamseyers represents the Chinese as agents in the destruction of the environment. According to the Ghana Government Portal, galamsey which is a local Ghanaian term that refers to illegal small scale mining can cause an environmental catastrophe in Ghana because these forms of mining "do not only affect the environment to the detriment of present generation but pose a threat to the very existence and survival of posterity as far as sustainable development and food security go" (Abissath, 2013). The rest of the terms that denote the functionalization of the Chinese miners depict a scenario whereby a group of social actors (Chinese miners) assault another group of social actors (Ghanaians). This is depicted via indicating that the Chinese in Ghana are infiltrators, perpetrators, invaders, and offenders, hence, stressing the need for the reader to support any form of resistance against the Chinese miners.

The analysis of identification in the corpus revealed two interesting patterns regarding the depiction of Ghanaians and Chinese. Ghanaians that resist the existence of Chinese miners in Ghana are regularly depicted as "youth". The notion of youth throughout the world suggests vigour, vitality, and spirit. Hence, the news article endeavours to persuade the reader to support the action of the Ghanaian youth who are in a quest to protect their country and its natural resources from illegal mining by the Chinese miners.

The Chinese social actors, on the other hand, are perceived as Obroni, which is a local word that denotes a 'white man' which is somewhat relevant to the colonial history of Ghana which gained its independence from Britain in 1957. As in any colonial context, according to Dobie (2009, p. 207), the native people of the colonised country are deemed as the Other which is typically perceived as "inferior and objectionable" compared to the good and righteous Self (colonisers). Hence, the depiction of the Chinese as colonisers, the researchers believe, is intended to alert the Ghanaian readers about the grave threat of the Chinese presence in Ghana and to counter-attack any form of subjugation for the purpose of retaining Ghana's natural resources and its cultural heritage and pride that should be inherited, unmarred, by the next generation.

5. Discussion

This study, which analysed the way Chinese miners in Ghana are represented, yielded a comparable pattern of representation throughout the articles of the corpus which depict the Chinese social actors as a critical menace that needs to be eradicated from Ghana. This was denoted in the analysis of exclusion which showed that the Chinese miners are included in the negative actions more than the Ghanaians and the Ghanaian authorities to differentiate between the in-group and the out-group. This strategy is predominantly implemented in instances where the Chinese are responsible for the destruction of the environment and the killing of the Ghanaians. The analysis of role allocation indicated that the Chinese are active agents in destroying Ghana's nature and also in the murder of Ghanaians who endeavoured to resist them. The examination of genericization and specification showed that Chinese miners are frequently referred to via generic references apart from Chinese high officials who are mostly individualized. Ghanaians, on the contrary, are specified whether they are civilians or government officials. The analysis of assimilation indicated that the Chinese miners are aggregated and presented as a horde rather than being individualised. The indetermination and differentiation tools of analysis showed that the Chinese miners, whether legal or not, are perceived as a threat to Ghanaians and their lands. The examination of functionalization and identification pointed out that the Chinese miners are perceived by the news articles as galamseyers, infiltrators, invaders, offenders, and perpetrators, which are all negatively oriented expressions. Furthermore, Chinese miners are identified as the Obroni (white man) to warn Ghanaians about the grave peril that the Chinese have in Ghana.

The results of this study are in line with previous studies, such as Teo's (2000), who emphasized that Vietnamese immigrants in Australia are depicted negatively as immoral and harmful social actors in the Australian press, KhosraviNik (2008) stated that immigrants, similar to refugees and asylum seekers, are depicted as a danger, a threat, an economic burden, and Del-Teso-Craviotto (2009), who stressed the notion that racism and xenophobia still exist in the Spanish community to distinguish between the in-group (Spanish) and the out-group (immigrants).

This research limits its focus on one online newspaper (Modern Ghana) because in the knowledge of the researchers, this is the only Ghanaian newspaper that has been published online. Furthermore, because of space concerns, comparison between the Chinese and Ghanaian media reports cannot be undertaken. Hence, the researchers recommend that future research should analyse other Ghanaian newspapers and also look at the way the Chinese and the Ghanaian media represent the social actors.

Irwin (1996) emphasizes that it is important for readers to be critical about what they read in order to be fully aware of the hidden agenda of the writer. This notion was emphasized by Janks (2000, p. 176) who states that critical language awareness deconstructs texts. This, in turn, will make readers conscious of the selections that writers make because every selection "foregrounds what was selected and hides, silences or backgrounds what was not selected". Consequently, it is hoped that this research with its multifaceted analysis of discourse provides awareness to readers regarding the manner in which Chinese miners are rendered in Modern Ghana online news reports as well as to empower readers to resist, if necessary, the discourse that condemns these substantial group of social actors based on the negative actions of the few.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Criteria of Identifying van Leeuwen's Sociological Categories of Discourse

Sociological categories of discourse	Type	Linguistic description
1) Exclusion	Suppression	a) Passive agent deletion**:** *Two Ghanaians were killed and another left writhing in agony.* b) Non-finite clauses**:** *To eliminate illegal mining in Ghana is difficult.* c) Nominalizations**:** *Their reaction was shocking.*
	Backgrounding	The linguistic realization is similar to suppression, the only difference is that the social actor is mentioned elsewhere in the text
2) Role allocation	Activation	a) The social actor in a subject position**:** *The Chinese destroyed our land and our river.* b) Circumstantialization (*by* and *from* are used to signify the agent)**:** *Two Ghanaians shot dead by Chinese miners.* c) Premodification of nominalizations**:** *The community reaction to galamsey*

		operators was negative. d) Postmodification of nominalizations**:** *The deterioration of the environment intensified.*
	Passivation	a) Subjection**:** *The police picked up two Chinese.* b) Beneficialization**:** *Galamseyers pose a threat to the environment.*
3) Genericization and specification	Generic reference	a) Plural nouns without articles**:** *Chinese illegal miners are returning in drips and drabs.* b) A singular noun with a definite article**:** *The exercise was due to the rampant and careless illegal mining activities.*
	Specific reference	a) Specific noun**:** *Mr Zumah expressed disgust about the activities of the Chinese company.*
4) Assimilation	Aggregation	a) Indefinite quantifiers**:** *A number of the illegal Chinese miners arrested in the wake of the confrontation.* b) Definite quantifiers**:** *15 of the Chinese nationals had left the camp since the disturbances.*
	Collectivisation	a) Words that denote a group of social actors**:** *We will do everything to protect our land from the Chinese.*
5) Indetermination and differentiation	Indetermination	a) Indefinite pronouns**:** *Some Chinese had shot and killed two Ghanaians.* b) Exophoric references**:** *They (Chinese miners) leave the rivers and farmlands heavily contaminated.*
	Differentiation	a) Social actors are differentiated from a comparable social actor**:** *Rural areas in the Ashanti region are more contaminated compared to the other rural areas in the country.*
6) Functionalization and identification	Functionalization	a) Nouns retrieved from verbs via the suffixes -ant, -ee, -ian,-ent, -er. b) Nouns closely interrelated to an activity which can be represented by the suffixes -ist and -eer, and by adding 'man', 'woman', 'person'.
	Identification	a) Classification via using race, age, class, religion, and so on. b) Relational identification includes individual kinship and work relations

		that include brother, sister, colleague, and so forth. c) Physical identification includes bodily characteristics of the social actors that consist of eye colour, hair colour, height, and so on.