UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

a Rhetorical analysis of President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 inaugural and State of the nation addresses

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MASTER OF ARTS

2023

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

**A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT AKUFO-ADDO'S 2017 AND
2021 INAUGURAL AND STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESSES**

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**A dissertation in the Department of Communication Instruction,
School of Communication and Media Studies,
Submitted to the of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of
Master of Arts
(Communication Instruction)
in the University of Education, Winneba.**

2023

DECLARATION

Student's Declaration

I, **Apreku-Danquah Seth,** declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in publishing works which have all been duly acknowledged, is entirely my original work, and has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.

SIGNATURE: …………………………………

DATE: …………………………………………

SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, the preparation of this work was supervised in accordance with guidelines for the supervision of project laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.
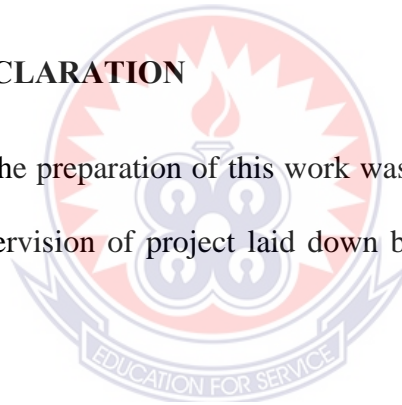
SUPERVISOR'S NAME: **MS. AKOSUA ASANTEWAA ANANE**

SIGNATURE:…………………………………

DATE:…………………………………………

DEDICATION

To the Almighty God, my daughter, two sons, and family.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

This study analyses and discusses the discourse features of the political discourse of His Excellency President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Adddo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses. The study sought to identify and examine how he used persuasive appeals conceptualized by Aristotle to achieve his intended purpose as a politician and president of the republic of Ghana. The study also examines how power and ideologies were employed by His Excellency President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Adddo in his 2017 and 2021 discourse of the State of the Nation Addresses (SONA) and Inaugural Addresses to achieve an intended effect. Using Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis and Aristotle's rhetoric theory as theoretical frameworks, the study discovered that, His Excellency President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Adddo consciously made use of Ethos, Logos and Pathos to persuade Ghanaians to create an intended effect among them and also instigate their thoughts to act along to achieve the anticipated development of the country within a time frame. It was also revealed that, power was exhibited in the speeches to build confidence among Ghanaians by giving them the needed assurance of support, providing good sense of direction and duty to work which are critical in the development agenda of the country. The study established that language is a fundamental tool in a communication process was used to engage Ghanaians in a socio-political discourse. The study therefore affirmed the statement that language has an ideological dimension which is not explicitly stated but implied. The study recommends that Ethos, Logos and Pathos be used in socio-political discourse due to their persuasive nature and the lasting effects such appeals create among the audience. Critical attention should be given to the use of language and power in political discourse.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This chapter lays the theoretical and empirical foundation of the study. It introduces the background of the study which provides context to the information presented. The background information includes both important and relevant studies which situate the research into proper context. This chapter also discusses the statement of the problem which clarifies the main argument of concern and focuses it in a way that allows it to be studied in a systematic way. The problem statement proposes a way to research the problem or demonstrates why further information is needed in order to appropriate the research problem. Additionally, the research objectives are explicitly defined and stated to help explore the scope and depth of the research work. This also helps to ensure that the research methods and conclusions derived are easily evaluated.

1.1 Background of the Study

Political speeches form part of the most influential and sought-after speeches in the world. They attract such enormous listeners because of the caliber of persons (political leaders) who make speeches and the impact such speeches have on the lives of citizens in general. Burns (1978) posits that leadership over human beings is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize, in competition or conflict with others, institutional, political, psychological and other resources so as to arouse, engage, and satisfy the motives of followers. Socio-economic policies, plans and actions of politicians are deeply rooted in their political ideology. Political leaders who belong to different political divide compete for power at a given space of a political cycle. Competition for power is normal in every democratic dispensation. During these healthy competitions, politicians use speeches being a powerful tool to convey their

1

messages which are usually in the form of manifestoes which are fully of campaign promises of what they intend to do should they be given power. The speeches woo the attention of the electorates who have the voting right to decide on who leads the country at given point in the political cycle of a country.

Politics is expected to breed competition for a healthy living among people who have taken politics are their way of life and source of livelihood. Through speeches, politicians persuasively influence and control how their audience receive and perceive the information they give to them. The purpose of a political message is to legitimize a political position believed to be more credible than the other. To make this possible, politicians plan their messages in a way that can easily be accepted by the audience through the use of strategies which woo the audience in order to get them act along. The aim of every politician is to gain power and this is made possible through the use of language or discourse.
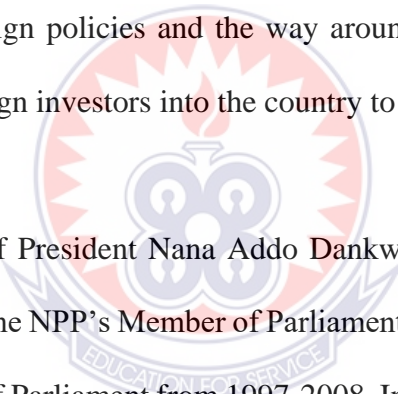
Nyako (2013) avers that, the practice of politics is mainly anchored on speeches delivered by seekers of political power and directed at their supporters and society as a whole. This implies, politicians tailor their speeches be it inaugural, State of the Nation Address (SONA), campaign messages, manifestoes and others to draw the attention of the audience to their set of plans and policies which seek to woo their support to gain advantage ahead of their political opponents to obtain political power. These speeches are strategically planned to persuade the audience which in this case are electorates. Politics is one of the social domains whose practices are virtually exclusively discursive; political cognition is by definition ideologically based, and political ideologies are largely reproduced by discourse (van Dijk, 2006). Depending on one's view of the world, ethics, or group affiliation, a group's ideas may be valued positively,

negatively, or not be valued at all. Politicians delivered speeches during campaigns to get voted into power. They use this same language anchored on politics to manage the expectations and interest of their followers who voted into power. This attempt to manage the audience with language through political speeches keep them in power. The practice of politics has over the years been full of the tactful formulation of perceptions and beliefs about significant occurrences, of problems, of policy changes, and mostly of leaders. The ideologies of politicians are communicated through politics as a means to manage the aspirations and interest of followers. Politics involve the use of language as a management function. Management function because, politicians manage the expectations of their audience who are their followers with speeches which in most cases are cunning.

Language plays a crucial role in revealing the communicative implications in the discourse of politics. In the struggle for political power between those who seek to assert and maintain power and those who seek to resist it, for instance, the ability of a political speech to mystify and distort becomes very crucial. Political actors therefore often use speech to influence or change the choices, thoughts, and responses of the electorates towards their ideas, issues, concepts, or products (Hemas and Ariyanti, 2015). In politics, ideologies play a role to define political systems, political practices, and political cognition, all enacted or reproduced by political discourse (Van Dijk, 2004). Krugman (2015) shares the view that underlying political ideologies are typically expressed in political discourse by emphasizing our good things and their bad things, and by de-emphasizing our bad things and their good things. Such a general strategy may be implemented at all levels of political discourse.

Presidential discourse or genre such as the Inaugural Address and State of the Nation Address (SONA) are given so much attention due to the special ceremonies in which

such addresses are delivered. Such speeches are considered important because of the relevanct the 1992 Constitution of Ghana places on such addresses. Inaugural ceremonies in Ghana are held on 7th January as enshrined in the the 1992 Constitution of Ghana to usher the newly elected president and the appointed Vice President into the seat of government for a four (4) year tenure. During such ceremonies, the president elect is expected to deliver a speech after being sworn-in into office. Such inaugural sessions provide the newly sworn-in president the opportunity to put his policy direction before the good people of Ghana. The speech is expected to instill hope and confidence among Ghanaians to draw them to follow the new president's vision. The ceremony then provide the president the opportunity to speak to the international community on his foreign policies and the way around such policies. The speech is expected to attract foreign investors into the country to promote development.

The political journey of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo began when he was elected in 1996 as the NPP's Member of Parliament for the Abuakwa constituency. He served as Member of Parliament from 1997-2008. In 2001-2003 when the President Kufuor led NPP won power, he was appointed as Attorney General and Minister for Justice, and subsequently became the Minister for Foreign Affairs between 2003-2007. In a fiercely contested NPP presidential race, which involved eighteen (18) presidential aspirants, Nana Akufo-Addo was elected as the NPP presidential candidate for the 2008 general elections. He lost the 2008 and 2012 elections to the NDC candidate John Evans Atta Mills and John Dramani Mahama respectively. He however won the 2016 election which gave his access to power and presented his first ever inaugural address on 7th January, 2017 and subsequently won the 2020 election which also gave his access to present another inaugural address on 7th January, 2021. During these ceremonies, the

4

President, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo employed a persuasive language style to get all Ghanaians including members of the opposition party to act along.

Political discourse or rhetoric which are communication in form provides the best means to communicate to a greater majority of people who are the citizenry. During such speeches, the political head or president chooses the best approach to convey his or her message to achieve an intended purpose. Every speech delivered has a purpose to accomplish and this purpose is achieved when some level of common understanding is established between the source-speaker and the listener or the receiver. Grunig (2000), posits communication is a dynamic interactive process that involves the effective transmission of facts, ideas, thoughts, feelings and values. Communication is the process by which a message or information is exchanged from a sender to a receiver. Communication is not passive and does not just happen. People actively and consciously engage in communication in order to develop the information and the understanding required for effective group functioning. Communication employs varied skills to create words and gestures to enhance understanding between the speaker and the listener.

McCall (2011) stated that, communication process is the pivot in which people are able to derive their understanding of issues and also aid people in their communities to engage in meaningful discussions. By this, he implied that people can derive understanding to a phenomenon when there is communication. The issues ought to be communicated to the receivers or the audience to enable them establish a common understanding of the issues communicated to get them act along. Communication cannot take place in a vacuum, instead it requires a medium to express the communication process. Servaes (2008) cited in Sakyiama (2021) posits that

5

communication takes place in various forms, ways and for different purposes. Communication does not have a singular form or way that it takes place. It occurs in several forms depending on the occasion and type of issues to be presented.

Effective communication consists of conveying your messages to other people clearly and unambiguously. It is also about receiving information that others are sending to you, with as little distortion as possible. Doing this involves effort from both the sender of the message and the receiver. This process that can be fraught with error, with messages muddled by the sender, or misinterpreted by the recipient. When this is not detected, it can cause tremendous confusion, wasted effort and missed opportunity. In fact, communication is only successful when both the sender and the receiver understand the same information expressed through the medium of communication. Communication is the sum of all the things one person does when he wants to create understanding in the mind of another.

Daniel (2013) states that in the process of communication, meanings are created and ascribed between people. The people in the communication process deduce meaning from the words or text expressed to establish understanding. This implies that there cannot be communication without striking understanding between the speaker and the receiver. Establishing understanding between the speaker and the receiving using the communicative element is key in the communication process. William (2021) avers that communication represents how information disseminates from its source to the receiver. Information disseminates from the source-speaker to the receiver, which is expected to strike common understanding between them. This common understanding can be hindered through language barrier, the environment, perception other others. However, when all these barriers are eliminated, a common understanding will exist between the speaker and the receiver.

6

The underlining medium of communication is language which makes up the communicative process. One of the aspects of communication is persuasion, therefore Politicians need to have the capability of being persuasive. They will never become great politicians without the ability to persuade others. The ability to persuade others through a matter of personality and character and a carefully selected number of rhetorical devices used to manipulate an audience give a contribution to the ability of making a statement persuasive. Communicators communicate to persuade their audience or listeners who in this process are the receivers of the communicative process. When common understanding is established, we say communication has taken place. The speaker and the receiver play a vital role in the communication process to enhance understanding. Communication is however, defined as the means of transmitting information and common understanding from one person to another

(Keyton, 2011). It is basically the creation of thoughts, ideas, emotions and understanding between the sender and the receiver. The sender and the receiver are the most common elements in a communication process. The sender communicates to create an understanding for the receiver or the listener to strike meaning. In the communication process, information has to be transmitted from a source which is the sender or the speaker and a common understanding Lunenburg (2010) propose a communication model consisting of Sender (source), Message (information), Receiver, Noise (hereafter referred to barrier), Medium (hereafter referred to channel), and Feedback. In enhancing understanding, the message must to be sent from a source which is the sender to a receiver, and the receiver must also give feedback on the message to the source or the sender. The feedback being positive or negative will inform the source-sender to determine if his or her message is well received or not. It is always important to receive feedback to determine if some understanding has been established.

7

The burden to strike a common understanding of what is communicated, rest with the receiver. Fatimayin (2015), posits that the general view of communication is that it is an interaction within a social context where people or communicators exchange signals. By this, it implies that speeches presented which form part of a communication process speaks to the audience on the very social issues which they can relate in their day to day activities.

Persuasive language are used by politicians to achieve their intended set of goals which are mostly political in form. This process of persuasion is called rhetoric which was first introduced by Aristotle in the 5th century B.C. (Vernon, 2013). Aristotle conceptualized Ethos, Logos and Pathos as three different types of persuasion in rhetorical communication (Vernon, 2013). According to Aristotle (350 BC; cited in (Duke; 1982)), "of the modes of persuasion furnished by the spoken word, there are three kinds. The first kind depends on the personal character of the speaker; the second on putting the audience into a certain frame of mind; the third on the proof, or apparent proof, provided by the words of the speech itself." The three means of persuasion are ethos (appeal to the speaker's credibility), pathos (appeal to the emotion of the audience) and logos (appeal to reasoning).

A speaker's ability to appeal to the emotions and logical reasoning of the audience determines the success of his or speech. This explains why Aristotle postulated five steps to prepare a speech, which Cicero standardized into the five canons of rhetoric which are used in today speeches. These cannons of speech are; invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. According to (Bizzell & Herzberg, 2001). Bizzel & Herzberg (2000) the cannons form the basis of rhetorical analysis. Bertazzo (2008) defines rhetoric as is the formal study of persuasive communication as well as the practice of persuasive communication. Bogost (2007) also defines rhetoric as the art of

persuasion precisely used in political settings such as public assemblies and trials in some countries. Crismore (1990), avers that the use of rhetoric in social discourse has always had an impact in several ways. This makes rhetoric very significant in modern day speech writing.

Griffin (2010) states that rhetoric is the ability to see the available means of persuasion, which focuses on the intentional act of using words to have an effect. Within all types of political system such as autocratic, oligarchic, democratic, etc., political leaders and heads of nations or states have a crucial role in both national development and international politics. They often rely on the spoken words of their speech to control and manage their supporters and assure people of the benefits that can take place from their leadership. Political speeches are inspired by the wishes to urge and assure the nation or society and make the audience easy to recognize their socio-economic policies, plans and actions (Teittinen, 2000). Rhetoric states in his final seminal treaties on rhetoric that rhetoric is the "art of finding available means of persuasion" for a given argument Rhetoric involves the use of language in a way to produce a desired impression upon the hearer or reader (Burke, 1952).

According to Hornby (2003:240), "Language are a sound and words used by human being to communicate and express their thoughts and feelings". (Susanto, 2007) explains that English is the most popular language and is one of the most important and most studied languages, both in terms of life and literature. Therefore, the students should know about language usage by practicing the language in daily communication. Davies and Pearse as quoted in Tuan & Mai (2015) suggest that the main goal in the English learning process is to support students to be able to use the language as an effective and accurate communication tool in everyday life. The present study focuses

9

essentially on the 2017 and 2021 Inaugural and States of the Nation Addresses of President Akufo-Addo.

Political discourses or speeches delivered by politicians, specifically presidents are part of the most influential speeches in the world constructed to impacted positively on the lives of people. Such speeches present an opportunity for the president to presents his ideologies to achieve an intended purpose. Trosborg (2000) argues that, it is neither the individual nor the situation that speaks, but the institution that does so. He further stated that a president's speech has a genre character and other elements that distinguish it from other political rhetoric. Wilson (2001) re-addresses the goal of political discourse analysis which is "to seek out the ways in which language choice is manipulated for specific political effect and almost all levels of linguistics are involved" (p. 410). Nyako (2013), states that, the practice of politics is mainly anchored on speeches delivered by seekers of political power and directed at their supporters and society as a whole. The motivation of every politician is the ability to impress his or her audience with speeches which communicate common understanding of ideas, policies, among others communicative elements to them. Political leaders play a major role in national and international politics, with spoken words-speech to control and manage their supporters.

Political speeches inspire their audience to recognize their socio-economic policies (Teittinen, 2000). These leaders in their political systems-jurisdiction employ various rhetorical situation to achieve their desired purpose. The speeches contain rhetorical moves, strategies or appeals woven in the text to create the intended effect in their audience. A president must be able to use speech or rhetoric to his or her strongest advantage to anticipate, address or mediate crisis (Davis & Gardner, 2012). Presidential rhetoric has increasingly been the subject of scholarly interest given that through it,

10

presidents establish a relationship between themselves and the public by communicating policies, plans and accomplishments to citizens. Zarefsky (2004) argues that, Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses are means by which a president defines social and political reality and the contexts by which citizens come to understand this reality.

According to Adamu (2017), the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of great orators who instilled a feeling of nationalism and political consciousness in Africa via their oratory abilities. H.E President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo is noted for his excellent oratory in speech delivery. His speeches have won praises in and out of Ghana. The political ideas of presidents are clearly stated in their speeches to communicate the intended effects in the citizenry during ceremonies. Politicians make use of political discourse as strong tool to persuade their audience or follow to vote for them. And when they obtained power, they thrive on speeches to manage the citizenry. Politicians adopt various rhetorical situations or strategies to convey their messages and to influence their audience to think in a manner they so desire. Nordquist (2019) observes rhetorical analysis as a form of criticism that uses the principle of rhetoric to study the relationship between the text, the speaker and the audience. Rhetorical analysis evaluates how well a spoken or written work accomplishes its purpose by examining the techniques the creator uses to persuade.

Rhetorical analysis is there based on the situation of a communication piece. These rhetorical situation include the speaker, the audience, purpose, message, genre and context. Rhetorical analysis determines the way the speakers sway his or her audience and achieve an intended purpose using rhetorical appeals. Rhetorical appeals are the qualities of an argument that make it truly persuasive. To make a convincing argument,

a writer appeals to a reader in several ways. The persuasive appeals are; ethos, logos and pathos. Rhetorical analysis is generally not about whether you like or dislike a writer's speech or discourse and not about whether you agree or disagree with a writer's choice or use of words or sentences. Although rhetorical analysis is argumentative nature, it is not about the arguments presented to express an opinion, instead arguments presented to determine how successful a discourse or speech as used to achieve the intended purpose among an audience.

Polynice (2021) observes rhetoric as the ability to see what is possibly persuasive in every given case being communicated to someone or making a point across. Aristotle is widely known for his immense work in the area of persuasive appeals-ethos, logos and pathos.

In text or spoken speech, the speaker or the writer uses his persona or character to influence the audience to achieve his or her purpose. The speaker or the writer build textual forms, cites credible sources, which he or she is known to have mastery of to build logical situations to persuade the audience. The audience however, form ideas based on the emotional and logical arguments presented by the speaker or the writer to develop a thought to enhance understanding of what is being communicated at a given point of time. Communication is achieved when the speaker and the audience are on the same frequency and understand each other.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Van Dijk (1997) explained that the study on political discourse analysis is not only concerned with the orators or speakers themselves, but also with the political and communicative events or encounters. By this, political discourse analysis focuses on the political event be it campaign, inaugural, independence anniversary and State of the

Nation or Union Address. These events are political because they are largely held or organized by politicians who are in the hem of affairs. Such politicians take advantage of the event to present their political discourse or speech be it manifesto and others to woo the hope and confidence of the electorates or the citizenry. Van Dijk (1997) also avers that Political Discourse analysis as analysis conducted on political discourse defined as talk and text of politicians within the overtly political contexts. Political discourse analysis is concerned with understanding the nature and function of political discourse.

Van Dijk (1997) again, highlights the role played by the interaction between context and text, and how occasions are important in the analysis of political speeches, such as "cabinet meetings, parliamentary sessions, election campaigns, and rallies, interviews with media, bureaucratic practices, and protest demonstrations". Politicians use text in context to solicit vote for their political ambitions. This is part of the process of prosecuting their agenda. Political discourse plays a major role in the political process of the politicians. They are able to get the electorates to act along their speeches or the discourse they present to woo their attention. The electorates believe what they are told by politicians through the discourse they present politically.

Obeng (2007) observes political discourse as presidential inaugurals, state of the union or nation addresses, parliamentary debates, political debates and rallies, election speeches, presidential debates, or propaganda leaflets. The Inaugural Address and State of the Nation Address appear to be the most popular of all political genres in Ghana. This started when the Ghana reverted to competitive politics in 1992. The 1992 constitution of the Republic of Ghana enjoins every President to fulfil the requirement

of presenting political discourse of speeches on the occasion of inaugurating a new President and during State of the Nation ceremonies. The Inaugural ceremonies and SONA are constitutional requirements. It is mandatory on all Presidents of Ghana to ensure that such ceremonies backed by legal instruments are fulfilled accordingly. During such ceremonies or occasions leaders across the world are invited to grace or witness. It is at these ceremonies that the cultural heritage of the country is reinforcement through the citizenry by way of dressing, and display of cultural artefacts.

The Inaugural Address and State of the Nation Address (SONA) delivered by Presidents over the years stem controversies after they have been delivered by the President in charge of the affairs of the State. The opposition party usually comes out with their own version of the speech delivered to court attention and score cheap politician point. President all over the world when elected into office for a tenure are brought to the public at an inaugural ceremony. At this ceremony, the president gains the advantage to speech to the citizen and the international community for the first time into office. It is also mandatory for presidents to present State of the Union as called in the United States of American or State of the Nation Address (SONA) as referred to in Ghana. In Ghana presidents over the years have presented Inaugural speeches at their inauguration as heads of the republic and have delivered State of the Nation Address as mandated by the 1992 constitution Article 67. Former President, H.E Jerry John Rawlings, Former Presidents John Agyekum Kufuor, the late President John Evans Fiifi Atta Mills, Former President John Dramani Mahama have all presented inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses. His Excellency Nana Addo Dankwah Akufo-Addo has presented inaugural addresses in 2017 and 2021 respectively. In these inaugural

speeches he used persuasion to court the attention of Ghanaians. Throughout his tenure, he has presented the State of the Nation Address (SONA) on eight occasions. To preserve themselves in a harmonious social order, politicians and political actors use communication tools to rally people behind them (van Dijk, 2006). The presidential candidate of the political party who emerges at the President at the end of the general election presents his first speech at the inaugural ceremony to sustain and build the hope and aspirations of the Ghanaian population in their forward march to develop the country. Such speeches are usually greeted with discontent from the members of the opposition parties. The inaugural speeches in Ghana are presented at the forecourt of the independence square for the Ghanaians, while the SONA have always been presented on the floor of Parliament. Chimbarange, Takavarasha, and Kombe (2014) maintain that, the main aim of politicians is to persuade their audience of the validity of their political claims. By this politicians employ political discourse to persuade people to follow them.
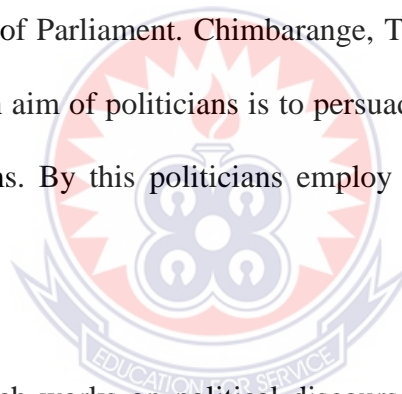
In Ghana, most research works on political discourse have focused on speech acts, while others have focused on relationship between language and politics, political personalities and how politicians use language to persuade the electorate. Obeng's (1997) study on language and politics focused on some features of a text that make the text political. He outlines some contextual features such as content, purpose of the discourse, setting among others and, more importantly, rhetoric as major components in the area of politics. Obeng (1997) avers that an important aspect of political rhetoric is the ability of the politicians to communicatively 'sell' themselves, their ideologies or policies to the electorates. By this, to be a celebrated politician, the effective use of arguments through the act of persuasion is very important. Wang's (2010) work on the

features of Barack Obama's speeches indicates how Obama uses simple language to persuade his audience to accept and support his stance. Using systematic functional grammar, and focusing on transitivity and modality. Wang (2010) discloses through this work that Obama uses simpler, short sentences instead of complex ones, easy and colloquial language structure, which shorten the proximity between him and his audience.

(Sarfo, 2016 and Boakye, 2014), transitivity (Adjei and Ewusi, 2015, 2016), politeness (Ghampson, 2011, Wilson, 2017). Political communication involve the use of language designed to influence the audience to think towards a particular path. Language can be used as a tool to influence the thoughts, feelings and actions of the public, and thus persuades them to embrace particular ideas through discourse (Higgins & Walker, 2012). By this, it implies that language which involves the use of words with the propensity of influencing and instigating the thought of people in a particular path is persuasive in form. Persuasion remains the most powerful means to work on the minds of people politically in order to score some political point as well as gain an advantage.

As far as rhetorical analysis of text or speech is concerned, several academic work or writing have been done (Kawase, 2015; Lee & Casal, 2014). Sarfo and Krampa's (2013) study on "Language at war" investigated six speeches of George Walker Bush and Barack Obama. The outcome of the study reveals that Bush and Obama projected terrorism negatively while anti-terrorism was projected positively, by carefully selecting emotionally charged vocabularies and expressions. Nyako (2013) also analyses language, power and ideology, using critical discourse analysis of selected speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo and John Dramani Mahama. In Nyako (2013) work, he discusses how description, interpretation and explanation reveal the implicit underlying issues which the two presidential hopefuls employed to persuade

16

their audience to validate their overt interest for power. The outcome of the study, conclude how Nana Akufo-Addo and John Mahama extensively employ the use of persuasive strategies such as self-projection, blurred agency, literary devices, intertextuality and speech acts to persuade their audience and by extension the electorate.

Opoku-Mensah's (2014) work on the "Rhetoric of Kwame Nkrumah" concentrated on the examination of the political speeches of Kwame Nkrumah. Using Aristotle's (2007) Levels of Proofs and Rhetorical Regimes, Perelman and Olbrecths-Tyteca's (1969) Argument and Bitzer's (1968) Situation as correlative approaches for the analysis of the data, the study revealed that as part of Nkrumah's political speeches, he constantly employed logical association. Using this tool, Nkrumah associated two entities either positively or negatively in order to promote good or bad publicity for different entities. The findings showed that Nkrumah used negative association in describing Western colonial powers in order to engender negative public opinion against them. He also made use of negative associations to target political opponents in Ghana and Africa, who either served as political threats or opposed his ideological position. With regard to positive association, Nkrumah rhetorically associated his political party, the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) as the only viable political party in Ghana while relegating the other parties to the background. Anderson (2014) also analyzed some selected speeches of John Evans Atta Mills. The main focus of Anderson's work was to identify inherent stylistically significant features prevalent in the selected speeches to find a possible relationship between the background of the political actor and the prevalent stylistic features

Although, a number of research works have been conducted on speeches of Ghanaian Presidents much work have also been done on political discourse in the area of

manifestoes, inaugural addresses, parliamentary debates, and even social media posts as well as other political speeches, (Hemas and Ariyanti, 2016; Kondowe, 2014; Naz et al., 2012; Alvi and Baseer, 2011; Nadashkiska, 2006; Zhao and Zhang, 2017; Farhat, 2016; Michira, 2014; Alvi and Baseer, 2012; Donna Wang, 2010), works in the area of ideology, speech art and moves analysis on inaugural and State of the Nation Address by Ghanaian presidents by far remain under-researched. The research study presented by Emmanuel Kyei in March 2020 titled 'move analysis of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo's 2017 Presidential Inaugural speech (PIS)' investigates the move structure and the linguistic characteristics of the Presidential Inaugural Speech presented by President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo in 2017. The genre theory was applied to investigate the move structure of the speech. Ankrah, Dominic & Opoku, 2018; Chinwendu and Botchwey, 2017; Partey, Sarfo-Adu, Addo-Danquah, & Bonku, 2018). Ankrah, Dominic and Opoku (2018) carried out research works on presidential inaugural speeches (PISs) presented by His Excellences John Agyekum Kufuor and the late John Evans Fiifi Atta Mills. In their works they employed Austin's (1962) and Seale's (1969) models of speech act theory. Chinwendu and Botchwey (2017) examined President John Evans Atta Mills' 2009 and President John Dramani Mahama's 2013 Presidential Inaugural Speech, and Partey, Sarfo-Adu Addo-Danquah and Bonku (2018) also carried out research work on Nana Addo Dankwah Akufo-Addo's 2017 State of the Nation Address using the same speech act theory.

This study is motivated by the fact that the scholarly works on presidential speeches or discourse in Ghana did not apply the persuasive appeals propounded by Aristotle to analyze presidential Inaugural Address and State of the Nation Address (SONA). This study seeks to address the deficit by using rhetorical analysis to analyze ethos, logos and pathos adopted by President Akufo-Addo in his 2017 and 2021 Inaugural Address

18

and State of the Nation Address. This study is also intended to conduct rhetorical analysis of the same speeches to examine how the persuasive appeals were used to create effect among Ghanaians to achieve the intended purpose which is to get Ghanaians to act along and to score political points in the end.

Every political discourse is embedded with certain ideologies explicitly expressed and formulated (Khany and Hamzelou, 2014). In the words of van Dijk (2006) ideologies represent one of the dimensions of the social identity or self-image of groups. In a similar vein, Iwamoto (2007), is of the view that no discourse is ideologically neutral, hence the study is also intended to identify how power and ideologies were employed by President Akufo-Addo in his 2017, 2021 State of the Nation Address (SONA), Inaugural Address and Independence Day Speech to achieve his purpose. Every speech made by a president or a politician for that matter is ideologically inclined to represent the political stance of the party one represent. This represent the ideological position or stance of the political parties. And these ideologies are usually communicated speeches presented by the president or the politician at specialized ceremonies. It is the duty of the politician to strategically use persuasive language to communicate to an audience to achieve a desired result. These desired results are planned and well executed through the use of discourse. It is however important to identify the ideologies behind the speeches presented by President Akufo-Addo in his 2017 and 2021 State of the Nation Address (SONA) and Inaugural Addresses.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The study is therefore guided by the following objectives:

1. Identify persuasive appeals present in President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses

2. Examine how the persuasive appeals were used in President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses to create the intended effects among Ghanaians.

3. Examine how power and ideologies were employed in the 2017 and 2021 Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses (SONA), of President Akufo-Addo

1.4 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the persuasive appeals present in the President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural, State of the Nation Addresses?

2. How are the three persuasive appeals used in President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses to create the intended effects among Ghanaians?

3. How does the President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses reflect his ideological position and that of the New Patriotic Party?

1.5. Relevance of the Study

The study will unearth the rhetorical analysis of His Excellency President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural Address, State of the Nation Address (SONA). Theoretically, it is expected that this research will inform and add to the knowledge of readers, the academia and speech writers about the types of rhetorical proofs in the transcript of President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses. Practically the study will be useful for public speaking class

to teach students how to create effective speech to achieve an intended effect or purpose at a given space in time.

Finally, the study will also provide data and suggestions that are very useful to leaders when deciding on the topic of their speeches to guarantee greater influence on their audience to get them act in a particular direction. Political speeches are to get the citizenry act in a particular direction in response to the ideological position of the politician.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study focuses on a rhetorical analysis to unearth the rhetorical proofs used by His Excellency President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo" 2017 and 2021 State of the Nation Address and Inaugural Address and how such proofs were used in the speeches. The speeches used for the study were based on purposive sampling. Making use of the rhetorical proofs in speeches will enrich and enhance easy comprehension of speech due to the logical and emotional effects created by the speeches.

1.7 Organization of the Study

The study comprises five chapters. The first chapter deals with the background to the study, definition of term, statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, objectives of the study, the research questions, significance of the study, delimitation of the study, the organization of the study and definition of terms. Chapter two discusses the review of related literature. Chapter three presents the methodology. Chapter four looks at the analysis and discussion of the results obtained from the study. Chapter five deals with the summary, conclusion and recommendations of the study. In the next chapter, literature review will be discussed therefore, the review will be focused on the themes

of the study which cover; theoretical and conceptual framework as well as empirical framework.

1.8. Operational Definition of terms

1. Language is a communication tool used by everyone in their daily life as a means to convey information and arguments to others

2. Rhetoric is the art of speaking or writing effectively: such as. A: the study of principles and rules of composition formulated by critics of ancient times. B: the study of writing or speaking as a means of communication or persuasion.

3. Rhetorical analysis is the process of evaluating elements of a text and determining how those elements impact the success or failure of that argument.

4. Inaugural is a ceremony inducting someone into a new position, especially the President.

5. Speech/Address is the expression of or the ability to express thoughts and feelings by articulate sounds.

6. Inaugural speech/address is a speech given during this ceremony which informs the people of their intentions as a leader.

7. Ideology: "A systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view" (Hodge & Kress, 1993, p.6). Ideology is the value systems and sets of beliefs shared by social groups and can be shown from specific linguistic practices in texts.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter covers literature relevant to the topic; 'a rhetorical analysis of President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses; a qualitative study of the use of ethos, logos and pathos in the speeches. The review was focused on other themes of the study which covers; Language, function of language in communication, language as a communicative device, Presidential Inaugural Address and State of the Nation Address as presidential rhetoric, definition of rhetoric, cannons of rhetoric, rhetoric as an approach to text analysis, rhetorical analysis, rhetorical proofs, political discourse and logical reasoning, ideology and power. The second stage of this chapter presents the theoretical framework. The theoretical framework discusses Aristotle's rhetoric theory and Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis and their relevance which underpin the study. Scholarly works on the theory and its tenets underpinning the research are also reviewed. Furthermore, the discussion on the theory centers on cannons of rhetoric and the three rhetorical appeals.

2.1 Review of Concepts and Key Issues

2.1.1 Language

Language remains a way to control people's opinion in social, cultural and political context. People's opinion on cultural and political issues are shaped using language presented by politicians. In political settings, language remains a weapon to invade nations of the world, organize people's mind and opinion and control societies with varied socio-cultural backgrounds. Political language refers to the use of language by the government or political parties to either encourage or persuade the society. The language of politics is aimed to persuade audience to accept the perspective of the

23

speaker. It is the study of this nature that enables us to understand how language is used by those in power, those who wish to exercise power and those who wish to keep power

Language is the backbone of communication, the vehicle of message transmission, and a potential source of power (Salleh, 2014). Language is a powerful vehicle to express someone's idea in both spoken and written form. There is an intricate relation between language and power (Biria & Mohammadi, 2012). In a political speech, language plays a crucial role as it builds, establishes and strengths relationship, express idea, and sells programs and policies. That is why it is undeniable that, language has been an important issue in politics (Ayeomoni & Akinkuolere, 2012). Language indicates each of its nation, a parable once say so. If its meaning pondered deeper, may make us wiser in understanding and addressing all cases that linked between language and attitude or behavior of groups of speakers of the languages (Alwi, 2004). Nunan (2004) explains that the understanding of a language itself comes from the context in which the language appears as well as its extra-linguistic information. Chilton (2004), for instance, has argued that language is a major means by which political actors share a common view with their audience regarding "what is useful-harmful, good-evil, just-unjust".

To Chilton (2004), political discourse focuses on representation, by which political actors employ language to legitimize their positions and justify their actions. This connection between language and politics becomes significant in analyses that seek to understand how discourses are represented, produced and reproduced. Our social life as people is preoccupied by political thoughts. Within the political space, the core function of language is to provide information on ideas, and policies of political parties, whether in power or opposition, and also to serve as a source of propagandist's tool to massage information to the people (Mpotsiah, Marfo, Forson & Fordjou, 2021). So

24

many definition of the language has been proposed by linguists but, Language remains a form, not the substance (in Chaer Lyons 1995:60). While Chaer (1995:14) mentions the characteristics that constitute the essence of language as a symbol of the sound system, are arbitrary, productive, dynamic, diverse, and humane. Language is a system, which is made up of several components or parts arranged together to form a pattern. Language is a single system, but rather consists of several subsystems that differ from other languages.

Language in some context can be seen as an embodiment of ideologies and at the same time an instrument of persuasion; a tool for controlling and consolidating power and a tool for acquiring power (Sharndama, 2015). Van Dijk (1993) is of the view that political leaders, in such speeches, try to influence the mental models, knowledge, attitudes, and eventually even the ideologies of recipients using language. Language is a communication tool used by everyone in their daily life as a means to convey information and arguments to others. By this language cannot be separated from culture because language represent its nation and has close relation to the attitude or behavior of groups of speakers of the languages. The role of language as a tool to express culture reality can be seen from: 1) Language is part of culture, 2) Even the language and the culture is in different, but have a very close relationship, 3) Language is strongly influenced by culture, and 4) Language significantly influence culture and way of thinking of people living within. In the communication, language used by people is influence their culture or vice versa. If used parables, the culture and language like Siamese twins, the two things that cannot be separated. Or as a coin; side one is the language and the other is culture. Language is a form, not the substance (in Chaer Lyons 1995:60). While Chaer (1995:14) mentions the characteristics that constitute the

essence of language as a symbol of the sound system, are arbitrary, productive, dynamic, diverse, and humane.

According to Brown and Yule (1985) language is not only used for the description of things rather it is also used for doing things as well. CDA analyses the use of the language in a real context and how language reveals their cultural, social and ethnic backgrounds. They are of the view that choice of lexical and syntactic features of a language represent the broad socio-cultural background of the speakers. Critical discourse analysis focuses on how their language reflects discursive practices in the binary relations. Halliday's (1978) view regarding this concept is same that language is considered to be a social act because people communicate in a social setup. Language and society are dependent on each other rather directly linked in terms communication. It is the language (text) which shapes and constructs our identities. Same is the case in our context. People who are fluent in English are considered socially and culturally dominant because they speak the language of socially and politically dominant people. In this case, linguistic variable seems to become the identity of that particular class.

Language is the means of human communication. This means that language cannot be separated from human life, because language itself plays an important role in people. It is a method of communicating or delivering something. By using language, humans can tell and share their experiences with others, and tell some events in the process, and can learn the important content of these events by using language for better future. The language produced by humans is used every day to talk about their experience. Language is a basic feature of human life. People use language as a tool of their communication, to communicate and to establish relation with others Wardhaugh (2006). It means that people use language to transfer ideas with others, if there is no tool to communicate, people's activities will be hampered. Nowadays, language is not

only used to communicate, but also to develop sciences. Many literary works are created such as poem, novel, song lyric and others. The author used language in his work to develop his ideas to the readers.

According to Wibowo (2001), language is a system of symbols that are meaningful and articulate the sound produced by the tool which is free, which is used as a means of communication by a group of humans to give birth for feelings and thoughts. Clark (1997) states that language stands at the center of human affairs, from the most prosaic to the most profound. Language also is a system of arbitrary, vocal symbols which permit all people in a given culture to communicate or to interact. According to Hornby (2003), "Language are a sound and words used by human being to communicate and express their thoughts and feelings". Based on the explanation above, they can be concluded language is a tool of human communication to express our personal reaction to the situation and to stimulate a response in someone else. Language is the means for expressing our hought. The relativist position observes, language and thought as inextricably intertwined. Our understanding of the world within a relativist perspective is affected by available linguistic resources. The concept that language is a tool to convey the thought has had a long history. However, in the sociolinguistic thought considered to be too narrow because the language activity is basically a "who speak what language to Whom, when, and to what end." Therefore, from the view of sociolinguistics, language functions can be viewed from different angles, such as speakers, listeners, topics, codes, and conversation purpose (Chaer and Agustina, 2004: 15).

Communication is an effective tool which is part of the daily life of human. It is the means humans used to strike a common understanding between themselves. Effective

communication demands that both speakers and listeners understand each other. There exists a very important connection between language and context. Much of what would be understood from language depends to a large extent on the context in which it is used. Context contributes to the meaning of what is said in communication as Simpson (1993: 6) averts that 'language is not used in a contextless vacuum; rather, it is used in a host of discourse contexts. According to Effendy (2003), the term communication originates from the Latin word "communicatio" which comes from the word communis which means common. In this case, common means "same meaning". According to Grunig (2000), communication is a dynamic interactive process that involves the effective transmission of facts, ideas, thoughts, feelings and values.Communication takes place between two or more objects.

Shanon & Weaver (1949) model describes an information theory model that avers that communication involves a sender, message, channel, receiver, and feedback. While this model underscores the importance of clarity and accuracy, it oversimplifies the intricacies of human communication. In response to the limitations of the information theory model, Shanon & Weaver (1949) have proposed interactive models like transactional model which emphasizes the dynamic and reciprocal nature of communication, acknowledging that both parties contribute to meaning construction through feedback and contextual factors. Grunig (2000), posits that, the relationships people engaged in communication continuously grow and develop.

2.1.2 Functions of Language

Conventionally, it is stated that language is a tool to interact or tools to communicate, in a sense, means to convey thoughts, ideas, concepts, or even a feeling. The concept that language is a tool to convey the thought has had a long history. However, in the

28

sociolinguistic thought considered to be too narrow because the language activity is basically a "who speak what language to whom, when, and to what end." Therefore, from the view of sociolinguistics, language functions can be viewed from different angles, such as speakers, listeners, topics, codes, and conversation purpose (Chaer and Agustina, 2004: 15). Language as a means of communication is the cornerstone of human interaction. Without language humans will not be able to communicate to create understanding among themselves. According to Hunston and Thompson (2000), different types of nouns and verbs have different meanings that are used for a specific purpose. Language is made of a structure which contains words of various forms put together to construct a sentence to convey information to create understanding between the source-sender and the receiver.

Halliday (1975) puts the functions of language into seven and viewed language more of a cultural tool than a communication tool. He viewed the function of language as instrumental and proposed that language is used to fulfil needs or desires, such as requesting food or comfort. By this, he implied that language functions as means to meet the desires of man. Humans make request for food and comfort using language which are easily decoded for understanding. He also viewed language as regulatory. By this he implies that, language has the function to command, persuade, or request someone to do something, controlling their behavior. Language is also view as interactive. This function of language enables humans to form relationships, express emotions, and strengthen bonds with others. Relationship and bonds can be expressed through effective use of language as a means of communication.

Halliday's fifth function of language is personal. By this language is used to express personal opinions, emotions, and identity, as well as to seek information about the

world. Humans can only express their opinions or set of views on issues only they use language which is the means of communicating. By the use of language they would be better understood. Heuristic according to Halliday, is the function of language. He said language is associated with discovery and explanation, often through questions and self-narration. Discoveries can be unearth if questions are asked and also the discoveries explained to enhance the understanding of all. This function of language requires questioning and self-narration to enhance discoveries. Representation is another function of language according to Halliday. According to him, language is used to request and relay information between people, exchanging facts and experiences. The imaginative function of language according to Halliday, is used for storytelling and imaginative play, creating fictional scenarios and characters.

Ahlsen (2005) posits that "looking at language and communication in different social activities provides clues to the roles of different determining factors behind an observed behaviour. This implies that language is important in the human interactive process. Altman & Taylor (1973) explores how communication enables individuals to gradually reveal their inner selves, ultimately deepening connections with others. Language in the communication process play a key role in the human interactive process. Politicians, be it presidents and the like can only communicate their ideals through the use of language constructed to strike the understanding between them and their audience. This clearly depict the important role language play in the rhetoric process. Language simply remains the means to communicate for a common understanding to exist between the speaker and the listener.

2.1.3 Language as a Communication device

Language plays an important role by the speaker and the receiver and the traditional function of language being a tool to interact establishes the relationship between the speaker and the receiver. It is a means of communication between members of a community in the form of symbols produced. Language enhances self-expression as it is the means for one to express him or herself. Gorys Keraf (1997:1), posits that language is a means of communication between members of the community in the form of a symbol of sound produced by the speech organ. Language is a tool to interact, reflect an individual's identity, level of education, authority and one's social standing in the community. The language as tool is used in the daily lives of humans as means to convey information and arguments with others. Without language, communication will not exist between humans as an important function of man.

Language is mostly a way of communicating among members of society (Sirbu, 2015) or language is traditionally defined as a tool for interacting or communicating, in terms transferring thoughts, ideas, concepts, or even emotion. (Rabiah, 2018). Language is also a tool for self-expression and a means of expressing one's identity (Rabiah, 2018). Language enables us to communicate effectively and efficiently with one another and this is the essence for acquisition of foreign language. Acquiring several language enable one to interact with people around them to accomplish the function of language. People are allowed to maintain and keep in touch each other by using language. It can be stated that language as an important rule since it is recognized as a communication tool establishing the relationship in humans' life (Asrial et al., 2019; Rabiah, 2018). Without language means, people are ready to live without communication since language is a human communication tool to deliver information, ideas, and thoughts, and even portray personality or people's backgrounds explicitly and implicitly in most

31

human life aspects such as economics, education, politics, cultures, and many more (Cahyaningrum, 2021; Rabiah, 2018;Wijaya & Nasution, 2018). Therefore, language is one of the most massive spreading things worldwide.

2.2.0 State of the Nation Addresses (SONA)

Presidential rhetoric has increasingly been the subject of scholarly interest given that through it, presidents establish a relationship between themselves and the public by communicating policies, plans and accomplishments to citizens. Zarefsky (2004) argues that it is a means by which a president defines social and political reality and the contexts by which citizens come to understand this reality. One significant example of presidential addresses is the State of the Nation address, which in the United States, for example, is a constitutional requirement geared towards checks and balances. Specifically, the United States Constitution stipulates that the President "shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient" (U.S. Const. Art. II, & 3).

Over the past two centuries of its existence, the SONA in the United States has undergone a number of changes in form, content and delivery. For instance, it has moved from an address to only members of Congress to both Congress and the American public; it has morphed from its initially lengthy nature to a much shorter delivery (probably because of shorter attention span of the audiences, and expectations of the audience for shorter speeches); and its delivery has also been significantly influenced by technological advancement: it is now televised rather than simply read or sent to Congress (Teten, 2003; Shogan, 2015). These changes notwithstanding, it continues to be considered by Congress as the most important annual speech by the

32

president (Shogan, 2015). Given this importance, unsurprisingly, numerous studies have investigated its content and structure, as well as the rhetorical strategies employed in them by U.S.

Presidents over time for example, have used the SONA as a means to reinforce the values of the American people (Sowinska, 2013) and as a self-presentational strategy for their own political ambitions (Smith, Whitehead, Melo, Correa, & Inch, 2014). Smith, et al. (2014) note that SONAs have been used by modern American presidents (from the 20th century onwards) as a way of promoting and ingratiating themselves with their audiences. This, they claim, is as a result of the expectation that presidents be charismatic during such speeches.

In their seminal work on various forms of presidential addresses in Presidents Creating the Presidency, Campbell and Jamieson (2008) argue that the SONA is "central to the maintenance of the presidency" itself as it enables the president to act as a "national historian, keeper of the national identity, and voice of national values". A president's role as chronicler of the nation's history, as well as his/her position as both head of political party and head of state raises some critical questions. To what extent does the president act in the interest of the political party of which s/he is leader? In what ways might national interest be at variance with the president's political party's interest? These considerations become all the more important when we consider Campbell and Jamieson's (2008) account of one of President Truman's addresses. They report that while the SONA is often designed to be bipartisan, some, like Truman's 1948 address, were anything but conciliatory: Truman's 1948 message, for example, was a blueprint for the coming campaign.

Truman aide George Elsey had recommended that the address be "controversial as hell, must state the issues of the election, must draw the line sharply between Republicans and Democrats. [emphasis added] The Democratic platform will stem from it, and the elections will be fought on the issues it presents." The speech was crafted to achieve those ends. (Campbell & Jamieson, 2008). Clearly, the SONA could be and has actually sometimes been used for political gain, in which case bipartisanship, consensus and cooperation become inconsequential in a president's assessment of national performance. In other words, the SONA could be used to actively pursue partisan interests in a manner that excludes opposing parties as could be seen in the citation above. Most studies on the SONA have largely focused on the United States, arguably in part because of the addresses' over two-century-long history in the United States.

There are, however, few studies on the structure, content and uses to which similar addresses have been put in other countries. For instance, scholarship on the address in Ghana has largely relied on the speeches as a basis for policy formulation and evaluation (e.g. Essel et al. 2014; Rosencrans, 2014; Harutyunyan & Odame, 2015). However, since discursive choices made by a speaker are political, it is important to investigate rhetorical and linguistic aspects of the address in Ghana, which could, in turn, complement the policy evaluation efforts of such scholars. Just as the president of the United States addresses Congress, the president of Ghana is required constitutionally to "at the beginning of each session of Parliament and before a dissolution of Parliament, deliver to Parliament a message on the state of the nation" (Const. of Ghana, Art. 67).

The SONA in Ghana is, arguably, derivative of the address in the United States. For instance, only recently have opposition political party responded to the address, as it is done in the United States. Such responses could be traced to the idea of opposition responses to the SONA that Shogan (2015) reports as having started in the United States in 1966. Based on these similarities, it is important that this study interrogate the addresses in both contexts to uncover nuances of the genre occasioned and shaped by cultural influences especially, within the Ghanaian context. Obviously, in Ghana the State of the Nation Addresses presented by presidents over the periods, have been used to gain political favour as the speeches presented on such occasion have been used to pursue partisanship interest. SONA presented in Ghana as enshrined under Article 67 of the 1992 constitution is a clear deviation of what is done or presented in the United States of America.

Whereas in the United States, State of the Union Addresses are means for check and balances of what is expected government at each particular point time, Ghana's case is different. In Ghana, the State of the Nation address are used by government through the President to propagate persuasive language to woo the citizenry to act along for political gain. This defeats the purpose for which the SONA was sanctioned under the very article of the constitution. The opposition will intern rise to the occasion after the SONA is delivered with the suspicion that the very thematic areas of the speeches are pillared on lies, hence a version of the suppose speech is presented in the media by the opposition party.

2.2.1 Presidential Inaugural Address

According to Van Dijk (1997) political discourse is a "specific example of political action and interaction". Similarly, Fairclough (1992) sees political discourse as a social action that shapes and is shaped by the world around us. Political discourse is used to convince of specific political views and ideas, or they aspire to change ideologically their attitudes or beliefs, and it is not a composition of isolated words or sentences, it is a reflection of political messages. In this category it is possible to find political speeches, more specifically, presidential inaugural addresses/speeches, which are delivered in a more formal speech style. Presidential inaugural addresses/speeches are an important event for Ghanaian politics. They are described as a "unidirectional speech presented by the president to the audience," meaning that the president has the ability to speak to the audience, without immediate audience feedback in a formal setting (Chung & Park, 2010).

Inaugural addresses are the first opportunity for the newly elected president to discuss politics and his or her role (Korzi, 2004). Inaugural addresses/speeches "wield the power of language" (Sigelman, 1996), as they signal the start of a new president's term in office: the formal debut of the president to the public (Zhou & Kazemian, 2015). As Campbell and Jamieson (1990) have stated, inaugural addresses/speeches are "an essential element in the ritual of transition in which the covenant between the citizenry and their leaders is renewed". Inaugural addresses/speeches are the point in time when the president begins to "enact the presidential role" (Campbell & Jamieson, 2008). "Inaugurals mark the end of an election campaign and the beginning of a new administration" (Liu, 2012).

Inaugural addresses/speeches allow the president to take sole possession of the stage and not compete with rival candidates (as occurs with presidential debates). The inaugural address/speech is an important event for the incoming president, as national addresses offer a chance for the president to speak directly to citizens (Baum & Kernell, 1999; Jones & Perkins, 2005). Inaugural addresses/speeches may attempt to heal wounds, inspire nonpartisanship and consensus and strive to establish national unity (Beasley, 2001). These speeches call for the support and loyalty not only from those involved in politics, but also from other members of society (Liu, 2012). Government officials are an important audience as they help to implement the president's agenda, but the public is also important, as the public is comprised of individuals who may choose to vote for the president if he or she runs for reelection (Whissel & Sigelman, 2001). The incoming president typically tries to push for party unification within the country just after election campaigns (Bitzer, 1992; Sigelman, 1996; Smith & Smith, 1985). The speech is an opportunity to highlight traditional values (Campbell & Jamieson, 1990). Inaugural addresses/speeches are intended "to appeal to their countrymen to take pride in their country, to cherish her long-held traditions, and to put behind them the divisiveness of the past campaign and unite for the common good" (Rohler & Cook,1998), and help with the transition of power from one president to the next (Cheng, 2006).

Campbell and Jamieson (1978) once tried to discover how similar elements occurred in inaugural addresses/speeches over the years, but were unable to acquire conclusive results at the time. After further studies, Campbell and Jamieson (1990) found four criteria that each inaugural address/speech should attempt to accomplish. First, the audience needs to feel a sense of unity and the president needs to make each audience member feel like a part of "the people." Secondly, the inaugural address/speech should

37

discuss values from our nation's past. Thirdly, the president needs to address the principles that surround the new presidential administration and provide a sense of how his or her cabinet will work for the benefit of the nation as a whole. Finally, the inaugural address/speech needs to show that the president has an understanding and is willing to do what is required of him or her, but also understands the limitations of the position. Each of these four elements attempts to leave the audience thinking introspectively, about how the incoming president's efforts will align with past leadership of the country to bring a bright future for the country.

2.3.0 Definition of Rhetoric

The term, rhetoric, comes from 'rhētorikē,' the Greek word for 'speech' or 'spoken'. Aristotle defines rhetoric as the faculty of finding all the means of persuasion on a subject. Also, Cicero refers to rhetoric as the art of persuasion; whilst according to Griffin (2001), Quintilian, the Roman rhetorician, sees rhetoric as 'the art of speaking w ell'. In modern times, rhetoricians like Buehler and Johannesen (1965) see rhetoric as the portrait o f a compelling thought, while a communications professor, Lloyd Bitzer, says 'Rhetoric is a mode of altering reality, not by direct application of energy to objects, but by the creation of discourse'. Moreover, Kennedy (1980) defines rhetoric as the art, study and practice of the use of language orally and written. Plato defines rhetoric as the art of winning the soul by discourse. Rhetoric simply involves a means to devise a strategy to persuade an audience. Campbell (1969/1776) suggests that it is the talent by which discourse is adapted to its goal. He adds that the four aims of discourse are to enlighten the understanding, please the imagination, move the passion, and influence the will.

Danesi (2000) defines rhetoric as the "art of using words effectively in speaking or writing" (p.194). Rhetoric or the art of persuasion adopts a number of strategies or persuasive appeals to win the soul of the audience or convince them of a particular idea or a product or service. In order to do so, speakers as well as writers either provide evidence in support of their claims by referring to trust worthy sources (ethos), or they use words/logic (logos), or they use emotions (pathos). Besides, they appeal to celebrities, sex, humor, music, statistics, play on words, price, and fear.

Political rhetoric therefore becomes a linguistic exercise aim ed at persuading others to tow a particular political line to either include or exclude a certain line of thinking or behaviour; or to include or exclude a person or a group of persons as regards leadership or decision-making roles. Rhetoric is the art of using spoken words to persuade. There are two schools of thought on what rhetoric is. Classical rhetoric which is persuasive speaking and contemporary rhetoric. Rhetoric is most often seen in public arenas like politics, law, public relations, lobbying, marketing and advertising, assemblies and courts of law. Contemporary rhetoric has a more diverse definition than in the original from ancient times. It now includes areas of study including humanities, religion, social sciences, law, science, journalism, history, literature and architecture. The human experience is among other ways captured by words. The communication of life and thought requires articulation and communication which is rhetoric. The most common form of public speaking is rhetoric.

2.3.1 Canons of Rhetoric

Scholars in the field of rhetoric have categorized the Aristotle's work on rhetoric into four (4) distinct parts to determine the quality of speech delivered or written by a speaker. The four distinct parts are; construction or creation of an argument (invention),

ordering or material (arrangement), selection of language (style) and technique of delivery to which a fifth memory was added later by scholars. . According to Philips (1991), a rhetorical piece is characterized by five canons, namely, canons include invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery. Kenedy (1991) posits that, instruction ought to capture attention, establish credibility and make clear the purpose of a speech.

Invention in rhetoric involves drawing on specialized knowledge about the subject and general lines of reasoning common to all kinds of speeches aimed at creating or generating effective and appropriate enthymemes and examples (Melnelly & Perry, 2008). Invention deals with the content of a speech. Analysis of invention explores the various methods that a speaker or writer uses to influence an audience through the content of the message, (Westwick & Chromey, 2014). Invention basically deals with the content of a writer's or speaker's speech and is very important in the pre-stage of the speech writing. The speaker or the writer must know the content which informs his speech. This will enable the writer or the speaker to use his rhetoric-speech to influence the understanding of the audience or the receiver of the communication process. Because communication is a process, it requires that the speaker or the writer identify the content of the speech so as to achiever the purpose in the end thereof.

Style, a canon in the rhetoric process, refers to the speaker's or the writer's choice of words (diction) and word order (syntax) (Melnelly & perry 2008). The type of words, sentence construction be it passive or active and the use of idiomatic expression to enrich the rhetoric determine the style used by the speaker. Every speaker or writer of a speech has a unique style which distinguishes him or herself from other writers or speakers. Westwick & Chromey, (2014). State that style analyses the choice and

40

arrangement of the speaker's language. Arrangement deals with how the writer or the speaker put his or her content in an orderly manner to achiever coherence. The arrangement of the content is very important because it enhance understanding of the material that is presented or delivered. For a common understanding of the speech content, the speaker should adapt a very good approach to arrange the entire speech in a coherent manner. Analysis of arrangement deals with the organization of the speech presentation (Westwick & Chromey, 2014).

Westwick & Chromey, (2014) posit that delivery examines the writer's ability to disseminate their message. Delivery is the presentation state of the rhetoric-speech. Delivery describes how a writer or a speaker uses gesture, pronunciation and tone of voice to persuasive an audience. The rise and fall in tonation impact positively or negatively on the speech art. The rise in tone, may signify the start of an important point convey in a sentence. The fall of the tonation of the speaker may suggest the end of a statement or point made. The hand gestures impact on the understanding of the speech-rhetoric by listeners.

Memory is one of the strongest tool of a good speaker. The ability of the speaker to memorized figures or data and provide such figures or data to the audience without reading on the speech or rhetoric attract the admiration of the audience. Such delivery caches and sustain the attention span of the audience. It also enables the audience to follow the speech delivery to the end as the audience develop the confidence that the speaker has mastery of the content and the speech delivered.

Memory assists the speaker in delivering the message correctly. Analysis of focuses on investigating how a speaker is vest in the message or speech that he or she is delivering

2.3.2 Rhetoric as an Approach to Text Analysis

In his Rhetoric, Aristotle (2006) delineates three oratorical occasions based on the time with which each occasion of rhetoric is concerned, and on an audience's decision to take a particular course of action if they are persuaded. The occasions, also known as types or species of rhetoric, are deliberative or legislative (concerned with the future), judicial or forensic (based on decisions about the past time), and epideictic rhetoric (on the present time). Deliberative rhetoric is typically geared towards taking a course of action that is in the interest of the audience. Forensic rhetoric seeks justice as its main goal, while epideictic rhetoric praises or blames a subject (Aristotle, 2006). Based on some perceived limitations, Aristotle's ideas of these occasions have been critiqued and extended by scholars, including George Kennedy, who, in his introduction to Rhetoric (1954), expands the sphere of epideictic rhetoric to include considerations of "its role in the instilling, preservation, or enhancement of cultural values" (Aristotle, 1954). Such celebration of values is consistent with Shogan's (2015) claim that the SONA in the United States, for example, is, setting aside policy proposals, a meditation on goal statements and the values of the American people.

While Aristotle's classification of rhetoric explained how speaker or writers construct texts, the framework has been useful for analytical purposes as well. However, in spite of its widespread use, not all scholars agree on the universality of the application of the Aristotelian framework to societies from outside Euro-American contexts. The notion of universality of methodologies is often plagued with imperialism, and is increasingly untenable given particularities that are not shared by people everywhere. Further, the question of ownership of the universal standard poses some challenge to the claim that one mode of speech or writing and analysis could be universally applied. Indeed, while the occasions of rhetoric—and rhetorical appeals—identified by Aristotle are available

42

in many cultures before and beyond Greek and, indeed, Western contexts, different cultures might have alternative explanations for what constitutes an appeal to ethos, for example.

The foregoing argument presumably makes an application of Aristotle's framework to the SONA within a Ghanaian context unjustifiable. However, when we consider that the SONA is not native to Ghana, but like forms of its governance system, is a Western adoption, it becomes important why such an Aristotelian approach could be applied to the SONA in Ghana, without much challenge. In doing this, the goal will be to determine how the adoption of the genre of the SONA could possibly have been influenced by traditional, precolonial Ghanaian norms and expectations of communication. The success of its persuasion goal notwithstanding, some scholars have criticized the notion of rhetoric as persuasion.

2.4.0 Presidential Rhetoric

Rhetoric in its most basic form is effective or persuasive speaking or writing designed to have a specific effect on its audience (Casaregola, 1992). The study of presidential rhetoric is a vast, yet incomplete field of "complex transaction[s] among speakers or writers, texts or performance, audiences, and critics" (Zarefsky, 1983). While it is not the purpose of this specific study, the rhetoric of many of the nation's presidents has never been studied at all. There have been several studies on specific tools used by presidents such as visual metaphor and euphemism (Stuckey, 2010), civil religion and commitment (Lahlou, Schonhardt & Yager, 2012).

Presidents use rhetoric as a governing mechanism to try to stimulate public support for their policies (Rottinghaus, 2006). While in office, presidents often use the "permanent

campaign" (Rottinghaus,) to keep the public focused on issues important to them and to "maintain a positive image in the media" (Andrews, 2011). By utilizing campaign tactics such as speeches and press conferences, presidents can stay in the public eye and create awareness for their issues while continually campaigning for the next election. Rhetoric enables communication, and its devices are endless. Humans are saturated with rhetorical symbols and images every day (Foss, 1996). In some instances, rhetoric is used to persuade, though this was a point of contention among Greek philosophers. In other instances, rhetoric is "an invitation to understanding" (Foss, 1996), and this too is key to politics.

Rhetoric can help offer perspective and invite others to enter a world and see it through the eyes of the rhetor (Foss, 1996). If indeed one of the main purposes of rhetoric is to persuade, as according to Plato, then it is obvious that rhetoric plays a huge role in politics. Audiences can simply hear a political candidate speak and not be able to pinpoint the reasons why they feel supportive of that candidate afterward. While trying their own hand at rhetoric to attract voters or champion legislation, "political candidates are often calling for 'action, not rhetoric' from their opponents or the leaders of other nations" (Foss, 1996).

2.5.0 Rhetorical analysis

Rhetorical analysis is concerned with the construction of discourse, giving priority to the communicative purpose of each genre (Azaustre & Casas, 1997). Rhetoric aims at discourse from its intentional (purpose-driven) and instrumental (means of fulfilling the purpose) perspectives. Thus, rhetorical discourse organization is an approach where textual structures are employed to achieve a desired effect (Connor, 1996). These

44

structures provide a framework for articulating diverse discourses in a particular manner and textually constituting their relations.

Based on the framework of rhetorical analysis, genre analysis involves the analysis and description of a text in terms of rhetorical moves or rhetorical structures, which denote the functional parts or sections of a genre. The particular conformation of the text surface is defined by text organization levels, which is known as rhetorical discourse organization. In such a way, the structural units identified by genre analysis can be characterized as moves subdivided into steps, referring to those passages of the text that are larger than the largest grammatical units, e.g., clauses, and sentences, and possess some unity grounded in a common function and meaning.

2.6.0 Rhetorical Proofs

Rhetorical proofs come from Aristotle's available means of persuasion, artistic proofs, which are the methods or ways to persuade. Persuasion is a group of linguistic choices available to speakers and writers who intend to change or affect the behavior of others or who aim at strengthening the existing beliefs and behaviors of those who have already been persuaded, the beliefs and behaviors of persuaders included (Virtanen and Halmari, 2005:3). "All language use can be, in a sense, regarded as Persuasive". The situational and socio-cultural context affects the persuasive process in which it takes place and at the same time it helps to shape that context in distinctive ways. Swales (1990:34-37) argues that persuasion is, directly or indirectly, widely used as an important and integral part of everyday human interaction and communication and that learning to understand it better will always be meaningful. He adds that learning more about persuasion is learning more about human nature. Virtanen and Halmaria (2005:7) suggest that a text should be identified as persuasive if its "persuasive

intention" can be taken for granted. The interactive dynamic nature of persuasion affects to a high extent the choice of any particular linguistic strategies that have the text persuasive

The ability to persuade carried a high prestige in the 4th century BC (Lawson Tancred, 1991). In the days of Aristotle who is touted as the father of rhetoric, focused a great deal of attention on persuasion, hence his works in the area of the persuasion appeals. He is however credited for developing the concept of persuasion appeals. The Aristotelian approach of rhetoric involved the philosopher in three major topics detailed in the psychology of emotions, the use of informal reasoning, and aesthetics of the prose. Persuasion is defined as systematic, possibly even scientific exercise and can be taught (Lawson Trancred, 1991). Aristotle divided the act of persuasion into three subsidiary techniques. The first is the projection of an impression. Second, lucidly expounding the facts and the third, creating a suitable disposition in the audience.

According to Aristotle (in Griffin, 2012), artistic proofs are the things that are created by the speaker. There are three kinds of artistic proofs: logical (*logos*), ethical (*ethos)*, and emotional (*pathos)*. Aristotle addressed these factors and called them artistic pisteis, which is also named in literature as "appeals", "modes of persuasion", "means of persuasion", "proofs" or simple "pisteis" (Killingsworth, 2005). The rhetoric appeals address three possible approaches in a persuasive communication: reason, emotion and character. When seeking for influencing an audience, the speaker can appeal for logos (logic, reason), pathos (audience's emotions) or ethos (speaker's character or credibility). Walker (2005) avers that the emphasis on each one of rhetorical proofs is a matter of the scenarios and audiences involved, although all three are essential to the best success in persuasion. Ethos, Pathos and Logos correspond to the three speech-act

core: the speaker, the audience and the speech (Duke, 1990). This implies that the persuasion by means of Ethos is dependent of the expressed speaker's credibility; the audience can be convinced when their emotions (pathos) are stimulated; and the persuasion can be achieved when the speech itself is supported by truth or apparent truth and its facts (logos). It requires the ability to reason logically, understand human character and goodness and understand emotions that are suitable for the situation.

2.6.1 Ethos

Hauser (2002) avers that ethos is not an attribute but a product of such interaction, thus depending on how the arguments and appeals are managed and how the orator guides the interpretations of mental, emotional and moral disposition. Ethos, also known as ethical appeal, is an appeal to the personal character of the writer (Demirdogen, 2010). Ethos refers to the "persona, or projected character of a speaker/communicator, including their credibility and trustworthiness" (Higgins & Walker, 2012). For researchers intending to delve into the ethos appeal, it is important to distinguish between preliminary ethos (person-specific) and discourse (situation-specific) ethos. This was highlighted by a renowned linguist, Amossy (1999). Preliminary ethos is the preliminary knowledge of the audience about the writer, in other words, what they know about the writer's authority, marital status and social status. Some writers attempt to ground on it and use such ethos in their favour during a discourse if it is positive. But if preliminary ethos is negative, the writer does his/her best to dispel such an impression of him/her. As for discourse ethos, it is the ethos created immediately for the specific situation and during the discourse (Amossy, 2000, as cited in Mshvenieradze, 2013).

When it comes to choosing the best of three types of proof, Aristotle (1954) explains, "moral character, so to say, constitutes the most effective means of proof" (as cited in Mori, 2016). Studies reviewed have shown that the ethos dimension of argumentative

47

persuasion is the least popular in various kinds of persuasive discourse. Ethos persuade by calling attention for the character of the speaker/writer and focusing on their attractiveness and authority inspired by them. It really has nothing to do with the arguments presented but the credibility of the orator. The persuasive ethos works because audience tends to put trust in people perceived to have an appropriate, trustworthy character and we "seek individuals with superior knowledge or ability and frequently give them authority in our lives" (Hauser, 2002). Appealing for the credibility of the source is powerful when certainty is impossible and opinions are divided (Cline A., 2006). Walker (2005), infer character, competence, confidence and believability as some components which contribute to build a credible ethos. The author exemplifies the application of such attributes in the context of a law judgment and defends that "attorneys must appear knowledgeable, trustworthy, honest, attractive and likeable to a jury". Competence is a matter to have knowledge about rules, law and procedures. Honesty and sincerity is argued to be crucial for persuasion in court rooms. Similarly, Miller (2003) and Hauser (2002) explain that a persuasive ethos includes a dimension of intelligence as well as of moral and emotional qualities the audience find admirable.

2.6.2 Logos

Experienced and intelligent writers or speakers present logical arguments which instigate the logical reasoning of their audience. This enable the audience to come to terms with the issues spoken about in the speech. The audience however, draw an understanding based on the logical argument presented. Rational arguments are also featured by its clarity and integrity (Higgins & Walker, 2012) and can be enhanced by visual elements. The appearance to rationality, like common sense is a matter of logos.

In the system of appeals proposed by Connor & Gladkov (2004) logos is divided into "Descriptive example", "Narrative Example"; "Classification, including definition"; "Comparison, including analogy"; "Contrast"; "Degree"; "Authority"; "Cause/Effect, Means/End, Consequences"; "Model"; "Stage in Process"; "Ideal or Principle" and "Information". For this research, however, a new set is proposed taking into account these examples and the specifics of the data set, as it will be presented in the methodology section.

"Logos is the study of interference making or reasoning which is related to logic" (Herrick, 2005). Logos refers when a speaker delivers his or her argument and he or she proves his argument using logical reasoning or proof. So, when the speaker uses his or her logical proof in his or her argumentative speaking, the speaker uses logos to establish his or her speech to persuade the audience. In the rhetoric, (Aristotle 1954) used logos to refer to creating reasoning in an argument or speech using logic. It is also started that "Logos was the study of interference making or reasoning which is related to logic" (Herrick, 2005). According to Aristotle (in Griffin, 2012), Logical proof come from the line of argument in the speech. It means that a reasoning or proof that comes from a human logic. It is also used by speaker to prove his or her argument in order to persuade the audience. Logos is a rational appeal, and persuasion is done using "the proof, or apparent proof, provided by the words of the speech itself" (Demirdogen, 2010). Logos appeals to reason, which makes the "clarity and integrity of the argument" very important (Higgins & Walker, 2012). Demirdogen (2010, as cited in Hovland, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield, 1949) and Larson (1992) show that two-sided messages are more persuasive for more educated readers who might not agree with the message.

2.6.3 Pathos

Pathos is an emotional appeal and involves "putting the audience into a certain frame of mind" (Demirdogen, 2010). Pathos persuades by using security, love, guilt, greed, pity and humour (Gabrielsen & Christiansen, 2010), anger, insult, empathy, fear and confusion (Mshvenieradze, 2013). In an emotional appeal, the speaker shows identification with the "needs, values and desires of the audience" (Higgins & Walker, 2012). Thus, a good persuasive writer should know which emotion to tap into, taking into consideration the social status, age and other characteristics of the audience (Mshvenieradze, 2013). To illustrate, in a study on complaint letters, Al-Momani's (2014) analysis identified the following as examples of persuasive techniques which appeal to emotions: confessing, regretting, making pleas, promising, praising, and thanking. Al-Momani (2014) explained that confession works by drawing on the audience's sympathy but praising and thanking work through manipulation of the audience's feelings to form rapport with the complainant.

Persuasion which appeals to the audience's emotions including fear, sadness, contentment, joy and pride is called pathos. In fact, our judgments when we are pleased and friendly are not the same as when we are pained and hostile. Walker (2005) avers that the Aristotelian view of Pathos concerns how a man's judgment is affected by pain or pleasure. The arousing of the audience's passions is the aim of pathos (Perelman & Arnold, 1982). The rhetor uses this approach when they address the reader's attitudinal and moral values by showing knowledge for audience's emotions, for instance. Hauser (2002) explains that pathos should be developed establishing a proper relationship between the audience and the point of discussion. (Goering, Connor, Nagelhout, & Steinberg, 2009). Using emotional appeals can be also an alternative in persuasive discourses that are usually centered in ethos or logos, like political information. The

ability of a speaker or a writer to strategically use language to work on the emotion on an audience to starting thinking a particular path is what makes the difference. The impact is usually felt when the audience display the desired results or outcome.

2.7.0 Political Discourse

The term political discourse is suggestive of at least two possibilities: first, a discourse which is itself political; and second, an analysis of political discourse as simply an example discourse type, without explicit reference to political content or political context. Diamond (1995) refers to her study of the discourse of staff meetings as "political," simply because issues of power and control are being worked out. They are being worked out at different levels, however: at interpersonal, personal, institutional, and educational levels for example, and in different strategic ways (Chilton 1997). By treating all discourse as political, in its most general sense, we may be in danger of significantly overgeneralizing the concept of political discourse. Political speeches assume traits such as subtle mystification and distortion in their quest to persuade the audience to accept the stance of the speaker (Edelman, 1985). In the struggle for political power between those who seek to assert and maintain power, and those who seek to resist it, for instance, the ability of a political speech to mystify and distort becomes very crucial. Political actors therefore often use speech to influence or change the choices, thoughts, and responses of the electorates towards their ideas, issues, concepts, or products (Hemas and Ariyanti, 2015).

From Cicero (1971) to Aristotle (1991) the concern was basically with particular methods of social and political competence in achieving specific objectives. While Aristotle gave a more formal twist to these overall aims, the general principle of articulating information on policies and actions for the public good remained constant.

This general approach is continued today. The term discourse is a complex and mammoth-like interpretation. Many previous studies mention the term discourse as very ambiguous since its introduction to modern science and the various broad interpretations of discourse. Therefore, the definition of discourse reflected here will focus on the linguistics point of view, especially that of applied linguistics. Here, it refers to the speech patterns and how language, dialects, and acceptable statements are used in a particular community.

Discourse as a subject of study looks at discourse among people who share the same speech conventions. Moreover, discourse refers to the linguistics of language use as a way of understanding interactions in a social context, specifically the analysis of occurring connected speech or written discourse, Dakowska (2001) in Hamuddin (2012). Carter (1993), defines discourse analysis as a way of examining the use of language functions in different speech communities and to discover patterns either in spoken or written forms as well as their correlation with the societies. Written discourse can be viewed from various angles in accordance to what the readers focus on and can be approached from a variety of disciplinary perspectives and purposes. Therefore, this present study seen the written discourse analysis of journal articles can systematically describing the ideas and the relations among the ideas that readers read as well as what writers write. The method draws on work in a number of disciplines, such as rhetoric, text linguist and psychology. These disciplines provide ways to describe and analyze how the structure and content of the texts encode ideas and the relations among ideas. The analysis of political discourse is scarcely new.

Political discourse is used by politicians to appeal to the logic of their citizenry who are they primary audience. By this, arguments are presented through discourse in the form of State of the Nation Address, Inaugural Address or Independence Day speech to

appeal to the logic of the citizenry to get them act along to achieve the desired goals of the speech. Every speech prepared and delivered is intended to achieve a desired goal defined by the speaker, where in this case the politician. The only way for another person to infer (come to know) your line of reasoning is through your arguments (Groarke & Tindale, 2004). Inferences may be made in two known ways- deductively or inductively. Deductions are arguments logically inferred from their premise(s) and inductions are arguments which provide only some support for their conclusion (Walton, 2008). The study of political discourse has been around for as long as politics itself. The emphasis the Greeks placed on rhetoric is a case in point.

Modern rhetorical studies are more self-conscious, however, and interface with aspects of communication science, historical construction, social theory, and political science (for an overview see Gill and Whedbee 1997). While there has been a long tradition of interest in political discourse, if one strictly defines political discourse analysis in broadly linguistic terms (as perhaps all forms of discourse analysis should be defined: see Fairclough and Wodak 1997), it is only since the early 1980s or 1990s that work in this area has come to the fore. Indeed, Geis (1987) argues that his is the first text with a truly linguistic focus on political language.

Van Dijk (2004) posits that analyzing a discourse is not based on text only, but how a text can be produced. He avers that discourse has three dimensions, namely text, social cognition and social context. At the level of the text being analyzed is the structure that builds the text and the strategies used to express the intended themes. Social cognition studies texts that involve individuals while social context studies the structure of discourse that develops in society. Van Dijk (2019) puts text into three levels.

First, the macro structure: the global or general meaning of a text that can be observed by looking at the topic or theme put forward in a news piece. Second, the superstructure is the structure of discourse related to the framework of a text explaining essentially, how the parts of a particular text are arranged into a whole (news piece). Third, the microstructure is a discourse that can be observed from a small part of a text – words, sentences, propositions, clauses and images. On the other hand, Gee (2005) terms these macro/micro semantic structures as 'discourse' and 'Discourse'. The former refers to cases of language in use and real speech actions whereas the latter indicates the more abstract ways of using language.

Horváth (2009) conducts his study by examining the persuasive strategies in President Obama's speech as well as the covert ideology in his inaugural address using Fairclough's (1995) model. The analysis of the study is rooted in the notion that "ideologies reside in texts", that "it is not possible to read off ideologies from texts", and that "texts are open to diverse interpretations" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 57). His analysis reveals that the key ideological components of Obama's speech are often summarized into pragmatism, liberalism, inclusiveness, acceptance of religious and ethnic diversity, and unity. He recognizes that the foremost prominent words employed by Obama are 'nation', 'new America', and an overall dominance of the personal pronoun 'we', which is evidence of Obama's inclusive perception of the American society and a need for unity, understood as necessary within the time of serious national peril.

Political discourse involves speeches delivered by politicians seeking to either be elected into power or retained in power. Presidents across the globe deliver political speeches to catch the attention of their followers or the citizenry and to create some intended effect to get them act along their ideas or ideologies. Political discourse dates

as far back as the emergence of politics. Cited in Schiffrin, Tannen, and Hamilton (2001, p.399). The attention placed on rhetoric by the Greek attest to the relevance of political discourse. Schiffrin, et al., (2001), aver that one of the core goals of political discourse analysis is to seek out the ways in which language choice is manipulated for specific political effect. Politicians argue for the adequacy of their future actions in response to explicit or anticipated criticism in which the quality of their political conduct is doubted (Andone, 2015). By this, politician employ the use of cunning words crafted in speeches to gain attention form their audience to achieve their objective or goal.

The political actors inform or misinform their audience and explain their proposed measures, plan and policies they hope to execute when they come to power. In response to the politician's evaluation of his own future actions, doubt is expressed because, the electorates have never seen, any politician be it president or any execute the plans they outline at political campaigns and through discourses. Speeches (public speeches) are monologues addressed to a usually heterogeneous mass audience (Jorgensen 2014). These discourse by politicians involves argument which are most often based on propaganda. Political discourse in the form of presidential discourse involves presidents presenting speeches during campaign or at national events. Presidential speeches or discourse are important because they most often address the very the challenges of the country as well as inspire the citizenry who are the audience to act in a particular direction. The communicative role of the presidency is seen in the SONA, the inaugural and Independence Day, and other speeches.

As cited in Schiffrin, et al. (2001), everyday words, organized and structured in particular ways, may become politically implicated in directing thinking about particular issues, and with real and devastating effects. Even the process of uttering

55

someone's name may become a political act. According to Schiffrin, et al., (2001), one of the core goals of political discourse analysis is to seek out the ways in which language choice is manipulated for specific political effect. Politicians argue for the adequacy of their future actions in response to explicit or anticipated criticism in which the quality of their political conduct is doubted (Andone, 2015).

2.8.0 Ideology and Power

Thompson (2002) explains that ideologies are representations of aspects of the world shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining, and changing social relation of power, domination and exploitation. Fairclough (1989) also argues that ideology and power are closely related. The ideological assumptions of certain conventions and the nature of the conventions depends on the underlying power relation of the conventions. There conventions which are generally accepted are used to endorse some social relations. Power on the other hand play a significant role in the discourse analysis process. Foucault has been credited with being the first to bring power to the discussion of discourse. According to Atawneh (2009), power is maintained through language. By this it implies that power is expressed to an audience through given set of language in a persuasive situation. Power can be felt by the audience if the writer or speaker persuasively adopt a strategy which involves the use of carefully planned set of language.

Ideology and power relate hence their inseparability. Ideology always works as a force used to exercise power or maintain the power. An ideology of a politician can be enforce along with power in action, hence without power and ideology cannot operate effectively. Ideology and power cannot operate as different unit but as singular. Pels (2002) avers that there is no separation between power and cognitive relatives, such as

control, influence, and authority. Power is exercised to rule people in societies. It is exercised in the social structure of the society. Power is used to influence and control or manage the affairs of humans in a given society. Ideology is also perceived as political views that allows humans to make sense and comprehend the political world which enable them to process political information, and determine their political position on various issues (Shalom, 2007). Jones and Peccei (2004) argue that politics is a matter of power used to make decision, control resources, control other people's behaviour, and values. Power is used to make decisions at all time. Without power the decision and ideas of politician expressed through their ideological positions would not be obeyed or adhered to.

Pierre Bourdieu (1991) explains that ideology does not only represent the characteristics of groups, but also functions as the specific interest of those who produce them to the specific logic of the field of production. Ideologies are developed by politicians to enable them gain more power. This means that ideologies cannot be cut off from social practice. This makes ideologies part and parcel of the social structure of humans. Wodak and Meyer (2001) presents language to have a link with the social power. Language can be used to relate power of one group to another group, or merely to impose power from one group to the others. Power is express through language to impose and control the will of humans.

Van Dijk (1998) discusses four analyses of how language relates to power. First, the specific forms of discourse is power resource in which power manifests in genre of the discourse. Second, language allows the user to have control over the others by influencing other people to act in certain way according to what the speaker intends. Third, discourse have indirect control upon people's actions through the influence of

text and talk over the other people's mind and fourthly, when a discourse takes place in an uneven society, power is identified as the cause of the situation. Through the ideologies imposed in the discourse, discourse has the power to influence people. Fairclough (1995) suggests that ideologies invest language in various ways at various levels, both in the structure and events of the discourse. Wodak and Meyer (2009) avers that ideology can be visible in a language even without contradiction. Ideology is expressed through use to exercise control and manage the aspirations of humans in a social setting or structure. Ideology is intertwined with power as the two concepts are inseparable. . Ideologies are taken to be organized sets of beliefs which mobilize practices and viewpoints which sustain in equalities across society. Ideologies thus serve to protect the interests of powerful groups.

2.9.0 Theoretical Framework

2.9.1 Rhetoric Theory

Aristotle's definition of rhetoric provides a starting point for understanding how rhetoric has been defined as: the art of discovering all the available means of persuasion. For the ancient Greeks, rhetoric was the use of logos or logical argument, ethos or speaker credibility, and pathos or emotional argument to construct a persuasive argument. Rhetoric essentially was the art of discourse, of systematically and artfully thinking through the five canons of rhetoric: invention, organization, style, delivery, and memory. Today, rhetoric is generally defined much more broadly as human symbol use, an idea explained later in this essay.

Rhetorical theory is the body of thought about human symbol use. The term rhetoric, in its popular usage, typically has negative connotations. King (2010) rhetoric is persuasive art in the language which is useful to build. Rhetoric involve persuasion to

get an audience act along to enable the speaker achieve the intended purpose of his speech. Every political discourse or speech has aim which drives the content of the political discourse. It is a political discourse because it is meant to score political point to win the audience to act in a particular direction which is in support of the speaker. St. Agustine Booth (2004) posits that rhetoric is the art of expressing clearly, ornately (where necessary), persuasively, and fully the truths which thought has discovered. Rhetoric is contrasted with action; it is empty words, talk without substance and mere ornament. This contemporary understanding of rhetoric is at odds with a long history of rhetorical theory, dating back in the West to ancient Greece and Rome, which provides a long-standing foundation on which the contemporary discipline of communication is built.

Aristotle's definition of rhetoric provides a starting point for understanding how rhetoric has been defined as the art of discovering all the available means of persuasion. For the ancient Greeks, rhetoric was the use of logos or logical argument, ethos or speaker credibility, and pathos or emotional argument to construct a persuasive argument. Rhetoric essentially was the art of discourse, of systematically and artfully thinking through the five canons of rhetoric: invention, organization, style, delivery, and memory. Today, rhetoric is generally defined much more broadly as human symbol use, an idea explained later in this essay.

Rhetorical theory is said to have begun in Syracuse on the island of Sicily when a dictator was overthrown, leaving former and current landowners to argue in court over who rightfully owned the land—the original owners or those who had been given the land during the tyrant's regime. Under the Greek legal system of the time, individuals had to present their own cases in court—they could not hire lawyers to speak for them—creating the need for individuals to become adept at the art of rhetoric. Corax can be

credited with the first formal rhetorical theory; he wrote a treatise called "The Art of Rhetoric" to assist those involved in the land disputes. In his treatise, he highlighted the importance of probability to rhetoric; a speaker should argue from general probabilities or create a probable connection or basis for belief when actual facts cannot be established.

Classical rhetorical theories were dominated by the ideas of Aristotle and Plato. Plato was interested in contrasting what he saw as the limitations of the sophists' rhetoric (the subject of his dialogue, Gorgias, in which he compared rhetoric to cookery) with that of an ideal rhetoric, which he offers in Pbaedrus. Aristotle was more interested in codifying rhetorical instruction and in developing a pragmatic approach to the subject, in contrast to the moral perspective Plato brought to the subject. Aristotle's Rhetoric—actually a compilation of his students' notes of his lectures—offers the first systematic and comprehensive treatise of rhetoric. Rhetorical theory obtains meanings as people think and discourse with the sign, incorporate it into social practices of inquiry, and give it material form through nodes of expression. For instance, bodies, physical and social spaces, print and other forms of writing, curricula, academic journals, and professional associations. According to Simonson (2020), the Rhetorical theory promotes understanding and criticism of rhetoric as a constellation of communicative activities.

2.9.2 Relevance of Rhetoric Theory to this Study

The study is fused with rhetoric and rhetorical analysis of the 2017 and 2021 Inaugural Address and State of the Nation Address (SONA), presented by President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. The framework of this study is built on the rhetoric theory. The theory is significant because it guides the study and bring to light the persuasive appeals

used in the 2017 and 2021 Inaugural Address and State of the Nation Address (SONA), presented by President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. It also examines how the appeals and as well as power and ideologies were used to create the intended effects or purpose among Ghanaians, most especially.

2.10.0 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented the theoretical framework and review of literature. The chapter dealt with the definitions of language, rhetoric as an approach to text analysis, definition of rhetoric, cannons of rhetoric, presidential rhetoric, rhetorical analysis, rhetorical proofs, the notion of power and ideology, previous studies on presidential speeches and the theoretical framework of the study. The next chapter will describe the methodology.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

Methodology refers to the specific procedures a researcher uses to identify, collect, process, and analyze information pertaining to a particular phenomenon (Leedy & Ormrod, 2013). Therefore, this chapter discusses the research methodology of this study. It considers the research Approach, research design, source(s) of data, population, sample and sampling techniques, research instrument, data collection, data analysis and ethical consideration.

3.1 Research approach

According to Neumann (2003), the qualitative method is the most "grasping subtle shades of meaning, for pulling together divergent information, and for switching perspectives". According to Bogdan and Taylor (1975) as quoted by Moleong (2011), qualitative research is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of words, written, or spoken of the people and observed behavior. The objectives of a qualitative research are to explore areas where limited information exists and or describe the trends and attitudes that are useful. Creswell (2013). In view of this, the researcher chose the qualitative research approach to be able to explore the data and validate the framework underpinning the study.

The qualitative approach to research describes the "method of doing social science research that uses general observations, depth, and verbal descriptions in place of numerical measures" (Priest, 1996). The qualitative research methodology uses the development of theories or hypotheses, as well as qualitative analysis (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). According to Fraenkel and Wallen (2000), qualitative research is

62

usually concerned with processes and items, so it is interested in how things occur and therefore likely to observe how people interact with each other. The research approach involves developing questions and methods, data frequently taking place in the participant's environment, inductive data analysis, expanding from specifics to general themes, and the researcher's judgment of the significance of the findings (Mertens, 2009). Lincoln et al. (2011) avers that people that engage in this type of research advocate an approach to research that values an inductive approach, an emphasis on personal meaning, and the significance of accurately depicting the complexity of a situation.

In the use of qualitative research, the researcher explores and gains understanding about the meaning individuals or group subscribe to a phenomenon. A methodological approach used in this study is textual analysis. Textual analysis has often been used to qualitatively analyze communication data (Osei Fordjour, 2022; Savoy, 2015; Sikanku, 2020; Smith, 2017; Sowińska, 2013). Textual analysis is a methodology that helps researchers gather data and make sense of written or spoken language (Chung & Park, 2010; McKee, 2003). According to Fursich (2009), textual analysis consist of extensive engagement with the text to tease out agendas, major narratives, categories and themes.

3.2 Research Design

According to William M. K. Trochim (2006), "The research design refers to the overall strategy that you choose to integrate the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way, thereby, ensuring you will effectively address the research problem; it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement, and analysis of data. Note that your research problem determines the type of design you can use, not the other way around." According to Creswell (2013), research designs are kinds of inquiry within

qualitative, quantitative and mixed method approaches that offer explicit direction for procedures in a research design. Denzin & Lincoln, (2011), refer to research design as strategies of inquiry. Every research is seated in a strategy that thoroughly guides the process of inquiry. The research method employed in this study is textual analysis. According to Alan McKee (2001), "textual analysis is the central methodology of Cultural Studies; and yet we do not have available a single, published straightforward guide as to what it is and how we do it.

Bernard (2002) indicates that approaches to textual analysis include interpretive analysis, narrative analysis, grounded theory, cross cultural analysis and discourse analysis. Ravin and Leacock (2000), observed that "a single concept can be expressed by several different words (synonyms) and that conversely, one word can carry different meanings (polysemy). By this a text which is made up of words can be said to be polysemic with multiple and varied interpretations.

It is therefore important for a researcher to do a textual analysis on President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 inaugural, state of the nation address and Independence Day speeches to manifest the purpose of the text-speech used to persuade the citizenry and the international community.The choice of research design was informed by the fact that the research has wide scope which allows a great deal of information to be obtained from President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 inaugural, state of the nation address and independence day speeches.

3.3 Sources of Data

The data used for the study was collected from the transcribed clips of President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 inaugural, state of the nation address and Independence Day

speeches. The data for the analysis was collected from the website of www.myjoyonline.com. The data was obtained from this website because myjoyonline.com is by far one of Ghana's most credible news outlets and has broadcast of all the President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 inaugural, state of the nation address and independence day speeches posted.

3.4 Population of the Study

A population is a collection of persons from whom a statistical sample is selected. The population aspect however refers to the individual participant or object on which the measurement is taken. It is the unit of study (Cooper and Schindler, 2011). The population of the study is President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses.

3.5 Sample and Sampling Techniques

Sample refers to the number of elements selected from a given population (Denscombe, 2008). Sampling is the process of selecting a predetermined number of units (people or objects) with the same relevant characteristics from a larger population under investigation, denoting a "sample" (Pascoe, 2016). The study employed homogenous type of purposive sampling to sample speeches that fall within the inclusion criteria. Homogenous sampling was used because the speeches of President Akufo-Addo shared the same features or traits which seek to create some specific effects in the minds of the citizenry and the international community. Homogenous sampling technique was considered for the research, since the research questions are specifically tailored to address the effects created in the citizenry and the international community. The study purposively focused on President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses. A qualitative description of the said speeches were used to meet

the study's aims. By this, an in-depth inquiry was carried out on the text-speech to unearth three persuasive appeals-logos, ethos and pathos deployed to create effects to achieve the intended purpose among the citizenry and the international community. According to Alan McKee (2000), "when we perform textual analysis on a text, we make an educated guess at some of the most likely interpretations that might be made of that text". He further posits that, textual analysis is conducted on a text to make an educated guess likely to be the interpretation of the text item analyzed.

3.6 Research Instrument

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), define research instruments as instruments with which to collect the necessary information. The study used transcribe as research instrument. Therefore, research instrument refers to any tool that you may use to collect or obtain data, measure data and analyze data that is relevant to the subject of your research. Research instruments are often used in the fields of social sciences and health sciences. Transcribe is the process of transcribing to change a piece of writing or music into another form. Therefore, the researcher transcribe the audio address into written and compared with the already existing written speech downloaded from the www.myjoyonline.com for accuracy.

3.7 Data Collection

To be able to analyze document analysis comparative to analytical methods in qualitative research involve in examination and interpretation of data to elicit meaning, derive understanding, and develop empirical knowledge (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). According to Bowen (2009), document analysis represents as a stand – alone data collection procedure. The researcher used only document-text analysis as my data collection method. Document analysis was used to derive the State of the Nation

Addresses and the presidential inaugural addresses online. The unit of analysis for this study is paragraph by paragraph. The researcher chose document analysis because of the following; Firstly, document analysis is an efficient and effective way of gathering data because documents are manageable and practical resources.

Documents are commonplace and come in a variety of forms, making documents a very accessible and reliable source of data. Obtaining and analyzing documents is often far more cost effective and time efficient than conducting your own research or experiments (Bowen, 2009). Also, documents are stable, "non-reactive" data sources, meaning that they can be read and reviewed multiple times and remain unchanged by the researcher's influence or research process (Bowen, 2009). Document analysis is often used because of the many different ways it can support and strengthen research. Document analysis can be used in many different fields of research, either as a primary method of data collection or as a compliment to other methods. Documents can provide supplementary research data, making document analysis a useful and beneficial method for most research.

Documents can provide background information and broad coverage of data, and are therefore helpful in contextualizing one's research within its subject or field (Bowen, 2009). Documents can also contain data that no longer can be observed, provide details that informants have forgotten, and can track change and development. Document analysis can also point to questions that need to be asked or to situations that need to be observed, making the use of document analysis a way to ensure your research is critical and comprehensive (Bowen, 2009).

In summary, collecting data involves some steps applied as the follows:

1. Search the transcript of President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses from www.myjoyonline.com.

2. Collecting the transcript of President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 inaugural, state of the nation address and Independence Day speeches.

3. Classifying and presenting all the sentences containing ethos, pathos, logos in transcript of President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses.

3.8 Data Analysis

Riege (2003) avers that excellent qualitative studies are made when data are gathered based on the study's objectives and theories. By this it implies, that, the analysis on the data is directly linked to the objectives of the study. Data analysis is the process of arranging and fusing raw data in an attempt to reduce it into manageable units by searching for patterns, in order to ascertain important information to present (Patton, 2015). The research focused on President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses to examine the persuasive appeals-ethos, logos and pathos which characterized the speeches. The procedure involved in analyzing the data are as the follows:

1. Reading the transcript of President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural Address, State of the Nation Address (SONA) and Independence Day speeches.

2. Identifying the rhetorical proofs used in the transcript of President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses.

3. Examining how the rhetorical proofs were used by the speaker thus President Akufo Addo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses to create the intended effect or purpose among Ghanaians.

4. Examining how ideology and power deployed in the 2017 and 2021 Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

Research ethics is the process of conducting research in a responsible and morally acceptable way (Gray, 2013). Research ethics enables the researcher to take the safety needs and concerns of the participants into consideration while conducting research (Mack et al., 2005). Henning et al. (2004) maintain that the researcher is accountable for the ethical standards of the research and must strictly adhere to ethical principles while conducting the research. The documents used for the content analysis are publicly available documents that do not need permission before being used for academic purposes. However, the researcher ensured that the contents of the documents were not altered but were analyzed as they were presented without embellishing and filtering of the information.

3.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter gave features of processes and measures adopted for the research. Using a qualitative approach and a discourse-analytic framework as a design, the data for the research was put together using newspaper documents. The 2017 and 2021 Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses were purposively sampled and used for the study. Data analysis procedures used qualitative and discourse analysis to ensure credibility of the research. The next chapter focuses on the analysis and discussion of findings of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0. Introduction

This chapter focuses of the findings and discussions of the data collected and how they were analyzed. The data was analyzed by using critical discourse analysis after which the findings were presented. The speeches analyzed are the speeches of His Excellency President Akufo-Addo. They are; his swearing - in speech on January 2017 referred to in this analysis as speech one [S1], his swearing - in speech on January 2021 referred to in this analysis as speech two [S2], his State of the Nation Address on February, 2017 referred to in this analysis as speech three [S3] and his State of the Nation Address on March, 2021 referred to in this analysis as speech four [S4].

4.1 Discussion of Findings

The first part of chapter four presents the findings based on the research questions. The findings of the analysis answer were based on the research questions for the study. The research questions which guided the data collection process and analysis are as follows;

1. Identify the persuasive appeals employed by President Akuffo-Addo in the discourse of his 2017 and 2021 Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses.

2. Examine how the persuasive appeals were used in the speeches to create the intended effects among Ghanaians.

3. Examine how power and ideologies are employed by President Akufo-Addo in his 2017 and 2021 State of the Nation Address (SONA), Inaugural Addresses to achieve the intended purpose.

4.1.1 *Research Question One:*

Identify the persuasive appeals employed by President Akuffo-Addo in the discourse of his 2017 and 2021 Inaugural Address and State of the Nation Address.

Fairclough (1989) considers the first level of analysis to include noticeable linguistic features in a discourse which seeks to help in subjecting it to various interpretations. The analysis of the President's 2017 and 2021 State of the Nation Addresses and Inaugural Addresses as presented to Ghanaians involve the use of rhetorical appeals to persuade readers and listeners come to terms with the ideologies of the president and government and the NPP.

These persuasive appeals are employed by the President to convey his message to create effects among Ghanaians. Perloff (2003) defines persuasion as "the study of attitudes and how to change them" and he declares that the process of persuasion itself is based on "the persuader's awareness to influence someone else and change the persuader's mind about something on conscious or unconscious decision". The question one sought to elicit information on how the three appeals were used in President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural Addresses and State of the Nation Addresses to create the intended effects among Ghanaians. According to Fairclough (1995) discourse analysts must be able to identify latent meanings of phrases and expressions and use them to form part of any interpretation they put on a text.

> *"Mr. Speaker, amongst the milestones of our international relations, I have been re-appointed Chairman of the Authority of ECOWAS for a second term. Under my leadership, and in collaboration with colleagues in the region, we have restored peace and political stability to Mali through a landmark transitional*

71

arrangement, which brought under control a period of bloodshed

and uncertainty, and which has committed itself to a roadmap for a

peaceful, democratic outcome from the transition. (S4)"

The above extract from the State of the Nation Address delivered by President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo on March, 2021, referred to in this analysis as speech four [S4], depicts the use of ethos. In the extract, the President uses his position as the head of the ECOWAS to create the effect that he experienced build his credibility. He further seeks to assurance Ghanaians of ensuring there is peaceful atmosphere in the country. The extract above depict the use of ethos.

Their love for country continues to inspire generations of us to commit our lives

to the search for an enduring democratic legacy for Ghana. It is not for nothing

that when our forebears established the Ghanaian nation, they chose "Freedom

and Justice" as our motto. Our generation has to give meaning to this motto.

(S1)

The above extract from President Akufo-Addo's swearing-in speech delivered on January 2017, referred to in this analysis as speech one [S1] creates effects on the emotions and feelings of Ghanaians who are his primary audience. This depicts the use of pathos. The president makes references to the toil and sacrifices made by the forbearers of this country in our forward march for independence to instigate the minds, thoughts and feelings of Ghanaians to work to make Ghana a strong nation. A nation which is self-reliance on its natural resources.

We produced, right here in Ghana, our own sanitisers, face

masks, medical scrubs, gowns, liquid soap amongst others.

We can, indeed, build a Ghana Beyond Aid, if we make full

> *use, as we must, of the enterprise and ingenuity of our*
>
> *people, especially our young people. (S2)*

The extract above from President Akufo-Addo's swearing-in speech delivered on January 2021 referred to in this analysis as speech two [S2] provides evidence of fact to build hope in Ghanaians that it is possible to turn the fortunes of the country by their own ingenuity. During the covid period, Ghana made attempt to produced nose mask, gloves, among others to fight the disease. The reference made by the president in the extract above is expected to instill some form of national pride among Ghanaians.

4.1.2. *Research Question Two:*

Examine how the persuasive appeals were used in the 2017and 2021 Inaugural and

    State of the Nation Addresses of President Akufo-Addo

To achieve the intended purpose. This section of analysis and discussion is concerned with extracts which examine how the persuasive appeals were used in the President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 State of the Nation Addresses and the Inaugural Addresses to achieve the intended effects among Ghanaians who are the primary audience. CDA focuses on how discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimize, reproduce or challenge relations of power and dominance in society (Van Dijk, 1998).Higgins and Walker (2012) hold the view that anytime meaning is accomplished in receivers of discourse, persuasion has taken place, and rhetoric is present in any situation where persuasion is attained. Thus, the rhetorical appeals of ethos, logos and Pathos are at the fore of any communicative act (Higgins & Walker, 2012). By this, the effective use of the persuasive appeals help a speaker or a writer of speech to achieve its purpose which is always felt in the textual form.

4.1.2.1. Ethos

Ethos appeals to the character of the writer or the speaker. By this, the credibility of the writer or the speaker in the field of argument play an important role to draw the attention of the audience to the discourse. Ethics also play a major role in getting the audience follow a preposition. Kennedy stated that ethos "refers to the trustworthy character of a speaker as artistically created in a speech". Ethos appeals to character, convinces the audience by presenting reliability, honesty, and credibility through arguments based on the good character of the speaker. His Excellency President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo in his State of the Nation Address (SONA), Inaugural Address and Independence Day Speech referred to in this analysis presented arguments using his experiences, character and credibility to draw confidence from the audience to follow his lines of thoughts. Aristotle says that if we believe that a speaker has "good sense, good moral character, and goodwill," we are inclined to believe what that speaker says to us.

Extract 1:

> *"Mr. Speaker, it is good to be back here again in this Chamber, where I spent some 12 memorable years as a Member of Parliament. I recollect with nostalgia the vigorous debates of my days here as a Minority MP, and I have very fond memories of being on the Majority side also. I can see some old faces from my first days here – like the 2nd Deputy Speaker, Hon. Alban Bagbin, whom I came to meet in the House in 1997, and who became a good friend of mine; and Hon Osei Kyei-Mensah-Bonsu, the Majority Leader, with whom I entered Parliament on the same side, at the same time. (S3)"*

74

Extract 2:

> *"Mr. Speaker, amongst the milestones of our international relations, I have been re-appointed Chairman of the Authority of ECOWAS for a second term. Under my leadership, and in collaboration with colleagues in the region, we have restored peace and political stability to Mali through a landmark transitional arrangement, which brought under control a period of bloodshed and uncertainty, and which has committed itself to a roadmap for a peaceful, democratic outcome from the transition. (S4)"*

The extracts above are arguments presented by President Akufo-Addo in his speeches referenced as S3 and S4 in this analysis. In the above extracts, the presidents uses his 12-year experience in parliament and credibility as the Chairman of ECOWAS to presents compelling arguments to get Ghanaians act along. Ethos has two variants in rhetoric: (1) the speaker's reliability in suggesting that he will tell the truth and (2) the quality of the speaker in winning the sympathy of the hearers (Wisse 1989: 7). Connor and Gladkov (2004:257) state that when we demonstrate the truth, real or apparent, the arguments play a crucial role in achieving persuasion. Rational arguments are designed to appeal to the sensible and rational aspect of the reader's mind. Connor and Gladkov add that first step of argument in persuasion is to argue by descriptive and or narrative. In extract 1 above, the President use persuasive language to establish reliability. By this, he used argument to make Ghanaians feel he is reliability and therefore can work to meet their aspirations. This is also a means to build confidence and hope that it can be done with all the experience he brings to bear. "This means of persuasion corresponds to the process of induction as induction is the basis of all reasoning". By

75

induction, Connor and Gladkov mean deriving a general assumption from a particular case (ibid).

Examples.

> *"Under my leadership, and in collaboration with colleagues in the region, we have restored peace and political stability to Mali through a landmark transitional arrangement, which brought under control a period of bloodshed and uncertainty, and which has committed itself to a roadmap for a peaceful, democratic outcome from the transition. (S4)"*

The above statement from extract 2 emphasis on the credibility of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo where he presents the above argument to increase his ability and to restore hope in Ghanaians that he has the ability to turn the misfortunes of the country into fortunes. However, citing a specific reference makes the statement even more trustworthy. In the statement, above, the president makes reference to how he has been able to restore peace and political stability in Mali through a transitional arrangement. This makes him credible and capable of restoring the economy of Ghana. (Aristotle & Kennedy, 1991). Kennedy also explained that Aristotle, probably, did not include the credibility of the speaker grounded on his or her reputation because these factors are inartistic. Ethos is the credibility delivered in the speech rather than the attributes associated with the speaker (Braet, 1992).

Extract 3:

> *Wrongdoing has no political colour, and I do not subscribe to the lawlessness of political party supporters simply because their party has been elected to office.*

76

In the extract above, the President applied ethos, to create an impression of his persona as someone who do not subscribe to wrongdoing. The president over the past has been seen fighting against what is wrong in the Ghanaian system, hence this statement seems to create some form of confidence among Ghanaians that the president is ready to fight wrongdoing of the Ghanaian society. This statement sets the tone for all Ghanaians to behave well.

4.1.2.2. Pathos

Pathos deals with the emotion and desire element, in which the designed object reaches the level of fine art but for practical purposes. A writer or a speaker presents set of augment in a discourse to instigate emotional efforts among the audience. President Akufo-Addo presented arguments targeting the emotions and imaginative abilities of Ghanaians to get them act along to be positioned in readiness to work towards the progress of the country. In the speeches analyzed, the President presented texts which evoked the emotions of Ghanaians who are the main audience to act along. The emotions are expected to create positive effects by getting Ghanaians to work in progress of the country, Ghana.

Extract 1

> *"Their love for country continues to inspire generations of us to commit our lives to the search for an enduring democratic legacy for Ghana. It is not for nothing that when our forebears established the Ghanaian nation, they chose "Freedom and Justice" as our motto. Our generation has to give meaning to this motto. (S1)"*

Extract 2

> *"I suspect that those early nationalists would be disappointed, if they came today and saw the level of development, we have achieved in 60 years of independence. Our journey has had some highs and unfortunately many lows (S1)"*

The extracts above presents textual language which appeals to the emotions of Ghanaians. The president presents arguments which instigates the minds of Ghanaians to feel belonged to work their hearts out in the progress of Ghana. References made to the toils of the founding fathers of Ghana was to create some emotional lasting effects to get Ghanaians feel that it is also their turn to give their all in all. In extract 2, the presents statements to create assume that the early nationals who sought independence for Ghana through their toils and sacrifices would be disappointed if Ghanaians fail their generation born and yet to be born (Brader 2006: 151; Druckman and McDermott 2008: 301; Marcus et al. 2006; Steenbergen et al. 2003: 160) measures the emotions of speakers in three forms; (1) anger (indicators: hatred, contempt, bitterness, resentment), (2) anxiety (indicators: anxiety, worry, fear), and (3) enthusiasm (indicators: enthusiastic, hopeful, proud). These emotions are inherent in the texts extracted from the President speeches considered for this analysis. Emotional proof (pathos) comes from the feelings of the speaker and it is expresses through a speech which affects the audience's feeling. Griffin (2012). Pathos aims to convince the audience by evoking an emotional response. It is said that emotions are "situated experiences that happen when we evaluate our surroundings in accordance with our preferences" (Browse, 2018).

Extract 5

> *"Their love for country continues to inspire generations of us to commit our*
>
> *lives to the search for an enduring democratic legacy for Ghana"*

The extract above depict enthusiasm which is an emotional element meant to instigate the minds of Ghanaians to be hopeful and proud of their country. It inspires Ghanaians to aspire for greater fortunes for their country. To activate the emotional intelligence and the imaginative abilities of the audience, the president used the language in his speeches to achieve the said purpose and to get Ghanaians to act along. Pathos strategies refer to special arrangements, visual symbolism, and choice of images and colors with the goal of triggering emotions. (Ehses, 2008). The orator is supposed to "harness the feelings of the audience so as to move them to agreement" (Browse, 2018).

4.1.2.3. Logos

Through logos, speakers indicate their knowledge on issues discussed through discourse. To make sense to receivers through discourse, the content must be logical to make the receivers accept the preposition. In a speech the rector is expected to presents arguments of facts, statistics, numerical data, charts, surveys, results of tests, but also anecdotal evidence to make the crowd/audience think by producing more compelling content that will convince. President Akufo-Addo presents facts and statistics to compel Ghanaians follow his ideas. Historical and literal analogies are used by orators or rectors to make logical arguments. There should be no holes in the argument, also known as logical fallacies, which are unclear or wrong assumptions. President Akufo-Addo made use of logical reasoning in his 2017 and 2021 State of the Nation Address (SONA), the Inaugural Address and Independence Day Speech to express his ideologies and that of the New Patriotic Party to activate the spirit of Ghanaians to act along to bring desirable change in Ghana.

Extract 1

> *"Mr. Speaker, it gives me no joy to tell the story of the economy as it is – as we inherited it. Too much time, energy and resources were spent in the past, in my view, without a deliberate, conscious assessment of their impact on jobs, and whether or not we were spending wisely to improve the lives of the people, communities and businesses. But, I was not elected by the overwhelming majority of the Ghanaian people to complain (S3)"*

Extract 2

> *"Mr. Speaker, the reality of the state Ghana's public finances today are quite stark. Today, as a result of policy choices, we find ourselves in a situation where Ghana's total revenue is consumed by three main budgetary lines: wages and salaries, interest payments and amortization and statutory payments. These three items alone account for 99.6% of government revenue (S3)".*

The extracts 1 and 3 from the speeches referenced in this analysis as S2 and S3 depicts the use of Logos by the President to get Ghanaians appreciate the state of the nation and to come to terms with the need to work assiduously to improve the state of the country. In these extracts the presidents present logical arguments. The extracts present logical argument on the state of the country and the enable for Ghanaians to come to terms with reality. This is expected to make Ghanaians have better understanding of the state of the country and the obvious need to work together to grow the country.

As Browse (2018) asserts, it is important not to confuse an appeal to logos with a logical argument. The statements presented in the extract above present logical argument to instigate the thoughts of the average Ghanaian.

Extract 3

> *"Today, as a result of policy choices, we find ourselves in a situation where Ghana's total revenue is consumed by three main budgetary lines: wages and salaries, interest payments and amortization and statutory payments. These three items alone account for 99.6% of government revenue".*

The text content above provides logical reasoning to explain the hardship in the country. The president presents the argument to draw logical conclusion for the average Ghanaian to come to terms with happenings in the country and the obvious need for Ghanaians to rise to overcome the said challenges of wages and salaries, interest payments and amortization as well as statutory payments. Logos refers to the lucidity and veracity of arguments set forth in a discourse, and how rational its content are to the receivers (Holt & MacPherson, 2010). Logos is reliant upon the speaker's depth of knowledge and how efficiently the speaker forms judgments (Gabrielsen & Christiansen, 2010).
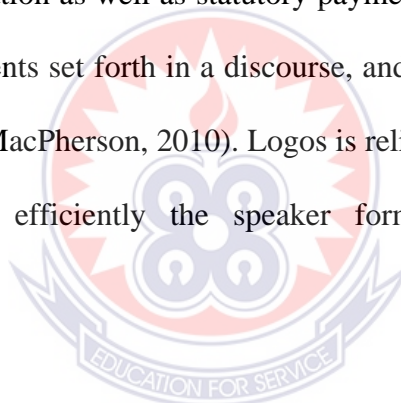
Extract 4

> *Mr. Speaker, the success of all our plans and all our aspirations depends on our ability to educate our young people, and provide the opportunity for lifelong education to the adult population. Mr. Speaker, it is not an original statement, but it is a true statement: education is the key; education holds the key to the rapid development of our country; it holds the key to a better understanding and accommodation with our environment; it equips us with the skills required to deal with the world; education holds the key to the prosperous and happy Ghana we all want and deserve.*

The above extract instigate the thinking capacity of Ghanaians. Here the president makes use of logos. He makes Ghanaians develop the thought along the statement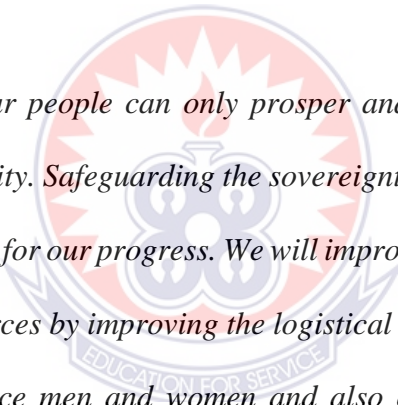 that "the success of all our plans and all our aspirations depends on our ability to educate our young people, and provide the opportunity for lifelong education to the adult population". He states also that, "education is the key; education holds the key to the rapid development of our country; it holds the key to a better understanding and accommodation with our environment; it equips us with the skills required to deal with the world; education holds the key to the prosperous and happy Ghana we all want and deserve". All these statement are to instigate Ghanaians to act along logically.

Extract 5

> *Mr. Speaker, our people can only prosper and flourish in an atmosphere of peace and security. Safeguarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the nation is critical for our progress. We will improve the state of combat readiness of our armed forces by improving the logistical infrastructure, and improve the welfare of service men and women and also of veterans. Our armed forces remain one of the best-organized and most professional in Africa.*

The extract above is also logos. The president states. "Mr. Speaker, our people can only prosper and flourish in an atmosphere of peace and security. Safeguarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the nation is critical for our progress". This statement satisfy logical reasoning. The president expect Ghanaians to come to terms with reality and act along for a desired change. He then gives assurance stating that. "We will improve the state of combat readiness of our armed forces by improving the logistical infrastructure, and improve the welfare of service men and women and also

82

of veterans. Our armed forces remain one of the best-organized and most professional in Africa."
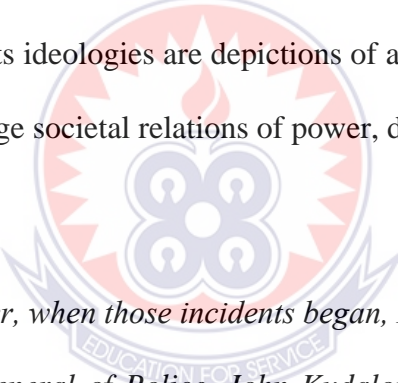
4.1.3. *Research Question three:* Examine how power and ideologies were employed by President Akufo-Addo in his 2017and 2021 Inaugural and State of the Nation Addresses.

Fairclough (1989) considers the first level of analysis to include noticeable linguistic features in a discourse which seeks to help in subjecting it to various interpretations. The analysis of President of Akuffo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 State of the Nation Address (SONA) and Inaugural Address involved the identification of persuasive appeals used to create the intended effects among Ghanaians who are the primary audience. (Thompson, 2002) posits ideologies are depictions of aspects of the world that help to build, sustain, and change societal relations of power, dominance, and exploitation.

Extract 1

> *"Mr. Speaker, when those incidents began, I instructed the then Inspector General of Police, John Kudalor, to apply the law, irrespective of political affiliation, to all lawbreakers. This instruction was also carried on to his successor, David Asante Appeatu. Both of them acted upon it, which helped to bring the situation under control. (S3)"*

The text from the extract above "I instructed the then inspector General of Police, John Kudalor to apply the law, irrespective of political affiliation to all lawbreakers" depict the exercise of power from the President. The extract, "*This instruction was also carried on to his successor, David Asante Appeatu",* shows the president's commitment in fighting crime and the willful show of power. Wodak and Meyer (2016)

avers, discourse is not just logical and rational bodies of speech and writing, but play a crucial role as discursive forms in transferring and executing power and control in society.

Extract 2

> *"We produced, right here in Ghana, our own sanitisers, face masks, medical scrubs, gowns, liquid soap amongst others. We can, indeed, build a Ghana beyond Aid, if we make full use, as we must, of the enterprise and ingenuity of our people, especially our young people. (S2)"*

Extract 3

> *"Mr. Speaker, when it was needed most, at the height of the pandemic, the ingenuity and creativity of the Ghanaian shone through, which caught the attention of the world. When PPEs were being sold on the world market at extortionist prices, largely because demand outstripped supply, we began producing them in Ghana. Scrubs, medical gowns, sanitisers, masks, and gloves, all of these essential to the fight against COVID-19, were produced in Ghana. (S4)"*

Extract 4

> *"I ask you to be citizens: citizens, not spectators; citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens building your communities and our nation. Let us work until the work is done. (S1)"*

The text contents in extracts 2, 3 and 4 depict the ideology of the president and by extension that of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) attempt to drive thoughts of Ghanaians to act along. The concept of building Ghana beyond aid is clearly illustrated in this piece. Fairclough, (1989) argues that ideology and power are closely related and that

power is everywhere and no language in use can ever be 'neutral' or 'objective' and no discourse can ever be free of power and the exercise of power. Thompson (1990) also claims that through, text placement, intonation, syntax, word order, many ideological opinions might be communicated. Ideologies and power are however relational.

Extract 2, builds confidence in Ghanaians and make them feel they can do it by working to transforms the country. The production of sanitizers and other PPEs during the Covid-19 as citied draws the feeling that everything is possible with the Ghanaian. This is where the 'can do' spirit comes to play. Extract 3 draws attention to the ingenuity and creativity of Ghanaians during the pandemic. In Extract 4 of same speech, the president appeals to ghanains to citizen and not spectators. By this, President seeks to employ all ghanains to draw their shoulders to wheel to work to development the country. He also used that statement to rebuke the unconcern attitude of the very Ghanaians who feel not be part of the President's party or government in power to join others bearing in mind the spirit of patriotism.
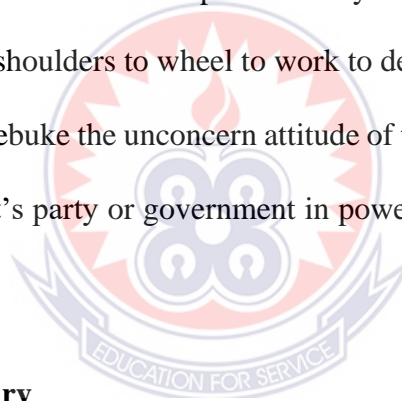
4.2.0 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented findings and analysis on persuasive appeals used by President Akufo-Addo in his 2017, 2021 State of the Nation Address (SONA), Inaugural Address and Independence Day Speech to create the intended effects among Ghanaians who are the primary audience. Findings and analysis are presented on ideology, power and language used by president Akufo-Addo in his speeches based Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter of the study summarizes the findings, draws conclusions as well as make recommendations. The chapter also discusses the limitations of the study and provides proposals for future researches in this field of study.

5.1 Summary

The objective of the study were to identify three persuasive appeals, examine how the persuasive appeals were used to create the intended effects among Ghanaians and identify how power and ideologies were employed by President Akufo-Addo in his 2017 and 2021 State of the Nation Address (SONA) and Inaugural Address. The main focus of the study was rhetorical analysis guided by Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (1995). The study focuses on President Akufo Addo's 2017 and 2021 State of the Nation Address (SONA) and Inaugural Address. The texts-speeches for the study were selected using on purposive sampling. Qualitative approach was used to analyze texts-speeches to identify and examine how such persuasive appeals were used to create the needed effects among Ghanaians. It also enable the research to identify how power and ideologies were employed in the sampled speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwah Akufo-Addo.

The first section is the summary of the study. This section provides the synopsis of the whole thesis including the key findings which emerged from the study. The conclusions which are drawn from the findings are captured under the conclusion section and it is second section. The conclusions are drawn from each specific objective. The third section of the chapter is the recommendation which reports the relevant suggestions

86

and advices from the major findings in the study. The last section is the captured as the suggestion for further studies. The study adopted a qualitative method in investigating the above phenomenon based on exploratory research design. The study adopted a qualitative method to investigate the data using exploratory research design.

5.1.1 Main Findings

To achieve the overall purpose of the study, three major research questions were constructed. The first question was: to identify the persuasive appeals present in President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 State of the Nation Address (SONA) and Inaugural Address. The second was: examine how the persuasive appeals were used in President Akufo-Addo's 2017, 2021 State of the Nation Address (SONA) and Inaugural Address to create the intended effects among Ghanaians. The third question was: identify how power and ideologies were employed by President Akufo-Addo in his 2017 and 2021 State of the Nation Address (SONA) and Inaugural Address. The study used Critical discourse analysis to conduct the investigation. Qualitative research approach was employed to support the design. Purposive sampling was employed to obtain the selected speeches of the president. Six speeches of the President was used in the analysis.

The analysis conducted on the data which is the 2017 and 2021 State of the Nation Address (SONA) and Inaugural Address of President Nana Addo Dankwah Akufo-Addo revealed findings in relation to the three research questions. The study revealed that three persuasive appeals were employed by the President to get Ghanaians who are the primary audience to act along the speech. The appeals employed are Ethos, Logos and Pathos. The president used textual forms or language to create the needed effects among Ghanaians. He presented logical argument to touch the reasoning abilities of

Ghanaians to get them to follow his line of thought and also used his experience, credibility or persona to achieve his intended purpose. The emotions of Ghanaians were also awakened to enable them react in response to the President's and the NPP's ideology expressed in language. It was also evident that some excerpts of the speeches of the Presidents contain ideologies of the New Patriotic Party. Power was also eminent as some texts portray power expressed to determine control of affairs of Ghana.

5.2 Conclusion

The study revealed that President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo used pathos, logos and ethos in his 2017 and 2021 Inaugural Address, and State of the Nation Address (SONA) to achieve his goal. It was also revealed that President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo expressed his ideologies and that of the New Patriotic Party in the sampled texts-speeches to persuade the citizenry to act along to achieve his and that NPP, their intended purpose. The study therefore examined and revealed how the persuasive appeals were used to persuade Ghanaians.

5.3 Limitation of the Study

The purpose of this study was to identify and examine how the persuasive appeals as well as ideologies and power were used in President Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural Address and State of the Nation Address. It was tedious analyzing the entire speeches use for the study due to the lengthy nature of such speeches which were delivered in hours.

To add to this, the study is limited to the textual analysis of 2017 and 2021 Inaugural Address and State of the Nation Address does not cover the entire speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo before and when he assume the seat as President. Only speeches referenced in this study are used for the analysis.

5.4 Suggestion for Further Research

Considering the methodology used for the study, it is suggested that other studies can look at the phenomenon from the comparative perspective point of view to examine how persuasive appeals or rhetorical proofs are used in other speeches delivered by politicians. Future research work can also expand the sample size of speeches used for the study to cover all other speeches made by Heads of State at any given space or period of time. It is also suggested that quantitative study is conducted to know the extent to which the persuasive appeals appear in the speeches to create the intended effect among Ghanaian. The quantitative research method will bring to light the frequency at which rhetorical proofs were used in the sampled speeches. The break down will inform research which of the rhetorical proof is consistently and frequently used in speeches of politicians.

5.5 Recommendations

Based on the conclusion drawn from this study, the following recommendations were made by the researcher:

1. Given that Akufo-Addo's 2017 and 2021 Inaugural Address, State of the Nation Address (SONA) and Independence Day Speeches contain ethos, pathos and Logos, there is the need to reconsider such approaches in writing speeches of presidents or politicians. This will enable politicians or presidents persuade the citizenry who are their audience with their speeches to get them act in a response to a particular direction. This will help them to fulfil or achieve their goal or purpose. Every politician or president writes a speech with a purpose and this purpose is to woo or persuade the citizenry to follow them to enable them to perpetuate their stay in

government as the best alternative to cater for their political, social and economic needs.

2. It is recommended that critical attention be given to language and power use in President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo's future speeches. The language used determine the nature of speech prepared and delivered by the politician. Every politician's unique style-a cannon of rhetoric makes him or her unique in the sight of the followers. The effective use of language determines the power of the politicians. Politician gain power through their ideologies expressed through language. Effective communication derives its strength from the use of language.

3. It is also recommended that since the research is limited to the 2017 and 2021 Inaugural Addresses, State of the Nation Addresses and Independence speeches, research can consider conducting similar research work but on a large scale to encompass the entire speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo.

5.6 Chapter Summary

The chapter presented an overview of the study which focused on the purpose and research methodology employed in the study. It also summarized briefly the major research findings which were followed by conclusions to the study. Recommendations in connection with the key findings were projected. Finally, suggestions for further study were proposed.

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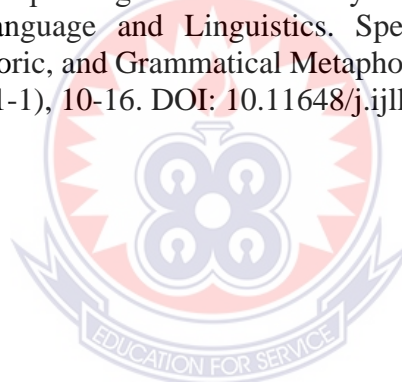
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Message on The State of the Nation by The President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, on the Occasion of the State Opening of Parliament on Tuesday, February 21, 2017.

Mr. Speaker, it is good to be back here again in this Chamber, where I spent some 12 memorable years as a Member of Parliament. I recollect with nostalgia the vigorous debates of my days here as a Minority MP, and I have very fond memories of being on the Majority side also. I can see some old faces from my first days here – like the 2nd Deputy Speaker, Hon. Alban Bagbin, whom I came to meet in the House in 1997, and who became a good friend of mine; and Hon Osei Kyei-Mensah-Bonsu, the Majority Leader, with whom I entered Parliament on the same side, at the same time.

On December 7th, 2016, the Ghanaian people went to the polls, and voted decisively for change. As a result, today, I am here again in this House, this time as President of the Republic, having secured an emphatic, electoral victory.

Mr. Speaker, we have to thank God for His Grace and Favour for a peaceful and smooth transfer of power, in which Ghanaians rose to the occasion, and made our nation the object of world admiration. The Ghanaian people are to be commended for their strong attachment to the principles of democratic accountability.

I would like to take this opportunity, Mr Speaker, to express my sincere appreciation to my predecessor, President John Mahama, for his leadership and his role in the transition. His conduct has been a credit to our nation.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to see the presence in this House of two other former Presidents of the Republic, their Excellencies Jerry John Rawlings and John Agyekum Kufuor. I am in the enviable position of being the first Ghanaian leader to be able to draw on the experiences of three living, former Presidents. This should, definitely, enrich my tenure of office.

Mr Speaker, I congratulate you on your unanimous election to preside over the affairs of this House. It is a fitting acknowledgement of your distinguished service to our nation. I congratulate also your deputies on their appointments, the 1st Deputy Speaker, a respected member of the House, Hon. Joe Osei Wusu, and 2nd Deputy Speaker, the veteran legislator, Hon. Alban Bagbin. I commend also the Majority Leader, my contemporary in this House, who can now put his extensive experience of Parliament to use as Leader of the House and Minister for Parliamentary Affairs. My compliments go, too, to the new Minority Leader, Hon. Haruna Iddrisu, who announced himself on the national stage when he came here in my last term in the House. It is clear that he has an important future in Ghanaian politics. I want to assure him and the leadership of the House, on both sides, that I will co-operate fully with Parliament to enhance the governance of our nation to be able to do the business of Ghana effectively.

Mr. Speaker, I use this occasion to commend the Electoral Commission and its Chairperson, Charlotte Osei, for the conduct of our recent elections, which has received domestic and international acclaim. In the coming years, I hope that our electoral processes will become even more robust, so that free and fair elections become automatic parts of our democratic culture.

Mr. Speaker, certain incidents occurred during the transition period that are matters of concern to me, and should be to every Ghanaian, as they marred an otherwise dignified

and successful transition. Wrongdoing has no political colour, and I do not subscribe to the lawlessness of political party supporters simply because their party has been elected into office.

Mr. Speaker, when those incidents began, I instructed the then Inspector General of Police, John Kudalor, to apply the law, irrespective of political affiliation, to all lawbreakers. This instruction was also carried on to his successor, David Asante Appeatu. Both of them acted upon it, which helped to bring the situation under control.

It appears these events were predicated on some concept of equalisation, as they happened in 2009, and were repeated again in 2017. I condemn all such conduct, and I call on all political parties, especially the New Patriotic Party and the National Democratic Congress, to ensure that this is the last time such undignified acts occur during our periods of transition.

Mr. Speaker, I come before you, today, in fulfilment of the constitutional obligation that the President of the Republic gives a message to Parliament on the state of the nation at the beginning of Parliament's session. Since my inauguration some six weeks ago as president of our country, I have set to work, putting into place the members of the team who will help me govern. I have heard it said that I am behaving like a man in a hurry. Mr. Speaker, I am, indeed, in a hurry, I am in a great hurry. The times, in which we live, demand that we, all, be in a hurry to deal with the problems we face.

I am grateful, therefore, to the Honourable House for the expeditious manner in which my ministerial nominees have been vetted and approved, thus far. I look forward to the House dealing with the rest of the nominees I send, in an equally fast and efficient manner. Now that the processes for the composition of the Council of State have been

completed, I shall inaugurate the Council this week, which will enable me to proceed rapidly with the appointments that need to be done in consultation with the Council. The full complement of appointments should be in place by the end of March.

Mr. Speaker, the conditions in our country demand that government machinery functions efficiently and at full force, and that nothing is left on autopilot. The conditions demand that all of us, each and every one of us, tackle every task before us with speed and dedication. Mr Speaker, to give a fair account of the state of our nation, I have to give an account of the state of our economy, of our governance and of our national culture and attitudes. This account will highlight some of the fundamental elements of the situation, and will not pretend to be a detailed, sectoral analysis of our condition. I leave that to the budget statement, to be delivered in ten days time.

Mr. Speaker, I say nothing new or dramatic, when I tell this Honourable House that the economy of our country is in a bad way. After all, in the run-up to the recent elections, I said so, often and loudly. Some six weeks after taking over the reins of government, it gives me no pleasure to have to say that our worst fears have been confirmed, plus a few additional, unpleasant surprises as well. Mr Speaker, many get quite lost when economists start rattling figures and statistics. I will try not to bore you with a lot of figures, but I hope you will bear with me as I have to put certain essential facts before our country.

You would recall that, notwithstanding the fact that the previous government had more than ten times the financial resources than any other government since independence, its management of our economy in the run up to the 2012 presidential and parliamentary elections resulted in a quagmire that necessitated the urgent intervention of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 2014. The IMF programme negotiated was

ostensibly to restore fiscal discipline, debt sustainability and increase economic growth. The previous government promised Ghanaians that the reckless public expenditure that characterized the 2012 election year would not be repeated in 2016.

Mr. Speaker, the promises to the Ghanaian people were, however, not kept. In fact, virtually all the targets under the IMF programme, as at December 2016, have been missed. Fiscal indiscipline, once again, reared its head in the 2016 election year. Total projected expenditure for 2016 was GH¢43.9 billion (26% of GDP), but actual expenditure amounted to GH¢50.3 billion (30.2% of GDP). The full facts of the situation have not been put before the Ghanaian people. It appears, from what we are finding out, that some GH¢7 billion of arrears and outstanding payments circumvented the very public financial management system that was put in place to prevent such occurrences. These expenditures are being currently audited. Mr. Speaker, at the same time, revenue performance for the year was poor. The total revenue target for our country was GH¢37.9 billion (22.7% of GDP), but the actual revenue came in at GH¢33.2 billion (19.9% of GDP).

Mr. Speaker, the combination of higher expenditures and lower revenues than projected resulted in a significant increase in the budget deficit for 2016. As compared to a target of 5.3% under the IMF programme, the fiscal deficit for 2016 was 9% of GDP on a cash basis and 10.2% of GDP on a commitment basis (that is on the basis of expenditures undertaken but not yet paid for). It should be recalled that, at the time Ghana entered into the IMF programme to restore fiscal discipline, the fiscal deficit was 10.2% of GDP. It is very clear, therefore, that the objectives set out in the programme have not been achieved.

Mr. Speaker, the increasing fiscal deficits were financed by increased borrowing. As at the beginning of 2009, Ghana's total debt stock was GH¢9.5 billion. By the end of 2016, the debt stock had ballooned to GH¢122 billion. Ghana's debt stock now stands at 74% of GDP, after all the previous denials to the contrary. More debt was accumulated by the previous government in the last eight years than all other governments put together since independence! In fact, 92% of Ghana's total debt stock was incurred in the last eight years under the previous government. The interest costs on this debt have also increased and will amount to an estimated GH¢14.1 billion in 2017.

Mr. Speaker, the reality of the state Ghana's public finances today are quite stark. Today, as a result of policy choices, we find ourselves in a situation where Ghana's total revenue is consumed by three main budgetary lines: wages and salaries, interest payments and amortization and statutory payments. These three items alone account for 99.6% of government revenue. This means that anything else that government has to do outside of these lines will have to be financed by borrowing or aid. After eight years of the previous government, there is practically no fiscal space left. The persistent resort to borrowing for any additional expenditures to meet the aspirations of our people is also not sustainable. We cannot continue this way with our public finances. I will not allow this economy to collapse under my watch. We will reduce significantly the fiscal deficit this year.

Mr. Speaker, Ghana's economic growth has also declined dramatically. Notwithstanding the record amount of financial resources at the disposal of the previous government, Ghana's GDP growth in 2016 (including oil) is estimated at 3.6%. This is the lowest GDP growth in about 23 years. Mr. Speaker, Ghana's banking sector has

not escaped the economic decline and has become increasingly fragile. Bad loans in the banking sector have risen significantly. Economic and Financial data from the Central Bank show that non-performing loans have risen sharply from 11.2% in May 2015 to 17.3% in December 2016. The recent Asset Quality Review of Banks shows significant vulnerability of banks to current economic conditions, with many exhibiting significant weaknesses.

Mr. Speaker, low growth, rising rate of unemployment, high fiscal deficits, high and rising debt, and increased depreciation of the cedi, high cost of food, housing and utilities and high non-performing loans, amongst others, are symptoms of deeper structural problems that will require a range of reforms, beginning immediately and spanning the short, medium and long terms. We are going to have to implement some tough, prudent and innovative policies to get out of this financial cul-de sac and rescue this economy, restore fiscal discipline and debt sustainability as well as increase economic growth.

Mr. Speaker, it gives me no joy to tell the story of the economy as it is – as we inherited it. Too much time, energy and resources were spent in the past, in my view, without a deliberate, conscious assessment of their impact on jobs, and whether or not we were spending wisely to improve the lives of the people, communities and businesses. But, I was not elected by the overwhelming majority of the Ghanaian people to complain. I was elected to get things done. I was elected to fix what is broken and my government and I are determined to do just that. At the beginning of March, the Minister for Finance will come to this House to lay out in the national budget the details of our economic policy and the clear roadmap that we have laid out for taking the country out of its current predicament and onto a sustainable path of recovery, jobs creation and

prosperity. I am absolute in my confidence that we have the programme, the competence, the commitment, and the goodwill of the people to turn things around. By the Grace of God, we will succeed and I believe this House knows it too.

In the immediate term, targeted legislative policy and institutional reforms will have to be undertaken to unleash the suppressed potential of the economy and allow Ghanaian entrepreneurship to rise and thrive, domestically and internationally. For too many young people, unemployment is sadly the reality of the start to their adult life. For years, for generations, it was assumed and guaranteed in this country that the quality of life of every generation would be an improvement on that of their parents. We are now faced with the phenomenon of parents looking on in frustration as their grown-up children remain at home, without the means to strike an independent life by themselves.

This generation of Ghanaians dares not be the one to reverse this natural trend. We must create the atmosphere that generates jobs. We must boost the confidence of the private sector to invest in the economy. We must have the courage to start building our future and take the hard decisions that need to be taken to grow our economy. We have no choice but to reduce the budget deficit and cut waste in all sectors of public life. We must complete the formalisation of the economy. The process for a comprehensive national identification system and a property titling system will be completed this year. That will boost confidence in our country and increase investment from nationals and foreigners. Then we will be able to generate jobs. We must boost the confidence of the private sector to invest in the economy.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the starting point in turning round our fortunes must be with agriculture. Unfortunately, the state of agriculture in our country right now is not good. Farmers are left on their own. It is not surprising, therefore, that food prices are high

and we are having to import almost everything we eat, including vegetables from our Sahelian neighbours. And yet, agriculture provides the best opportunity to use modern methods to change the lives of many, within the shortest possible time.

We have to irrigate our lands and equip farmers with the skills needed to make farming a well-paying business. We aim to popularize farming by encouraging many people to take it up as a full or part time activity. A National Campaign, **"PLANTING FOR FOOD AND JOBS"**, will be launched to stimulate this activity. An amount of 125 million Canadian dollars has been secured from Canada, a friend of our nation, to support the initiative.

This Campaign will be anchored on the pillars that will transform agriculture: the provision of improved seeds, the supply of fertilizers, the provision of dedicated extension services, a marketing strategy and the use of e-Agriculture. To initiate the Campaign, the District Assemblies will be tasked to identify and register progressive farmers in each of the 216 districts.

Mr Speaker, for too long our farmers have been left to cope by themselves, without the necessary support from government. For too long, our farmers have been left to the mercy of the vagaries of the weather. We have decided to embark upon a programme to provide water to enable all-year farming. We are calling it the one-village, one-dam policy. It is a programme that I expect will rapidly get the support of the population, and should help to transform food insecurity in our country.

The three northern regions, in particular, will benefit from the availability of water to enable all-year farming, so that the enforced yearly migration can be minimized and food production become more predictable.

I look forward to an increase in public investment in agriculture, starting from the first budget of my government. We must reverse the unfortunate trend of the past eight years, which saw a regular decrease in public investment in the sector that provides a living for the majority of our people. Mr Speaker, food processing has been the first step towards industrialization in virtually every country, and it is time for us to take it seriously. Not only will it serve to cut down on the wastage of crops during the high season, it will provide more jobs and expand farming business. Food processing will also save time in the preparation and cooking of our local foods, and there will be better control on the hygiene in the process. Mr. Speaker, I look forward to an exciting time in the agricultural sector.

Mr. Speaker, if I were to ask each one of you in this Chamber, today, to tell me what the number one problem was in your constituency, I suspect there would be a uniform answer: JOBS. The most critical challenge, inherited by this NPP government, is the very high, unprecedented level of unemployment, particularly among the youth. It is a debilitating and confidence-sapping problem that affects every home. We can argue on what the official rate of unemployment is, but we can all see the desperation of our young people. They want to work, but there are no jobs and some of them are being driven to unacceptable behaviour. We have a veritable time bomb on our hands.

To address this challenge, the government is embarking on one of the most comprehensive programmes for industrial transformation ever to be introduced in our country.

The key elements of this programme are:

1. restoration and maintenance of a stable macro-economy

2. monetary and fiscal measures which will lead to a reduction in interest rates and a reduction in the tax burden on enterprises

3. provision of reliable, affordable power to enterprises and homes

4. setting up of a stimulus package to support existing Ghanaian industries and improve their competitiveness

5. implementation of the initiative, through public-private partnerships, to establish at least one industrial enterprise in each of the 216 Districts in the "One District, One Factory" policy

6. development of strategic anchor initiatives as new pillars of growth for the Ghanaian economy, including the establishment of petrochemical industries; an iron and steel industry; an integrated aluminum industry; the expansion of the domestic production of pharmaceuticals; the establishment of a vehicle assembly and automotive industry; the production of industrial salt; the establishment of garment and textiles enterprises; and the manufacture of machinery, equipment and component parts

7. establishment of a multi-purpose industrial park in each of the ten regions

8. implementation of a comprehensive programme for SME development

9. establishment of an industrial sub-contracting exchange to link large scale companies with SMEs

10. implementation of an aggressive programme for export development, targeting, primarily, regional and continental markets

11. enhancement of domestic retail market infrastructure and the active promotion of the marketing and distribution of domestically produced goods

12. improvement of the business environment through regulatory and other reforms, and

13. establishment of a permanent consultative forum for public-private sector dialogue.

We are confident that, through these interventions, significant job opportunities will be opened to Ghanaians across the country.

Mr. Speaker, the Takoradi to Paga railway, connecting the Eastern and Western corridors, will be initiated this year to open up our country and provide access to our landlocked neighbours. It will also provide a lot of jobs. Mr Speaker, probably the most difficult problem, that has dogged this nation in the past five years, has been in the energy sector. This has caused havoc in small, medium and large enterprises. It has disrupted families and businesses and brought many organizations to their knees.

The most obvious manifestation of the energy problem has earned us notoriety in the world, with the entry into Wikipedia and other dictionaries of the word DUMSOR. It is a phenomenon that has blighted our lives, destroyed appliances and collapsed many companies. The attempts by the previous government to resolve the crisis have led to a gargantuan debt overhang in the sector. We have inherited a heavily indebted energy sector, with the net debt reaching 2.4 billion US dollars as at December 2016. I have to point out the alarming fact that 800 million US dollars of this debt is owed to local banks, which threatens their stability and that of the whole financial sector. Indeed, the huge indebtedness of the energy sector constitutes the single major hurdle to Ghanaians enjoying reliable and affordable electricity supply.

Mr Speaker, there has been some improvement in the power supply since November last year, but the challenges facing Ghana's power sector are far from over. The key problem is cost. We produce power from Akosombo at three US cents per kilowatt

hour. The marginal price charged for businesses is an effective 42 cents, more than ten times the average tariff in West Africa. This makes it very difficult to start or run a business here and be competitive. The cost of energy destroys businesses large and small. It is the bane of the vulcanizer, the tailor, the dressmaker and the hairdresser, the carpenter and the wayside fitting mechanic. It destroys jobs. It compounds poverty. The current state of the energy situation in our country is unsatisfactory. The problems are enormous, but we must, and we will, confront them.

I am proposing a number of policy interventions. We will improve on transparency in tariff setting, and introduce a new tariff policy that will reclassify consumer categories in order to protect lifeline and strategic industrial consumers. We will also reduce significantly some of the levies and taxes on the tariffs. As at the end of 2016, the Electricity Company of Ghana (ECG) had signed 43 Power Purchase Agreements (PPA), whilst a further 23 were under discussion. Government is conducting a review of all the Power Agreements entered into by the previous government in order to prioritise, renegotiate, defer or cancel outright, if necessary, in the national interest. Overall, we have begun to develop a national electricity masterplan, which will also explore the benefits of listing VRA and GRIDCO on the Stock Exchange.

Mr. Speaker, my government will enforce the procurement law. We will insist on open and competitive bidding for power capacity procurement. This will not only reduce the cost of power projects and ensure value for money, but will also address the problem of unplanned procurement. Government will encourage increased private sector investment in utility scale solar and wind energy projects, as well as accelerate the development of mini-grid solutions in off-grid and island communities for lighting,

irrigation and other economic activities. We will, consequently, review the Renewable Energy Act to provide further incentives to attract the private sector to invest.

Mr Speaker, the Ghana Compact II programme has officially come into force. Both parties to the Compact, the Governments of Ghana and United States of America, are committed to complying with their obligations. However, the implementation of Ghana's commitments has faced some challenges due to disagreements between stakeholders, particularly between labour, ECG and the Millennium Development Authority (MDA). We need further dialogue on the key issues that have generated these disagreements. We are aware that these discussions should be concluded urgently in order to arrive at the decisions that will allow for its implementation. We expect that all stakeholders will discuss these issues dispassionately and transparently, to ensure that all concerns are adequately addressed.

Mr. Speaker, the success of all our plans and all our aspirations depends on our ability to educate our young people, and provide the opportunity for lifelong education to the adult population. Mr. Speaker, it is not an original statement, but it is a true statement: education is the key; education holds the key to the rapid development of our country; it holds the key to a better understanding and accommodation with our environment; it equips us with the skills required to deal with the world; education holds the key to the prosperous and happy Ghana we all want and deserve.

Luckily, there is consensus amongst us on the need to provide quality education to all of Ghana's children. If I am in a hurry, I am in a hurry to ensure that every child born in this country attends school from Kindergarten to Senior High School; in other words, that is the basic education that each child is required to receive. We intend to reform the basic school curricula with emphasis on literacy, numeracy and creative skills. And

just in case there is anyone left in this country who has not heard yet, Free SHS starts with the 2017/2018 entrants into the public SHS. We shall embark upon a vigorous expansion and re-equipping of Technical, Vocational and Agricultural schools and align all TVAET under the Ministry of Education to ensure standardization.

The teaching of mathematics and science will take pride of place in all schools, as we aim to make understanding of the scientific basis of life a central plank in our schools. We will, thus, make the use of ICT a central feature of our national life.

My government shall place teachers at the centre of quality education, and encourage professionalism among them. There will have to be some legislative reforms to ease some of the bottlenecks at the district level of supervision. By the way, teacher trainee allowances will be restored when the Minister of Finance comes to read the budget. We keep our promises, just as we shall ensure that our sports development is hinged on the revival of school sports.

Mr. Speaker, there has been far too much tension in the education sector. It is in everyone's interest that the school experience is a happy one for children, teachers and parents alike. The happy and skilled population that will drive the path to development starts at school. We aim to provide the key to prosperity in our schools.

Mr. Speaker, we have to be healthy if we are to make a success of the plans and aspirations we have. The National Health Insurance Scheme remains the best option we have devised to ensure that as many people as possible have access to health care in our clinics and hospitals. The scheme is not in a good state, and there are too many providers that are owed money. They are threatening to opt out and stop offering their services to the most vulnerable in our society. We shall restore the National Health Insurance

Scheme to good health. And yes, the Minister for Finance will restore the allowances to trainee nurses in the budget.

Mr. Speaker, government will work with Parliament to pass the Affirmative Action Bill to increase women's involvement in decision making at all levels, and enable us achieve our current objective of 30 percent participation of women in public appointments. Mr. Speaker, the time has come to enforce the Disability Act and ensure its compliance, which will begin with access to public buildings for the physically challenged. The Minister for Local Government will also see to the implementation of the District Integrated Social Services programme for children, families and vulnerable adults.

Mr. Speaker, our people can only prosper and flourish in an atmosphere of peace and security. Safeguarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the nation is critical for our progress. We will improve the state of combat readiness of our armed forces by improving the logistical infrastructure, and improve the welfare of service men and women and also of veterans. Our armed forces remain one of the best-organized and most professional in Africa.

Mr. Speaker, I bring you greetings from The Gambia, where I was a guest last weekend at the inauguration ceremony of President Adama Barrow. Ghana should always take its membership of ECOWAS seriously, as its viability advances our national interest. One of the first issues that came to my attention, as soon as I assumed office, was the request from ECOWAS to send a military contingent from Ghana, as part of the ECOWAS Mission in The Gambia (ECOMIG) to resolve the post-electoral impasse in that country. Senegal was to provide 3,150; Nigeria 509; and Ghana 210 troops. I assented to the request as it involved large issues of regional stability, and the preservation of democracy and rule of law in a member state. Ghana sent 208 troops.

The Mission succeeded in creating the necessary environment for the rule of law to be maintained, and for the rightful transfer of authority to the newly elected President. I saw with my own eyes how popular that event has been in the Gambia; and how popular is the ECOWAS mission. Consequently, ECOWAS has now put forward a new mandate which involves reducing the force to one of 500 soldiers, intended to be a stabilisation force. As from yesterday, February 20, Senegal will provide 250, Nigeria 200 and Ghana 50 troops in the force.

Presently about 3,000 Ghanaian soldiers are involved in peace keeping operations around the globe. We need to do more to keep their morale high and empower them. We have decided that they should be paid their allowances at post, and not on their return. I am glad to say that this new regime of payment has been applied to the case of The Gambian deployment.

Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to be able to inform the House that the outstanding arrears of 13 million US dollars for all peacekeeping personnel have been cleared by my government, and the contingents in the Gambia have been paid all their allowances in full. I have asked the Minister for Defence to come shortly before Parliament and make a statement on the Gambian deployment. There are serious difficulties facing our armed forces that are not unlike those facing other parts of our public sector. Overcrowded and inappropriate accommodation for personnel, inability to pay food and utility bills, and threats from providers to cut supplies; these are the everyday stories in all departments and our armed forces face the same problems. It is a regrettable state of affairs that will not continue under my administration.

Mr. Speaker, the police are the first line of security and protection for citizens. We must have an efficient police service that has the confidence and support of the people. I am

determined to give whatever support is required from government to ensure that we have the service that the people of Ghana deserve. We must get a more professional police service, where recruitment and training practices are of acceptable international standards. We shall continue recruitment into the police service, with the aim of meeting the U.N ratio of 1 police officer to 500 civilians, and also ensuring gender equity.

All of us are agreed on the Ghana we want; a prosperous, united and peaceful country. Some countries have made progress in the economic field and achieved some of the results we desire. I have listened with incredulity, as some amongst us have advocated the harsh methods that appear to have helped some countries achieve rapid progress. Some, amongst us, seem to be flirting with the concept of authoritarianism and romanticising it, as an acceptable price to pay to achieve rapid development.

Mr. Speaker, I have an unshakable and undying belief in freedom and the democratic process, and in their capacity to inspire rapid development. Development in freedom should remain our moral anchor. That is the Ghanaian way and that is the Akufo-Addo way. The rule of law should remain our guiding and unbending principle. Those of us in public service should acknowledge that corruption is one of the biggest concerns to the people of Ghana. It is the one subject on which a surprising number of people are willing to tolerate a waiver of due process. This is because, unfortunately, public officials are in danger of losing the confidence of the people in the fight against corruption. There is a perception that all public officials are part of a great scam to defraud the public and that they protect each other. It is in everybody's interest that the fight against corruption is transparent and has the support of the public.

Mr Speaker, the office of the Special Prosecutor has been shown to work in other places, and I shall be bringing legislation before the House for its rapid establishment. I am satisfied that the Office will be established in a manner consistent with the Constitution. In like manner, I shall propose for legislation amendments to the current asset declaration regime to make it more effective.

Mr Speaker, the people of Ghana have voted for change. All the various arms of government should recognize this strong desire on the part of the people for change. We continue along the path of business as usual at our own risk. Mr Speaker, my personal belief in and adherence to the concept of the separation of powers is well-known, and I do not intend to interfere in any way in the affairs of Parliament or the Judiciary. But I would be failing in my duty if I failed to say what needs to be said.

Mr Speaker, all three arms of government, the Executive, the Judiciary and the Legislature need to take cognisance of the clear desire of the people of Ghana for change. All three branches must change the way we do things. I ask this Honourable House to take a candid look at itself and consider changing the way it conducts its business, if needs be.

Mr Speaker, there are some areas of our lives in which we can all demonstrate the change for which the people of Ghana have voted: punctuality, sanitation and the care of the environment. Over the years, it has become acceptable practice that official functions invariably start and close late. We invite people to functions for 9am and start at 10am. I have heard some offer the preposterous excuse that there is something cultural about not paying attention to time. Mr Speaker, let us show that we acknowledge that change has, indeed, come by being punctual to functions. I intend to set a personal example.

114

The other area of our lives in which we can and should start making a change is the care of the environment.. We are in danger of destroying our blessed country. Ours is a beautiful country. If we claim to love our country, we must take care of the lands, the trees, the water bodies and the animals. They are part of what makes Ghana. The change we have voted for demands that we adopt better and sustainable sanitation habits, and learn to protect and preserve our environment.

Mr. Speaker, there is one subject on my mind that I wish to put before the House for consideration. I believe, in this 60th year of our nation, that the time is ripe for us to establish consensus on some national issues. It is important for us to have a conversation on how we name things that are of national importance to us all. I speak of the seat of the Presidency and Founder's' Day. In my view, it is not right that, 60 years after independence, these matters are still at large. It does not inure to the dignity of the Ghanaian Republic that such matters have become subject to political football. I believe we have to settle these matters once and for all, and in due course, I propose we have a national conversation and dialogue to this effect which, hopefully, will end in legislation that will reflect the national consensus.

Mr. Speaker, in a few days' time, we shall mark the 60th anniversary of the independence of our country. Ebenezer, thus far has the Lord brought us. Mr. Speaker, we all know where we want Ghana to be, and we are aware we are not where we want to be or ought to be. We also know of the big dreams of our forefathers to build a self-reliant and self-sustaining nation that would take pride of place amongst the comity of nations.

This anniversary provides us with the opportunity to reflect on our past and plan for the future. This is the Ghana we see – a new Ghana. We will put in place policies that will

deliver sustainable growth and cut out corruption. We will set upon the path to build a Ghana that is not dependent on charity; a Ghana that is able to look after its people through intelligent management of the resources with which it has been endowed. This is our path, and this path offers a new Ghana.

This Ghana will be defined by integrity, sovereignty, a common ethos, discipline, and shared values. It is one where we aim to be masters of our own destiny, where we mobilise our own resources for the future, breaking the shackles of the "Guggisberg" colonial economy and a mind-set of dependency, bailouts and extraction. It is an economy where we look past commodities to position ourselves in a global marketplace. It is a country where we focus on trade, not aid, a hand-up, not a hand-out. It is a country with a strong private sector. It is a country that recognises the connectedness of its people and economy to those of its neighbours. This requires a forward-looking vision for our country, enabling us to confront our challenges and embrace our opportunities, not one fastened in the rear-view mirror. It is a Ghana beyond aid. Mr. Speaker, thank you, and may God bless our homeland Ghana and make her great and strong.

APPENDIX B

Inaugural Address by the President of the Republic, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, at His swearing in as President of the Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the Ghana Armed Forces, on Thursday, 7th January 2021.

Mr Speaker, I extend a hearty akwaaba, our word of welcome, to their Excellencies, the distinguished leaders of sister states from our region and continent, as well as to eminent representatives from other friendly nations and international organisations, who are gathered here in the vibrant city of Accra, capital of Ghana, to join us on this auspicious occasion. I thank each and every one of you for being present at this inauguration of my second mandate, COVID-19 notwithstanding. Your attendance is an expression of solidarity and friendship that speaks volumes of your attachment to the goals and aspirations of the Ghanaian people and State, for which we are very grateful. I must, at the outset, express my warm congratulations to my good friend and colleague of many years in this House, the Rt. Hon. Alban Sumana Kingsford Bagbin, on his assumption of office as the Speaker of the Eighth Parliament of the 4th Republic. Nearly three decades of devoted service to Parliament by you has culminated in this moment, which has seen your elevation to the third great office of state of our nation. Together, you and I will be chartering new territory in the governance and politics of the 4th Republic, for this is the first time in the life of this Republic that a President from one party will be obliged, by the exigencies of the moment and the will of the people, to work, in all sincerity and co-operation, with a Speaker of Parliament from another party. I am confident that both of us will be guided in our relationship by the supreme interest of our people in ensuring good governance in the ordering of the affairs of state. I want to assure you of my wholehearted determination to work with you to advance the peace,

progress and prosperity of the Ghanaian people. Once again, many congratulations to you and the re-elected and new Members of Parliament. A few moments ago, I took, for the second time, the oath of office to serve as President of the Republic of Ghana. I follow in the exalted footsteps of two of my predecessors, the 1st and 2nd Presidents of the 4th Republic, their Excellencies Jerry John Rawlings and John Agyekum Kufuor, who served two successive terms in office. I, cannot, therefore, take this honour and privilege bestowed on my modest self lightly, and I thank Almighty God and the Ghanaian people, who, by an emphatic margin, renewed my mandate in office for four more years, in the elections of 7th December.

It is a demonstration of the confidence and trust you, the Ghanaian people, have reposed in me, not only in appreciation for the achievements chalked throughout my first four (4) years, but more significantly for the considerable amount of work that is to be done over the next four (4) years, in our drive to take our nation firmly onto the path of progress, prosperity and development, following the havoc wreaked by COVID-19. This is a task I wholeheartedly accept, and I assure all Ghanaians that I will do my utmost to deliver on this mandate.

The accomplishment of this mandate is going to take place within the context of Ghana's maturing democracy. The Ghanaian people have manifested, time and again, in these twenty-eight (28) years of the 4th Republic, their determination to build a free, democratic, peaceful nation, which is respectful of individual liberties and human rights, the rule of law, and the principles of democratic accountability. A governance structure built on the separation of powers provides the best vehicle for the protection of these values, with a well-resourced Judiciary and Parliament as the principal accountability organs of the State. This has been the main thrust of public policy in

these past four years, and will continue to be so in the next. The unity and stability of our country are the welcome outcomes of such a development.

This is how we can ensure, in the words of one of the great figures of Ghanaian nationalism, the illustrious Joseph Boakye Danquah, that we have "a system of government under which those who are in control of government are under the control of those who are governed". The sheer can-do-spirit of the Ghanaian, which I have witnessed all my life, is the bedrock on which we can build the Ghana of our dreams. Indeed, four years ago, at my first inauguration, I urged all Ghanaians to be, and I quote, "citizens and not spectators". I appealed to you to be active participants in the effort to help build the Ghana we want – the democratic, free, prosperous and united Ghana envisioned by our founding fathers as the Black Star of Africa.

In my first term as President, I was able to count on the contribution of all citizens in attempting to create this Ghana. What I have seen these last four years is further evidence, if any were needed, that the Ghanaian will no longer accept poverty and deprivation as his or her portion, but is rather determined to work to chart a path of growth and development for himself or herself. Today, our economy, even in the face of the global pandemic of COVID-19, continues to show resilience and a much faster rate of recovery than originally envisaged, and was, indeed, one of the fastest growing economies in the world in 2020. Ghana remains one of the most attractive destinations on the continent for foreign direct investment, with the presence in the country of some of the world's largest conglomerates attesting to this fact. Establishing a strong economy, undergoing structural transformation to value-added activities, which will generate jobs for our young people and enhance their living standards, will be the main preoccupation of my second term. Together, we are ensuring that the basic tenets of

social justice are met. Many said it was beyond us, but we have ensured that financial considerations no longer determine the fate of the Ghanaian child. Because of the implementation of the Free Senior High School policy, once willing and able, senior high school education is the minimum education to be received by every Ghanaian child. Access to quality healthcare is no more a luxury ordinary people cannot afford, following the revival of the National Health Insurance Scheme. Our aim is to reach Universal Health Coverage as soon as possible.

Food production has increased significantly, and a conscious effort has been made to improve the living standards of our farmers. The newly constructed warehouses dotted across the country are storing the surpluses for export to our neighbours, and the programme for Planting for Food and Jobs has become the veritable rock on which the successful future of our agriculture is being built.

Our roads are being constructed at a much faster pace than before, and, yes, I acknowledge there are still many more kilometres to construct. We defined last year as 'The Year of Roads'. This year will be the second 'Year of Roads', as we continue with our focus on dealing with the deficit in our road infrastructure. The development of our rail sector, on which considerable resources and energies are being devoted, will open up the country, and lead to the creation of a more connected society, and will, also, help realise the goal of regional and continental integration.

The arrival of COVID-19 drove home the lesson to all of us that we have to be self-reliant. The pandemic has emphasised the fact that we cannot continue to be living on edge in a day-to-day economy. This is dangerous for our survival, and it is important that we set up buffers of protection in all aspects of our lives. So, when there was a shortage in the supply of personal protective equipment, at a time when they were being

sold at extortionist prices on the world market, the enterprise of the Ghanaian shone through. We produced, right here in Ghana, our own sanitisers, face masks, medical scrubs, gowns, liquid soap amongst others. We can, indeed, build a Ghana Beyond Aid, if we make full use, as we must, of the enterprise and ingenuity of our people, especially our young people. The prominent role being played by young people in the digitisation journey of our nation is strong proof of the feasibility of this objective, and Ghana is set to become one of the most digitised economies in Africa in the next few years.

In this same vein, I expect the locally produced Eku juice, one of the results of Government's "One-District-One-Factory" flagship policy, to replace rapidly the imported fruit juices on the shelves of our supermarkets, not because anyone will so decree, but because the quality of the locally produced one is as good, if not superior. I doubt that anyone would, ordinarily, mention akpeteshie, the local gin, as a possible item on the world market. I cannot vouch for its taste or potency, since I gave up alcohol many years ago, but I can say that the Made in Ghana and beautifully packaged "Apio", I have recently seen, can compete in the most sophisticated markets in the world. My boundless confidence in the energy of the Ghanaian makes me believe that we can become the prosperous nation we aspire to, and soon. We have good reason to be proud of what we have been able to achieve so far.

Mr Speaker, we know that the democracy we seek to build and entrench in Ghana will ultimately succeed if we build a prosperous nation, and our people are at peace with themselves and with the world. I pledge before this august House and the good people of Ghana that all I do will be for the common good, and, with the firm foundation laid in my first term of office, we shall take a significant step towards reducing the infrastructure deficit that has plagued us all throughout our nationhood. The remaining

fifteen percent (15%) of our communities without electricity would be covered by the end of my second term. We have already begun constructing hospitals in the remaining districts that do not have one – a process which will be completed within a year. The percentage of Ghanaians without access to potable water is set to reduce significantly, following the commencement of work on a number of water supply projects across all parts of the country. The majority of our people live in unacceptable housing, and we shall tackle the problem with vigour.

With discipline and caution, just as we have done since March 2020, we, in Ghana, can continue to reduce the number of active cases of COVID-19, which currently stands at a little over nine hundred (900), and open up our country again to the rest of the region, continent and the entire world. We have taken the bold step of re-opening all our schools again, because of our fundamental conviction that education is the key to our future. We will do everything possible to ensure not only the safety of the children, but of teachers and non-teaching staff as well.

We, Ghanaians, have always been very much aware of our place in our neighbourhood, in our continent and in the world. We recognise that poverty and insecurity plague our region, and, thus, we shall continue to work to make our voice carry the weight of our convictions and contribute to making our world a safer and happier place. We shall play our full part in the deliberations and activities of all the organisations to which we belong – ECOWAS, the African Union, Commonwealth, La Francophonie, the United Nations and the others. Ghana, which has the privilege of hosting the Secretariat of the African Continental Free Trade Area, intends to be one of the main drivers of its success. The AfCFTA provides us, Africans, with a great opportunity to exploit and

develop our resources for the benefit of our own people, and end the centuries-old exploitation of our continent's vast wealth for the benefit of others.

In the words of the historic first leader of our nation, the celebrated Kwame Nkrumah, "it is clear that we must find an African solution to our problems, and that this can only be found in African unity. Divided we are weak; united, Africa could become one of the greatest forces for good in the world". To my fellow Ghanaians, I invite all of you to join in the exciting business of developing our country. There are endless opportunities, if we remain united. What our forebears dreamed of; we will achieve! If we inherited dreams and visions from our founding fathers, we should leave legacies of achievements and realities to our children and their children. For, I believe in the limitless prospects of Ghana and of us, her people. So, let us be up and doing, and, with faith in the Almighty, seize our destiny. Mr. Speaker, may God bless us all, and our homeland Ghana, and make her great and strong. Your Excellencies, once again, akwaaba. I thank you for your attention.