

**UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA**

**A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THREE SPEECHES OF NANA  
ADDO DANKWA AKUFO-ADDO**



**2020**

**UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA**

**A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THREE SPEECHES OF NANA  
ADDO DANKWA AKUFO-ADDO**



**GODWIN KUSI DANQUAH  
(8171960001)**

**A thesis in the Department of Communication and Media Studies, Faculty  
of Foreign Languages Education and Communication, submitted to the School of  
Graduate Studies, in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the award of the degree of  
Master of Philosophy  
(Communication and Media Studies)  
in the University of Education, Winneba**

**JULY, 2020**

## DECLARATION

### STUDENT'S DECLARATION

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

Signature: .....

Date: .....

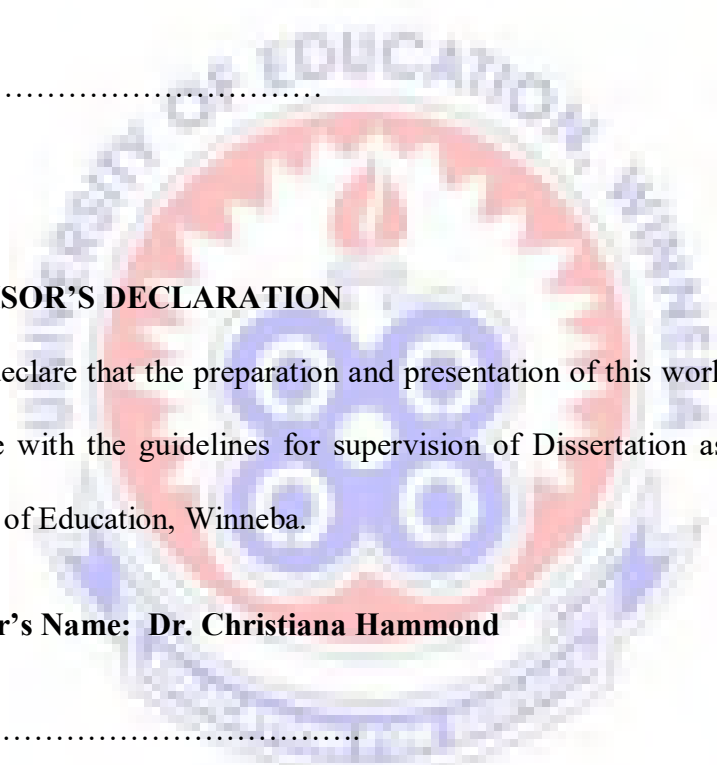
### SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I, hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of Dissertation as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

**Supervisor's Name: Dr. Christiana Hammond**

Signature: .....

Date: .....



## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to my parents Mr. FTK Danquah and Mrs. Gifty Kusi Danquah, Kwame and MaaAkua for their financial contribution towards my education.

Finally, a special dedication to Hon. Alexander Kwamena Afenyo-Markin, Member of Parliament for Effutu Constituency and Board Chairman of Ghana Water Company. I am deeply indebted to you for investing in my education. May God keep blessing you.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The task involved in undertaking this exercise has been enormous and I cannot ascribe its success solely to my own effort. I would like to acknowledge all who contributed in diverse ways to ensure the successful completion of this project. This project would not have been successful without the help of my hard working supervisor Dr. Christiana Hammond who took time out of her busy schedules to patiently assist me. I sincerely appreciate your patience and constructive criticisms. I am equally indebted to the Head of Department of Communication and Media Studies; Mr Kwesi Aggrey and all lecturers in the Department, especially, Dr. Mavis Amo -Mensah, Ms. Abena Abokoma Asemanyi, Dr. Gifty Appiah-Agyei, Mr. Asare Okai-Anti, and Dr. Albert Agbesi Wornyo. Tonnes of gratitude also goes to Dr. Kwaku Ofori from the Department of Applied Linguistics and Prof. Raheem Korla-Wole SACOST, UEW.

I sincerely appreciate the immeasurable support from my family and friends including Godfred Asare Yeboah, Arkoh Mensah, Bismark Odum Sackey, Stephen Osei-Akyiaw, Among Kwaku Kwakye, Ransford Ekow Baidoo, Collins Owusu Fordjour, Eric Abroh and Akwasi Sarpong. The assistance of Captain Kojo Eyi Acquah cannot be disregarded,

Last but not the least I say a big thanks to CoMSSA 11 group, especially, Mr. Charles Mawusi, Mrs. Nelly Doborsson, Pastor Isaac Opoku and Vans Akpene Gadagbui and my good friend Richmond Asiamah Yeboah. I appreciate the wonderful times we spent together. Thanks for the support and encouragement. God richly bless you all.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CONTENT	PAGE
DECLARATION	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	viii
ABSTRACT	ix
<b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Background to the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	5
1.3 Objectives of the Study	8
1.4 Research Questions	8
1.5 Significance of the Study	8
1.6 Scope of the Study	9
1.7 Organization of the Study	10
<b>CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW</b>	<b>11</b>
2.0 Introduction	11
2.1 Empirical Review	11
2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)	22
2.3 Ideological and Power Relations in the Selected Speeches of some Presidents of Ghana.	28
2.4 Analytical Framework	34
2.5 The Ideology of the New Patriotic Party	39
2.6 Relevance of Analytical framework to the Study	47

<b>CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY</b>	48
3.0 Introduction	48
3.1 Research Approach	48
3.2 Research Design	48
3.3 Sampling Technique	49
3.4 Data Collection	51
3.5 Data Analysis Plan	51
3.7 Summary of Chapter	54
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS</b>	55
4.0 Introduction	55
4.1 Research Question 1	56
4.2 Research Question 2	75
4.3 Research Question 3	86
4.4 Summary	93
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS</b>	95
5.0 Introduction	95
5.1 Summary of Findings	95
5.2 Conclusions	97
5.3 Limitations of the Study	97
5.4 Recommendations	98
5.5 Suggestions for further Studies	98
<b>REFERENCES</b>	99
<b>APPENDIX A</b>	109
<b>APPENDIX B</b>	115
<b>APPENDIX C</b>	119

## LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1: Cumulative Frequency of Manifest Words in speech 1 (S1)	58
2: Cumulative Frequency of Manifest Words in Speech two (S2)	59
3: Cumulative Frerquency of Manifest Words in Speech three (S3)	60
4: Dominant issues Identified in S1, S2 and S3	61





## ABSTRACT

This study is a critical discourse analysis of three selected speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. The analysis is situated in Fairclough's triadic model for Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Thompson's modes of ideology. A CDA of the speeches revealed how the speeches reflect prevailing societal issues such as respect for systems and structures of authority, responsibility, Pan- Africanism, total independence, patriotism, the Ghanaian identity and rules and expectations of government. Power relations were exhibited in the speeches through the use of modal auxiliary verbs such as *must*, *will*, *should* and *shall*. The findings confirm language as an embodiment of ideological dimensions and power relations. The study also reveals Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo as reinforcing the ideologies of the New Patriotic Party through the three speeches from various perspectives. The study recommends a critical use of language as a form of power to assert a person's ideologies through public discourse.



# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background to the Study

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an important analytical method or framework which draws its attitude to criticism from its immediate antecedents, Critical Applied Linguistics, and Systemic Functional Linguistics, both of which recognize the role of language in the production and maintenance of unequal power structures Lin, (2013). As an approach to text analysis, CDA scholars like Van Dijk (1993) and Fairclough (2013) affirm the notion that the analysis of language use can reveal power and abuse in talk and text. Fairclough (2015) for instance, argues the existence of a link between language use and social practice through a three-step focus: critique, explanation and action. He contends that it is after critiquing a discourse that the latent meanings emerge to complement the manifest meanings. Fairclough (2015) asserts that the latent meanings reflect social practices and realities, and allow actions that facilitate transformation. Therefore, once a discourse is critiqued and analyzed, existing social realities are critiqued and analyzed. Fairclough (2015) thus recognizes the connection between critique, explanation and action as common to other forms of critical social science.

Again, CDA views humans as socio political animals whose interest are likely to be reflected in what they say or write by going beyond textual meanings of a text to uncover hidden meanings and possible interpretations. Van Dijk (1993) argues that CDA draws attention to the inequalities and injustices that are enacted reproduced and legitimized by text and talk.

Lin (2013) states that CDA involves studying texts to uncover hidden ideologies embedded in a text. Thus CDA enables a reader not to focus only on the linguistic structure or manifest meanings of a discourse but also on the social background relationship, and objections as espoused by language and its products. According to Van Dijk, critical researches on discourse have the following general properties:

1. Focusing primarily on social problems and political issues rather than the mere study of discourse structures outside their social and political contexts.
2. The fact that social problems are usually multidisciplinary.
3. Rather than merely describe discourse structure CDA explains discourse structure by identifying properties that show social interaction within a social structure.
4. CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power abuse (dominance) in society

The political ideals upon which presidents intend to govern are depicted through their speeches. One of the major uses of speech in political campaign is persuasion and speech writers through language to persuade listeners to accept their ideas (Taiwo, 2009). This explains the powerful effects of speeches and their relevance to human society. Stubbs (1983) emphasizes that the world is in an information age, and language is the basic facilitator of communication. Leckie-Terry (1995) argues that text is polysemic. Polysemy is an interesting phenomenon that concerns cases in which a word or a phrase enjoys multiple meanings. Text can have multiple and varied interpretations (Cruise 2004). Blessing and Chakrabarti (2009) emphasize the difference between latent meaning and manifest meaning. Latent meanings of data focus on interpretations constructed through observable element within data at the time of coding or focusing on the implied value of the data via the judgement of the researcher whereas manifest

meaning is where interpretation is limited to something that is clear to see or understand.

Obeng (1997) states that politics is one vocation indispensably yoked with language since politicians need to be at their persuasive best in order to win votes. Obeng further states that it is impossible to talk about politics without mentioning the use of campaigns, debates and political texts such as manifestoes among others. The best speakers may stand the best chance in getting elected or could sway the opinions of others. Taiwo (2009, p. 192) describes politics as “the struggle for and control of resources, values, norms and behavior of a social group”. It is little wonder then that to attain political power, one needs language as a powerful tool. It is true that politicians’ who target to control whatever resources, values and norms there are cannot achieve it without the use of language. “One of the major goals of language use in political campaigns is persuasion” (Taiwo, 2009, p. 184). It is meant to function as “a powerful instrument of mass mobilization and socio-political engineering” (Adeyanju 2009, p. 192).

Cruise (2004) asserts that language is more complex than it appears on the surface such that structures that give language this complexity should be examined critically. Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2010) explains that the underlying features of language such as discursive power relations, implicit ideologies and persuasive techniques that make up a discourse can be interpreted since every text is polysemic. Stubbs (1983) makes an observation about the linkage between language, action, knowledge and situation and postulates that, they are inseparable and very relevant to politicians. Barack Obama is noted for his renowned speeches (Leith & Soule, 2011). His speeches won him a lot of admiration not only from people in America but many across the world. Leith and Soule (2011) describes him as one of the most consciously and artfully rhetorical speakers in

the recent history of American politics Leith and Soule (2011) asserts that the fact that Obama succeeded in politics is evident that his particular style of speech has an enormous influence on his audience. Mieder (2009) also focused on the analysis of Obama's use of stylistic choices such as proverb-like phrases. Mieder claims Obama's strategic communication choices induced emotions and beliefs.

Mensah (2014) cited in Adamu (2017), avers that the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of great speakers who through their oratory prowess, injected the feeling of nationalism and political consciousness in Africa which led to the fight for emancipation from colonial rulers, including Dr. Nkrumah. Like all other countries, Ghana's political scene has been vibrant with activity, including the delivery of speeches, letters and other forms of discourse which have featured prominently from the precolonial to the modern era. From John Mensah -Sarbah's push for the emancipation of the native Ghanaian; and Nkrumah's drive for independence, to Rawlings' revolutionary speeches and the of voices of the opposition, political discourse's have played their role in conscientising the people and giving them a further inkling into what they stand for. The current generation has also produced politicians with exceptional oratory skills in Africa.

Three speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo - Addo are selected comprising: (1) his inaugural on January 7,2017. (2), the 62<sup>nd</sup> speech at Independence Day Celebration Parade speech on 6<sup>th</sup> March, 2019, and (3) and his speech at the 73<sup>rd</sup> UN General Assembly on 26<sup>th</sup> September, 2018. Since this work is a CDA on selected speeches of President Nana Akufo Addo, it is important to build a background knowledge to enable readers identify with him. According to Bloor and Bloor, (2007) as cited by Adamu (2017), background knowledge in discourse analysis, enables communicating parties to better understand and appreciate the communication in context. Adamu (2017) posits

that background knowledge is very relevant because it creates a mutual understanding by allowing the free flow of meaning in conversations since there is always a shared meaning between interlocutors. Thus, the biography of Nana Akuffo Addo helps the reader to focus on Nana Akuffo Addo's social and his revolutionary life as well as his inclination to fight for emancipation and justice, which perhaps is as a result of his background in law.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

CDA has been used extensively in the analysis of speeches. For instance, Wang (2010) conducted a CDA on Barack Obama's speeches from the point of view of transitivity and modality and how, language is used to foster ideology and power. Wang's study was underpinned by the critical discourse analysis framework and functional linguistics theory. The study concluded that the sentences in Obama's speeches were overly simple and easy to comprehend. The simplicity was purposive to ensure easy comprehension and create a sense of affection with the masses who were his target audience. This was to induce in his voters a sense of friendship and to be translated into votes to win power.

Dadugblor (2016) also analyzed and compared the State of the Nations' addresses (SONA) of Ghana and The United State of America. He did this by selecting speeches of President John Dramani Mahama and President Barack Obama. The study specifically examined ways in which the rhetors in presidential discourses simultaneously either through association or disassociation help presidents to consolidate power. Dadugblor (2016) concluded that each presidents' unique position as heads of their political parties, is confronted with twin roles of being the assessor of national performance as well as promoter of policies. The dual roles invariably result in associating with different audiences for purposes of political gains on the basis of whether the stance is epideictic (celebrating unity) or deliberative (setting a policy

agenda). Dadugblor (2016) further adds that a focus on the Ghanaian text uncovers some complexities inherent in such adopted Western rhetorical genres as discursive practices. He argues that it is possible that the very lengthy formal speeches such as the State of the Nation Address in Ghana resonate with the flowery and lengthy speeches of the chief's court. It could therefore be argued that long speeches serve to shed more light on how traditional norms possibly impact contemporary communication practices. Dadugblor recommends further studies on traditional socio-cultural norms and expectations that affect borrowed rhetorical practices like SONA in particularly, postcolonial African contexts. This Eisenhart and Johnstone (2008) contend that further studies on traditional socio-cultural norms and expectations that affect borrowed rhetorical practices, is a way of re-envisioning nuances of power relations and rhetorical strategies in the text. Since every text is polysemic and subject to several interpretations, a CDA of the speeches of President Nana Addo Danquah Akufo-Addo is likely to unearth the socio-cultural norms inherent in his speeches and thereby, help to fulfill the gaps in literature from a socio-cultural perspective using data from Ghana.

Sharndama (2015) analysed President Mohammadu Buhari of Nigeria's inaugural speech on 29th May, 2015. Predicatably, some of the findings indicated his plans and what he hoped to achieve as a new government. The analyses showed the ideologies on which the president intended to govern, including good governance; strengthening international relations; foreign policies and democracy. The plan to fight insecurity, corruption, and improve electricity and the economy were also thematised. This study also, focuses on only the inaugural speeches but broadened the scope to include two additional speeches at different settings and occasioned by different happenings and thoughts.

Adjei-Fobi (2011) also did a rhetorical analysis of political discourse using a comparative study on the use of metaphors in the speeches of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and President J. J Rawlings. The study revealed that both Rawlings and Nkrumah used metaphors in their speeches. Nonetheless, 'President Rawlings used more violent images than Nkrumah largely, perhaps because of his military background. Dr. Nkrumah's use of metaphor sounded more Pan-African and religious in nature, perhaps because of this socialist background' p.76 The study concluded that Dr. Nkrumah's use of metaphor appeared more continental because he had his eye on continental presidency unlike Rawlings whose use of metaphors were limited to the Ghanaian setting.

Adamu (2017) used the CDA approach to analyse three selected speeches of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and interrogated issues of power and ideology as embedded in the speeches. The findings revealed the character of Kwame Nkrumah as an ideologue who is an unrepentant supporter of socialism and obsessed with the notion of African Unity. The findings further showed Dr. Nkrumah's usage of logical reasoning in his speeches to drum home ideologies such as socialism, communism and perhaps "Nkrumaism". (Adamu,2017). From the studies reviewed, it was evidence that some efforts have been made on the analysis of Presidential speeches in Ghana, but the focus had been on selected SONA, Inaugural and Independent speeches separately constituting a research gap. Therefore, this study focuses on a combination of speeches with different perspectives and target audiences.



### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

This study is guided by the following objectives:

1. To investigate the dominant issues embedded in three speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo.
2. To identify how power relations are exhibited in the three speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo.
3. To examine how the three speeches, help to propagate the ideologies of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo and that of the NPP as a political party.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

This study is guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the dominant issues embedded in the three speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo –Addo?
2. How are the power relations exhibited in the three speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo –Addo?
3. How do the three speeches help to propagate the ideologies of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo and that of the NPP as a political party?

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

The outcome of this study will unearth the kinds of issues embedded in three selected speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo. Furthermore, the findings contributes to how power relations are exhibited in the three speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo.

The result of the study is beneficial to students of English and prospective researchers in this area as it attempts to fill the knowledge gap that exist between studies conducted on presidential speeches in Ghana. The studies will also be of significant benefit to political presidential speech writers as it identifies how power relations exhibited, and ideologies are propagated in speech writing.

Moreover, the findings contribute to the body of literature available in Ghana concerning discourse analysis of speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo and also serve as the basis for further studies.

### **1.6 Scope of the Study**

Van Dijk (1998) describes critical discourse analysis as a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. Heads of States through speeches, especially, those delivered on national occasions, are noted to show their sovereign power.

In order to bring to bare the manifest meaning and latent meanings in speeches. It is imperative to use an approach that helps in the interpretation of text, hence, the use of the CDA. To harness all the embedded interpretations of the three speeches of Nana Addo Danquah AKufo-Addo were selected namely; his inaugural speech on Saturday January 7, 2017, his speech on the 62<sup>nd</sup> Independence Day Celebration Parade on Wednesday 6<sup>th</sup> March,2019 and his speech at the 73<sup>rd</sup> UN General Assembly on 26<sup>th</sup> of September, 2018.

## **Justification for Studying Speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo**

Studies conducted on Nana Addo's speeches seem to have focused on his campaign ones. No study seems to have been conducted on his speeches as president. This study is justifiable then as it seeks to fill the knowledge that exists.

### **1.7 Organization of the Study**

This study is organized into five interrelated chapters. Chapter one is the introductory and it gives a background to the study with a focus on speeches and how people especially politicians through speeches make their agenda known. A justification for why CDA is an appropriate means of diagnosing and analyzing the selected speeches is also given in this chapter. It also includes the statement of the problem, objectives of the study and research questions. Chapter two entails the theoretical background and review of relevant literature in connection to this study. The chapter three is on the methods and procedure used for the collection of data for analysis. Issues discussed under this chapter include the research approach, research design, sample and sampling technique, data collection instruments, data collection procedures and method of data analysis. Chapter four is dedicated to the findings and discussions of the study. Chapter five presents the summary, conclusions, and suggestions recommendations for future studies.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter reviews the dialectical relationship between language and society and continues to review three factors that explain language as a social practice. Consideration is then given to related studies and how researchers have inculcated Critical discourse analysis in various studies and the findings they derived. Also Critical discourse analysis is discussed as the theoretical background to this study and the three dimensional model to discourse analysis; a concept by Norman Fairclough (1989, 1992) which is the adopted procedure under CDA for this study is discussed. The concepts of ideology and power are also discussed and Thompson's Modes of ideology which will be used as the thematic basis for the analysis of findings in this study are discussed.

#### **2.1 Empirical Review**

There has been, throughout the years, research done on different speeches made by former presidents of the United States. Much of the studies done on this topic have revolved around the idea of the 'permanent' themes in American politics through content that appears repeatedly in multiple presidential speeches (Ericson 1997; Campbell and Jamieson 1985).

Berisha, Wang, LaCross and Liss, (2015) cited in Coutanche and Paulus (2018) reported an analysis of unscripted speech in news conferences by Presidents Ronald Wilson Reagan and George Herbert Walker Bush (Berisha, Wang, LaCross & Liss, 2015) to test the possibility that President Reagan experienced linguistic decline during his time in office (Gottschalk, Uliana & Gilbert, 1988).

When a person's linguistic system is in demand, such as when responding to questions, a failure to compensate can be apparent in the person's speech, including using over-learned words and phrases (Jordan & Pennebaker, 2017) and filler words (Christenfeld, 1994). For example, (Berisha, Wang, LaCross, & Liss, 2015). reported an analysis of unscripted speech in news conferences by Presidents Ronald Wilson Reagan and George Herbert Walker Bush (Berisha et al, 2015) to test the possibility that President Reagan experienced linguistic decline during his time in office (Gottschalk, Uliana and Gilbert, 1988).

A longitudinal statistical analysis showed that unscripted speech by President Reagan, but not President Bush, had increasing numbers of conversational fillers ("um," "uh," etc.) and non-specific (NS) nouns (e.g., "something"), with fewer unique words. In the case of President Reagan, this linguistic decline was hypothesized to relate to a subsequent diagnosis of Alzheimer's Disease, though such changes can occur for a number of reasons (including aging) (Horton, Spieler & Shriberg, 2010; Coutanche & Paulus, 2018).

In contrast to filler, it is difficult to determine why one measure shows a change while another does not, though we note that our examined word count (1,000 compared to 1,400 words used previously; Berisha et al, 2015) could reduce power to detect change. Another possibility is that any change in unique word count is being masked by greater off-topic speech (Trunk and Abrams, 2009) or use of non-normative words (Kave' et al 2009), which can both increase with age (and increase unique word count). An important consideration is that the speech samples we analyzed relate to current affairs. The generalizability of the findings to different topics and contexts is therefore unknown. The analysis of additional linguistic variables might shed further light on changes in Donald Trump's speech.

In the study by Berisha, Wang, LaCross and Liss (2015), the authors drew on 7 years of television interviews by Donald J. Trump to test for linguistic change using measures that were previously applied to the speech of presidents (Berisha, Wang, LaCross & Liss, 2015). Unlike other scales, these measures come from similar contexts, namely unscripted public responses to publicly broadcast questions about current affairs, which differ from other speech in a number of respects, such as awareness that responses are broadcast, a focus on complex topics, and others. A comparison with two presidents responding in comparable contexts (with one showing linguistic change and one not) allows linguistic features to be assessed on an equivalent scale. It should be noted that these variables index linguistic change, but have not been validated as measures of change in cognitive ability so should not be interpreted as such - identifying the reason for any linguistic change is a separate question that is not definitively answerable from speech samples alone. For instance, individuals differ in how they respond to advanced age, which in turn can be reflected in language use (Kemper, Thompson & Marquis, 2001).

This work follows several recent studies that used text analytic methods to analyze speech by Donald J. Trump, including work reporting on dimensions such as analytic thinking (Jordan & Pennebaker, 2017) and communication style (Ahmadian, Azarshahi & Paulhus, 2017), with a history of studies examining political candidates from their speech (e.g., drawing associations with narratorlity characteristics; (Slatcher, Chung, Pennebaker & Stone, 2007).

Coutanche and Paulus (2018) reported the results of a statistical analysis of unscripted speech of Donald J. Trump. Interview speech contained a systematic increase in use of filler words, but no change in unique word count. The magnitude of the observed increase is not significantly different from that previously observed for President

Reagan, and is significantly greater than in the speech of President G.H.W. Bush. Their finding that linguistic change occurred before President Donald J. Trump formally declared candidacy for the 2016 Presidential race suggests several potential explanations as being unlikely. Stress related to assuming the Presidency or a deliberate verbal strategy adopted for the 2016 Presidential race would not have been present when the change first becomes apparent (Coutanche & Paulus, 2018). There are a number of possible reasons for the observed change. Prior research has associated linguistic change with advanced aging ((Kemper et al, 2001; Horton et al, 2010), as well as with the onset of dementia (Snowdon, Kemper, Mortimer, Greiner, Wekstein & Markesbery, 1996; Le, Lancashire, Hirst & Jokel, 2011).

Besides, Obama's inaugural address is the first time for him to give a formal speech as a president and also an optimal time to show himself a qualified president. As a result, to fulfill the aim of convincing the American people and the whole world that he and his team are capable of leadership, with vigor and with vision, he must illustrate the planned policies, both domestic and foreign, in a formal, convincing and forceful way. It often contains the following information: (Cheng, 2006; Wang, 2010).

### **Salutation**

1. The expression of gratitude and honor
2. A review of the American history and achievement in the past
3. An analysis of the contemporary situation, at home and in the world
4. A displaying and explanation of domestic policies and/or foreign policies of the new government
- 6) Hopes for the beautiful and prosperous future of the country
5. Resort to God for help and blessing (Cheng, 2006)

The whole text is coherent, organized, accurate and logical. So, it can help to persuade the public to accept and support his policies. Meanwhile, we can (Wang, 2010). The first American Presidential Inaugural Address occurred on April 30, 1789, as George Washington undertook the oath of office at Federal Hall in New York City - and delivered the first speech by any president of the United States of America. Howard Browne (2016) looks into the meaning and importance behind that first Inaugural Address. According to Browne, this speech was made with the intention, by Washington, to reconcile the competing claims of power and liberty that came with the creation of this new government. With the unknown that was the presidency, clouded by the fears of an abusive monarchy, Washington's first speech needed to embody and give voice to "the kind of virtue requisite to securing America's republican aspirations," (pg. 399).

It was this speech that set the pattern for each subsequent American president to make a speech as they undertook their oath. These speeches have come to be a major part of any American presidency, and what the presidents say in them has the potential to tell one a lot about the coming administration. Since Washington's first address, scholars have been studying these presidential speeches to try to understand any underlying meanings behind them (Browne, 2016).

While many people focus on the more well-known Inaugural Addresses, such as that of Abraham Lincoln, every American Presidential Inaugural Address can tell researchers something about American politics. For example, Xue et al. (2013) looked into metaphors within American Presidential Inaugural Addresses, analyzing examples of American presidents using metaphors within the speech to convey their own political viewpoints, and the president's attempts to motivate their audiences to sympathize with the issues that the president has deemed most important. In addition to looking at what



the linguistic patterns of speeches can tell scholars about the motives of American presidents, these speeches can also show the relationships between the presidents and their audience.

Korzi (2001), for example, examined different models of American Presidential Inaugural Addresses - constitutional, party, and plebiscitary - to analyze the different types of relationships between the presidency and the people. Constitutional presidents, according to Korzi, are those who see their position as that of a restrained constitutional officer, with a minimal relationship to the people. A party president is one who is more tied to the will of the people, especially within their own political party. Plebiscitary presidents do not identify themselves within a political party or as a constitutional officer, but rather identify themselves as part of the engine of American political politics, and fully tie themselves to the opinion of the people. These speeches can tell us a lot about American politics, presidents, and people - if researchers only know where to look.

The idea behind this kind of search for a 'permanent' is that if certain ideas or themes are continuously expressed in presidential addresses, then it can be reasonably concluded that they are a representation of the thoughts that run behind American politics; meaning that if multiple presidents all discuss the same topics in their speeches, those topics are likely important to American society and American politics (Ericson 1997; Campbell & Jamieson 1985).

While the above studies have examined how constants in presidential speeches can reflect ideas that are important in society, they do not focus on what the changes in the ideas found within presidential speeches can show. In the same way that multiple presidents speaking about the same topics in the same way can show what is important

to society over the long term, presidents speaking about different topics than those before him, or speaking about the same topics in a different way, can show what is important to that president narratively, and even how what is important to society has changed over time.

If a president speaks about bipartisanship and cooperation twice as much in their first term Inaugural Address than they do in their second term, it could indicate that they do not truly hope for bipartisan cooperation within the government, but rather, they thought that the American people wanted a president who aimed for it. In the same light, if a president does not mention religion at all, or does so very minimally, in their first term, but references it repeatedly in their second term, it could indicate that they believe in more religion in government, narratively, but thought that showing it would not get them re-elected, so they refrained from mentioning it when there was still that chance for re-election. Other researchers have looked into multiple words and themes that have run throughout the years in one specific kind of address, such as the Presidential Inaugural Addresses, or the State of the Union Addresses (McDiarmid 1937; Teten 2003; Chester 1980; Toolin 1983).

Even more researchers have examined themes within multiple kinds of presidential speeches, but only focused on one specific president (Pitney Jr. 1997; Chester 1981; "President Hoover's Inaugural Address," 1929). These papers, though, did not focus on an in-depth study into how one type of speech, by one president, can change within their time in the White House. In addition to these studies, other researchers have examined into the connection between public policy and public opinion, specifically presidential public rhetoric and public opinion, concluding that contemporary presidents are "more likely to respond to public preferences," (Jacobs 1992) and hypothesizing that "presidents who served later would be more highly responsive to

public opinion than earlier presidents,” (Rottinghaus 2006). This is possibly because more modern presidents have more access to public opinion; census and survey data can be gathered at larger scales, TV, radio and the internet mean that people can get their opinions out their much more easily and much quicker. In the same way, presidents are more accountable to what they say in their speeches, as they are much more widely seen, and it is therefore much easier for the people to know when a president has gone against their opinion.

This means that American presidents, specifically more modern American presidents, will have speeches that are in line with public opinion, and that their stances are likely to be a reflection of society at that specific point in time. It is then theorized that in the first term of the presidency, there is a greater chance that presidents will be more congruent, or in line with the median voter’s political stances, than in the second term, due to reelection concerns (Rottinghaus 2006).

Jacobs (1992) studies not only whether modern government officials respond more to public opinions, but whether or not they use their knowledge of the opinions of the public to manipulate them, most likely in the election booth. This means that it is quite possible, and probable, that presidents who have easy access to public opinions will use that knowledge to be able to change what they talk about in order to attract the maximum amount of voters. For example, if data on public opinion shows a high level of separation between the voters in the two parties, you will not expect the president to speak very much on bipartisanship, as that would not attract the voters who separate themselves from the other party.

From this hypothesis, one would expect that there would be a noticeable shift from the speeches of a president in his first term to the speeches of that same president in his

second term. It would be expected that the speeches from the first term would tend to be more moderate on, if not neutral to, highly partisan political issues, while their second term speeches would reflect more of their controversial and political views, as they would no longer be trying to attract the swing votes for the next election (Jacobs, 1992).

Duran (2008) conducted a contrastive study of the acceptance speeches, speeches which are written to provide expressions of gratitude, gratefulness, and honor for some form of award, delivered by President George W. Bush and Senator John Kerry to the Republican and Democratic National Conventions before the 2004 Presidential Election in the United States of America. Duran classifies his contrastive work into three parts: the introductions of both speeches, one segment designed in terms of counter-addressee, and quantitative analysis of the participants and processes. Duran points out that the former President and the Republican nominee, George W. Bush, introduces his speech by giving a short summary of the events that took place in the past four years in the form of positive experiences.

Moreover, Bush designs his political discourse in terms of his counter addressee, the democratic candidate, and he portrays himself as the candidate of actions that concerns the United States of America, the Middle East, and the whole World. On the other hand, Duran points out that the Senator and the democratic candidate, John Kerry, introduces his speech by telling anecdote of what American novelist wrote about home, addresses his opponents by presenting the negative aspects in the last four years when Bush was president, and considers himself the interpreter of the current situation based on his ethical values (Dlugan, 2009).

Dlugan (2009) investigates Martin Luther King's speech "I have a dream", who was the most popular leader of non-violent movement that strived for racial equality in the United States of America. Dlugan suggests four reasons which make king's speech "I have a dream" one of the most memorable speeches of all time: the first reason is the connection between Martin Luther king's speech and its historical context, the African American civil right movement in the 1950s and 60s.

According to Dlugan, this connection clearly appears through the techniques of repetition used in king's speech such as using anaphora and repeating the key theme words. The second reason is how Martin Luther King was able to evoke the historic and the literary references explicitly by using direct quotation or implicitly by using the technique of allusion in order to demonstrate the credibility and morality of the argument. The third reason is how King enriches his speech with specific geographic examples to support his arguments and to dramatize actions in the mind of the audience which is suitable to the place and the time. The last reason is the use of metaphor which associates the concepts of "I have a dream" speech with images and emotions of the audience. Moreover, Dlugan claims that King employs a constructing metaphor to draw a distinction between freedom and slavery which are symbolized by day and night, island and ocean, and summer and autumn (Dlugan, 2009).

Bird (2011) investigates the rhetorical style in President Clinton's speeches which were delivered during harsh moments of domestic tragedy. Bird claims that most rhetoricians have used generic criticism to analyze Clinton's mastery of apology, but they have ignored his mastery of rhetoric outside the scandal as a great American communicator and user of the language. Bird provides two tragic events: The Bombing of Federal building in Oklahoma City in 1995 and the Columbine High School Shooting in 1999 that prepared the stage for the leader of the nation, President Clinton, to deliver two

domestic crisis speeches in which he defines the incidents and tries to comfort those who lost their loved ones.

According to Bird, President Clinton balances between the two sub-genres of rhetoric: domestic crisis rhetoric and national eulogy rhetoric. Bird claims that Clinton's rhetoric reflects three functions: define reality, display eloquence, and shape community. Based on Bird's analysis, defining and constructing reality is the fundamental function of Clinton's rhetoric (Bird, 2011).

Bird also points out that the second function of Clinton's rhetoric is to display presidential eloquence by delivering a speech which will be memorable by his audience, and this can be achieved through the use of two rhetorical tactics: the use of religious connotation, the use of repetition and the use of metaphorical style. Consequently, Bird discusses the five rhetorical tactics utilized by President Clinton's speeches to gather people of the nation in moments of tragedy and they are: portraying those who were killed or injured in the terrorist attacks as victims of the target attacks, creating a common enemy, sharing past tragic events in America, giving advice on how to rebuild America, and using the narrative style (Bird, 2011).

Ayeomoni (2012) investigates the Nigerian military coup speeches of the three military political rulers; General Thomas Aguiyi Ironsi, General Yakubu Gowon, and General Murtala Muhammad. Ayeomoni focuses on two main topics in his study: lexical devices which are used to extract and classify the lexical items used in the coup speeches. Ayeomoni divided these lexical devices into five classes: repetition, synonymy, antonym, hyponymy, and collocation. The second topic of the study is the contextual functions of these lexical devices in order to discover the relationship between lexemes and political ideologies in the military coup political discourse. In the

second topic, which is concerned with how lexical devices are employed in the coup speeches, Ayeomoni suggests that the two lexical devices: repetition and synonym are the most frequently used in the coup speeches of the three military leaders.

Ayeomoni claims that programs and rules in the military administration are rooted in coercion and forcefulness, and this can be achieved by using instruments of emphasis and reiteration. He also suggests that hyponymy is rarely used in coup speeches because hyponymy deals with specific, while political leaders' speeches concentrate on general selected issues. Equally, leaders of military governments do not admire the use of the device of antonyms, since it may lead to confusion and inhibition of information. However, they apply the milito-political collocation such as “Interim military government”. Based on these findings, Ayeomoni states that the language used in the coup speeches, especially the lexical items, carries the same power and strength of weapons which are used in the coup processes or in the revolution (Ayeomoni, 2012).

## **2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), is a transdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse. The approach views language as a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1989) and focuses on the ways social and political domination and how the distribution of social goods are represented and reproduced by text and talk semiotically. Thus, language is both socially representative, constitutive and socially shaped (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak & Meyer, 2002).

Wodak (1989) also defines CDA, as an interdisciplinary approach to language study with a critical point of view for the purpose of studying language behavior in natural speech situations of social relevance. Wodak stresses the importance of diverse theoretical and methodological concepts and suggests that these can also be used for

analyzing issues of social relevance, while attempting to expose inequality and injustice. Besides, Wodak encourages the use of multiple methods in language research while emphasizing the importance of recognizing the historical and social aspects.

The objective of CDA is to perceive language as social practice. Where users of language do not function in isolation but exists in a set of sociocultural, context for purposes textual structures and their functions in interaction within the society. This perhaps explains why Bloor and Bloor (2007) makes a distinction between the objective of Linguistics and CDA and assert that aims and objectives of Linguistics differ from the aims of CDA. Linguists in general, are concerned with the way in which language or discourse works and their interest is in language for its own sake. Critical discourse analysts, on the other hand, are interested in the way in which language and discourse are used to achieve social goals and in the part this use plays in the social maintenance and change. Such an analysis is a complex, multi-level one, given the obvious lack of direct, one to one correspondence between text structures and social contexts (Bloor and Bloor 2007). Critical Discourse Analysis seeks to reveal how texts are constructed so that particular (and potentially indoctrinating) perspective can be expressed delicately and covertly. Fairclough (2009) examines how communication is constrained by structures and enforces social institutions on the meanings that we make. Fairclough considers three levels of discourse. First, the social conditions of production and interpretation. Thus, the social factors which contribute to the origination of text, and, at the same time, how they affect interpretations are considered. Second the process of production and interpretation where the ways by which text is produced and how it effects interpretation is also considered crucial. Third, the text being the product of the first two stages is the most relevant.



Fairclough (2009) subsequently gives three stages of CDA. (1) Description is the stage which is concerned with the formal properties of the text. 2) Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction with seeing the text as a product of a process of production and as a resource in the process of interpretation. 3) Examination is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context with social determination of the process of productions and interpretation and their social effects.

Language, according to Fairclough (1995; 2002), plays a crucial role in both revealing social processes and interactions in practice and constructing them; it glazes through the thick-opaque side of social life: social structures, social practices and social events. By viewing language as a social process, Fairclough (1989) holds that language does not function just as a passive reflection of the society and the social interaction or processes that occur there, but it is an indispensable part of the social process.

Hence, discourse a chunk of language beyond a sentence, shaped in the society is a site for both producing and interpreting the text. The social condition for producing/interpreting the text is, in turn, related to three levels of social organization (Fairclough, 1989). These are, the social context in which the text is used; the social institution; and, the society at large. These three levels play a significant role in interpreting the text which is embedded semantically.

### **2.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis as an Ideology**

The concept of ideology was first introduced at the end of the 18th century to relate to a set of ideas and beliefs (Van Dijk, 1998). Language connects with ideology via providing vocabulary for its key terms and labels, and ideology in discourse on the whole. Language has a key role in the exchange of values in social life and transforming power into right and obedience into duty. (Bayram, 2010).

In CDA, ideology is defined as “significations or constructions of reality which are built into various dimensions of the forms or meanings of discursive practices and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 87). Discourse analysis demonstrates how daily texts and talks are affected by ideologies and how production and reproduction of ideologies occur within the discourse (Van Dijk, 2005; Fairclough, 1992). Ideology within the confines of discourse is the art of justifying the access and control of a special group over resources to fulfill the requirements and wishes of the group. In this way, the group with a dominant ideology is in the ascendant, thereby “neutralizing alternative and oppositional views” (Koide, 2012, p. 12). The dominated groups “accept dominant ideologies as natural or commonsense” (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 729). This form of ideological dominance in the words of Gramsci (1971) is called “hegemony” (Van Dijk, 1998; Koide, 2012). Therefore, according to Post (2009), ideology within the framework of discourse is an indispensable tool for the dominant group to maintain supremacy of opinion over its counterpart(s), and to position one group’s view of the world as being dominant over another (Post, 2009).

Ideology which manifests itself in all levels of society is a societal and national phenomenon. It goes beyond our habitus, extending to power struggles in society (Fairclough, 1989). Ideology also can be defined as systematic ideas or ideals which form a base for economic or political theory. Ideologies have a role in legalization of power abuse by dominant group. In politics, different ideologies struggle together for dominance. In this area language forms related to oral and written political text can signal the power by discovering the specific ideology embedded in them. Van Dijk (1998) argued that power and ideologies are not linked to particular groups of people. Ideology is linked to discourse and other moments of social practices. He emphasized

that orders of discourse vary in different social cultures and all social orders could be put together as a hidden effect of power. Language provides a fine vehicle for differences of power in hierarchical social structures, because different ideologies struggle for dominance. There are several factors which are important in power in language.

Reisigl and Wodak (2009) stipulate that ideologies are often “one-sided perspective or worldview composed of related mental representations, convictions, opinions, attitudes and evaluations, which is shared by members of a specific social group” (p.88). It is one-sided because mostly it does not represent the view of all other members of society but as stated, that of individuals or groups.

Finally, to Van Dijk (1998), “ideologies need not be detailed, complex systems, such as those of socialism, liberalism, communism, or feminism, among others or they may very well be limited to a few basic principles” (p.140). In some instances, simple ideas that are persistently proclaimed by some individuals end up becoming ideologies; they may just be as simple as possible and not necessarily complex and rigorous by nature.

In all it can be said that individuals belong to different groups and hence may share in different ideologies. “These may of course be mutually incompatible, and this means that for each social context of interaction and discourse, language users may have to strategically negotiate and manage their possible different allegiances” (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 140). As members of society, we belong to different social groups and entities. Thus at any point in time, an individual will negotiate his/her identity to suit a particular group. This form of identity negotiation includes conforming to the already existing ideologies of that particular group.

### 2.2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis as Power Relation

Discourse (language) is key to the struggle for power of whatever dimension apart from the use of physical force. A close observation of world politics show that language has always been, and continues to gain prominence in its use as a critical tool in annexing political power in many countries. In the traditional setting, language plays a prominent role in the control and power the leader has over his subjects. This is exhibited through the discourse prowess of the chief linguist who acts as spokesman for the chief (Yankah 1995).

Blackledge (2005, p.5) argues that "it is usually in language that discriminatory practices are enacted, in language that unequal relations the of power are constituted and reproduced, and in language that social asymmetries may be challenged and transformed". Drawing on the discourse-power-ideology relationship, he introduces the concept of hegemony which he defines as "a way of theorizing change in relation to the evolution of power relations which allows a particular focus upon discursive change, but at the same time a way of seeing it as contributing to and being shaped by wider processes of change" (Fairclough, 1993, p.92 cited in Jahedi et al, 2014:30). For him, "the political concept of „hegemony“ can be usefully employed in analysing orders of discourse" (Fairclough, 2001, p.124). He then states that "an order of discourse is a network of social practices in its language aspect. The elements of orders of discourse are not things like nouns and sentences (elements of linguistic structures), but discourses, genres and styles" (Fairclough, 2003, p.24). Fairclough further contends that orders of discourse are not static, but may change over time. Changing the power relations in a social interaction determines these changes. Fairclough then asserts that: How discourses are structured in a given order of discourse, and how structuring change over time, are determined by changing relationships of power at the level of the social

institution or of the society. Power at these levels includes the capacity to control orders of discourse; one aspect of such control is ideological-ensuring that orders of discourse are ideologically harmonized internally or (at the societal level) with each other (Fairclough, 2001).

### **2.3 Ideological and Power Relations in the Selected Speeches of some Presidents of Ghana.**

In the 1950s, the struggle for independence in Ghana was won based on language as was used convincingly by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in his accumulation of speeches and rallies under the slogan: 'Independence Now' despite the British not being prepared to relinquish power and worse, some Ghanaians were not in support of it. Another typical example of language in the service of power and control is the call by Former Head of State, I. K. Acheampong of Ghana in the early 1970s when faced with food shortages. His government's common ideology was based on the need for every family to produce what it consumes, hence the catch phrase 'Operation Feed Yourself' which later became the driving force in revamping the country's agricultural sector to meet demand. The PNDC/NDC under President J.J Rawlings was successful in leading the country through a 'Revolution' and 'Restructuring' by the accumulation of discourses on same subjects for almost two decades since the 1980s. It is in similar manner that the NPP government led by President J. A. Kuffuor between 2000 and 2008 used discourse to privatize several state owned enterprises into foreign hands under the famous catchphrases: 'Private Sector as Engine of Growth' and 'The Golden Age of Business'. These ideologies were successful in persuading the masses into believing that enterprises do rise to the apex of competition only when they are privatized and especially under foreign management. The 2008 general elections won by President Barack Obama and President Atta Mills of the United States and Ghana respectively

are immediate examples of political power annexed mainly by the use of language through discourse. This means therefore, that every discourse carries in it multiple discursive relations of power that communicates the ideologies of the author and or the group/institution he represents. Although, these ideologies are abstract in discourse, they are able to evolve into the physical realities of their intended audience.

### **2.3.1 How Discourse Constitutes Society and Culture**

The society makes contribution to the growth of language and language is also used to construct social identities, social relations, system of knowledge, beliefs, and ideologies. All these societal traits are showcased through language. Kress (1985) states that every human being is part and parcel of a society hence, everybody is shaped by their socio-cultural milieu. Thus certain meanings and values of society are mirrored through language. For instance, the use of literary devices like proverbs, metaphor, simile and euphemism is the interpretation of traditional wisdom are based on experiences, practices and socio-political life of our forefathers (Agyekum, 2005). Fairclough (1995) mentions three aspects of socio-cultural practice. They are more immediate situational context, wider context of institutional practices in which the event is embedded and the yet wider frame of the society and the culture. Each of these shapes and reshapes the production of text.

Leckie-Tarry (1995:20) argues that the cultural context is the biggest and most intricate knowledge system shared by members within a specific cultural jurisdiction. It consists of institutional and ideological knowledge. Every communicator is a product of a specific culture. Therefore, the construction and interpretation of texts is densely influenced by their culture. A communicator functions not as an isolated individual, but as a social agent, located in a network of social relations in specific places, in a social structure (Kress, 1985). Cultural context is a foundation on which the rest of the

different types of knowledge depend for nourishing and functioning. This shows that our attitudes, values, and ideologies are hinged on our culture which is expressed through our language. van Dijk (1998) posits that ideological beliefs are socially shared by the people in a particular community. He argues that ideology becomes very fertile when people have the same socio-cultural philosophy they live in as stated by Van Dijk (2000a, cited in Jahedi et al, 2014) CDA adopts is based on understanding ideological structures and social relations of power embedded in discourse. He defines „social power“ in terms of control (Van Dijk, 1998) and views ideologies as "the basis of the social representations of groups" (Van Dijk, 1998, p.131). He therefore argues that "groups have (more or less) power if they are able to (more or less) control the acts and minds of (members of) other groups" (Van Dijk, 1998, p.354-5). Furthermore, he emphasizes that ideological discourse is generally organized by a general strategy of positive self-presentation (boasting) and negative other-presentation (derogation) (ibid). In sum, Van Dijk claims that CDA should not limit itself to a study of the relationship between discourse and social structure, but that language use and discourse always presuppose the intervening mental models, goals and general social representations (knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms, values) of the language users. In other words, the study of discourse triangulates between society/culture/situation, cognition and discourse/language. This is the tripartite discourse-cognitive- society model of ideology that backs up Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach.

### **2.3.2 Discourse as Rhetoric**

CDA, like all forms of groundbreaking theories taps some inspiration from other already existing ones and from as far back as Classical Rhetoric of the Greek tradition. Classical Rhetoric in the days of ancient Greece was held in high esteem and played a major role in the daily lives of the people since an individual's oratorical abilities was

seen as a highly revered leadership quality. The ability of orators to change the ideas and beliefs of an audience is one major area which attracts the curiosity of researchers. Early researchers on political discourse, including Chilton and Ilyn (1993), Dickerson (1997), van Dijk (1998) among others, have pointed to the immense use of rhetoric as a tool towards the achievement of the aims of politicians by the use of structural and semantic parallelism, repetitions, circumlocutions, intertextuality among others. Similarly, in his work on the language of politics, Obeng (2002) delves deep into language of politics and avers on contextual elements including setting, content, aim and purpose of the discourse among others as relevant for contextualizing meaning. He adds that rhetoric is a major pillar in the venture of politics because it is about persuasion through discourse. While political discourse may be exploit and conceal power differentials, it is often to persuade particular audiences to take certain actions. A useful approach for the analysis of the persuasiveness of political speeches therefore is rhetorical analysis. Rhetoric in its many manifestations, has traditionally focused on ethical speaking as well as effective persuasive strategies in conveying messages in situated contexts. In both classical and contemporary traditions, rhetoric continues to be used as an analytical method for the analysis of texts, including political speeches. In the classical tradition, for instance, concepts such as rhetorical appeals proposed in Aristotle's Rhetoric (2006) are used by scholars to analyze the persuasiveness of speeches (Cheng, 2006; Roitman, 2014).

Both CDA and rhetoric as methodological approaches are often separately employed in the analysis of texts: the former, in investigating the role of language in the production and reproduction of power, and some strands of the latter, in examining how rhetors make meaning in texts. In recent times, however, there have increasingly been calls for scholars to pay closer attention to the advantages that both rhetoric and discourse



analysis stand to gain if used together in an interdisciplinary manner. These calls are premised on the commonalities both approaches share.

Andrus (2013) emphasize that while discourse analysis focuses on the micro details of texts, rhetoric concerns itself with macro processes, that is “speaker authority, audience response, persuasion and other effects of texts, the rhetor’s goals, contextually situated interaction, and the like” (p. 4976), and thus could be usefully employed in an approach she calls Rhetorical Discourse Analysis (RDA). Although both rhetorical analysis and linguistic analysis focus on micro details, they seem to have different goals in focusing on such details: rhetoric, on lexical items geared towards persuasion, and CDA, on those linguistic details aimed at the exercise of power. The RDA approach used here combines the focus of both rhetoric and CDA in a complementary manner.

### **2.3.3 Discourse as a Link between Society and Text**

Crucial to CDA is the view that the choice of one word over another within a discourse can encode an ideological package of information to reveal a speakers’ ideological stance towards a given topic. Through such analysis, CDA can form perceptive insights into the methodology used to construct ideology across texts. Bernard (2002) states that analysis of which social participants have been chosen for inclusion in a text and which participant roles they have been chosen for consistently within the text is a valuable tool for discovering ideological positioning that is not only evaluative, but covert. Additionally, analysis of the language employed by these hidden methodologies entails understanding both the potential of language and its realization within a text (Stubbs, 1996). Further, central to CDA is the belief that texts should be studied not only as representations, but as interactions as well (Van Leeuwen, 2008). The control of knowledge not only shapes individuals’ interpretations of the world, but it also structures the types of discourse and actions individuals may engage in (Van Dijk,

1998). Cutting (2000) describes discourse as having three dimensions: it is a text that is either spoken or written; it is an interaction between the people involved in the processes of production and interpretation of the text; and it is part of a social action.

### **Brief Background of Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo (NADAA)**

Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, the president of the Republic of Ghana was born and raised in Ga-Maami (Accra Central) and in the Nima in Accra, Ghana. His father's residence, Betty House at Korle Wokon in Accra, was effectively the headquarters of the country's first political party, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), which was formed at Saltpond on 4 August 1947.

He is acknowledged as one of the leaders of the pro-democracy movement in Ghana. In 1991, Akufo-Addo was the chairman of the Organising Committee of the Danquah-Busia Memorial Club, a club dedicated to the preservation of the memory and ideals of two great advocates of Ghanaian democracy, J. B. Danquah and K. A. Busia, Prime Minister of the Progress Party government of the 2nd Republic of Ghana. Akufo-Addo is known to have travelled throughout Ghana to establish branches of the Club in the grassroots style. These branches eventually transformed into local organs of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) prior to the elections of 1992, and heralded the reintroduction of democratic governance under the 4th Republic. In 1992, he was the first national organiser of the NPP and later that year, became the campaign manager of the party's first presidential candidate, Prof. Albert Adu Boahen., Akufo-Addo resigned from the former NPP government led by President Kuffour in July 2007 to contest for the position of presidential candidate of his party, the NPP, for the 2008 elections. Competing against 16 others, he won 48% of the votes in the first round of that election, but was given a unanimous endorsement in the second round, making him the party's presidential candidate.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of December 2008 presidential race, Akufo-Addo received 4,159,439 votes, representing 49.13% of the votes cast, placing him first, but not enough for the 50% needed for an outright victory (ultimatefmonline.com 2019). It was the best-ever performance for a first-time presidential candidate in the Fourth Republic. In the run-off, Mills received 4,521,032 votes, representing 50.23%, thus beating Akufo-Addo by the smallest margin in Ghana's, and, indeed, in Africa's political history. Akufo-Addo accepted the results without calling even for a recount, thereby helping to preserve the peace, freedom and stability of Ghana. Akufo-Addo again contested as a presidential candidate in the 2012 national elections against the NDC candidate, the late Mills' successor, John Mahama, and lost to him. That election generated considerable controversy, and was finally decided by the Supreme Court in a narrow 5/4 decision in favour of John Mahama. Akufo-Addo is credited with helping to preserve the peace of the country by the statesmanlike manner in which he accepted the adverse verdict of the Court, at a time of high tension in the country. In March 2014, Akufo-Addo announced his decision to seek his party's nomination for the third time ahead of the 2016 election. He secured an unprecedented, landslide victory of 94.35% of the votes in the party's presidential primary in October 2014, in a contest with seven competitors.(ultimatefmonline.com 2019).

## **2.4 Analytical Framework**

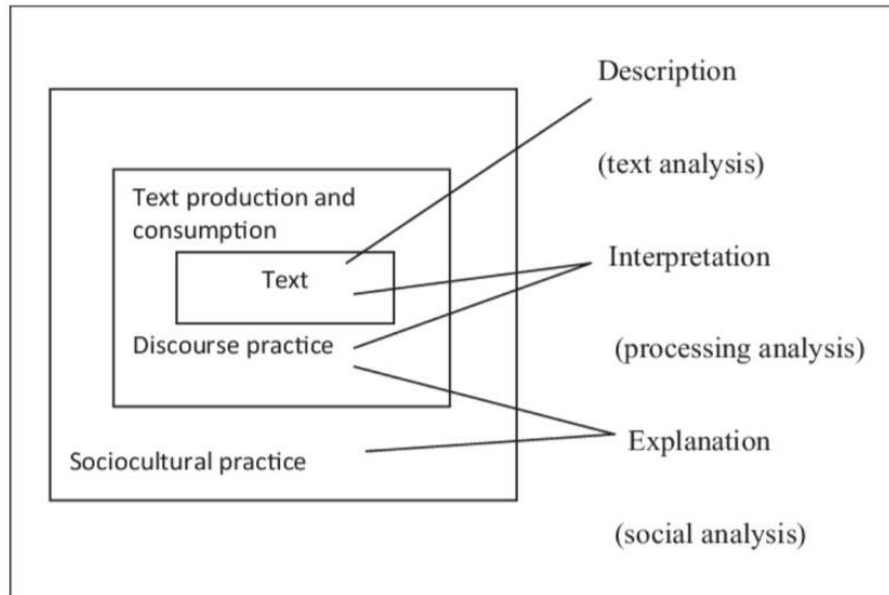
### **2.4.1 Fairclough's Triadic model for CDA**

Fairclough emphasized discourse structures and formal features of oral and written text in order to have an effective interpretation. He stressed on the use of language in significant ways, where his framework is particularly concerned with the linkage between language, ideology and power relations in order to have a dominant speech. Fairclough's work was based on the realization that language includes much more than

linguistic structures. The framework also sees a bilateral relationship between language and society where they both define the other's existence. A major reason behind the application of critical discourse analysis in any research activity is to draw attention to an assumed 'social wrong' (Fairclough, 1992). Fairclough (1992) recognises CDA as an interdisciplinary discipline where language (discourse) is seen as power that contains ideology. It asserts that power and ideology are dependent on each other in ways that are both implicit and at other times explicit. (Fairclough 1989; 1992; Van Dijk 1996). Fairclough (1995) identifies three central pillars of CDA, namely, socio-cultural practice, discourse practice, and text. He observes that there is affinity between text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practices of speakers in the society. The analyst can therefore not delink himself from the speaker's socio-cultural practices.

In analyzing any communicative event, the analyst factors the relationships between text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice into the interpretation. Fairclough (1995) states that text refers to written or spoken words and includes textual organizations in connection with sentence cohesion. For genuine interpretation of a speaker's language, an analyst would go beyond the words employed by the speaker, and consider factors such as the audience, setting and topic. This means that CDA analysis would deal especially, with the reproduction of political power, ideology, rhetoric, culture, power abuse, or domination through political speeches or discourse.

Fairclough (1992) asserts that language contributes to the domination of people by others and there is the need to study language beyond the surface meanings to ensure freedom. Consequently, it is gradually becoming acceptable to use language analysis as a method for studying social change. However, Fairclough (1992) identified that "there does not yet exist a method of language analysis which is both theoretically adequate and practically usable" (p.4).



### Fairclough's three-dimensional framework for analysis of discourse.

The description stage of the triadic model for CDA by Fairclough is concerned with analysing the formal properties of the text. The text can be an already written piece of work or a transcribed speech, conversation among others. The transcribed speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo therefore qualify to be a text to be subjected to critical analysis. The next stage is the interpretation stage concerned with the relationship between text and interaction. The final stage is the explanation which involves the connection between the process of production and interpretation and social contexts within which text is produced. These three stages are interdependent and are all applied to the three speeches of consideration in this study to provide a holistic interpretation of the speeches.

#### **2.4.2 Text Analysis of Discourse (Description)**

Texts are usually highly ambivalent and open to multiple interpretations (Fairclough, 1992). The analysis of text can be performed under four main categories. That is the vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure.

The vocabulary deals mainly with analysing the individual words used in the particular text. Fairclough (1992) sees the vocabulary as of limited value to consider the vocabulary of a language to be necessarily documented in the dictionary. This is because there are different vocabularies peculiar to different domains, institutions, practices, values and perspectives. He adds that, particular structuring of words and the relationship between the meanings of words are forms of hegemony (Fairclough, 1992). In analysing the vocabulary, one needs to consider “word meaning” and how the “meaning of words” impacts on a larger social struggle (Fairclough, 1992, p. 77). These structuring of words and their meanings are all forms of hegemony. Another factor worth considering under vocabulary is the use of metaphors and their ideological imports.

Grammar on the other hand considers words joined into sentences and clauses. Batstone (1995). Clauses are put together to form complex sentences. Fairclough (1995) claims every clause is multifunctional and as it is usually made up of ideational, internarratorial (identity and relational) and textual meanings. Thus individuals consciously or unconsciously choose the design and structure of their clauses which leads to decisions on how to signify or construct social identities, social relations and knowledge and belief. (Okhonmina, Stephen, 2009).

Cohesion is concerned with how clauses and sentences are linked together into sentences and how sentences are in turn linked together to form larger units in text. This form of linkage is achieved by repeating words, using synonyms, using conjunctions (such as therefore, however, and, but etc.) and by using referring and substituting devices (such as pronouns, definite articles, demonstratives etc.). Okhonmina, Stephen, 2009, define this stage as the sentence relation.

Text Structure refers to the structure of texts and higher level design features of a text. For instance, in reporting an accident scene, the combination of the episodes of how the event occurred can give an insight into systems of knowledge as well as beliefs and assumptions about social relationships and social identities that are built into the conventions of text types (Coutanche and Paulus, 2006).

### **2.4.3 Discursive Practice (Interpretation)**

The discursive practice is concerned with text production, distribution and consumption. These processes vary from different types of discourses depending on pertaining social factors. Three factors are considered by Fairclough (1992) under discursive *practice*. These are the force of utterance, the coherence of text and the intertextuality of text. It can be concluded that the results of interpretation are derived from the determination of the meaning of specific features of text that has a close relationship with specific contextual factor (Litosseliti, 2010).

The force of utterance considers forms of speech acts been it promises, requests, threats and others which are used in conveying the message in the particular discourse. A text is said to coherent when its constituent parts (episodes, sentences) are meaningfully joined together so that the entire text “makes sense”.

Finally, intertextuality refers to the property of a text whereby a text has snatches of other texts which may explicitly join the other parts of the text together in order to bring a contradiction or clarification to the text.

### **2.4.4 Discourse as a Social Practice (Explanation)**

Explanation is the analysis that express the relationship of social context in discourse and practice. At this stage, he draws a clear relationship between ideology and power and places discourse as a view of power and a form of hegemony. At this stage, he

draws upon the contributions of the twentieth century Marxism of Althusser and Gramsci which “provides a rich framework for investigating discourse as a form of social practice” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 86).

## **2.5 The Ideology of the New Patriotic Party**

In developed democracies, one key factor that motivates the citizens in playing active role in politics is political ideology (Jost 2006). This is because political ideology largely shapes the political future of the country. Political parties, whether in democratic or authoritarian dispensations always have an ideology that is intended to provide the fundamental policies that guide them, particularly when they assume the reins of power (Wayo-Seini, 2006). This ideology sets the beliefs of the party and based on them, the basic rules and regulations that guide its members. Indeed, the ideology of gives an immediate indication as to what the party beliefs are and for that matter its philosophy. In other words, political ideology, to a greater extent, concerns the beliefs, traditions and philosophies of political parties (Wayo-Seini 2006).

In Ghana, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) describes itself as a property owning democratic party. Their ideologies supposedly bind the member’s together (Asante 2006). As a party, the NPP operates under the liberal democratic ideology and believes in the market economy, free enterprise, fundamental human rights, and a vigorous pursuit of private initiative without any hindrance. The party’s policy is to liberate the energies of the people for the growth of a property-owning democracy in Ghana, with right to life, freedom and justice as the principles to which the government and laws of the land should be dedicated in order to specifically enrich life, property and liberty of each and every citizen. Thus, the party’s ideology of property owning democracy is biased towards the protection and promotion of the property rights of the rich and foreign investors compared to the basic needs of the poor and the non-property owning classes



(Asante, 2006). The NPP has shown through their policies in the area of education, health, youth employment, small loan schemes, etc. that they fully subscribe to capitalism and the notion that government has a responsibility to provide all its citizens with skills and opportunities to create their own wealth. The parties manifesto reveals that the NPP is a party that want the private capital to carry most of the weight of industrial progress, Asante (2006). (Aryee,2019) concludes that the party is founded on the ideology and founding principles of rule of law, respect for human right, capitalism or property owing democracy, conservatism, patriotism, civil liberty, good governance and liberal society.

### **2.5.1 Modes of Ideology**

There are several instances of detecting the existence of ideologies in speeches or simple utterances by people. Thompson (1990) identified five modes by which ideologies can operate in discourse. He names these as the “modus operandi” of ideology (p.64). The first classification he identified is Unification. This involves dissolving the differences between individuals and putting them in a collective unity that overcomes racial, religious, social, gender or political differences. Unification is achieved through two major means; standardization and symbolisation of unity. According to Milroy (2001) standardisation is the imposition of uniformity upon a class of objects. This is evident when a speaker brings out ideas that make a group of people have that notion that they are together no matter their racial, religious, economic or social backgrounds. Symbolisation of unity on the other hand involves binding individuals together by producing symbols of unity and collective identity (Thompson, 1990, p.64). For instance, in Ghana, a speaker can use the national flag as a unifying symbol to bring people together in a particular instance to indicate our sense of unity.

The persistent use of this symbol makes the notion around the national flag an ideology because gradually, it has been accepted as symbolising peace and togetherness.

Contrary to the unification mode, the next mode of identifying ideology; fragmentation is achieved not by unifying individuals in a collective entity but rather by fragmenting those individuals and groups that might be capable of mounting effective challenge to the dominant group or by orienting forces of potential opposition towards a target which is projected as evil, harmful or threatening. That is fragmentation is used when there is mounting challenges to the controlling group in society. Strategies of fragmentation are employed by two ways. These are *differentiation* and *expurgation*. Differentiation focuses on the differences and divisions between groups of potential power, thus preventing them from challenging existing relations or individuals of power. The other strategy *expurgation* on the other hand involves constructing an evil and threatening enemy which calls individuals to unite together in order to challenge, resist and cut the threats and evil of that enemy. These strategies of fragmentation according to Thompson (1990) overlaps with strategies of unification which basically calls for uniting individuals in the face of the enemy creating a unified strategy.

The next mode of ideology identified by Thompson (1990) is legitimisation. This has to do with making existing structures legitimate or legal thus rendering misconceptions about such structures futile. Legitimation aims at representing power and domination by three sub- branches. These are Rationalization, Universalization and Narrativisation. Rationalisation refers to a situation “whereby the producer of a symbolic form constructs a chain of reasoning which seeks to defend or justify a set of social relations or institutions, and thereby to persuade an audience,” Thompson (1990, p. 61). Universalization has to do with when certain concepts held by few individuals are represented as serving the interests of all and the third sub-branch, Narrativisation

involves stories that “recount the past and treat the present as part of cherished tradition.” Thompson (1990, p. 61). This involves making reference to traditions and history of the community to create a sense of belonging among a group of people.

Dissimulation is the next mode of ideology identified by Thompson (1990). It refers to the situation whereby power is maintained by “being concealed, denied or obscured, or by being represented in a way which deflects attention from existing relations” (Thompson, 1990, p.62). One strategy used for activating this ideological mode is displacement which is a process where ‘a term customarily used to refer to one object or individual is used to refer to another.’ Euphemisation is another strategy used to achieve dissimulation. In this instance, “actions, institutions or social relations are described or re-described in terms which elicit a positive valuation.” (Thompson, 1990, p. 62). Figures of speech such as synecdoche can also be used as a strategy to achieve dissimulation. Synecdoche is using a part of something to refer to the whole.

The last mode of ideological operation is reification. Reification establishes and sustains relations of domination by representing a transitory, historical state of affairs as if it were permanent, natural, outside of time” (Thompson, 1990, p. 65). This can be operated through several means. The first is naturalisation, which occurs when a state of affairs may be treated as a natural event. Second is through externalisation, which portrays a state of affairs as permanent unchanging. Finally, it can be operated through passivisation, which focuses the attention of the hearer or reader on certain themes at the expense of others.

It must be stated that, since ideologies leads to the establishment of power and consequently hegemonies, some of these modes of ideologies can equally be employed in identifying the existence of power relations between speakers and their audiences.

Some of the modes such as fragmentation, legitimisation and reification are directly related to power relations and hegemony.

Applying these modes to the three speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo in this study, serves as already established thematic basis for identifying the existence of ideologies as well as power relations in the speeches.

### **2.5.2 Power Relations in Discourse**

The notion of power in this work is based on the idea proposed by Fairclough (1989) that “language contributes to the domination of some people by others and nobody who has an interest in modern society, and certainly nobody who has an interest in relationships of power in modern society, can afford to ignore language.” (p. 03). The study of language therefore is the fundamental basis for identifying power relations in society.

In a further study, Fairclough (2001) indicates that power is an ongoing process that takes place under conditions of social struggle and is always a matter of struggle that is exercised through “coercion” or “consent”; it can be “won, exercised, sustained, and lost in the course of social struggle” (p.57). Power as exercised through coercion has to do with applying physical force or violence such as depriving people of their jobs, homes and others.

On the other hand, power exercised through the manufacturing of consent is primarily through the use of ideology. This is because, through ideologies, people get to be convinced and willingly allow themselves to be controlled without any form of resistance. The exercise of power through consent is currently predominating in our era (Fairclough, 1995). It must be noted that the generation of consent to exercise power is mostly not straight forward. It is hidden through ideologies. Thus the analysis of power

in discourse is invariably synonymous with analysing ideology. Fairclough (1989) identified two main dimensions of power in discourse. These are power *in* discourse and power *behind* discourse.

### **2.5.3 Power in Discourse**

Power in discourse has to do with discourse as a place where relations of power are actually exercised and enacted. It is also concerned with how powerful participants in a communicative practice control and constrain the contributions of non-powerful participants. Three types of constraint were identified. First is the constraint based on the content. That is how the content of a communicative event can impose limitation on the participants. The next is constraint based on relations. That is how the social relations among participants of a discursive practice can limit their contribution to what is being said. The final has to do with constraint based on subject positions. That is the subject positions people can occupy in a communicative event. To help identify the manifestation of power through consent in discourse, Fairclough (1989) makes mention of indicators such as the use of modalities or modals. Modals are employed in communicative events to indicate the power and authority of the speaker in relation to the audience or participants in the event. It also signifies the certainty level of the speaker in relation to the information he is trying to put across. According to Fairclough (1989), there are two dimensions of modality depending on what direction the speaker wants to exert authority. The first is relational modality which has to do with the authority of one of the participants in the communicative event in relation to others. The second is the expressive modality which has to do with the speaker or writer's authority with respect to the truth or probability of a representation of reality.

Modality is mostly expressed through the use of modal auxiliary verbs like may, will, might, must, should, can, can't, ought, may not, must among others. Relational

modality is expressed through the use of may, may not or must. The use of may signals permission; example (you may go), but if not is added to it, (may not) it indicates 'not permitted'. Must is also used to signal obligation; example (you must pay for the cost of replacement).

Auxiliary verbs such as should, will, can, ought etc. to be all used as expressive modalities. However, some auxiliary verbs can be used to indicate relational as well as expressive modalities. For instance, may can be associated with possibility which is expressive (example: this building may collapse) and can also be used to grant permission such as "you may sit down" which is relational. Also must can be used to depict certainty which is expressive (example: this building must collapse due to the obvious cracks). It can also be used in association with obligation which is relational; example "I must go to the hospital".

In as much as these modal verbs may be explicit in a communicative event, their expression of power and authority are implicit and not obviously displayed. It is therefore expedient to analyse the existence of modals in the speeches under study because they give evidence as to the authenticity or claims of knowledge which are exist in these speeches.

#### **2.5.4 Power Behind Discourse**

According to Fairclough (1989) the idea of power behind discourse the totality of the social order is put together and held together as a hidden effect of power. Power is therefore a hidden factor in all social interactions in one way or the other. Several instances of how power is hidden behind discourse are cited by Fairclough (1989). However, this study will focus on power and access to discourse which is one major division of the various instances of hiding power behind discourse. Access to discourse

has to do with who has the power to participate in any communicative event and as what or in which capacity. That is, your participation and what you do in any communicative event is limited by who you are and what you are socially recognised to represent. The question then is who has access to participate in which communicative event and who has the power to impose constraint on others as to how they can participate? Although there is freedom of speech in Ghana, there is still some level of constraint as to gaining access to express your views in some instances of discourse. This is because there are limitations as to who can express their views in peculiar social institutions. For instance, in a church, you can only officiate a wedding if you are an ordained priest. To become a priest, one must go through several rigorous processes which are sometimes difficult to go through thereby limiting such opportunity to only some few people who manage to pass all expectations. This is also same with most professional groups such as doctors, lawyers, engineers and others. Invariably, since most people may not be able to attain such heights, all other people become subjects in relation to the position of these professional bodies.

Fairclough (1989) continues that this form of constraint to access to discourse have some visible effects on participants of every communicative event. One such effect is that people who have access to prestigious sorts of discourse due to their professional development gain access to powerful subject positions and this grants them publicly acknowledged powerful positions and authority which others without those qualifications may not gain access to. Consequently, professional knowledge and skills act as symbols of narrator's achievement which society considers in granting access to discourse to some groups of people while others are excluded or considered as outsiders. Thus exclusion of people from gaining access to some discourse types and

subject positions lowers their publicly acknowledged status which is exactly opposite to those who are granted access to such discourse types.

## **2.6 Relevance of Analytical Framework to the Study**

In using CDA to analyse the three speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo, this study is based on the back drop that, having received a popular vote of 5755758 representing 53.7% in the Ghanaian general elections held on 7<sup>th</sup> December, 2016 that made him the president, he is consciously or unconsciously stipulating some form of ideologies which are making his messages dominate in the Ghanaian society. People are following him because, they believe in his ideologies, and this has given him power to control the thoughts and shape the actions of some members of Ghanaian society who consciously follow his speeches. The ideologies embedded in such discursive practices are most effective when they become naturalized, and achieve the status of 'common sense' (Fairclough, 1992). That is, they become generally accepted and per the status of the individual (in this instance President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo), people hardly challenge their opinions, thus, they pass as common sense and gradually neutralised into other believe systems in the society. Therefore, the ideologies of speakers or writers may be uncovered by close reading, understanding or systematic analysis, if language users explicitly or unwittingly express their ideologies through language and communication. Van Dijk (1997).



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the research methodology of this study. It considers the research approach, research design, data collection, sampling, data analysis and summary.

#### **3.1 Research Approach**

Qualitative approach emphasizes description or interpretation of communication events such as speech making. According to Neuman (2003, p.141), the qualitative method is the most “...grasping subtle shades of meaning, for pulling together divergent information, and for switching perspectives” cited in Adjei-Fobi, (2011, p.78). This therefore made qualitative research approach the most convenient research approach for this study.

According to Creswell (2013), the objectives of a qualitative research are to explore areas where limited information exists and or describe the trends and attitudes that are applicable. Based on this assertion, the researcher chose the qualitative approach to inorder to better explore the data and validate the framework underpinning the study.

#### **3.2 Research Design**

According to Creswell (2013), research designs are types of inquiry within qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches that provide specific direction for procedures in a research design. Some scholars equally refer to research design as strategies of inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Every research is consequently seated in a strategy that systematically guides the process of inquiry. (Asare,2017) The research design employed in this study is textual analysis.

As indicated by Leckie-Terry (1995) text is polysemic; text can have multiple and varied interpretations. It is therefore important for a researcher to do a textual analysis of the text to be able to deduce its obscure meanings according to the context of its use or the society within which it is used. The selected speeches for this study are texts that can be subjected to varied interpretation just as Leckie-Terry has indicated. This research makes a value judgment of supposed underpinning interpretations that is not explicitly exposed to the knowledge of the ordinary reader. Textual analysis closely examines either the content and meaning of texts or their structure and discourse (Leckie-Terry, 1995).

Bernard (2002) indicates that approaches to textual analysis include interpretive analysis, narrative analysis, grounded theory, cross cultural analysis and discourse analysis. In this study the discourse analysis perspective is employed and specifically critical discourse analysis which is a method of doing discourse analysis is employed as the theoretical and analytical framework. Data collected for this study are analysed based on Fairclough's triadic model for critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995). It makes it therefore necessary to find the latent meanings and all other manifest meanings so as to appreciate speech as a polysemic text.

### **3.3 Sampling Technique**

Sampling strategy directs researchers to know whom to observe, interview or analyse, (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). The purposive sampling method is a form of non-probability sampling technique where decisions concerning phenomena in a sample are taken by the researcher based upon a variety of criteria which may include specialist knowledge of the research issue, or a capacity and willingness to participate in the research was used (Lindolf & Taylor,2002).

Stubbs (1983), explains that this method, involves seeking situations which are likely to be particularly revealing or fruitful with respect to any phenomenon of interest. Since Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo has quite a number of speeches to his credit, it was highly impossible to select all the speeches, hence the need to purposively select three speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo –Addo I purposively sampled the speech he delivered on his swearing in as president on the 7<sup>th</sup> January,2017 (inaugural speech), his speech at the 73<sup>RD</sup> UN general Assembly and lastly. his 62<sup>nd</sup> independence celebration speech at Aliu Mahama’s stadium in the Northern Region on the 6<sup>th</sup> March.2019. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo –Addo has numerous speeches in his name and the fact that choosing speeches that are appropriate for the purpose of the study is paramount, there was the need to randomly pick ten of his speeches that were close to the issues that formed the focal points of the study after a rigorous assessment of some of his speeches. I took time to rigorously read all the ten speeches to identify if they had issues related to power relations, inequality, social injustice, ideology and other social issues. Realizing that the initial 10 selected speeches had issues similar to those raised in the objectives out of the 10 speeches, I shortlisted five. In order to give a fair representation, in no particular order, I decided to choose the first speech delivered to the entire nation on his swearing- in. Secondly, one of the speeches that had the world as audience and delivered outside Ghana was also selected and lastly, one of his subsequent speeches to Ghanaians on the their independence day; a very important day in the lives of all Ghanaians. These speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo- Addo were selected and analysed together because on the analysis of presidential speeches in Ghana, inaugural speeches, SONA, independent day speeches and other speeches are analysed separately.it was therefore highly necessary to analyse speeches of different

perspective belonging to one individual to know the different dimensions that come with the speeches from the same individual.

Stubbs hints that purposive sampling is widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information related to the phenomenon of interest. The three selected speeches delivered by Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo –Addo could depict issues of power and relation, ideology, inequality, gender, corruption and many more social issues.

### **3.4 Data Collection**

Document analysis like other analytical methods in qualitative research, requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Bowen (2009) avers that document analysis can serve as a stand – alone data collection procedure. I therefore used only document analysis as my data collection method. Document analysis refers to the process of locating and analyzing facts or trends in already existing documents (Witkin & Altschud, 1995). Document analysis is used to gain a holistic understanding of texts, their characteristics and their formal strategic orientations (Bowen, 2009). The speeches were collected online. The unit of analysis for this study is paragraph.

### **3.5 Data Analysis Plan**

Thorne (2000) characterized data analysis as the most complex phase of qualitative research, and one that receives the least thoughtful discussion in the literature. Many have argued that researchers need to be clear about what they are doing, why they are doing it, and include a clear description of analysis methods (Braun & Clarke, 2006) Therefore, the data gathered was analysed by the use of critical discourse analysis and

findings represented thematically. Fairclough (1995) identifies three central pillars of CDA, namely socio-cultural practice, discourse practice and text which are constant characteristics of any CDA. In the application of Fairclough's model for CDA three stages of CDA can be stated on the basis of correspondence between discourse and society:

**Description:** of the formal features of any text - close textual microanalysis.

**Interpretation:** the 'macro-sociological' analysis of the relationship between the text and social interaction where the text is considered a product of the production, distribution and consumption.

**Explanation:** the last stage which involves the macro-relationship between social interaction and social context, how the phases of production and interpretation take place and what are its social effects.

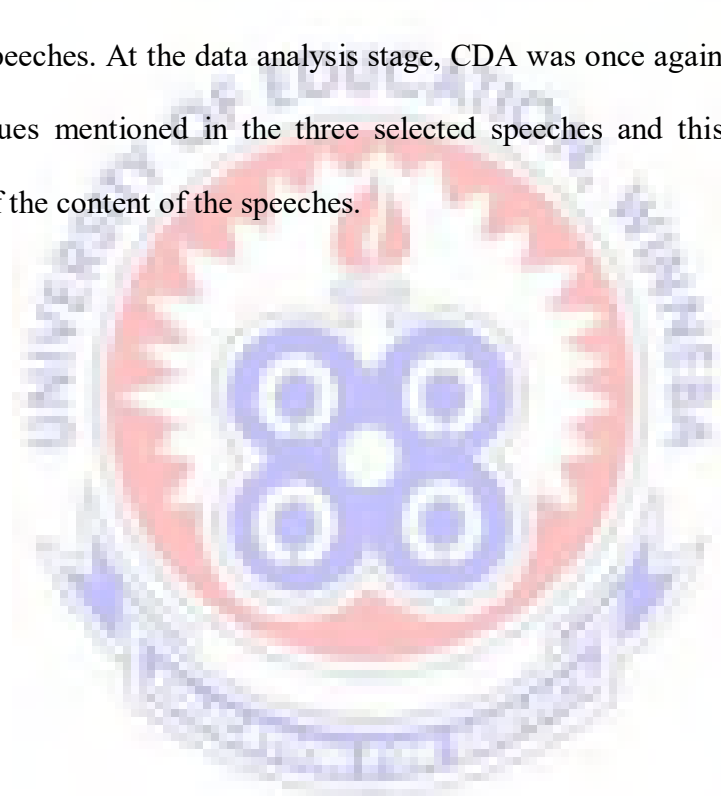
Fairclough observes that, for any effective analysis of a language, the analyst should consider the relationship between text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practices of the language users in a society. It is therefore not possible to delink socio-cultural practices of the people from the languages they use. Thus, in analysing any communicative event, the analyst should also factor in the relationship between discourse practices and socio-cultural practice. For the purpose of a cogent analysis, it is important to reiterate the objectives of this study. This plan provided a highly flexible approach to providing a rich and detailed, yet complex account of the data gathered (Braun & Clarke, 2006). CDA and thematic analysis offered a more accessible form of analysis. Thus it helped me to identify, analyse, organise, describe, and report on themes revealed within the data gathered. Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that thematic analysis should be a foundational method for qualitative analysis, as it provides core

skills for conducting many other forms of qualitative analysis. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It organizes and describes your data set in (rich)detail. However, it also goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic (Boyatziz, 1998). A rigorous thematic analysis can produce trustworthy and insightful findings. The analysis involved the identification of the manifest words in the three selected speeches. The manifest words helped to identify the latent shades of interpretations of the selected speeches. Both the manifest and latent forms of interpretations were put into themes to reflect the happenings in the society. Many scholars (Van Dijk,1998, Halliday 1977, Fairclough 2015, Lin ,2013) affirm the notion that text is polysemic. A text is polysemic because the ideas espoused could be subjected to different rather than a single meaning. Fairclough (2015) argues that CDA involves both latent and manifest meanings which are also explicit and implicit depending on context. Cherry, (2020) differentiated between manifest and latent content. Cherry referred to Freudian dream analysis and concluded that dreams can be manifest, that is the dream itself as it is remembered. It can also be latent, or connotative. The same applies to text. Cash and Snider (2014) explains that the manifest meaning of a text is the actual literal subject matter of the text, whereas, the latent content is the underlying or symbolic meanings of the text. The actual wordings of a text or piece of writing is the manifest content and the deeper expressions that come along with the text is the latent content. During the analysis of the three speeches, the manifest words and latent words were identified and comprehensively guided by each research question analysed as shown.

### **3.7 Summary of Chapter**

This chapter consist of an overview of the methodology of the study which includes approach, design, gathering of data and the analysis of the gathered data. The qualitative approach was used as the research approach and the CDA was used as the research design. This helped to interrogate the issues in the selected speeches which consequently brought to bare the inherent meanings in the speeches.

The data collection processes showed chronologically how I arrived at the three selected speeches. At the data analysis stage, CDA was once again used to interrogate all the issues mentioned in the three selected speeches and this ensured a fruitful analysis of the content of the speeches.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

#### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter consists of the findings and discussions of the data collected and how they were analysed. The data was analysed by using critical discourse analysis after which the findings were thematically presented. The selected speeches are: (1) His swearing - in speech on January 2017 referred to in this analysis as speech one [S1], (2) His speech at the 73<sup>rd</sup> UN General Assembly again referred to as speech two [S2] and (3) His 62<sup>nd</sup> independence celebration speech referred to as speech three [3]. The outcomes during the analysis stage have been presented in a tabular form using words and figures and some in themes. The model underpinning the analysis is Fairclough's (1995) triadic model of CDA. Thompson's Modes of ideology were also used as the thematic basis for some portions of the analysis. The three speeches were selected out of the many speeches authored by President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo- Addo. These speeches were selected because they are easily accessible in both audio and visual as well as textual. Another very important reason for the selection of these speeches is the fact that they did not just have huge audience but audience originated from different countries. President Nana Addo's inaugural speech for instance is one of his most important speeches because it was his first ever address to the nation as President. It was therefore expected that some social issues will be embedded in his address, which he did. President Nana Addo's address at the 62<sup>ND</sup> Independence day celebration at Tamale also had same characteristics as his inaugural address likewise his speech at 73<sup>rd</sup> UN General Assembly on 26<sup>th</sup> of September, 2018.



#### **4.1 Research Question 1: What are the dominant issues embedded in the three speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo –Addo?**

This analysis ensure that issues are captured in the selected speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. First and foremost, language carries social meanings and different social strata and groups are embedded with different linguistic structures. Language consists of many different kinds of signs and structures which respond to social forces and semiotic considerations in detailed communicative situations (Halliday,1978). In order to analyse effectively the issues embedded in the selected speeches, it was expedient to consider how the manifest use of language as well as the latent interpretation could be considered a reflection of happenings in the society.

Fairclough (1995) stresses the use of language in significant ways, and his framework is particularly concerned with the linkage between language, ideology and power relations Fairclough perceives bilateral relationship between language and society where they both define the existence of the other. He associates society with language in the interpretation of discourse and claims that the effects of using a particular language structure are closely related to the speech community's social status or life. Also, Fowler (1991), states that the apparently unbiased use of language does not transparently and objectively represent facts, but are ideological, and related to the values, beliefs and practices of social context in a variety of ways. This means that, at any instance of language use, basic assumptions are determined socially and could have social effects.

The triadic model of CDA considers the first level of analysis to include sorting out all manifest noticeable linguistic features in a discourse to help in subjecting it to interpretations. The analysis of the three selected speeches involved the identification of manifest words and phrases and how these words help to unearth the latent

interpretations in lieu of happening in the society. As a result, the first point of consideration for this study is to identify the linguistic elements or words used in the three selected speeches. The linguistic elements comprise all the manifest components that form the structure of the language of the speeches. Since every text is polysemic and subject to interpretations. Fairclough (1995) admonish discourse analyst to also identify the latent meanings of expressions and to allow them to form part of any interpretation they put on a text. In view of this all the discussions in this sections are based on two forms of interpretations: manifest and latent or hidden meanings. All these explicit and implicit words aided the interpretations of the three speeches which are supported in some instances with evidence lifted directly from the speeches to ground the arguments

#### **4.1.1 Analysis of Diction**

Tables 1, 2 and 3 display commonly used words and phrases in the three selected speeches. The words are arranged in relation to their frequency of occurrence in all the three speeches. It is important to state that although some words and phrases can be found in three speeches, they were used explicitly or implicitly with corresponding adjectives. These distinctions are clearly stated throughout different portions of the analysis.

Table 1 shows all the repetitive words and phrases used by President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo in his inaugural speech on January 2017. Frequency as used in Table 1 refers to the number of occurrences of the repetitive words and phrases in speech one. The percentage is the ratio of the frequency of each repeated word or phrase expressed as a fraction of 100 and it is denoted by the percentage sign (%).

**Table 1: Cumulative Frequency of Manifest Words in Speech 1 (S1)**

<b>Manifest words</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
Ghanaians	18	20.7
His Excellency	15	17.3
Republic	20	23.0
President	21	24.1
Ghana	13	14.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data, 2019

Table 2 is a display of the manifest words as used in the speech delivered at the 73<sup>rd</sup> UN General Assembly coded as S2. As was done for Table 4.1, Table 4.2 also shows all the repetitive words and phrases used by President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo in his 73<sup>rd</sup> address at the UN General Assembly. Frequency as used in table 2 refers to the number of occurrences of the repetitive words and phrases in speech one. The percentage is the ratio of the frequency of each repeated word or phrase expressed as a fraction of 100 and it is denoted by the percentage sign (%).

**Table 2: Cumulative Frequency of Manifest Words in Speech two (S2)**

<b>Manifest words</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
Rules	4	5.4
Ghana	12	16.2
United Nations	9	12.1
Organization	5	6.7
Document	2	2.7
History	3	4.1
Security Council	3	4.1
President	7	9.4
General Assembly	4	5.4
Poverty	4	5.4
African, Africa	9	12.1
Continent	3	4.1
Prosperity	3	4.1
Secretary General	3	4.1
Resolutions, Resolve	3	4.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data, 2019

Table 3 is a representation of the manifest words as used in the 62<sup>nd</sup> Independence Day celebration speech. This table also shows all the repetitive words and phrases used by President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo in his 62<sup>nd</sup> independence day speech. Frequency as used refers to the number of occurrences of the repetitive words and phrases in speech three. The percentage is the ratio of the frequency of each repeated word or phrase expressed as a fraction of 100 and it is denoted by the percentage sign (%).

**Table 3: Cumulative Frequency of Manifest Words in Speech three (S3)**

<b>Manifest Words</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
State	6	6.5
Nations	9	9.6
Police	14	15
Independence	3	3.2
Parliament	6	6.5
Ghanaians ,Ghanaian, Ghana	22	23.6
Republic	5	5.4
Unity	6	6.5
Year of return	3	3.2
Pride	4	4.3
Democracy, Democratic	6	6.5
Election, Elections	4	4.3
Politics	5	5.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Fieldwork Data, 2019

From the Table, it could be realized that some words frequently occurred in the three speeches. Speech one (S1) has approximately 2671 words and was delivered in 26 minutes, 22 seconds while speech two which has 1515 words was delivered in 26 minutes, 10 seconds. The speech three (S3) was also delivered in 11 minutes 30 seconds and has approximately 3081 words.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) argues that discourse reflects society and culture. This means that every discourse reproduces and transforms society and culture. Therefore, the analysis of the linguistic elements in S1, S2 and S3 facilitates the identification of the societal issues in the selected discourse.

Fairclough (1992) emphasizes that in analysing the linguistic elements of any instance of discourse, it is important to consider the meaning of the words as well as the wording

of meanings used. The analysis of these words and phrases led to the emergence of seven thematic areas with regards to issues perceived to be predominant in the society. It must also be stated that, some key statements were noted to have given a better explanation to the themes and in some instance, the theme did not necessarily emerge as a result of the identified frequently used words. Again, a particular statement from the data would serve as explanation to one or more generated themes. Table 4 consists of the cumulative frequency of issues identified in S1, S2 and S3 that have been thematised. After the coding of words found in all the three speeches, the words were categorized into groups based on the meanings they manifest. It was being realised that some of the words had similar or close meanings. The manifest meanings of the words were then used as themes. In the discussion of each theme, excerpts have been used to support it. Portions of excerpts that directly relate to the theme have also been cited and italicised

**Table 4: Dominant issues Identified in S1, S2 and S3**

Themes
1. Respect for systems & structures of authority
2. Self-Reliance
3. Social issues
4. Economic Issues

Source: Fieldwork Data, 2019

#### **4.1.2 Respect for Systems and Structures of Authority**

Respect for systems and structure of authority is one of the dominant issues in the three selected speeches. Some manifest words such as President, Republic, His Excellency, organization, Security council, General Assembly, Secretary General, Parliament, Police, democracy, election and politics have a latent meaning of expressing respect for

systems and authorities. Two sub themes emerged under respect for authority as a dominant issue: Traditional authority and governance and institutions.

#### **4.1.3 Traditional Authority**

According to Simpson (1993) While forms of authority that descend from social or cultural traditions are commonly understood as archaic, traditional authorities often survive and occasionally even thrive during the formation of modern states. As a result, we can develop an explanation for the endurance of traditional authorities based on the extensive respect they enjoy from very important people in societies like political figures. Chiefs continue to hold a symbolic cultural role in most African countries that make them commune respect from the members in the societies. Thompson (1990) opines that a number of authors have observed that governments work chiefs to administer services and resolve disputes. A wide-ranging survey of African countries by (Logan 2013) has portrayed how traditional authorities enjoy popular legitimacy and play important roles in their various societies. Similar revelations have been made by Bofo-Arthur (2003) about the roles of traditional authorities in Africa. A confirmation of the postulations by Logan (2013) and Bofo-Arthur (2003) reflect in the selected speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. The narrator addressed the Yaa Na Mahama Abukari II as Overlord of Dagbon. Names of other chiefs such as Yoo-Na Yakubu Abdulai Andani, and Asantehene, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, receive a mention in a speech delivered during the independence day celebration of the country Ghana. The special mention of traditional authorities in the speeches on such important occasions is a prove of how important the roles of traditional leaders is and for that matter, the show of respect to traditional authorities in the speeches of the narrator. The extracts below are illustrations of the narrator's respect for traditional authority

...the process of reconciliation that have engulfed Dagbon since the enskinment of Yaa-Na Mahama Abukari II as Overlord of Dagbon, on 25th January. I welcome him to this event, as I do the former Regents of Dagbon, the Kampakuya Na and Bolin Lana, who have recently been enskinned as Yoo-Na Yakubu Abdulai Andani, Savelugu Na, and Mion Lana Mahamadu Abdulai, respectively. I say a special welcome, too, to the Nayiri, Naa Bohugu Abdulai Mahami Sheriga, Overlord of Mamprugu, and the Yagbonwura, Tuntumba Boresa Sulemana Jakpa, Overlord of the Gonja State, two of the members of the Committee of Eminent Chiefs who, together with its Chairperson, the Asantehene, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, were so instrumental in designing the roadmap, whose implementation has restored normalcy to Dagbon. I salute them all. (S3)

The traditional authorities were duly acknowledged by the narrator. The narrator went further to elaborate on how important the existence of chieftaincy in the country Ghana. The narrator deliberately draws the minds of his audience to how important the roles of traditional authorities are and says that chiefs provide the cohesive link to the past and what defines them (Ghanaians) as a people in the extracts below.

Fellow Ghanaians, it is important for us all to pause awhile, examine and take a critical look at the chieftaincy institution in our nation. When it works, our chiefs provide the cohesive link to our past, and what defines us as a people (S3).

The narrator defines chieftaincy as rock on which everybody leans for support and resort to in times of trouble, placing emphasis on how traditional authority can ensure



development or vice versa. In effect the narrator has maximum respect for traditional authorities hence never undermined their roles in the development of very society.

...when chieftaincy works, it is an embodiment of our culture and the rock on which we lean for support, and to which we resort in times of trouble. In many parts of our country, our chiefs are the custodians of our lands, and their activities can be the spark for development or for disputes (S3),

Where the chiefs have united their people, and offered forward looking leadership, modernization has been rapid. Where there has been disunity, the area has lagged behind, and the disputes have been a drain on the public purse. (S3)

#### **4.1.4 Government Institutions**

A substantial agreement and acknowledgement on the legitimate authority of government institutions and other organisation and structures of authority by the narrator in the selected speeches cannot be underestimated. In the following excerpts, the narrator has shown respect to government institutions and some organizational authorities.

...Let me say a few words on our police service, because we need a credible and professional *police* service to be able to have a peaceful and united society. We cannot have a successful *police* service without the co-operation of the population. The co-operation starts with giving respect to the police, and encouraging them to earn the trust of the people by serving the public with dedication (S3).

...*our judiciary must inspire confidence in the citizens*, so we can all see the courts as the ultimate arbiters when disputes arise, as they would. A

Ghanaian judge *must* be a reassuring presence and the epitome of fairness. (S1)

I salute the Chairperson of the Authority of Heads of State and *Governments of the AU*, His Excellency Idriss Déby, President of the Republic of Chad. I salute the Chairperson of the Authority of Heads of State and *Governments* of ECOWAS, the historic figure, *Her Excellency* Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, President of the Republic of Liberia; our special guest of honour, *His Excellency* Alassane Dramane Ouattara, President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, and we thank him for his excellent speech; His Excellency Muhammadu Buhari, President of the Federal Republic of mighty Nigeria; His Excellency MackySall, *President of the Republic of Senegal*; His Excellency Faure Gnassingbé, *President of the Republic* of Togo; His Excellency Alpha Condé, President of the Republic of Guinea Conakry; His Excellency Patrice Talon, President of the Republic of Benin; *His Excellency* Ernest Bai Koroma, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone; His Excellency Ibrahim BoubacarKeïta, President of the Republic of Mali; *His Excellency* Roch Marc Christian Kaboré, President of Burkina Faso. We are grateful also for the presence of His Excellency Teodoro Obiang Nguema, President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea; His Excellency Ali Bongo, President of the Republic of Gabon; and His Excellency Edgar Lungu, President of the Republic of Zambia. To them and the representatives of all the other friendly nations who are here, and former presidents and leaders, I say 'akwaaba', our famous word of welcome (S1).

The extracts from S1 and S3, indicate structures within government and government agencies and other protocols which have been given recognition by the narrator. The narrator acknowledges every individual witnessing the inaugural ceremony using due protocol by beginning from the important personalities of authorities to the ordinary citizen at the ceremonial ground. He begins from Presidents of other countries, through to representatives of countries, to the local government officials in Ghana, through to other statesmen and women, his predecessor and to the Ghanaian citizens.

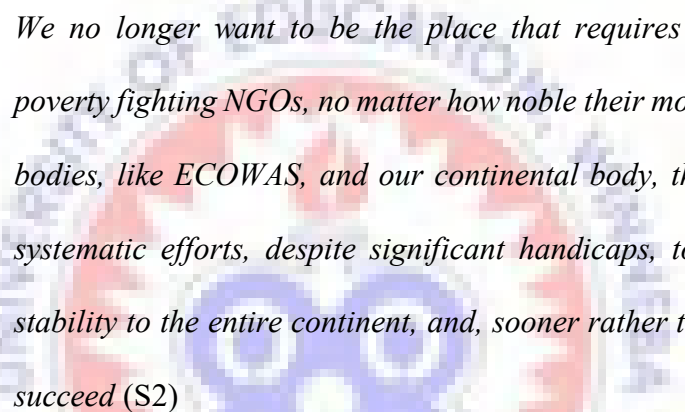
The narrator spends about ten minutes of the twenty-six minutes' speech in addressing vocatives which include traditional leaders. He meticulously shows appreciation. This confirms the importance the narrator attaches to the observation of protocols. Respect for individual structures as displayed in the speeches promote peace and facilitate development with the help of all the identified corridors of power. The narrator implicitly approves of the individuals mentioned in the speech to solidify the cordiality between the government of Ghana and the narrator. This affirms Raz's (2010) emphasis that the show of respect for authority is an indication of a person's intention to relate to a theory on respect which has existed over the years. According to Raz (2010), he goes further to emphasize showing of respect to a system or authority as an invariable way of appealing to reasons and implicitly endorsing the existence of that structure or authority.

#### **4.1.5 Self - Reliance**

Self-reliance is one of the dominant issues in the selected speeches under study. Some of the linguistic elements emphasizing this theme are; 'poverty', 'parliament', 'independence', 'democracy', 'politics' and 'elections'. The narrator deliberates on the fact that Ghana and Africa can handle their own affairs without any external help. The

narrator used these words to point out the sovereignty of Ghana or Africa and their ability to prosper without any help. Apart from that, the use of 'laws', 'rules', 'human right' and 'equality before the law' signifies the presence of total independence. One is made to believe that, because of independence and the existence of laws, each individual one can freely go about the legitimate work without pressure from any external force.

The italicized portions of these extracts illustrate self-reliance:



*We no longer want to be the place that requires peacekeepers and poverty fighting NGOs, no matter how noble their motives. Our regional bodies, like ECOWAS, and our continental body, the AU, are making systematic efforts, despite significant handicaps, to bring peace and stability to the entire continent, and, sooner rather than later, they will succeed (S2)*

*We do not think that a nation needs to remain poor or become poor for others to become prosperous. We believe that there is room, and there are enough resources on this planet for us all to be prosperous. But it does mean that the rules and regulations that we fashion to guide our dealings with each other have to be respected by all of us. From the environment to trading rules, we have to accept that there cannot be different set of rules for different countries. Thus far, the United Nations provides the best vehicle for all nations to address their aspirations and challenges. Ghana has always displayed her belief in the United Nations and sought to contribute her share in making the organization a successful one. (S2).*

... we should be fortified in the knowledge that, despite our challenges and difficulties, we are on course to reaching our goal of a Ghana Beyond Aid, that is realising the vision of the free, fair, democratic, Ghana, governed by the rule of law and respect for human rights, that inspired our forebears to fight for the liberation of our country and continent from foreign domination. Let us remain steadfast and united – the goal is within reach. (S3)

These events provide proof, if some were needed, that *ours is an interdependent world*. We in Ghana (and other parts of the African continent) are determined to pull our country out of poverty and into prosperity. (S2).

The words of JB Danquah, one of the founding fathers of the Ghanaian nation, are compelling. He said as far back as 1960 that the duty of government should be “*to liberate the energies of the people for the growth of a property owning democracy in this land, with right to life, freedom and justice*, as the principles to which the government and the laws of the land should be dedicated in order specifically *to enrich life, property and liberty of each and every citizen.*” (S1).

It is in everybody’s interest that we, who are counted amongst the poor of the world, *make a rapid transformation from poverty to prosperity*. We are determined in Ghana, and, increasingly, in more and more parts of Africa, *to chart our own paths* to prosperity, and *pay our own way* in the world. *We are no longer interested in being a burden on others. We will shoulder our own responsibilities and build societies and nations*

*that will be attractive to our youth. We have the necessary sense of enterprise, creativity, innovation and hard work to engineer this transition. Hence, our vision of a Ghana Beyond Aid, indeed, of an Africa Beyond Aid. (S2).*

On March 6, when we celebrate the *independence* of Ghana, we celebrate the strength that comes from speaking with a united voice. We celebrate the coming together of different peoples to make the united and strong nation of Ghana. (S3).

I do not imagine that this Ghanaian, I envisage, should be an angel. Far from it. We would have all our human foibles, but we would operate within the agreed perimeters of our society. This is the cue to mention our security services, who help to maintain peace and order so we can get on with the business of *running our affairs*. I congratulate the security agencies for their work, and their readiness to put their lives on the line for the rest of us, and urge them to continue to be professional at all times. (S3).

Punch (1998) attests to the absence of freedom and Independence caused the Polish. As a result, the Polish had to form an organization known as 'Fighting Solidarity Organisation' to fight for total independence and the avoidance of the communism style of governance. Punch (1998) explains that the communism style of governance failed to respect basic human rights and freedoms and gave rise to passive social attitudes that eventually led to the collapse of the economy. Unlike the case that led to the formation of Fighting Solidarity Organisation by the people from Poland, the narrator in his use of the italicised expressions like 'running our own affairs' and 'independence' in S3, 'a

rapid transformation from poverty to transformation' in S2 and 'to enrich life, property and 'liberty of each and every citizen', 'rule of law', 'freedom and justice', right to life', 'democracy' and many others in S1 prove how the country Ghana where he is president is free from external influence. The narrator sends a signal that confirms how Ghanaians are in charge of their own activities.

#### **4.1.6 Social Issues**

According to Gilligan, (2007), a variety of writers have sought to understand and explain what the term social issues is. Gilligan, (2007) agrees with Pearson (1975) that social issues refers to values cherished by widespread society. The narrator Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo in his three selected speeches also touched on social issues. Some common social issues that dominated the selected speeches is education and security.

#### **4.1.7 Education**

There are certain necessities without which a person cannot live a life of his own. One of these is education. Education is the basis for development and empowerment for every nation because It plays a vital role in understanding and participating in day to day activities of today's world (Burges,2014). The development of a nation is not measured through the buildings it has built, the roles it has laid down bridges it has constructed by the human resources the nation has developed through a well – defined system of education(UNESCO,2010). Reay (2012) therefore concludes that education is more crucial factor not only to equip the new generation with skills so essential for earning a livelihood but also to create among them an awareness to social and environmental realities. The importance of education does not require any emphasizes. The growth of a society is not possible without education. It is with this reason that the

narrator emphasizes the need to educate the people to sharpen their skills for the development of the country Ghana in the excerpts below.

We must create wealth and restore happiness to our nation. *We can only do this when we have an educated and skilled population that is capable of competing in the global economy. We must expand our horizons and embrace science and technology as critical tools for our development.*

(S1)

We know we must get our population educated and trained, and we are certain about it. We must address our infrastructural deficit. The traditional methods of tackling this problem will not provide the answer.

We are looking for new ways to resolve it. Ghana, like many countries in Africa, is forging relations with China to make arrangements to help address part of our infrastructure deficit. (S2)

#### **4.1.8 Security**

Duran (2008) defines security as a process connected with assuaging any kind of threat to people and their precious values. Ogaba (1991) also asserts that security is about freedom from threat and ability to maintain independent identity and functional integrity against forces of change which are deemed hostile. Dadugblor (2016) equally submits that security is most commonly associated the alleviation of threats to cherish values, especially those threats which threaten the survival of a particular reference object. The narrator also touched on security issues by informing the audience what it will take to have proper security.

Let me say a few words on our police service, because we need a credible and professional *police* service to be able to have a peaceful and



united society. We cannot have a successful *police* service without the co-operation of the population. The co-operation starts with giving respect to the police, and encouraging them to earn the trust of the people by serving the public with dedication (S3).

The narrator in the extract above charged the society to co-operate with the police in order for the police to serve with dedication.

*Our judiciary must inspire confidence in the citizens*, so we can all see the courts as the ultimate arbiters when disputes arise, as they would. A Ghanaian judge *must* be a reassuring presence and the epitome of fairness. (S1)

Dadugblor (2008) submits that a society that does not trust the operation of rule of law has security problems. The narrator expects the law enforcers to as well go about their duties genuinely without a y fear or favour in order to win the trust of the people. Once the court is recognized as a neutral grounds that enforces the law void of favoritism, the citizens will resort to the law instead of putting the laws in their own hands.

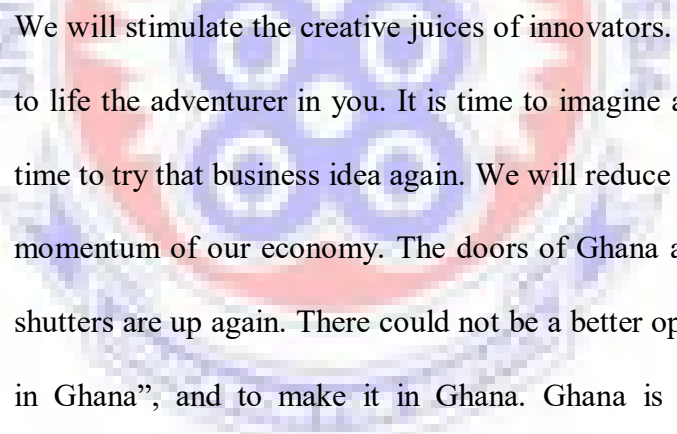
#### **4.1.9 Economic Issues**

The economy of a country refers to how the country allocates its resources. (Piketty, 2004) A country's economic structure is the fundamental cause of growth. Therefore, differences in economic structures across time and space can explain the differences in economic development in various countries. Fundamentally, a countries economic capabilities reflect the economy's production. (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2006). As a result, issues regarding the economy of a country is held very important. The narrator also made comments that alluded to economic issues. Economic issues as appeared as

an issue in the selected speech has been categorized into two; institution of proper financial structures and protection of the state coffers.

#### **4.1.10 Trade and Partnership**

Joia (2012) asserts that the success of every government resides in the implementation of good policies that brings money into the pockets of citizens. Citizens measure the performance of their governments based on the level of growth in their social and economic lives (Joia,2012) The narrator takes advantage of his speeches to outline some measures he intends to put in place that will be beneficial to the people of Ghana and as well change fortunes of Ghana as a country. In the extracts below, the narrator assures the audience of a new hope that will ensure tax reduction and a revamp in making goods in Ghana for the consumption of Ghanaians and foreigners.



We will stimulate the creative juices of innovators. We will bring back to life the adventurer in you. It is time to imagine and to dream again; time to try that business idea again. We will reduce taxes to recover the momentum of our economy. The doors of Ghana are open again. The shutters are up again. There could not be a better opportunity to “Make in Ghana”, and to make it in Ghana. Ghana is Open for Business Again! (S1)

The narrator thinks that there is an opportunity to eradicate poverty in Africa and for that matter Ghana. The narrator takes inspiration from the words of JB Danquah one of the founding fathers of Ghana as a nation that encourages government to work hard and implement measures that will enrich the people’s lives whiles granting the people their rights and freedom. By stating that the doors of Ghana are opened again to business

symbolizes employment. Once the government ensures made in Ghana goods are produced, it brings employment into the country.

We do not think that a nation needs to remain poor or become poor for others to become prosperous. We believe that there is room, and there are enough resources on this planet for us all to be prosperous. (S2)

The words of JB Danquah, one of the founding fathers of the Ghanaian nation, are compelling. He said as far back as 1960 that the duty of government should be “to liberate the energies of the people for the growth of a property owning democracy in this land, with right to life, freedom and justice, as the principles to which the government and the laws of the land should be dedicated in order specifically to enrich life, property and liberty of each and every citizen.” (S1)

The narrator associates himself with the words of JB Danquah, one of the founding fathers of the Ghanaian nation. The narrator calls the words ‘compelling’. This confirms his total support for the words and his readiness to implement it by liberating the energies of the people for the growth of a property owning democracy. It provides a kind of assurance to the people that they will be opportunities created to enrich their lives with anything they desire.

#### **4.1.11 Protection of the State Resources.**

Tanzi, (1995) has defined corruption as the international non-compliance with the arm’s length principle aimed at deriving some advantages for oneself or for related individual from this behavior. The narrator on matters relating to the economy of his country Ghana warned against corruption. He gives an indication that he is ready to be a good steward by protecting the state funds. In the extracts below, he does not only give

assurance to Ghanaians that the state funds will be safe, he further made a comment to sending a signal to members of the ruling government that being in government is not an opportunity to amass wealth and booties.

We must restore integrity in public life. State coffers are not spoils for the party that wins an election, but resources for the country's social and economic development. (S1)

I shall protect the public purse by insisting on value-for-money in all public transactions. Public service is just that – service and not an avenue for making money. Money is to be made in the private sector, not the public. Measures will be put in place to ensure this. (S2)

#### **4.2 Research Question 2. How are power relations exhibited in the selected speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo?**

CDA focuses on how discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce or challenge relations of power and dominance in society (Van Dijk, 1998). A central notion in most critical work on discourse is that of power, and more specifically the social power. Power and discourse are interrelated topics in the study of CDA. Power, in the domain of CDA, mainly refers to social power rather than narrator power. Social power involves control, namely, (members of) one group over (those of) other groups. Such control may pertain to action and cognition. That is to say, the power may limit the freedom of action of others, but also influences their minds. (Qianbo, 2016). Fairclough (2001) states that power is an ongoing process that takes place under conditions of social struggle exercised through coercion or consent. It can be won, exercised, sustained and lost in the course of social struggle. Many critical linguists (Fairclough, 1991; Simpson, 1993; Creswell, 2013; Wodak, 1989;) claim that, it is

indeed part of their professional role to investigate, reveal and clarify how power and discriminatory values are inscribed and mediated through linguistic systems. Fairclough (1992) asserted that power is not imposed from outside at the macro-levels but developed from inside at the micro-levels. He further illustrates that, the power of the education system is enforced not from outside but from inside, through the discursive and non-discursive practices, the institutions and the statements that create the discourse of education. Fairclough Critical discourse analysis is well suited to analysing the political communication. The strength of CDA is its capacity to research complex phenomena across the political communication spectrum. (Corbin and Strauss 2008). Van Dijk (1990) extrapolates that since the minds of people are typically influenced by text and talk, it can be assumed that discourse may indirectly control a person's actions.

The Foucauldian notion of power operationalised in the triadic model of CDA by Fairclough is used as the basis of analysis of power relations for the data on research question two. The notion of power in his triadic model comprises: the discursive nature of power, the political nature of discourse and the discursive nature of social change.

Fairclough explains that the practice and techniques of modern 'biopower' (e.g. examination and confession) are to a significant degree discursive. The discursive nature of power assumes that understanding, significance and meaning are developed not separately within an individual but in coordination with other human beings. Fairclough on the political nature of discourse postulates that power struggle occurs both in and over discourse. Where changing discursive practices are important element for social change.

The dimensions of power occur 'in' and 'over' discourse namely, power *in* discourse and power *behind (over)* discourse. Instances of how these two are depicted in the speeches are analysed to show how power relations are prevalent in the three selected speeches.

#### **4.2.1 Power behind Discourse - Power and Access to Discourse**

According to O' Reagan (2009), one major element in the discursive reproduction of power and dominance is the very *access* to discourse and communicative events. In this respect, Van Dijk (1990) asserts that discourse is similar to other valued social resources that form the basis of power and to which there is unequally distributed access. For instance, not everyone has equal access to the media or to medical, legal, political, bureaucratic or scholarly text and talk. Thus, in the *political* realm, only ministers have active access to Cabinet meetings, and only parliamentarians to parliamentary debates. Secretaries or clerks may have passive access to Cabinet meetings. Thus, they are in attendance in their roles as people who take notes or carry out orders. In essence they speak only when invited to do so. In public sessions of parliaments, members of the public may have passive access, but only as listeners (or rather, as 'over hearers').

In education, teachers usually control communicative events, distribute speaking turns, otherwise have special access to, and hence control over educational discourse. On the other hand, students have in principle, access to talk in classrooms only when talked to and invited to speak. In some cases, also in other domains, such limited access may be voluntary, in others it may be obligatory, for example, when students must answer exam questions, when citizens are ordered to speak in hearings, defendants in police interrogations or when in court.

In all the three selected speeches, there is evidence of the disparity between the narrator and the audience. This shows the relationship between the speaker and the audience, and the fact that the speaker has power to do things and take decisions on behalf of the audience by virtue of the ascribed authoritative power ascribed. The excerpts from the selected speeches have been italicized.

*I have, at the outset, to thank sincerely our departing President, His Excellency John Dramani Mahama, for his service to our nation (S1).*

*For myself, I am in the unique position of being able to draw on the wisdom and experience of three former Presidents of the Republic, their Excellences Jerry John Rawlings, John Agyekum Kufuor and John Dramani Mahama. They represent the continuity of the institutions of our Republic, for which we thank God. (S1)*

*I shall protect the public purse by insisting on value-for-money in all public transactions. (S1)*

*I extend also, on behalf of all Ghanaians, a warm welcome to our guest of honour, a good friend of mine and of our nation, His Excellency Mahamadou Issoufou, President of the brotherly Republic of Niger, fellow Member State of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and his delegation. (S3)*

*I will spare no effort, including the initiation of the relevant legislation, to ensure that we rid our nation of politically related violence. (S3)*

*I extend hearty congratulations to all Ghanaians from the vibrant and dynamic city of Tamale, capital of the Northern Region. (S3)*

*I have directed the Ghana National Petroleum Corporation to invest systematically in the Voltaian Basin, covering six adjoining regions, including the Northern Region here, to search for oil onshore. (S3)*

These excerpts present the speaker as someone who has been bestowed with some power and authority to act on behalf and in the supreme interest of the people. Again, clearly the difference between the speaker and the audience and the power each of them possesses is depicted in the excerpts below. The audience have the power to elect someone to lead as president and the elected president has the power to take decisions in the interest of the electorates as shown in the italicised portions of extracts from S1 below.

*I, having been declared the winner of the presidential contest on 9<sup>th</sup> December, 2016, by the returning officer, the Chairperson of the Electoral Commission, Charlotte Osei, have taken the oath of the high office of President of the Republic, in the presence of the newly sworn Vice President, His Excellency Alhaji Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia, and the newly elected Speaker of Parliament, the Rt. Hon. Prof. Michael Oquaye, an oath administered by the Chief Justice, Her Ladyship Georgina Theodora Wood, before the elected representatives of the people assembled in this 7<sup>th</sup> Parliament of the 4<sup>th</sup> Republic. (S1)*

“A new dawn has arisen in Ghana”, which will enable us to build a new Ghanaian civilization which will be the beacon of Africa and the wonder of the world. I thank you all, my fellow citizens, for making me the president of this beautiful country. (S1)



The excerpt below also indicates the power the narrator has in the parliament to talk for and on behalf of the constituents. The narrator tells his audience what he said in parliament about something that relates to something of their interest. This exemplifies power behind discourse (i.e. power and access to discourse). The embedded interpretations can be extracted from the italicised portion of the speech as shown in the extract below.

*I said in Parliament a fortnight ago that, spurred on by the momentum from the Dagbon settlement, the hardworking Minister for Chieftaincy and Religious Affairs, the Hon.Kofi Dzamesi, is going to intensify his efforts to try and find solutions to other long-standing chieftaincy disputes. (S3)*

This is in line with Fairclough's (1989) assertion on access to discourse which indicates that certain groups of people gain access and opportunity to exert power and authority on others who merely serve as subjects due to their professional qualifications. These instances of power disparity with regards to who has access to discourse or not as depicted in the extracts above are proves of the fact that the narrator has power and access to the discourse. This also justifies the presence of the aspect of power which is 'power behind discourse' in the selected speeches.

#### **4.2.2 Power in Discourse – the use of Modalities**

Fairclough (1989) opines that the use of modal auxiliaries by a speaker reveals the authority and power of the speaker in a given discourse. Modal auxiliary verbs include words such as ought to, shall, should, will, and would. These verbs do not change forms and could indicate possibility, capability, necessity, or willingness (Asare, 2017). According to Wu (1983) modalities come in three types namely, Epistemic modality;

concerned with the theoretical possibility of propositions being true or not true (including likelihood and certainty. Deontic modality is concerned with possibility and necessity in terms of freedom to act (including permission and duty) and Dynamic modality which may be distinguished from deontic modality in that, with dynamic modality, the conditioning factors are internal – the subject's own ability or willingness to act. Three main modal auxiliary verbs are used in the speeches to show power relations, specifically, power in discourse and are discussed below.

### **Communicate functions of modals**

- ***Obligation***

‘Must’ is one of the modal auxiliaries predominantly used in the three selected speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo. The narrator uses this modal auxiliary to call his audience to duty. The modal auxiliary “must” when used is a form of imposition of obligation on hearers or audience in order to get them to accept the idea put across by the narrator. It is a means by which a speaker gets his audience to approve of the ideas enumerated in a discourse. In the extract below, the narrator by the use of ‘must’ obliges his audience to respect opposing viewpoints.

In the midst of the arguments and the raised voices, there is and *must* always be mutual respect for the opposing viewpoints. Under a multi-party democracy, we *must* have elections that would, invariably, be keenly fought. There is no room, and there should be no room for violence in this whole process. It should be a contest of ideas that seeks to win over the hearts and minds of the people. (S3)

The police are also called to duty in the extract as an obligation.

The Police *must* police themselves, first. (S3)

In the next three extracts from S3, S2 and S1 respectively, Ghanaians, the government, the Ghanaian parliamentarian are respectively called to duty by the use of ‘must’

I challenged us to accept that being a Ghanaian *must* stand for something more than the holder of a birth certificate or a certain passport. (S3)

We, in Ghana, *must* build roads, bridges, railways, ports, schools, hospitals, and we *must* create jobs to keep our young people engaged. (S2)

The Ghanaian Parliament, the Ghanaian Member of Parliament, *must* stand out as institutions that represent all that we hold dear and citizens can take pride in. (S1)

We *must* devolve more power with corresponding resources to the base of our political system and to our people, in the regions and communities. We *must* trust the individual and collective wisdom and good sense of our people. (S1)

We *must* create wealth and restore happiness to our nation. We can only do this when we have an educated and skilled population that is capable of competing in the global economy. We *must* expand our horizons and embrace science and technology as critical tools for our development(S1).

Andrus (2013) on the deeper meanings which may accompany the auxiliary ‘may’ it is used to indicate a necessity as in the expression; ‘We *must* respond as soon as possible’.

## Certainty and Truth

'Will' as a modal auxiliary is identifiable in the three speeches to mark the certainty and truth of an idea According to Wu (1983) 'will' exemplifies how sure a situation is or will be. Hence, when it is used in a declarative statement, it is accompanied by an authority that exerts power. The following are statements from the selected speeches when the modal auxiliary "will" has been used and could be interpreted differently in context.

I *will* spare no effort, including the initiation of the relevant legislation, to ensure that we rid our nation of politically related violence. (S3)

The consequences *will* affect those who have had no say, including small countries like Ghana. (S2)

The creation of six new regions and thirty-eight (38) more districts, and the decision to expand full democracy to local government, are part and parcel of this process of reconstruction, which *will* be the bedrock of the fairer, freer, more efficient and prosperous Ghana we want to construct. (S3)

I *will* not let you, the people of Ghana, down. (S1)

We *will* provide vision and direction and shine the light down the path of our entrepreneurs and farmers. We are, indeed, counting on a vibrant private sector to drive growth and create jobs. (S1)

As explicated by Asare (2017) 'will' as an auxiliary helps an authority to be certain about an idea or known truth. The narrator used 'will' to make known the intentions of the government and informs them on his vision and direction. The narrator predicts the

creation of six additional regions in Ghana as the bedrock of the fairer, freer, more efficient and prosperous Ghana the government wants to construct. In S3 C The narrator by virtue of the power he wields as president is able to make all these predictions to his countrymen and all his audience.

The basic difference between 'shall' and 'should' is that "should" is past tense of 'shall' but its usage is not as simple as using 'should' in place of 'shall' in the past tense in terms of meaning. (Asare,2017). Andrus (2013) explains the difference between shall and should and insists that 'shall' is used to show intention and to make a polite or informal request, whilst 'should' indicates expectation, suggest advice and infer responsibility or obligation.

In the selected speeches, these modal auxiliaries are used to announce the dreams of the narrator to his audience. The narrator successfully uses 'shall' to show his intention as in:

Again, we *shall*, soon, be introducing a bill in Parliament that will add new focus in the promotion and establishment of an integrated iron and steel industry in Ghana, an industry whose natural resource, iron ore, is in abundance in these areas. (S3)

The auxiliary 'shall' is also used to signify the power of the narrator to protect the public purse and insist on value-for-money:

I *shall* protect the public purse by insisting on value-for-money in all public transactions. (S1)

‘Should’ as a modal auxiliary is used to suggest advice or infer a responsibility or obligation. Where the narrator coerces the audience to think alike with him and to support his ideas. Such instances are exemplified in S2 as shown:

It is a different world we currently live in, and we *should* accept that this organization must change to suit contemporary needs. (S2)

The speaker was speaking at the 72<sup>nd</sup> United Nations General Assembly where he used the opportunity to urge member states to change to suit the contemporary needs of the world. He does so successfully by the use of the modal auxiliary ‘shall’ to infer an obligation:

We *should* all recognise the danger we face by the alarming degradation of our environment and work to protect our water bodies, our forests, our lands and the oceans. We *should* learn and accept that we do not own the land, but hold it in trust for generations yet unborn and, therefore, have a responsibility to take good care of it and all it contains. (S1)

In the extract above, the narrator uses ‘should’ to suggest or provide an advice to his audience on the need to recognize the danger that stares at them as a result of the degradation of their environments.

The use of modal auxiliaries to show how the power of the speaker which is in line with Fairclough’s (1995) triadic model for CDA analysis which states that the inclusiveness of grammar is one key aspect that must be described in order to discover issues of power relations in a discourse. As opined by Wu (1983), the presence of the modal auxiliaries leads the audience to a hidden interpretation aspect of the discourse with regards to

power. The use of these modal auxiliaries therefore convey latent meanings rather than a surface expression and subject to interpretation.

### **4.3 Research Question 3. How do the three speeches help to propagate the ideologies of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo and that of the NPP as a political party?**

Li (2015) states that political parties play an important role in supporting a democratic institution. Li (2015) argues that the presence or absence of competing political parties can be used as test for democracy in a country. No full-fledged modern democracy lacks parties that compete for votes and offices in national elections (Pearson, 1975) According to Gyimah-Boadi (1997) by 1962, five years after Ghana's independence in 1957, Ghana was *a de facto single-party state*, which was legalized in 1964. Gyimah-Boadi explains that the period 1966-1992 saw the rise and fall of many political parties, as Ghana entered and exited from a succession of military regimes. Needless to say that the decade-long (1982-1992) ban on political parties under the PNDC significantly undermined the development of party system in Ghana. Since the restoration of multiparty democracy in 1992, however, Ghana has witnessed a stable period of political party development with two parties dominating the country's political landscape. Although a multiplicity of parties have contested four sets of elections during the Fourth Republic, only the NDC and NPP have been very dominant, with these two parties currently controlling parliamentary seats (Oquaye, 2011).

President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo, is a member of the New Patriotic Party (NPP). Langer (2007) posits that the NPP is typically regarded as a pro-market, pro-business party and professes 'Property Owning Democracy' – the right of every citizen to have the opportunity to persevere in order to own property. Langer (2007) explains

that the NPP between 2001 and 2009 ensured the emergence of a number of initiatives aimed at enhancing the citizens 'access to relevant government information, albeit persistent difficulties. One of such initiatives is the introduction of the People's Assembly concept which is, aimed at providing a platform for citizens to interact with the President on a one-on-one basis. This is in line with the ideology of the party which seeks to ensure the individuals' access of government whilst in power. This ideology, in the words of JB Danquah, is "to liberate the energies of the people for the growth of a property- owning democracy in this land, with right to life, freedom, and justice as principle to which government and laws of the land should dedicated in order to enrich life, property, and liberty of each and every citizen". (NPP Manifesto, 2004, p.1).

Thompson's Modes of ideology is used as the thematic basis for analysing of the ideological dimensions in the selected speeches. Thompson (1990) identifies five modes by which ideologies can operate in a discourse comprising unification, fragmentation, legitimisation, dissimulation, and reification. However, three of the modes namely, unification, legitimization and fragmentation resonates with the ideologies of the New Patriotic Party and are used as part of the analytical framework of the study.

#### **4.3.1 Unification**

One of the ideological modes identified in the speeches under study is unification. This involves dissolving the differences between individuals and putting them in a collective unity that overcomes racial, religious, social, gender or political differences Thompson (1990) as cited in Asare (2017). This ideology is in line with the NPP's liberal conservatism which sees all citizens as one, hence, the opportunity to create wealth individually and have access to equal rights and freedoms as stated on page 4 of the NPP constitution. Under the aims and objectives, bullet 4 states to foster and actively



promote unity among all people of the country regardless of ethnic origin, position, gender, occupation, status or political affiliation. The bullet 8 states; “to ensure that wealth of the country is not monopolised by a section of the people concentrated in a particular area of the country but fairly shared and enjoyed by all. This is to help bridge the wide gap between the urban and rural communities and also improve conditions in depressed urban areas of the country”. Bullet 12 states “to ensure that there are equal opportunities for all citizens without discrimination on any grounds of gender, age, position, politics, religion or status”. These excerpts from the selected speeches latently display elements of unification, relative to the ideology.

Madam President, thirteen days ago, *we* laid to rest in his home soil of Ghana, Kofi Annan, the 7th Secretary-General of the United Nations, the first from sub-Saharan Africa to occupy this exalted position. (S2)

*We* in Ghana (and other parts of the African continent) are determined to pull *our* country out of poverty and into prosperity. (S2)

Exactly a month ago, that is 7<sup>th</sup> December last year, 2016, *we*, the people of Ghana, in all serenity and dignity, exercised our democratic franchise freely to elect a President and Parliament of *our* Republic. (S1)

It is with much joy and pride that *I join you* to celebrate the 62nd anniversary of our nation’s independence at this stadium, named, appropriately, after one of the outstanding figures of the 4th Republic and a native of this city, the late Vice President, Alhaji Aliu Mahama, *who left us* so prematurely, and whose dignified widow, Hajia Ramatu Mahama, is with us here. We continue to honour his memory. (S3)

The speaker uses pronouns such as 'we', 'our', 'us', 'I', and 'you' to show unification. According to Bramley (2001), the pronoun, 'we' has two meanings: 'the inclusive we' which refers to both the speaker and audiences or 'the exclusive we' which refer to a certain group of people within a larger group.

These pronouns italicised are used in context to show the bond or perhaps, the unity that exists between the speaker and the citizens of the country. In S1 the pronoun 'we' refers to the speaker and all Ghanaians. Ideally, the laying to rest of the late Kofi Annan was not done by all Ghanaians, however the narrator uses we to refer to Ghanaians as though all citizens of Ghana were directly involved in the laying to rest of Kofi Annan. In essence 'we' is used inclusively as one of the ideological pillars of the NPP.

#### **4.3.2 Legitimation**

Legitimation is making existing structures legitimate or legal (Thompson, 1990) As a result, legitimacy may be based on rational grounds (appealing to the legality of enacted rules), traditional grounds (appealing to the sanctity of immemorial traditions) and charismatic grounds (appealing to the exceptional character of an individual person who exercises authority). Claims based on such grounds may be expressed in symbolic forms by means of certain typical strategies of symbolic construction. According to Thompson (1990), to study ideology is to study or analyse the relationship between symbolic forms of society and relations of power. Fairclough (1992) argues that symbolic discursive discourse contains latent meanings therefore, through legitimization as a mode of ideology, the latent meanings that come with the discourse by a speaker is exposed. The extracts below from S2 portrays legitimization as a mode of ideology.

Ghana has always displayed her belief in the *United Nations* and sought to contribute her share in making the organization a successful one. (S2)

The narrator in the excerpt from S2 legitimizes United Nations as an organisation. As such, the speaker by way of mentioning United Nation endorses the organization and legitimizes it. This helps to propagate the ideology of the NPP as a liberal conservative party that believes in getting the interest of the citizens of Ghana represented at levels that will allow the Ghanaian access to their rights and freedom and benefit from decisions, incentives and policies that will affect the lives of the member states of UN.

In the Ghanaian *Parliament*, a Member of Parliament, must stand out as an institution that represents all that we hold dear and citizens can take pride in. (S1)

We should move on to deepen our *democracy*. It is time to make sure that we have a true separation of powers between the various arms of government. Our *Parliament*, the legislative arm of government, must grow into its proper role as an effective machinery for accountability and oversight of the Executive, and not be its junior partner. (S1)

In the two extracts from S1 above, democracy and separation of powers which are core values of the New Patriotic party are also given legitimacy. The New Patriotic Party in their constitution emphasizes the rights and freedom of citizens and upholds decentralization of governance. This affords the citizens the opportunity to actively participate in the day to day activities and governance of the country. The selected speeches propagate the ideals of the party as having approved of democracy and separation of powers, which are core values of the NPP.

Another aspect of the liberal conservatism ideology of the NPP is their commitment to traditional values (Aryee ,2019). Here, the speaker endorses the existence of chieftaincy institutions and religion and their relevance to the social setting.

I said in *Parliament* a fortnight ago that, spurred on by the momentum from the Dagbon settlement, the hardworking Minister for *Chieftaincy and Religious Affairs*, the Hon. Kofi Dzamesi, is going to intensify his efforts to try and find solutions to other long-standing chieftaincy disputes. (S1)

Under a multi-party democracy, there would necessarily be a divergence of opinions, indeed, democracy thrives on debate, on passion, on argument and, sometimes, even on raised voices. In the midst of the arguments and the raised voices, there is and must always be mutual respect for the opposing viewpoints. (S3)

I am glad to note that the *police* Service is moving to modernise its own rules and regulations. We should hold them to their vision to become an excellent Service, capable of delivering planned, protective and peaceful services to the standards of international best practice in a democracy. (S3)

Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo mentions institutions and some principles that are popular in the day-to-day administration of a country like Ghana in S3. Some of the institutions mentioned include the police, United Nations and Parliament. The narrator also talks about multiparty system and democracy and legitimizes the institutions and principles by giving approval to their existence and the roles they play in promoting the ideologies of the New Patriotic Party.

### 4.3.3 Fragmentation

Fragmentation is achieved not by unifying individuals in a collective entity but rather by fragmenting the individuals who might be capable of mounting effective challenge to the dominant group or by orienting forces of potential opposition towards a target which is projected as evil, harmful or threatening (Thompson 1990). The listener encounters the difference profoundly as it exists between groups and individuals. Hakanssaon (2012) posits that the pronoun 'we' is an important pronoun in political speeches because it represents 'institutional identity.' It can also be used to distinguish between 'us' from 'them' to create power differentials.

Even though both Africans and the western world are under the same umbrella which is the UN, the narrator uses the pronoun 'we' as used in the extract from S2 below to isolate Africans from the western world. The narrator believes that it is improper for the western world to be rich while Africans remain poor.

*We* do not think that a nation needs to remain poor or become poor for others to become prosperous. (S2)

These events provide proof, if some were needed, that ours is an interdependent world. *We* in Ghana (and other parts of the African continent) are determined to pull our country out of poverty and into prosperity. (S2)

In the last extract from S2 below, the narrator continues to enumerate what brings the difference between the countries that have gathered in the name of United Nations.

And I do not refer only to the difference in the numbers in the room on that occasion, nor the difference in the mode of travel that brought the

leaders to that meeting and the jet planes that have brought us all to New York this week. Nor do I refer to the tweets by which we communicate now, and the elegant handwriting that they employed back in 1945. I refer to the theme *we* have drawn up for this General Assembly, and wonder if it would have been comprehensible to that group in San Francisco. (S2)

It is a different world we currently live in, and we should accept that this organization must change to suit contemporary needs. (S2)

In all the extracts above, the narrator makes comments purporting to show the distinction between Africans and the western world. The narrator clearly sees no reason why the difference in financial capability between the whites and Africans should persist. This is seen in the attempt to bridge the gap between Africans and others on different continents. It is one of the ideologies of the NPP to provide individual citizens the opportunity to own their properties and businesses. The Party's policy is to liberate the energies of the people for the growth of a property owning democracy, with right to life, freedom and justice as the principles to which the government and laws of the land should be dedicated, specifically, to enrich life, property and liberty of each and every citizen (Aryee, 2019).

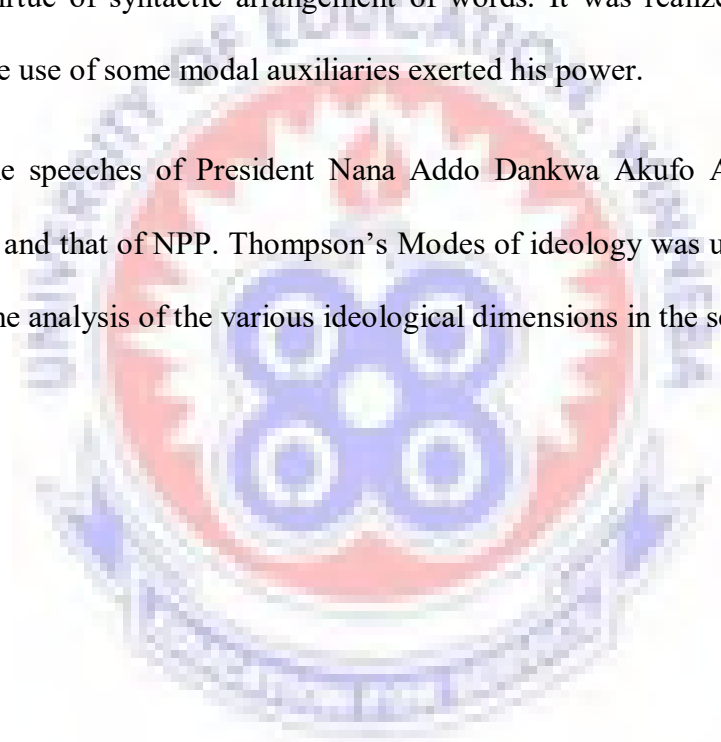
#### **4.4 Summary**

This chapter presented findings and analysis on language, ideology and power that are portrayed in three selected speeches of Nana Addo Akufo Addo based on Norman Fairclough's triadic model for CDA analysis (1995) and Thompson (1990) modes of ideology. The findings reveal that there is indeed a relationship between language and happenings in the society. Themes like respect for systems and structures of authority,

responsibility, the Ghanaian identity, pan-africanism, total independence and patriotism were identified as dominant issues in the speeches as a reflection of the society.

Again, it is identified that power relations exist in these speeches. Power is exerted in the three selected speeches in two ways; Power- behind (over) and Power- Power-behind is in reference to the access the narrator has to manipulate what is said or must be said in the selected speeches. The narrator had an unlimited access to decide what must said to the audience. On the other hand, power-in has to do with how power is used by virtue of syntactic arrangement of words. It was realized that the speaker through the use of some modal auxiliaries exerted his power.

Finally, the speeches of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo propagate his ideologies and that of NPP. Thompson's Modes of ideology was used as the thematic basis for the analysis of the various ideological dimensions in the selected speeches.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of this study and the conclusions drawn from the findings. It also discusses the limitations of the study and ends with recommendations and suggestions for future research. Conclusions are made purely on the textual analysis of the speeches using Fairclough's (1995) triadic model for critical discourse analysis and Thompson's (1990) modes of ideology.

#### 5.1 Summary of Findings

First the study revealed that the most commonly used manifest words in the three speeches include life, Ghanaians, rules, document, president, republic, history, security council, police, organizations, poverty, police, continent, Africa, pride, resolutions, politics, parliament, unity, natives, state, year of return, democracy, independence, His Excellency, Ghana and United Nations. The contextual meanings of these words led to the identification of four major issues as themes which include respect for systems and structure of authority, self-reliance, social issues and economic issues. The study also considered power relations that are evident in the selected speeches. It was noted that the use of power- behind discourse is portrayed in the sense of who has access to discourse and who does not. In all the three selected speeches, the speaker makes statements that show the disparity between himself and his audience. The relationship between the speaker and the audience becomes obvious. The fact that the speaker has power to do things and take decisions on behalf of the audience because he has been given such powers is also highlighted. He made statements to distinguish himself as one who is in position to thank the guests that had gathered to witness his swearing in



as President in speech one. In speech three, during the independence ceremony at Aliu Mahama sports stadium, another important statement that indicates his possession of power and the disparity between the speaker and the audience is seen when he says he has directed the police to revamp some services, when he recounts what he said in parliament, and when he assures the people of Tamale of the government's support. These statements portrayed how privileged the speaker was to first of all speak in parliament and the power he wields as president to assure a group of Ghanaians the continuous support of government.

Power-in discourse is also exhibited through the use of modal auxiliary verbs which include, *must*, *will* and *shall or should* in these speeches. The study revealed that the speaker Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo uses this modal auxiliary to call his audience to duty. The modal auxiliary "must" when used is a form of imposition of obligation on hearers or audience. It is a means by which the speaker is able to get the audience to approve of the ideas that he espouses in the discourse. The auxiliary *will* is used to mark the certainty and truth of ideas and *shall or should* is used to announce the dreams and expectations. The use of modal auxiliaries' exhibit power-in as used in the discourse and affirmed by Fairclough's (1995) model. The model predicts two means of power identification in discursive practices; power- behind or power- over and power-in.

In this study, Thompson's (1990) five modes of ideology served as a guide to the identification of the ideological dimensions. However, three modes guided the analysis, namely. unification, legitimization and fragmentation.

## **5.2 Conclusions**

After the analysis of three selected speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, the findings of this study clearly confirm the assertion that, language is a social practice and it is part of the society. That is, the use of language reflects the happenings in the society as issues in the society influence the production of language (Fairclough, 1992). The four dominant issues; respect for systems and structures of authority, self-reliance, social issues and economic issues identified under research question one clearly reflect the presence of these issues in the society.

Again, this work reveals the existence of power relations in discourse which are consciously created. This confirms the assertion that we live in an age in which power is predominantly exercised through the generation of consent rather than coercion. Power is exhibited in a subtle manner for the audience to identify and to seek their consent to accept ideas being propagated. As an influential person, the existence of power in the speeches of a President is in line with Cipriani's (2002) assertion that one cannot be influential without wielding some form of power enabling them to influence people they come into contact with.

Finally, this study affirms the assertion that language has ideological dimensions as opined by Fairclough (1995). However, ideological dimensions are not explicitly stated but implied and can only be unearthed through interpretations placed on the text or discourse. The use of pronouns brought to light certain ideological dimensions of the representation of the ideologies of the NPP as a liberal conservative party.

## **5.3 Limitations of the Study**

One clear limitation of this study was the difficulty in selecting a domain of speeches yet to be analysed in earlier studies. However, with a focus on the gap to fill, I was able

to purposively select 3 for this study. Another limitation to this work is the minimal literature on President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. In terms of his political career.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

1. It is recommended that critical attention must be given to how language is used by people in authority to assert ideologies through their public speeches.
2. The study recommends that speech writers should subconsciously explore the unlimited access to the manifest meanings of words to aid interpretations from diverse perspectives.
3. It is recommended that speakers through the use of some modal auxiliaries can exert power as they communicate to through speech.

#### **5.5 Suggestions for further Studies**

The following suggestions have been made for future studies:

A comparative study could be conducted to find out the similarities and differences between successive presidents in Ghana on their construction of issues of ideology and power in texts.

Further research could be carried out to investigate the effect of the ideas presented in the speeches on the audience. The research should be replicated elsewhere to verify the findings. A research could be conducted on how Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo constructs his ideologies outside Ghana with speeches made outside the confines of Ghana.

A comparative study could be conducted to determine the similarities and differences in the ideologies of presidents that emerge from the same political party in Ghana.

## REFERENCES

- Abdullahi-Idiagbon, M.S. (2010). Language Use in Selected Nigerian Presidential Election Campaign Speeches: A Critical Discourse Analysis Perspectives. *Journal of the Nigerian English Studies Association*. Retrieved from [Http://www.Jstor.Org](http://www.jstor.org). On September 17, 2016.
- Acemoglu, D, & Robinson J. (2006). *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York. Cambridge University Press.
- Adamu, M. T (2017). *Critical Discourse Analysis of Selected Speeches of Dr. Nkrumah*. An Unpublished Master of Philosophy Thesis Presented to the Department of Communication and Media Studies, University of Education, Winneba.
- Adeyanju, D. (2009). "Pragmatic Features of Political Speeches in English by Some Prominent Nigerian Leaders". *Journal of Political Discourse Analysis*. Vol. 2(2). Nova Science Publisher.: U.S.A.
- Adjei-Fobi, C.K. (2011). *A Rhetorical Analysis of Political Discourse: A Comparative Study of the Use of Metaphor in The Speeches of Nkrumah and Rawlings*. An Unpublished Master of Philosophy Thesis Presented to The Department of English, University of Ghana, Legon.
- Agyekum, K. (2004). Aspects of Akan Persuasive Language. *Rask-International Journal of Language and Communication*, 21, 63-96.
- Ahmadian, S., Azarshahi, S., & Paulhus, D. L. (2017). *Explaining Donald Trump Via Communication Style: Grandiosity, Informality, and Dynamism*. *Pers. Individ. Differ.* 107, 49–53.
- Akufo-Addo, N. (2017). *Akufo-Addo's Speech at 72nd Session of Un General 4. Assembly*. Myjoyonline. Retrieved September 21st, 2017. From: [Https://Www.Myjoyonline.Com](https://www.myjoyonline.com)
- Andrus, J. (2013). *Rhetorical Discourse Analysis*. In C.A. Chappelle (Ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics* (Pp. 4975–4981). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Aryee, S. (2019). *Transformational Leadership, Innovative Behavior, and task Performance: Test of mediation and moderation processes*. *Human Performance*, 25(1), 1-25.
- Asante, M. K. (2006). The Rhetoric of Globalisation: The Europeanisation of Ideas. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 1,152-158.
- Asare, G. (2017). *Language, Power and Ideology: An Analysis On Related Speeches of Dr. Mensah Otabil*. An Unpublished Master of Philosophy Thesis Presented to Department of Communication and Media Studies, University of Education, Winneba.

- Ayeomoni, M. (2012). *Language and Political Ideology in the Nigerian Military Coup Speeches: A Case Study of General Aguiyi Ironsi's, General Yakubu Gowon's and General Murtala Muhammed's*. *Lumina*, 22(2): 1-30
- Batstone, R. (1995). *Grammar in Discourse: Attitude and Deniability*. G. Cook Oxford: Oxford University Press, 197- 213.
- Bayram, F. (2010). 'Ideology and Political Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Erdogan's Political Speech', *Annual Review of Education, Communication and Language Sciences*. 7: 23-40.
- Berisha, V., Wang S., Lacross A., & Liss J. (2015). *Tracking Discourse Complexity Preceding Alzheimer's Disease Diagnosis: A Case Study Comparing the Press Conferences of Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Herbert Walker Bush*. *J. Alzheimers Dis*. 45 959–963.
- Bernard, H.R. (2002). *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. 3rd Alta Mira Press; Walnut Creek, CA.
- Bird, C. (2011). *The Discourse of American Tragedy: An Analysis of President Clinton's Rhetoric as It Functions to Construct Reality, Shape Community, And Display Presidential Eloquence*. M.A. Thesis, Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant, Michigan.
- Blackledge A. (2005) *Discourse and Power in a Multilingual World*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company
- Bloor, M., & Bloor, T. (2007). *The Practice of Critical Discourse Analysis: An Introduction*. Hachette: Hodder Education.
- Boafo-Arthur, K. (2003). *Chieftaincy in Ghana: Challenges and Prospects in the 21st Century*. *African and Asian Studies* 2(2): 125-153.
- Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method. *Qualitative Research. Journal*, 9, 27-40
- Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development*. Sage.
- Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development*. Sage.
- Bramley, Nicolette Ruth. (2001). *Pronouns of Politics: the use of Pronouns in the Construction of 'Self' and 'Other' in Political Interviews*. PhD Thesis. Unpublished, Australian National University.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2008). *Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology*, 887 (January).

- Browne, S. H. (2016). "Sacred Fire of Liberty: The Constitutional Origins of Washington's First Inaugural Address." *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 19.3: 397-426.
- Burgess, S. (2014). *Understanding the Success of London's Schools*. Bristol: CMPO
- Burns, A. (2001). *Real-Time Systems and Programming Languages: Ada 95, Real-Time Java, and Real-Time POSIX*. Pearson Education.
- Campbell, K. & Kathleen J. (1985). "Inaugurating the Presidency." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 15.2: 394-411.
- Cheng, T. (2006). Strategizing Party Adaptation: The Case of the Kuomintang. *Journal of East Asian Studies* 3: 1-41
- Chester, E. W. (1980). "Beyond The Rhetoric: A New Look at Presidential Inaugural Addresses." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 10.4
- Chilton, P. & Ilyin, M. (1993). *Metaphor in Political Discourse: The Case of the Common Euro; Pean House*. *Discourse and Society*. 4(1), 7-3
- Christenfeld N. (1994). *Options and Ums. J. Lang. Soc. Psychol.* 13 192-199. 10.
- Cipriani, A. C. (2002). *Power in Religious Discourse: A Discourse Analysis of Two Sermons from the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God*. Santa Catarina, Florianópolis: Universidade Federal De.
- Constitution- New Patriotic Party (NPP), Retrieved 14 May,2020 From <https://Newpatrioticparty.Org>
- Constitution of the Republic of Ghana. Retrieved 14 May,2020 From <https://Newpatrioticparty.Org>
- Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Strategies for Qualitative Data Analysis. Basics of Qualitative Research. Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, 3.
- Coutanche, M.N. & Paulus, J.P. (2018). *An Empirical Analysis of Popular Press Claims Regarding Linguistic Change in President Donald J. Trump*. *Front. Psychol.* 9:2311.
- Creswell, J.W. (2013). *Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches (Fourth Ed.)*. California: Thousand Oaks
- Cruise, A. (2004). *Meaning in Language: An Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oup
- Curtice, J., Bryson, C., Schwartz, S., Thomassen, J., Van Kersbergen, K., & Van Waarden, F. (2003). *People's Under Lying Value Orientations*. Chapter5. (176).Retrievedfrom[http://Www.Europeansocialsurvey.Org/Docs/Methodology/Core\\_Ess\\_Questionnaire/ESS\\_Core\\_Questionnaire\\_Political\\_Issues.Pdf](http://Www.Europeansocialsurvey.Org/Docs/Methodology/Core_Ess_Questionnaire/ESS_Core_Questionnaire_Political_Issues.Pdf)

- Cutting, J. (2000). *Pragmatics and Discourse*. London: Routledge.
- Dadugblor, S. K. (2016). *Clusivity in Presidential Discourse: Rhetorical Discourse Analysis of State-of-the Nation addresses in Ghana and United States*. Open Access Master's Thesis, Michigan Technological University.
- Dalton, R. J. (2006). *Citizen politics: Public opinion and Political parties in Advance industrial democracies (4th Ed.)*. Washing
- Dearing, J., & Everett M. R. (1996). *Agenda-Setting*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2011). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Sage.
- Dickerson, P. (1997). 'It's Not Just Me Who's Saying This ...' *The Deployment of Cited Others in Televised Political Discourse*. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 36:33-48.
- Duran, J. (2008). *The Analysis of Political Discourse Applied to Bush's and Kerry's Speeches*. *Systemic Functional Linguistic in Use*, 29(1): 267-282.
- Eisenhart, C. & Johnstone, B. (2008). *Discourse Analysis and Rhetorical Studies*. In B. Johnstone and C. Eisenhart (Eds.), *Rhetoric in Detail: Discourse Analyses of Rhetorical Talk and Text* (Pp. 3-24). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Ericson, & David F. (1997). "Presidential Inaugural Addresses and American Political Culture." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 27.4 :727-44.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. London: Longman
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Society Change*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. Harlow: Longman
- Fowler, A. E. (1991). *How Early Phonological Development Might Set the Stage for Phoneme Awareness*. *Phonological Processes in Literacy: A Tribute to Isabelle Y. Liberman*, 106, 97-117.
- Gilligan, Philip A. (2007). Well-Motivated Reformists or Nascent Radicals: How Do Applicants to the Degree in Social Work See Social Problems, Their Origins and Solutions? *British Journal of Social Work*, Vol. 37, No. 4, Pp. 735-760
- Gottschalk, L. A., Uliana, R., & Gilbert, R. (1988). *Presidential Candidates and Cognitive Impairment Measured from Behavior in Campaign Debates*. *Public Adm. Rev.* 48, 613-619.
- Gyimah-Boadi, E. (1997). Ghana's Encouraging Elections: The Challenges Ahead. *Journal of Democracy*, 8(2), 78-91.

- Gyimah-Boadi, E. (1997). Ghana's Encouraging Elections: The Challenges Ahead. *Journal of Democracy*, 8(2), 78-91.
- Hakansson, G. (2012). *First Language Development of Grammar*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd. John Wiley & Sons, Inc, Penguin
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1978). Language as Social Semiotics. London: Edward Arnold Ltd. Hamilton (Eds.). *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Horton, W. S., Spieler, D. H., & Shriberg, E. (2010). *A Corpus Analysis of Patterns of Age-Related Change in Conversational Speech*. *Psychol. Aging* 25, 708–713.
- Jacobs, & Lawrence R. (1992). "The Recoil Effect: Public Opinion and Policymaking in the U.S. And Britain." *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 24, No. 2, Jan., Pp.199–217.
- Joia, L. (2012). *A Heuristic Model to Implement Government-to-Government Projects*. Vol. 3, Pp. 1-18. 14 Dec. 2012
- Jordan, K. N., & Pennebaker, J. W. (2017). *The Exception or the Rule: Using Words to Assess Analytic Thinking, Donald Trump, and The American Presidency*. *Transl. Issues Psychol. Sci.* 3, 312–316.
- Jost, J. T. (2006). *The end of the end of ideology*. *American Psychologist*, 61, 651–670.
- Kemper, S., Thompson, M., & Marquis, J. (2001). *Longitudinal Change in Language Production: Effects of Aging and Dementia On Grammatical Complexity and Propositional Content*. *Psychol. Aging* 16, 600–614.
- Korzi, E. & Michael J. (2004). "The President and The Public: Inaugural Addresses in American History." *Congress and the Presidency* 31.1 :21-52.
- Kress, G. (1985). "Ideological Structures in Discourse". London: Routledge.
- Kumah-Abiwu F. & Ochwa-Echel. J. (2013). Rethinking the Ideas of Pan-Africanism and African Unity: A Theoretical Perspective of Kwame Nkrumah's leadership traits and Decision Making. *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 6 (6) December: 122–142.
- Le, X., Lancashire, I., Hirst, G., & Jokel, R. (2011). *Longitudinal Detection of Dementia Through Lexical and Syntactic Changes in Writing: A Case Study of three British Novelists*. *Lit. Linguist. Comput.* 26, 435–461.
- Leckie-Tarry, H. (1995). *Language and Context*. A & C Black.
- Leith, M. S. and Soule, D. P. J. (2011). *Political Discourse and National Identity in Scotland, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press*. [doi:10.3366/edinburgh/ 9780748637362.001.0001]
- Lin, A.M.Y. (2013). *Critical Discourse Analysis: Overview*. In C. A. Chapelle (Ed.), *the Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics* (Pp. 1466-1471). Oxford: Blackwell.

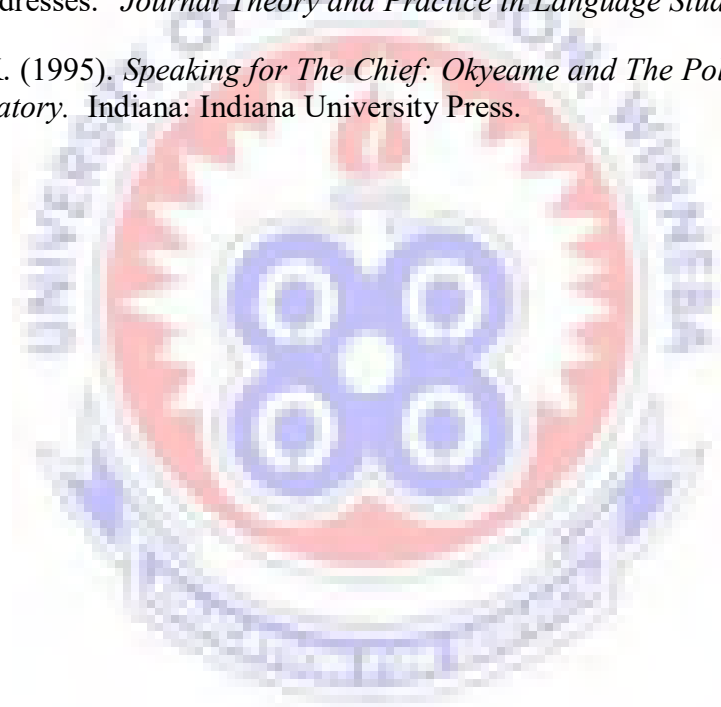


- Lindlof, R.T. & Taylor C.B. (2002). *Qualitative Communication Research Methods (Second Ed.)*. New Delhi: Sage Publication, Inc.
- Liu, C. (2003). *A Comparison of Job Stressors and Job Strains Among Employees Holding Comparable Jobs in Western and Eastern Societies*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of South Florida, Tampa.
- Logan C. (2013). *Why Are Traditional Authorities Still Popular in Democratic Africa?* The Wilson Quarterly -Fall 2013. Available at: <https://Wilsonquarterly.Com/Quarterly/Fall-2014-Mexican-Momentum/Why-Are-Traditional-Authorities-Still-Popular-In-DemocraticAfrica/> (Accessed 28 August)
- M'bayo, T. (2004). *W.E. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, And Pan-Africanism in Liberia, 1919- 1924*. *Historian* 66 (1):19-44.
- Mcdiarmid, J. (1937). "Presidential Inaugural Addresses-A Study in Verbal Symbols." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 1. 79-82.
- Mensah, E.O. (2014). *The Rhetoric of Kwame Nkrumah: An Analysis of His Political Speeches*. An Unpublished PhD Thesis Presented to The Center for Rhetoric Studies, Faculty of Humanities, University of Cape Town, South Africa.
- Meyer, M. (2001). *Between Theory, Method, and Politics: Positioning of the Approaches to Cda*. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Ed.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (Pp. 14-31)*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage.
- Milroy, J. (2001). *Language Ideologies and the Consequences of Standardization*.
- Narayanan, L., Menon, S., & Spector, P. E. (1999). A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Job Stressors and Reactions Among Employees Holding Comparable Jobs in Two Countries. *International Journal of Stress Management*, 6, 197–212.
- Neuman, Y. (2003). Construction of Collective and Individual Knowledge in Argumentative Activity. *The Journal of the Learning Sciences*, 12(2), 219-256.
- New Patriotic Party (NPP) Manifesto for Election (2016). *Change an Agenda for Jobs Creating Prosperity and Equal Opportunity for All*. Retrieved: March 12th, 2019 From [http://www.Codeghana.Org/Assets/Downloadables/Npp\\_2016\\_Manifesto.Com\\_Pressed.Pdf](http://www.Codeghana.Org/Assets/Downloadables/Npp_2016_Manifesto.Com_Pressed.Pdf)
- Obeng, S. G. (1997). *Language and Politics: Indirectness in Political Discourse*. *Discourse & Society*, 8(1), 49-83
- Ochoche, S. (1997), "Electoral Violence and National Security in Nigeria" in *African Peace Review*". Vol. 1 No. 1 Page.
- Ogaba, O. (2010). "Security, Globalization and Climate Change: A conceptual Reading in Intelligence and Security Studies Analysis". in Oita E. E. & Ogaba O. (ed) *Climate Change and Human Security in Nigeria*. Lagos: NIIA.
- Okhonmina, S. (2009). The African Union: Pan-Africanist Aspirations and The Challenge of African Unity. *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 3(4):85-100

- Pearson, G. (1975). 'Making Social Workers: Bad Promises and Good Omens', In Bailey, R. And Brake, M. (Eds) (1975) *Radical Social Work*, London, Edward Arnold, Chapter 2, 13-45.
- Piketty, T. (2014). *Capital in the 21st Century*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge
- Pitney, John J., Jr (1997). "President Clinton's 1993 Inaugural Address." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 27.1: 91-103.
- President Hoover's Inaugural Address*. *Advocate of Peace Through Justice* 91.4 (1929): 245-47.
- President Nana Addo Dankwah Akuffo Addo: Profile, Retrieved 12<sup>th</sup> March 2019 From [Http://Mobile.Ghanaweb.Com](http://Mobile.Ghanaweb.Com)
- Punch, K. F. (1998). *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage.
- Reay, D. (2012). What Would a Socially Just Education System Look Like? Saving The Minnows from the Pike. *Journal of Education Policy*, 27(5), 587-599
- Rottinghaus, B. (2001). "Rethinking Presidential Responsiveness: The Public Presidency and Rhetorical Concurrency, 195-." *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 68, No. 3, Aug. 2006, Pp. 720–732.
- Sarfo, E. & Krampa, E.A. (2013). *Language at War: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Speeches of Bush and Obama On Terrorism*. *International J. Soc. Sci. & Education*, 3(2).
- Sharififar, M., & Rahimi, E. (2015). *Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Speeches: A Case Study of Obama's and Rouhani's Speeches at Un*. *A Journal of Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, Vol.5, No.2, Pp.343-349. Retrieved from [Http:// www. Dx. Doi.Org/10.17507/Tpls.0502.14](http://www.Dx.Doi.Org/10.17507/Tpls.0502.14) On September 17, 2016
- Sharndama, E.C. (2015). *Political Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of President Mohamradu Buhari's Inaugural Speech*. *European Journal of English Language and Linguistics*. Research Vol.3, No.3, Pp.12-24. Retrieved from [Http:// Www.Eajournal.Org](http://Www.Eajournal.Org). On September 17, 2016.
- Simpson, P. (1993). *Language, Ideology and Point View*. London: Routledge.
- Slatcher, R. B., Chung, C. K., Pennebaker, J. W., & Stone, L. D. (2007). *Winning Words: Individual Differences in Linguistic Style Among U.S. Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates*. *J. Res. Pers.* 41, 63–75.
- Snowdon, D. A., Kemper, S. J., Mortimer, J. A., Greiner, L. H., Wekstein, D. R., & Markesbery, W. R. (1996). *Linguistic Ability in Early Life and Cognitive Function and Alzheimer's Disease in Late Life. Findings from The Nun Study*. *Jama* 275, 528–532

- Stubbs, M. (1997). *Whorf's Children: Critical Comments On Critical Discourse Analysis*. In A. Ryan & A. Wray (Eds.), *Evolving Models of Language* (Pp.146-217). Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Taiwo, R. (2009). "Legitimization and Coercion in Political Discourse: A Case Study of Olusegun Obasanjo Address to the PDP Elders and Stakeholders Forum". *Journal of Political Discourse Analysis*. Vol. 2(2).191-205.
- Tanzi, V. (1995). *Corruption: Arm's-Lengh Relationships and Markets*, In: *Fiorentini, G. and Pelzman, S.M (Eds.): The economics of Organised Crime*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Teten, R. (2003). "Evolution of The Modern Rhetorical Presidency: Presidential Presentation and Development of the State of the Union Address." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 33.2): 333-46.
- Van Leeuwen (2008). *Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Thompson, J.B. (1990). *Ideology and Modern Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Thorne, S. (2000). *Data analysis in Qualitative Research. Evidence-based nursing*, 3(3), 68-70.
- Toolin, C. (1983). "American Civil Religion from 1789 To 1981: A Content Analysis of Presidential Inaugural Addresses." *Review of Religious Research* 25.1 (39-48.
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) (2010). *Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2010: Reaching The Marginalised*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Van Dijk T. A. (1998). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, And H.E.
- Van Dijk, T. (1998) (ed.). *Handbook of Discourse Analysis, Vol. 4: Discourse Analysis in Society*. London: Academic Press, (pp. 27-42).
- Van Dijk, T. (ed.) (1998). *Handbook of Discourse Analysis, Vol. 4: Discourse Analysis in Society*. London: Academic Press, (pp. 27-42).
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1998). Ideology and Discourse Analysis. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 11(2), London: Routledge. 115-140
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1998). *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. Thousand Oak: Sage Publications.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1998). *Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis*. *Discourse and Society*, 4(2), 202-285. London: Sage Publications
- Van Leeuwen, T. (2005). *Three Models of Interdisciplinarity*. London: Sage Publications

- Wang, J. (2010). *A Critical Discourse Analysis of Barack Obama's Speeches*. Academy Publisher, Finland.
- Wayo-Seini, A. (2006). *Does Party Philosophy Matter*. In Report of Conference of Political Parties organised by The IEA (pp. 27-29).
- Witkin, B. R., & Altschuld, J. W. (1995). *Conducting and Planning Needs Assessments. A Practical Guide*.
- Wodak, R. And Meyer, M. (2001). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage Publications.
- Wu H. (2008). *A Study of two Functions of Modal Auxiliary Verbs in English, with Special Reference to can, may and must*. English Language Teaching, 1(2)
- Xue, J. et al. (2013). "Conceptual Metaphor in American Presidential Inaugural Addresses." *Journal Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 3.4: 678+.
- Yankah, K. (1995). *Speaking for The Chief: Okyeame and The Politics of Akan Royal Oratory*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.



## APPENDIX A

### INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLENCY, NANA ADDO DANKWA AKUFO-ADDO, ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SWEARING IN AS PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE GHANA ARMED FORCES.

Mr. Speaker,

The Ghanaian people give thanks to Almighty God for the blessings, favour and grace He continues to bestow on them. Exactly a month ago, that is 7<sup>th</sup> December last year, 2016, we, the people of Ghana, in all serenity and dignity, exercised our democratic franchise freely to elect a President and Parliament of our Republic. We are met here today to give effect to the outcome of that exercise. In accordance with our republican custom, I, having been declared the winner of the presidential contest on 9<sup>th</sup> December, 2016, by the returning officer, the Chairperson of the Electoral Commission, Charlotte Osei, have taken the oath of the high office of President of the Republic, in the presence of the newly sworn Vice President, His Excellency Alhaji Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia, and the newly elected Speaker of Parliament, the Rt. Hon. Prof. Michael Oquaye, an oath administered by the Chief Justice, Her Ladyship Georgina Theodora Wood, before the elected representatives of the people assembled in this 7<sup>th</sup> Parliament of the 4<sup>th</sup> Republic. This is the day the Lord has made; we will rejoice and be glad in it.

Our nation is honoured by the presence, at this solemn ceremony of investiture, of leaders and representatives of friendly countries across the globe, in particular those of the sister nations of our regional body, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and of our continental body, the African Union. I salute the Chairperson of the Authority of Heads of State and Governments of the AU, His Excellency Idriss Déby, President of the Republic of Chad. I salute the Chairperson of the Authority of Heads of State and Governments of ECOWAS, the historic figure, Her Excellency Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, President of the Republic of Liberia; our special guest of honour, His Excellency Alassane Dramane Ouattara, President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, and we thank him for his excellent speech; His Excellency Muhammadu Buhari, President of the Federal Republic of mighty Nigeria; His Excellency Macky Sall, President of the Republic of Senegal; His Excellency Faure Gnassingbé, President of the Republic of Togo; His Excellency Alpha Condé, President of the Republic of Guinea Conakry; His Excellency Patrice Talon, President of the Republic of Benin; His Excellency Ernest Bai Koroma, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone; His Excellency Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta, President of the Republic of Mali; His Excellency Roch Marc Christian Kaboré, President of Burkina Faso. We are grateful also for the presence of His Excellency Teodoro Obiang Nguema, President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea; His Excellency Ali Bongo, President of the Republic of Gabon; and His Excellency Edgar Lungu, President of the Republic of Zambia. To them and the representatives of all the other friendly nations who are here, and former presidents and leaders, I say 'akwaaba', our famous word of welcome.

I have, at the outset, to thank sincerely our departing President, His Excellency John Dramani Mahama, for his service to our nation. He stepped into the breach of national leadership at a delicate moment in the country's history, with the death in office, for the first time, of a sitting president, the late Prof. John Evans Atta Mills. He has since steered the ship of state with conviction. His elegant, dignified acceptance of the verdict of the people on 7<sup>th</sup> December, 2016, will, without doubt, receive the approval of history, for it has contributed significantly to the process of democratic consolidation in Ghana. I wish him and his family well.

For myself, I am in the unique position of being able to draw on the wisdom and experience of three former Presidents of the Republic, their Excellencies Jerry John Rawlings, John Agyekum Kufuor and John Dramani Mahama. They represent the continuity of the institutions of our Republic, for which we thank God.

Mr. Speaker, I am deeply humbled by the exceptional mandate and extraordinary show of confidence that the Ghanaian people have conferred on my party, the New Patriotic Party, and on my modest person. I am determined to do all in my power to accomplish the tasks of the mandate and justify their confidence. I will not let you, the people of Ghana, down.

We have a proud heritage. We are the heirs of John Mensah Sarbah, Joseph Caseley Hayford, George Pa Grant, R.S. Blay, Joseph Boakye Danquah, Emmanuel Obetsebi Lamptey, Edward Akufo-Addo, William Ofori-Atta, Cobbina Kesse, Ernest Ako Adjei, Kwame Nkrumah, Komla Agbeli Gbedema, Kojo Botsio, S.D. Dombo, Kofi Abrefa Busia, Baffuor Osei Akoto and others, who taught us that fidelity to principles, courage, patience, resilience and collective action do yield results. They fought with intelligence, guts, steely determination and patriotism to liberate our land and reclaim our worth as human beings. 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.

On March 6, in a few weeks' time, Ghana will attain 60 years as an independent nation. 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. Since we accepted a consensus on how we should be governed with the onset of the Fourth Republic, we have performed more creditably. It is within this period of 24 years that Ghana has witnessed a consistent period of development.

Sixty years after attaining nationhood, we no longer have any excuses for being poor. I stand here today, humbled beyond measure for the opportunity to lead this country at this time and take us to a higher level in our development.

The words of JB Danquah, one of the founding fathers of the Ghanaian nation, are compelling. He said as far back as 1960 that the duty of government should be “to liberate the energies of the people for the growth of a property owning democracy in this land, with right to life, freedom and justice, as the principles to which the government and the laws of the land should be dedicated in order specifically to enrich life, property and liberty of each and every citizen.”

We have an exuberant and young, growing population that wants the best of what the world has to offer and will not settle for “Third World” or “developing world” standards. We have an adventurous people who are in a hurry for success. I have no doubt that the talents, energies, sense of enterprise and innovation of the Ghanaian can be harnessed to make Ghana the place where dreams come true.

It took us a while, but the consensus on multi-party constitutional rule has been established, and, for the third time, we have had a peaceful transfer of power from a governing party to an opposition one. We have done it without any fuss and it is now part of what we do as a people.

Kofi Abrefa Busia, Prime Minister of the Progress Party government of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Republic, and one of the great Ghanaians, said in these eloquent words: “We regard politics as an avenue of service to our fellow men. We hold that political power is to be exercised to make life nobler and happier. Our success or failure should be judged by the quality of the individual, by his knowledge, his skills, his behaviour as a member of society, the standard of living he is able to enjoy and by the degree of harmony and brotherliness in our community life as a nation.”

We should move on to deepen our democracy. It is time to make sure that we have a true separation of powers between the various arms of government. Our Parliament, the legislative arm of government, must grow into its proper role as an effective machinery for accountability and oversight of the Executive, and not be its junior partner.

The Ghanaian Parliament, the Ghanaian Member of Parliament, must stand out as institutions that represent all that we hold dear and citizens can take pride in. Our judiciary must inspire confidence in the citizens, so we can all see the courts as the ultimate arbiters when disputes arise, as they would. A Ghanaian judge must be a reassuring presence and the epitome of fairness.

We have worked with our national constitution for 24 years and we now know the areas that require change. I believe a consensus is emerging that we must decentralize more. We must devolve more power with corresponding resources to the base of our political system and to our people, in the regions and communities. We must trust the individual and collective wisdom and good sense of our people.

We must restore integrity in public life. State coffers are not spoils for the party that wins an election, but resources for the country’s social and economic development. I shall protect the public purse by insisting on value-for-money in all public transactions.

Public service is just that – service and not an avenue for making money. Money is to be made in the private sector, not the public. Measures will be put in place to ensure this.

We must create wealth and restore happiness to our nation. We can only do this when we have an educated and skilled population that is capable of competing in the global economy. We must expand our horizons and embrace science and technology as critical tools for our development.

We believe that the business of government is to govern. Ours is to set fair rules. We will provide vision and direction and shine the light down the path of our entrepreneurs and farmers. We are, indeed, counting on a vibrant private sector to drive growth and create jobs.

We will stimulate the creative juices of innovators. We will bring back to life the adventurer in you. It is time to imagine and to dream again; time to try that business idea again. We will reduce taxes to recover the momentum of our economy. The doors of Ghana are open again. The shutters are up again. There could not be a better opportunity to “Make in Ghana”, and to make it in Ghana. GHANA IS OPEN FOR BUSINESS AGAIN!

We will build a confident Ghana which is united, at peace with itself and takes pride in its diversity.

We will rekindle the spirit that made Ghana the leading light on the African continent, and make our conditions deserving of that accolade. We will work with our neighbours and friends on the continent to enhance peace, democracy and political stability in our part of the world. We will reassert vigorously the Pan African vocation to which our nation has been dedicated. Integration of our region and of our continent will be a strategic objective of Ghanaian policy.

It will not be easy. We have no illusions whatsoever about the enormity of the task that we face, but I know that Ghanaians at home and abroad will rise to the occasion; they always do. It will require sacrifice, but it can be done. Others have done it. So can we. Our best days still lie ahead. Though our challenges are fearsome, so are our strengths. Ghanaians have ever been a restless, questing, hopeful people. And we must bring to our task today the vision and will of those who came before us.

The Ghanaian people have summoned the change we celebrate today. They have raised their voices in an unmistakable chorus. They have cast their votes without equivocation and have forced the change. Now we must do the work the season demands. To that work, I now turn with all the authority of my office. I ask the Legislature and Judiciary to join with me. But no President, no Parliament, no Government can undertake this mission all by itself.

Fellow citizens, you must be at the centre of the change. The change we have voted for will have to start with each of us as individuals. We can start with little changes in our



own individual attitudes and practices. The change can and should start now and with us as individuals.

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. Holy Scripture in Galatians 6:9 says "Let us not become weary in doing good, for at the proper time we will reap a harvest if we do not give up."

I assure you, my fellow citizens, who have entrusted me with this mandate, that I will advance my convictions with civility, I will serve the public interest with courage, I will speak for greater justice as well as compassion, and I will call for responsibility and I will live it, as well. This is my solemn pledge.

I see exciting times ahead. The rule of law will be the underlying tenet of our lives; and the law will be applicable to all of us, and not just some.

We will have to work hard, harder than we have ever done before; and the hard work will be done by all of us, and not just some. There will be discipline in all sectors of our lives; and this applies to all of us, not just some.

Our public service will be accorded the dignity and respect it deserves, and be made to attract the bright young people it needs.

We acknowledge there will always be the need for a safety net for the vulnerable in our society, as in all other societies. Our nation will work when the marginalised and vulnerable are catered for and treated with respect.

Our elderly people will be recognised for their roles in building Ghana and assured of care in the dusk of their lives.

We should all recognise the danger we face by the alarming degradation of our environment and work to protect our water bodies, our forests, our lands and the oceans. We should learn and accept that we do not own the land, but hold it in trust for generations yet unborn and, therefore, have a responsibility to take good care of it and all it contains.

Ghana's first President, Kwame Nkrumah, Osagyefo, said at the end of 1957, the year of our independence: "We shall measure our progress by the happiness which our people take in being able to manage their own affairs."

Since March 6, 1957, we all say as a matter of routine that we are Ghanaians. It is time to define what being a Ghanaian ought to mean. Being a Ghanaian must stand for something more than the holder of a birth certificate or a certain passport.

Being a Ghanaian must put certain responsibilities on each one of us. Calling yourself a Ghanaian must mean you have signed up to a certain definable code and conduct. Being a Ghanaian puts an obligation on each one of us to work at building a fair, prosperous and happy nation.

And calling yourself a Ghanaian must mean we look out for each other.

There should be no higher praise than to be able to say I am a Ghanaian.

I thank the Almighty that I am able to say with pride, I am a Ghanaian. A new dawn has arisen in Ghana, which will enable us to build a new Ghanaian civilization which will be the beacon of Africa and the wonder of the world. I thank you all, my fellow citizens, for making me the president of this beautiful country.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and may God bless our homeland Ghana and make her great and strong. And may God bless us all and Mother Africa.



## **APPENDIX B**

### **PRESIDENT AKUFO-ADDO'S SPEECH AT 73RD UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

Madam President, Secretary-General, Your Excellences

Ghana salutes the historical significance of your election to preside over this 73rd session of the General Assembly as the first female Latin American, and congratulates you most heartily, Madam President. Your election reinforces our common preoccupation that gender equality must be a central feature of the global agenda.

Madam President, thirteen days ago, we laid to rest in his home soil of Ghana, Kofi Annan, the 7th Secretary-General of the United Nations, the first from sub-Saharan Africa to occupy this exalted position. On behalf of the people and government of Ghana, I wish to extend our heartfelt gratitude to the United Nations Secretariat, led by the Secretary-General, His Excellency António Guterres, and the whole world community for the outpouring of grief and condolences that we received on the passing of Kofi Annan. We were deeply touched that so many world leaders and people took the trouble to come to Accra to bid him farewell.

Kofi Annan's passionate and profound belief in the United Nations, and his certainty that a better organised and stronger UN would make the world a better place, is an ideal that should not be allowed to die.

Today, we continue to be faced with the stark reality that resolutions, norms and any number of votes in the Security Council and General Assembly mean nothing without the political will to enforce them. We are still to come to terms with what the role of our organization should be. Should it just be a club of nation states that exists to look after their own interests? What of its constitution by "we the peoples", as declared in its founding document? Does the theme we have chosen for this assembly have any relevance in real life, and do we want to make the United Nations relevant to all people? Do we want an organization that ensures shared responsibilities for peaceful, equitable and sustainable societies? Or should it remain the place to pass resolutions that are ignored with impunity?

Madam President, when some of the nations of the world gathered in San Francisco 73 years ago, and signed the landmark document that created this organization, it was a very different world from what we have today.

And I do not refer only to the difference in the numbers in the room on that occasion, nor the difference in the mode of travel that brought the leaders to that meeting and the jet planes that have brought us all to New York this week. Nor do I refer to the tweets by which we communicate now, and the elegant handwriting that they employed back in 1945. I refer to the theme we have drawn up for this General Assembly, and wonder

if it would have been comprehensible to that group in San Francisco. It is a different world we currently live in, and we should accept that this organization must change to suit contemporary needs.

Madam President, ten years ago as the General Assembly was starting its proceedings, the world was plunged into a financial crisis. The first scenes of that crisis were played out on a street not far from where we are gathered, but the consequences were felt and are still being felt around the world, and in small countries like Ghana. Some say that upheaval lies at the heart of the change in politics and outlook around the world. Today, as we speak, a trade war is being stoked between the two largest economies of the world. The consequences will affect those who have had no say, including small countries like Ghana.

These events provide proof, if some were needed, that ours is an interdependent world. We in Ghana (and other parts of the African continent) are determined to pull our country out of poverty and into prosperity.

We do not think that a nation needs to remain poor or become poor for others to become prosperous. We believe that there is room, and there are enough resources on this planet for us all to be prosperous. But it does mean that the rules and regulations that we fashion to guide our dealings with each other have to be respected by all of us. From the environment to trading rules, we have to accept that there cannot be different set of rules for different countries. Thus far, the United Nations provides the best vehicle for all nations to address their aspirations and challenges. Ghana has always displayed her belief in the United Nations and sought to contribute her share in making the organization a successful one.

We have embraced the SDGs and integrated the seventeen ambitious goals into our national vision and budget. We intend that Ghana will in July 2019, take her turn to present our Voluntary National Review during the ECOSOC High-Level Political Forum, and we will share our successes and challenges as well as opportunities for new and continuing partnerships.

Madam President, it is important to reiterate that advocating for a world order in which all countries sign up to obey the rules does not mean that we want uniformity. We take pride in what distinguishes us as Africans and as Ghanaians.

55% of the work of the Security Council last year had to do with Africa. Unfortunately, this invariably meant peacekeeping and poverty related issues. We no longer want to be the place that requires peacekeepers and poverty fighting NGOs, no matter how noble their motives. Our regional bodies, like ECOWAS, and our continental body, the AU, are making systematic efforts, despite significant handicaps, to bring peace and stability to the entire continent, and, sooner rather than later, they will succeed.

We know we must get our population educated and trained, and we are setting about it. We must address our infrastructural deficit. The traditional methods of tackling this

problem will not provide the answer. We are looking for new ways to resolve it. Ghana, like many countries in Africa, is forging relations with China to make arrangements to help address part of our infrastructure deficit.

This is not a uniquely Ghanaian or African phenomenon. It has not been lost on us that the developed, rich and well-established countries have been paying regular visits to China, and seeking to open new economic ties and improve upon existing ones. It is also not lost on us that a lot of anxiety is being expressed about the possibility of a recolonization of the African continent by a new power. We should, indeed, learn from history. It was at the turn of the 20th century that China's first railways were built by Western companies, financed by Western loans to a nearly bankrupt Qing Dynasty, and it was under those circumstances that a certain strategic port called Hong Kong was leased for 99 years, and the rest, as the saying goes, is history.

Today, the former victim of Western Railways imperialism is lending billions to countries throughout Asia, Africa and Europe to construct not only railroads, but also highways, ports, power plants and other infrastructure, and many businesses. The historical echoes are certainly worrisome, but, yes, surely, we must and can learn from history.

We, in Ghana, must build roads, bridges, railways, ports, schools, hospitals, and we must create jobs to keep our young people engaged. It is obvious to us that the development trajectory we had been on for many decades is not working. We are trying a different one, and we would appreciate the support and goodwill of the world, especially in helping to stem the huge flow of illicit funds from the continent.

It is in everybody's interest that we, who are counted amongst the poor of the world, make a rapid transformation from poverty to prosperity. We are determined in Ghana, and, increasingly, in more and more parts of Africa, to chart our own paths to prosperity, and pay our own way in the world. We are no longer interested in being a burden on others. We will shoulder our own responsibilities and build societies and nations that will be attractive to our youth. We have the necessary sense of enterprise, creativity, innovation and hard work to engineer this transition. Hence, our vision of a Ghana Beyond Aid, indeed, of an Africa Beyond Aid.

Madam President, it is equally important that the United Nations is reformed to be able to preside over this changed and changing world to which we all aspire. The powerful nations must be willing to adapt to the changes to make our world a better place. After all, we all inhabit the same planet, and we all owe the same duty of care to ensure its survival.

The African Common Position on UN Reform, as expressed in the Ezulwini Consensus, remains the most comprehensive proposal for reform of the United Nations, particularly of the Security Council. It is time the global community endorsed it to create a modern United Nations fit for purpose in our time.

May God bless the United Nations and us all.

I thank you for your attention.



## APPENDIX C

### **SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, NANA ADDO DANKWA AKUFO-ADDO, AT THE 62ND INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION PARADE, AT THE ALIU MAHAMA STADIUM, TAMALE, ON WEDNESDAY, 6TH MARCH, 2019**

It is with much joy and pride that I join you to celebrate the 62nd anniversary of our nation's independence at this stadium, named, appropriately, after one of the outstanding figures of the 4th Republic and a native of this city, the late Vice President, Alhaji Aliu Mahama, who left us so prematurely, and whose dignified widow, Hajia Ramatu Mahama, is with us here. We continue to honour his memory.

I extend hearty congratulations to all Ghanaians from the vibrant and dynamic city of Tamale, capital of the Northern Region. This is the day we justifiably celebrate the collective energies and sacrifices of our forebears that led to that joyous night, when our historic first leader, Kwame Nkrumah, uttered the immemorial words "Ghana, your beloved country, is free forever". We will defend that freedom with the last drop of our blood, as we remain dedicated to its preservation.

I extend also, on behalf of all Ghanaians, a warm welcome to our guest of honour, a good friend of mine and of our nation, His Excellency Mahamadou Issoufou, President of the brotherly Republic of Niger, fellow Member State of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and his delegation. Many of his compatriots, whom we call Zamramas, have been living amongst us in peace and solidarity for over a hundred years, contributing positively to the growth of our economy. His presence on this day, in our midst, will be a source of considerable pride to them. We are delighted that he has accepted our invitation to share this special day with us. Akwaaba, Your Excellency, is our word of welcome. We say, also, nakayooo, as the Zamramas say, and Jabbama in Fulani.

I am glad to see that all the high officials of State – the Vice President, the Speaker of Parliament, the representative of the Chief Justice, the Chairperson of the Council of State, the Chief Staff at the Office of the President, Ministers and Deputy Ministers of State, the Majority and Minority Leaders of Parliament, Members of Parliament, the Chief of Defence Staff of the Ghana Armed Forces, the Inspector General of Police, and Service Commanders, are all present here for this ceremony. And it is heartening to note that the former Presidents of the Republic, their Excellencies, Jerry John Rawlings, 1st President of the 4th Republic, and John Dramani Mahama, the 4th President of the 4th Republic and 2020 presidential candidate of the opposition National Democratic Congress, and the former 2nd Lady, Her Excellency Hajia Ramatu Mahama, are, also, present in this Stadium. Today is, indeed, our national day. We welcome also the dean and members of the Diplomatic Corps.

Fellow Ghanaians, for the first time in our nation's history, this ceremony is being held outside our national capital city of Accra. Tamale was chosen as the venue not only to

underline the unity of our nation, but also to express the appreciation of the nation for the peace and the process of reconciliation that have engulfed Dagbon since the enskinment of Yaa-Na Mahama Abukari II as Overlord of Dagbon, on 25th January. I welcome him to this event, as I do the former Regents of Dagbon, the Kampakuya Na and Bolin Lana, who have recently been enskinned as Yoo-Na Yakubu Abdulai Andani, Savelugu Na, and Mion Lana Mahamadu Abdulai, respectively. I say a special welcome, too, to the Nayiri, Naa Bohugu Abdulai Mahami Sheriga, Overlord of Mamprugu, and the Yagbonwura, Tuntumba Boresa Sulemana Jakpa, Overlord of the Gonja State, two of the members of the Committee of Eminent Chiefs who, together with its Chairperson, the Asantehene, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, were so instrumental in designing the roadmap, whose implementation has restored normalcy to Dagbon. I salute them all.

After decades of being identified with unrest and disharmony, Dagbon has good reason to celebrate, and it is fitting that we use the opportunity of our independence anniversary celebration to converge here and celebrate with them on the theme of peace and unity.

On March 6, when we celebrate the independence of Ghana, we celebrate the strength that comes from speaking with a united voice. We celebrate the coming together of different peoples to make the united and strong nation of Ghana.

The diversity that went into weaving the fabric of Ghana is a source of strength, and not of weakness, it is a source of pride, and not of shame. Just watch the master kente and fugu weavers at work, and you will appreciate the strength that comes from the coming together of different and varied yarns to make a strong fabric with intricate and beautiful designs.

Our languages might be many, and, sometimes, there might be mutual frustration at having difficulty in speaking each other's language, and no one feels that more than I do, when I stand here in Tamale, unable to speak Dagbani, but we have learnt to overcome such difficulties. We celebrate the variety of foods available under the theme of Ghanaian cuisine, and the variety of clothes that constitute Ghanaian fashion.

Indeed, the things that are now the source of friction amongst us are not the familiar and ancient differences of tribe and language.

Sadly, chieftaincy has generated more disputes and disharmony than any other institution. The tragedy is that, by chieftaincy's very nature, only people from the same family can, and do lay claim to the same stool or skin.

I said in Parliament a fortnight ago that, spurred on by the momentum from the Dagbon settlement, the hardworking Minister for Chieftaincy and Religious Affairs, the Hon. Kofi Dzamesi, is going to intensify his efforts to try and find solutions to other long-standing chieftaincy disputes.



Fellow Ghanaians, it is important for us all to pause awhile, examine and take a critical look at the chieftaincy institution in our nation. When it works, our chiefs provide the cohesive link to our past, and what defines us as a people.

When chieftaincy works, it is an embodiment of our culture and the rock on which we lean for support, and to which we resort in times of trouble. In many parts of our country, our chiefs are the custodians of our lands, and their activities can be the spark for development or for disputes.

Where the chiefs have united their people, and offered forward looking leadership, modernization has been rapid. Where there has been disunity, the area has lagged behind, and the disputes have been a drain on the public purse.

The very survival of the institution is at risk, unless we get over the multiplicity of disputes. For many young people, the pomp and pageantry, which are often all they see, cannot make up for the amount of trouble chieftaincy generates.

For some young people, the insistence on doing things the same way they have been done, whilst resisting any change, make the institution unattractive. The poverty that bedevils some of our lives can only be defeated and overcome, when we are united and pull together.

It is sad for me to have to state that the other institution that has been the source of friction in our society is politics. We, the leaders of the political parties, have a great responsibility to set a proper tone for political discourse in our country.

For years, a deliberate campaign was waged in this country to give competitive politics a bad name to justify military or authoritarian rule. Competitive politics was said to be divisive, antagonistic and corrupt. Well, we learnt from painful experience that military or authoritarian rule could be corrupt and divisive.

It took a long time for a consensus to emerge, but it did, and we all agreed that the form of government, within which we would want to conduct our affairs, should be a multi-party democracy, which, under the aegis of the 4th Republic, has provided us with the longest, uninterrupted period of stable, constitutional governance in our history.

Under a multi-party democracy, there would necessarily be a divergence of opinions, indeed, democracy thrives on debate, on passion, on argument and, sometimes, even on raised voices. In the midst of the arguments and the raised voices, there is and must always be mutual respect for the opposing viewpoints. Under a multi-party democracy, we must have elections that would, invariably, be keenly fought. There is no room, and there should be no room for violence in this whole process. It should be a contest of ideas that seeks to win over the hearts and minds of the people.

Success should be counted by how many young people go to school and get skills and jobs, and not by how many young people can be marshalled to disrupt elections, or how many broken bones we can count. The people of Ghana do not deserve to be toyed with

in such a reckless manner. The very concept of political violence is offensive, and shames us all who are in politics. That is why I am determined that, hopefully, the impending dialogue between the two major political parties, the New Patriotic Party and the National Democratic Congress, who, between them, regularly take more than 95% of the vote in elections, who have provided all the seven governments of the 4th Republic, and who are the only two parties currently represented in Parliament, should succeed. I will spare no effort, including the initiation of the relevant legislation, to ensure that we rid our nation of politically-related violence.

We are in the process of reconstructing the Ghanaian state, by devolving more and more power to the people, so that people in their localities and communities become more and more empowered to take decisions about matters that affect them, and, thereby, enhance the ease of administration. The creation of six new regions and thirty-eight (38) more districts, and the decision to expand full democracy to local government, are part and parcel of this process of reconstruction, which will be the bedrock of the fairer, freer, more efficient and prosperous Ghana we want to construct.

Two years ago, at my inauguration as President, I asked that we build a confident Ghana which is united, at peace with herself, and takes pride in her diversity. I challenged us to accept that being a Ghanaian must stand for something more than the holder of a birth certificate or a certain passport.

I asked that being a Ghanaian must put certain responsibilities on each one of us, and calling yourself a Ghanaian must mean you have signed up to a certain definable code and conduct.

Fellow Ghanaians, let me remind all of us, again, that being a Ghanaian puts an obligation on each one of us to work at establishing a progressive and happy nation, and calling yourself a Ghanaian must mean we look out for each other. It means also that we must look after the land, the trees, the rivers, the mountains, the animals, all of God's creatures, that represent this nation of Ghana. This is at the heart of the fight against galamsey, to which I am irrevocably committed.

I do not imagine that this Ghanaian, I envisage, should be an angel. Far from it. We would have all our human foibles, but we would operate within the agreed perimeters of our society. This is the cue to mention our security services, who help to maintain peace and order so we can get on with the business of running our affairs. I congratulate the security agencies for their work, and their readiness to put their lives on the line for the rest of us, and urge them to continue to be professional at all times.

Let me say a few words on our police service, because we need a credible and professional police service to be able to have a peaceful and united society. We cannot have a successful police service without the co-operation of the population. The co-operation starts with giving respect to the police, and encouraging them to earn the trust of the people by serving the public with dedication.

I am glad to note that the Police Service is moving to modernise its own rules and regulations. We should hold them to their vision to become a world-class Service, capable of delivering planned, protective and peaceful services to the standards of international best practice in a democracy.

For the first time, since the colonial Gold Coast era, the Police Service Instructions that govern every aspect of internal professional behaviour have been wholly revised. From the code of ethical conduct to administration, welfare, recruitment and training, use of firearms, the new Service Instructions puts into writing specific directions for every rank – police orderlies, charge officers, crime officers, regional and divisional commanders, Commissioners of Police, through to the authority of the Inspector General of Police himself, in every aspect of their work. The Police must police themselves, first.

I am glad also to note that the Service has launched a new Communication and Education strategy that sets out, explicitly, how the Service must conduct itself and engage in communicating with the citizens of Ghana.

In a region and continent plagued by several incidents of strife, our police have seen the ravages of war, and helped to stabilise the peace. They have served in international peacekeeping operations in just about every trouble spot in the world – in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, Namibia, Kosovo, Bosnia, Georgia and Iraq. Currently, our officers from the Ghana Police Service are providing peacekeeping duties in both the Sudan and South Sudan, as well as in Somalia and the Central African Republic.

They serve with distinction wherever they go. In this respect, I congratulate Chief Superintendent Phyllis Osei for winning the distinguished award in 2018 of the UN Female Police Officer of the year. She is the first Ghanaian female officer to win this global award.

I am pleased to announce that, like our Armed Forces, who serve with distinction on peacekeeping duties, members of the Police Service, who represent us abroad, have also seen their daily allowances increased from 30 to 35 US dollars.

I am happy to see that, finally, the Northern Regions of our country, under the programme for “Planting for Food and Jobs”, are beginning to fulfill their potential of being the food basket of our nation and region. The manner in which farmers in these regions have embraced the programme is a matter of great encouragement for me.

Fellow Ghanaians, I am glad that we are here in Tamale for this year's celebration. I hope it will spur on many people to get to know our country. We have a beautiful country, and it deserves to be explored and admired. Apart from the joy of discovering the beauty and charms of our country, getting to know Ghana helps to dispel the prejudices of the unknown.

Those, who have the means to do so, should consider it more important to travel around and know Ghana, before they embark on the next vacation to Dubai! It means, of course,

that the tourism authority has its work cut out. If they get it right with internal Ghanaian tourists, then they will be ready to cope with foreign tourists.

I urge those who live in the big cities, in particular, to get around the country a little. It just might change their outlook, and make them a little more tolerant of the difficulties that we need to overcome. I congratulate the people of Tamale for being such gracious hosts. This has never been done before, and, doubtless, we shall learn from the experience. The success of the Tamale experience may, however, set the trend for the rotation of this ceremony.

I hope that, very soon, we shall be hearing some exciting news about developments in the Northern Region. Twelve (12) years ago, after deliberate and focused investment in the upstream sector, we discovered oil in commercial quantities offshore the Western Region. Since coming to office two years ago, I have directed the Ghana National Petroleum Corporation to invest systematically in the Voltaian Basin, covering six adjoining regions, including the Northern Region here, to search for oil onshore. I am confident that our search will not be in vain, and that, very, very soon, these areas, that have been characterized by avoidable levels of poverty, will be buzzing with significant investments and creation of jobs. Our efforts are not limited to petroleum and agriculture alone. Again, we shall, soon, be introducing a bill in Parliament that will add new focus in the promotion and establishment of an integrated iron and steel industry in Ghana, an industry whose natural resource, iron ore, is in abundance in these areas.

Fellow Ghanaians, we have dubbed this year, the “Year of Return”, to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the arrival of the first 20 West African slaves in the Commonwealth of Virginia, which subsequently became part of the United States of America. We intend to use the symbolism of this “Year of Return” to bring together Africans, persons of African descent, and all well-wishers and lovers of freedom to strengthen the commitment to ensuring that blots on our history, such as the Transatlantic Slave Trade and slavery, never reoccur. It means that we are expecting many, many visitors to our shores this year, and we must all, collectively and severally, be on our best behaviour, and make them feel welcome. Several diasporans of African descent, who have lived with us for many years, will, as part of the ‘Year of Return’, receive their long-awaited Ghanaian citizenship.

As we celebrate our nation’s 62nd birthday, we should be fortified in the knowledge that, despite our challenges and difficulties, we are on course to reaching our goal of a Ghana Beyond Aid, that is realising the vision of the free, fair, democratic, self-reliant, prosperous Ghana, governed by the rule of law and respect for human rights, that inspired our forebears to fight for the liberation of our country and continent from foreign domination. Let us remain steadfast and united – the goal is within reach.

I wish all Ghanaians a happy 62nd anniversary, and I thank, once again, His Excellency Mahamadou Issoufou, President of the Republic of Niger, for gracing this occasion.

May God bless us all, and our homeland Ghana, and make her great and strong.

I thank you for your attention.

