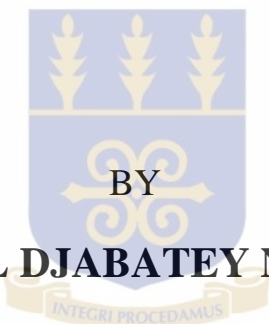


DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH  
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON

**LANGUAGE, POWER AND IDEOLOGY:  
A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED  
SPEECHES OF NANA ADDO DANKWA AKUFO-ADDO  
AND JOHN DRAMANI MAHAMA**

  
BY  
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**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,  
LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR  
THE AWARD OF MPhil ENGLISH DEGREE**

**JULY, 2013**

## DECLARATION

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

.....

Date .....

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## CERTIFICATION

We hereby certify that this thesis was supervised in accordance with procedures laid down by the University.

..... Date .....

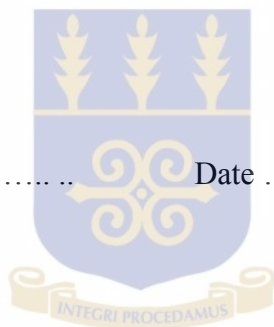
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## DEDICATION

To you, **NYAKO DJABATEY KWAME SHARON**, I dedicate this thesis  
May this be the springboard on which you propel yourself into greater heights

To glorify your roots



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to acknowledge the tremendous contributions of the following people who inspired me throughout my stay in school. My mum, Janet Tawiah Mateko; aunty, Rita Korlekie and my dear one, Nancy Adamtey. Patrick Tamatey, the Nartey family including Ebenezer and especially Clement as well as Rev. Nathan Agberley who offered their assistance in very critical times.

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## ABSTRACT

This study analyses the power relations, ideologies and persuasive techniques employed through language in the selected campaign speeches of two presidential candidates – Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo and John Dramani Mahama during the 2012 general elections in Ghana. The linguistic and textual features of the selected speeches and the socio-cultural situations that influence the speeches are considered in the analysis. The analysis employs analytical frameworks mainly in a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) fashion with other related frameworks serving as associations. (Fairclough 1989, 1992, Halliday 1978, Wodak 1996). It analyses these under three subtopics: Descriptive, Interpretational and Explanational to reveal the implicit underpinnings by which the speakers sought to persuade their audience to endorse their quest for power. The analysis is undertaken through an eclectic selection of sections of the data. The findings reveal that the selected candidates develop power relations, and use strategies that are ideologically motivated in presenting their ideas to the audience. These strategies have an ultimate aim of persuading the audience to endorse their bid for the position of president. The relations developed and ideologies presented by the speakers are weaved into the speeches implicitly and explicitly. The analysis reveals the following persuasive strategies among others: self projections; blurred agency; literary devices; intertextuality; speech acts which are developed and supported by appropriate interpretations of the social practices of context towards persuading the audience.

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

CDA	CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
GSS	GHANA STATISTICAL SERVICES
IEA	INSTITUTE OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
NDC	NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS
NPP	NEW PATRIOTIC PARTY
SFL	SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS
SSSS	SINGLE SPINE SALARY STRUCTURE

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## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

The practice of politics is mainly anchored on speeches delivered by seekers of political power and directed at their supporters and society as a whole. Like every organised field, politics is also unique in its production and presentation of speeches to its targets. Political speeches are carefully crafted to woo audience to a side of the divide and also to persuade them to accept the speech maker's stance. At this stage, the aim is to influence and control the way the audience receive and perceive the message, the truth-value of the discourse being relegated to the background as the concentration at this point is on the attainment of a single inclusive union with the audience. The intended effect of political speeches is to legitimize a perspective. In other words, it hopes to enact the perspective into becoming part of an order and subsequently, the order of discourse through the accumulation of some ideologies that support the chosen perspective through discourse.

This involves the presentation of a view-point that can be easily accepted by the audience, a delivery based on issues that seem to place the speech maker in the same group as the audience, hence make them identify with the audience/reader. Thus, it is in the nature of political speeches to re-echo already existing views on an amplified scale depending on their (politicians') interest which could result either in painful memories or happy pasts. These views could be on issues that have been completely settled in times past or partially put to rest. Adjei-Fobi (2011), attests to this point in his pioneering work on metaphors in selected speeches of named Ghanaian politicians.

Every politician has a principal objective which is to capture power. Discourse is one of the commonest processes that leads to power in modern times. Harvey on this point says:

Yet power is partly discourse, and discourse is partly power – they are different but not discrete, they ‘flow into’ each other; discourse can be ‘internalised in power and vice versa; the complex realities of power relations are ‘condensed’ and simplified in discourses. (Harvey 1996, quoted in Fairclough 2010: p. 4)

All discourse contains strategies, that is, subtle ideological underpinnings, persuasive and authoritative (power) elements, that are employed to drive home the messages intended for the audience. (Fairclough 1989, 1992, 1995, Gee 1999, 2005, Obeng 2002, van Dijk 1996, Wodak 1996). This premise has informed the research into selected campaign speeches, one each of two presidential candidates in Ghana in the lead up to the 2012 general elections. They are: John Dramani Mahama of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo of the New Patriotic Party (NPP). Since they belong to two different political party persuasions, it is expected that the strategies they use will differ and so will the messages and vehicles they employ.

Since the inception of the fourth republic in Ghana, only the two political parties mentioned above have had the opportunity to rule. This makes them the parties with the highest followers so that they are the most popular today. Apart from the above, the issues surrounding the selection of the two candidates have greatly influenced the choice to examine their speeches. Nana Addo Danquah Akufo-Addo of the NPP won a contest involving seventeen contenders for the position of flag bearer in the run up to the 2008 elections with over 60% of the total votes cast. During the main elections that same year, he lost by a margin which was consid-

ered all over the world as one of the most keenly contested elections ever of about 40,000 votes out of several millions of votes cast. He got the approval once again in the 2012 period as the flag bearer on the ticket of the NPP. With the previous margin by which he lost, it was expected that the 2012 campaigns would be intensely organized and so would the speeches to be delivered.

For the second candidate - John Dramani Mahama, his tenure as Vice President is seen by many Ghanaians as one of the most successful due to his contributions toward the successful single-term presidency of the late John Evans Atta-Mills (president of Ghana from January, 2009-2012). This won him a declaration as flag bearer for 2012 general elections by his party - the NDC, without him having to compete with others for it. The challenge he faced in campaigning throughout the whole nation in just three months meant he had a difficult task to perform. His campaign, like Nana Akufo-Addo's, was expected to be as intense as possible. Based on the processes the two candidates went through, they are considered the most popular candidates for the election hence the selection of their speeches for analysis.

This research will attempt to explain the underpinnings of power and ideology in the selected speeches to be examined and look out for any similarities and differences that may exist between them. The research will use the theories espoused in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which posit among others that texts are carriers of ideologies and that it is not possible to take away ideologies from texts. Ideologies are used through discourse to create hegemony, power relations are created and enacted, changed or maintained through ideologies in analyzing the campaign speeches of the aspirants for similarities and differences that are employed in the race to attain power, (Fairclough 1995, Gee 1999, van Dijk 1996, Wodak 1996). The assertions of leading researchers in the field of Discourse Analysis, including

those referenced above, point out that individuals (power seekers and power holders) and institutions employ ideologies which are produced and reproduced through accumulation of discourses which aid their quest to wrestle power or hold on to it, either by altering or re-enacting the social order. (Fairclough, 1989).

Apart from the above, it will also examine the trends employed in weaving ideologies into the discourse as well as possible influences of the candidates' background in their discourse trends. The research will hopefully contribute to the creation of awareness of the elements of power and ideology that can be contained in discourse. It will also equip readers with some skills in analysing discourse to unravel especially, implicit ideological underpinnings which hitherto eluded many.

## **1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY**

Language is a primary tool available to all human beings, which is harnessed to serve their every communication need. It is through language that the social and other needs of human existence are given meaning. Language has been used for different purposes since the beginning of human evolution till modern times. Research on language has focused much on the traditional branches of linguistics such as Morpho-syntax, Semantics and Phonology among others. It was not until a few decades ago that works on language outside the above branches began to take centre stage. J. L. Austin's 1962 work was one of the ground breaking works on modern philosophies of language. His assertiveness in taking language from the traditional views held on it into action orientedness through the Speech Act Theory opened the doors for more research on modern views of language. With contributions by researchers such as, Bourdieu (1977), Fairclough(1989), Foucault(1971) Halliday (1978), van Dijk(1985) and

Wodak (1996) who took language beyond the abstract, passive and unattested level into more complete strings of language as text, as used in real-life practical situations. It is insights, contributions and developments upon the works of the above researchers that resulted in the build-up of a theoretical framework referred to as Critical Discourse Analysis. This framework is based upon the realization that language includes much more than linguistic structures only. It also sees a bilateral relationship between language and society where they both define the other's existence. A major reason behind the application of CDA in any research activity is to draw attention to an assumed 'social wrong' (Fairclough 1992). For this reason, it appears that any reflection on language must also touch on other disciplines that theorise on society and its associations. These include Anthropology, History, Sociolinguistics, Sociology, Politics and many more. The interdisciplinary theory of CDA asserts that language is power; that language (discourse) always contains ideology; that power and ideology are dependent on each other in ways that are at times implicit and at other times explicit; that accumulations of discourse constructs hegemony in power relations. (Fairclough 1989; 1992; van Dijk 1996; Wodak 1996). Thus, the implicit employment of ideology in discourse is done through accumulations of such discourses which result in them attaining statuses of 'obviousness; natural; automatic and common-sense' assumptions. (Fairclough 1989). This is to say that the general style of these discourses do penetrate and subsequently establish themselves as the right order of discourse for society. When discourses go through this phase, they rise above the level for any doubt that can lead to a questioning of it.

CDA theorists on political discourse, especially Fairclough, explain that discourses are carriers of ideologies and this makes them good breeding grounds for multiple assumptions that later evolve into orders of discourse as obvious and unquestionable elements of ways of be-

ing. It is at this stage that power relations are enacted and influences are transmitted into society by the use of language through discourse. In other words, CDA is premised on the postulation that power of authority over a people (especially political power) is enacted through the production, distribution and accumulation of discourse. It further theorizes that when discourse is accumulated with some level of consistency of thought, power relations are developed. That is to say, the discourse maker gains an authority over the audience. CDA says further that these relations are by and large in a hegemonic stratum with the masses at the base and the discourse maker at the top. Further accumulations of discourse with consistent ideological trends construct a distinctive social order in which these ideologies take deep roots as the accepted order (culture) of life. At this stage, ideologies are no longer presented as such, but rather as 'common sense' assumptions. Fairclough (ibid). The interest of CDA is in the power relations developed by discourse makers mostly over the masses in a vertical order.

However, language is often more complex than it appears on the surface. When the structures that give language this complexity are examined critically, the underlying features such as the discursive power relations, implicit ideologies and the persuasive techniques that make the discourse up are laid bare. The theoretical and other terms that will dominate the present study will be explained in detail below so as to enhance an easy appreciation of the whole process. These explanations are however suited first and foremost to this study and may apply with varying degrees of strength to other works in political discourse. Having so far generally introduced the terminologies upon which the work will be based, a discussion of these terminologies is given below:

**Discourse:** This refers to any written or spoken text that is targeted at an audience with an aim to inform, educate and/or convince them to accept a particular point of view which goes to the advantage of the discourse maker. Discourses do conform to the conventions of the field to which they belong. Any form of communication can be seen as discourse. It is not farfetched then to say that discourse is synonymous with language since the latter is a process by which people communicate their thoughts. In the same vein, the data for the study is political discourse in the sense that it is communication of the thoughts and ideas of the chosen aspirants directed at their supporters and the general public with the aim of winning their approval. This is however, loaded with discourse elements that do the bidding of the aspirants as they seek to bring them to their side.

On the concept of discourse, different scholars support different definitions. One of such views parallel to the view held in this work is as follows by Wafula (2002):

(Discourse) ...imply a broad category of texts, which include political speeches, propaganda and slogans among others. Any text uttered or written that may have political implications or that may influence the outcome of a communicative procedure politically can be regarded as political discourse. It is clear there is not one universally agreed upon definition of political discourse. Although it is possible to classify some discourses as political depending on their generic characteristics such as content and form, context is primary in determining whether a discourse is political or not. (Wafula 2002, p.20).

From the above, we agree with Wafula that discourse always needs a definition that suits the area of research it is engaged in. Also, having stated that context plays a primary role in defining discourse as political; a narrow space is created for a practical definition that suits this work. Thus, discourse is any text that carries a political message. This happens when the speaker structures the discourse to win listeners over to his side. These types of speeches include manifestoes, debates, soapbox speeches, campaign messages, press releases, leaflets etc. They do not just succeed in getting audience's approval merely by the presentation of raw

speeches but by the quality of the speech delivered with the presence of implicit and explicit underpinnings, persuasive strategies that are employed in communicating the ideas of the discourse. The bringing together of these is referred to as ideology.

**Ideology:** For the purpose of this research, Ideology can be said to be present when an individual or institution adopts a unique approach, a perspective to reasoning, in formulating and presenting discourse with a level of consistency which ignites new or re-fuels existing power relations. It is about the tactics used in ironing-in the beliefs, views and leanings of the speaker into discourse that give the discourse the ability to convince and make others want to associate themselves with it. Although alternatives may exist to the views presented in discourse, the discourse is presented as second to none – the ultimate way to arrive at a destination through the ideological underpinnings that contribute to the speaker’s ability to appropriately position himself in the power relations so as to construct a new social order, alter or entrench existing social orders. Ideology is present as experienced in the campaigns of one of the politicians selected for this study- Nana Akuffo Addo of the NPP, in the hype accorded the concept of FREE SHS in his discourse. It sought to alter the existing order of discourse on education, to convince and win the audience over to his side and to position himself up in the power relations which he successfully did. Since the applications of ideology in this instance are linked to the struggle to annexing power, the definition of ideology below does not fit-in well as Fairclough (1992 p. 67) conceives it as “significations generated within power relations as a dimension of the exercise of power...” Another version of Ideology under CDA which is appropriate to this study in its conception of ideology as a continuous process that plays a role in the capture and enforcement of power is presented as below:

*'representations* of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation.' (Fairclough 2010: p.79)

He goes on to say that:

Ideology is, first, a relation between meaning (and therefore texts) and social relations of power and domination. It is one modality of power (another is physical force). And ideology is first, a matter of representation. We may call discourses 'ideological' where social analysis plausibly shows a relation between their meanings (ways of representing) and social relations of power. (Fairclough, *ibid*)

As mentioned above, ideologies could be at times difficult and almost impossible to notice in discourses. This is because they are presented in salient and most often than not implicit ways that make them elude the average eye. The success of ideology is tied unto the culture (psychological and physical states) of the audience which at times hinders the audience's ability to analyse critically discourses presented to them. Since ideologies do elude critical analysis, their worth in applicability and truth-value as well is not contested. Ideologies thus prove to be very reliable assets in political discourse. This observation is supported by the quote below:

In common sense, ideologies become naturalized, or automatised. . . .ideology is tied to action, and ideologies are judged in terms of their social effects rather than their truth values. (Fairclough 2010:p.62)

As a discourse is approved by the audience, it is able to influence the social order by affecting the power relations that exist. That is to say that, when a discourse (made of ideological underpinnings) becomes successful with an audience, the conceptual representation changes to suit the maker of the approved discourse. With the ultimate aim of all political discourses being either to alter or re-enact an existing power relation through a control over the social order, discourses are always designed to escape critical questioning. Thus, discourse is a readily

accessible tool used by politicians in their contest for power, hence the need for the concept of power to be discussed as well in some detail.

**Power:** Simply, power is the ability to control people or things according to the Oxford English Dictionary, 7<sup>th</sup> ed.(2006). This fits perfectly into power as pertains to the field of politics. 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). 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 Barrack 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.

At this stage, ideology places its authors in positions where they are capable of controlling the thoughts and actions of their audience through discourse as testified by the above instances.

In the same vein, in the build-up to the 2012 general elections in Ghana, political parties were expected to accumulate discourses which aim at either maintaining, modifying or changing the social order altogether in order to obtain political power. Given the fact that both political parties involved in this research, i.e. the New Patriotic Party (N.P.P) and the National Democratic Congress (N.D.C) have both been in governance i.e. between 2001-2008 and between 1992-2000, 2009 till date respectively, the speeches produced by their candidates are likely to be full of back and forth references and projections to past terms in office and the future plans they have for Ghana respectively. With education being the hottest issue campaigned on, it is only normal to hear the NPP make unprecedented projections into the future by promising free education up to the Senior High School level if given the chance. On the other hand, the

NDC are trumpeting their feats as having developed education through the establishment of Universities and Polytechnics and also projecting the establishment of a University in every region if maintained in power. (Source: IEA 2012 Presidential Debate Series, #1). Also, with a candidate like John Mahama of the NDC, who is leading the discourse for the first time, and Nana Akuffo-Addo of the NPP leading it for the second time, but both with a common aim of winning political power, new trends of discourse are likely to feature in their speeches. It is expected that these trends will carry elements of ideology which will be the focus of this research.

Since CDA is an appropriate type of discourse analytical framework that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (Wodak, 1996), this research will seek to understand and expose ideology in the discourses to be analyzed. It is hoped that this will create some form of awareness on ideological implantations that produce social inequality.

Critical analysis of speeches is different from other analyses given the common perspectives and the general aims of CDA which include explaining how social relations of power exist in discourse (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Another perspective says that discourse reflects society and culture. This means that every discourse reproduces and transforms society and culture, as well as power relations. Another important principle sees discourse as a document with a formal structure termed 'orders of discourse' with a historical context which it always makes reference to, (Fairclough,1992). Since discourse from the point of view of CDA is a form of social action its interpretation and explanation are in ways that are subjective and open.

As mentioned above, two major streams of doing a critical discourse analysis will be touched on but not wholly adapted into this research. The first is as represented by the work of

Fairclough (1995). This work is characterized by detailed textual analyses; while the other stream, represented by Gee (1999) and van Dijk (1995) is characterized by a focus on social variables for its analytical framework. Within the broad social and cognitive frameworks which were developed by the above researchers, the theory and practice of critical discourse analysis focus on the structures of text and talk. As speakers with authority exhibit their power in discourse, there is the need to know how this is done. If they are able to persuade or influence their audiences, the structures and strategies involved in that process should be made explicit. Thus, the reproduction of dominance i.e. the structure of the power relations they share with the audience, which is the main object of critical analysis, has two major dimensions, namely: production and reception. Therefore, we distinguish between the enactment, legitimation of dominance in the various structures of discourse on the one hand, and the functions, consequences or results of such structures on the audience on the other hand.

The analysis will look at the way specific discourse structures are deployed in the production and reproduction of ideological direction which controls people.

### **1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

It is hoped that this study will reveal ideological elements contained in the speeches of John Mahama and Nana Akufo Addo, and find out how influences from their individual background contexts, as well as the social contexts influence their speeches. The study will be linguistically, socially and politically relevant to individuals and organizations interested in studies on dominance, resistance and unequal power relations. It will come, apart from its relevance to linguistic, social and political realities, to awaken people who are served an overdose of political discourse in the run up to elections. More so, the outcome of the analysis on ideo-

logical manipulations contained in political speeches could help improve people's awareness of ideologies in discourse (Fairclough, 2001).

On another level, this research is significant in sustaining and continuing the political aspects of societies and organizations. This is because, even as it analyses the structures that develop relations of power, it also reveals ways in which social structures can be maintained, changed and modified to suit power seekers through discourse.

Also, it is expected that the study will serve as reference material for others who hope to annex or hold on to power by the use of persuasion, ideology and authority through discourse. Finally, political groupings and individuals to whom communication is indispensable will find the study a useful resource on directions to achieving their goals.

#### **1.4 SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

The area of this research spans language functions in the selected speeches in the maintenance or changing of power relations through ideology in the 2012 political season. As Halliday (1994) asserts, language 'stands as a metaphor for society, language has the property of not only transmitting the social order but also maintaining and potentially modifying it.' To achieve the goal of the research, the analysis will be approached through an examination of the discourse in the selected speeches to reveal the processes through which power; persuasion and especially ideology are enacted and legitimized into the social order. It will lay explicit the diverse ways in which language can be used to control the physical realities of people within the boundaries of the research data.

This research thus has a scope that encompasses the vision(s) of the selected presidential candidates which is normally realised by the speaker's ability to control the worldview of people through discourse. The strategies through which power manifests itself in discourse will be within the scope of the research whose aim is to find out how this is done using language. The ways in which discourse functions as a tool in maintaining or changing power relations in the selected speeches will also be within the scope of the research. In brief, all the identifiable strategies that lead to the achievement of a desired power relation fall within the scope of the research.

The backgrounds of the speeches, their contexts as well as the backgrounds of the speech makers will be investigated so as to place them in the appropriate socio-cultural and sociopolitical perspective. It is necessary however, to state that the prime focus of the research is on the language of the selected speeches. Other associations are only expected to help deepen the depth and increase the quality of the revelations.

## **1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The research will seek to answer the following questions:

1. How do discourse makers or people who fashion discourse use it in controlling the thoughts and actions of their 'subjects'?
2. How are power and ideology employed implicitly in discourse without the audience's attention being drawn to them?
3. How do these background features such as ideology and authority of the discourse makers influence the interpretation given to their discourses?

4. How are the power relations that are created sustained and maintained using discourse strategies?
5. Apart from winning political power, what other implicit or explicit aims are communicated through the discourse of the selected speeches?

## **1.6 CONCLUSION**

As a way of making this research a successful venture, a general assumption is required. This assumption will guide the application of the tools discussed under the theoretical framework to the data. Upon an observation of the trends in the discourse used as data, the assumption here is that the consumers are influenced by the discourse and its associations as a whole and specifically by the strategies and other elements that make it up.

Other influences external to discourse tend to be at play. These include influences that are both historical and out of the person of the discourse maker and those connected to the discourse maker such as the consumer's previous allegiances, the discourse maker's charisma, the organizational ability and associations of the discourse maker and sometimes the sheer inability or unwillingness of the consumer to recognize weaknesses in the discourse. In conclusion, it needs to be stated that achieving dominion and power over a people is possible through discourse (language) yet not limited to it but instead open to several other ways that will also prove beneficial if researched into.

## CHAPTER TWO

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

#### 2.1 CDA - A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Research abound in language in diverse fields of use in Critical Discourse Analysis theory, with the major ones being those by the early group of researchers who propounded a unified theoretical analytical framework for CDA. Though this group is not considered as a school, its inception followed a two- day conference during which several deliberations on the subject of analyzing language beyond the traditional linguistic boundaries (words and sentences) was on the agenda. In other words, the analysis of language outside the framework of the passive, lifeless formulations and theories developed in Chomskian linguistics (Chomsky 1965) onto a more active form of language in use which Halliday (1978) refers to as authentic language. The pioneers include, among others, Gunther Kress, James Paul Gee, Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Teun van Dijk and Theo van Leeuwen. 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 reverence of rhetoric in the era is well summarized in McNelly and Perry (2008) as quoted below.

Rhetoric began with the study and practice of oratory or public speaking. When a person speaks in public, and does it well, things can change significantly. This has been true throughout history and it is true today. For most of us oratory is mostly what leaders do in public. Behind closed doors, of course, leaders do a lot of another sort of rhetorical work; negotiation. But in public, much of the job of leadership takes the form of making statements and speeches that attempt to change the ideas and beliefs of an audience. McNelly and Perry (2008:p.9 as quoted in Adjei-Fobi, 2011:p.15)

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, such as Chilton and Ilyn 1993, Dickerson 1997, van Dijk 1995 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 as used in politics and comes out with some features contained in discourse that make it political. He outlines some contextual elements such as setting, content, aim and purpose of the discourse among others. According to him, rhetoric as well is a major pillar in the venture of politics. Since rhetoric is mainly about persuasion through discourse, the gist of the practice of politics is situated in one's rhetorical prowess. He puts it this way:

An important aspect of political communication is the art of persuasion or rhetoric-the ability of politicians to communicatively 'sell' themselves, their ideologies or their policies to an electorate. Political rhetoric hinges on the ability of political actors to explore and utilize the hopes, expectations, fears, beliefs, and anxieties of an electorate (Richards, 1936). To be a successful politician, one must be able to use special arguments, special speech forms, or figures of style to make one's arguments not only speakable and hearable, but also acceptable. (Obeng, 2002: p.8)

Obviously, the aim of the afore-mentioned researchers, as well as Obeng himself, is limited in the sense that they examined the features that make a piece of discourse political while the ways by which these speeches do the bidding of politicians were not allocated space enough for a detailed inquiry. Obeng hinted that the position of the speech maker affected the (mis)interpretation of the discourse, it did not examine further how the (mis)interpretation of discourse affects the consumer by creating and sustaining power relations between speech makers and the people. This step further of investigating the effects the different interpretations have on discourse are the crux of CDA as a socially inclined framework which is employed in the current study.

## 2.2 SFL (CONTEXT) AND CDA

By way of appropriately placing political discourse for a close analysis, Obeng 2002, talks about fitting a discourse within the Systemic Functional Linguistic concept of ‘context of situation’. This is a major stance of SFL theory which implies that the linguistic, social and political features that define the boundaries of the discourse need to be well understood and appreciated in order for it to result in conclusions that have worth (Halliday 1973, 1978). This is necessary in the sense that it leads to a clearer and more exact analysis of discourse interpretation to arrive at the intended meanings and purposes for which they are planned by the speech makers. In his explanation of these contextual properties, he says:

Relevant properties of political discourse include people speaking or writing in a political context, the role or function(s) of the discourse in the political process. That is to say, political discourse is influenced by context in the Malinowskian and/or Hymesian sense. In political discourse the overall context of situation include the political situations, structures/institutions, and events as well as the ways political actors interpret the events talked about. (van Dijk, 2000). Context also includes the purpose, aim, and function of the discourse, the actual texts or discourse genres, who the political actors are, who the hearer or target addressees are, the topic ... (Obeng, 2002:p.5)

Van Dijk (1998) in a more detailed version says this about context and the other associations of discourse which apply largely to this research.

Although there are many more ways we may approach the problems of definition and delimitation, we may finally take the whole *context* as decisive for the categorization of discourse as 'political' or not. Participants and actions are the core of such contexts . . . with their own settings (time, place, circumstances), occasions, intentions, functions, goals, and legal or political implications. That is, politicians talk politically also (or only) if they and their talk are contextualized in such communicative events such as cabinet meetings, parliamentary sessions, election campaigns, rallies . . . and so on. Again, text and context mutually define each other, in the sense that a session of parliament is precisely such only when elected politicians are debating (talking, arguing, etc.) in parliament buildings in an official capacity (*as* MPs), and during the official (officially opened) session of parliament. (van Dijk, 1998:p14).

The resultant effect(s) of political discourse on an audience is the skeletal frame on which research in CDA is conducted. The task then, throughout all CDA research is positive i.e. to attempt liberation of a sort of the consumers of discourse from the entangling of ideologies that are contained in these discourses. Since the power relations that dictate the social order are developed through discourse both in ways that the consumers are conscious and more often unconscious about, a Critical Discourse Analysis of discourse could result in liberation of the masses from the shackles of discourse. Other similar objectives of CDA as contained in Beaugrande (2006) are in tune with the current study based on the explanations he provides. He presents it as shown below:

In effect, our enterprise is interwoven with resistances and reversals: to inform the uninformed; to empower the disempowered; to demystify the mystified; to clarify obscurity; and to raise general consciousness for the potential of discourse for such an enterprise. And a rather unique enterprise it is, given the . . . implication of the analyst in the very processes we attempt to deconstruct. There is no zero degree of uninvolvedness for us to leap in prior to any understanding of the data, and no zero ideology as our starting point where we can build a domain for what is 'established as scientifically correct'. (Beaugrande 2006:p.44)

From the above, Beaugrande says that every attempt at analysis of discourse is biased since an ideological base influences the direction and eventual outcome of the undertaking. The general idea put across is this: CDA is subjective since the contextual properties of text (data) can only be assessed in proportions in relation to the time invested into the study and also the depth of the researcher's background knowledge and experience on the data.

This is limited not to public speeches only, but also to other regularized forms of discourse. The terms speech, text and discourse emanate as synonyms to such forms of regularized presentations. With the spread of organized fields that follow the delivery of speeches as part of their procedural stages for decision making, studies have been conducted on discourse in diverse

fields such as education, health care, religion, gender, migration, racism etc. apart from politics by prominent researchers such as Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), Wodak (1996), van Dijk (1993) among others.

CDA however, is unique in its make-up and processes unlike other traditional theoretical analytical frameworks. It is not 'water-tight' instead, it is open to several modifiable schemata and often dependent to a large extent on the object of research yet exhibits some levels of consistency in its traditions. Wodak and Fairclough, in expounding their views on the nature of CDA, respectively put it this way:

Such a heterogeneous school might be confusing for some; on the other hand, it allows for open discussions and debates, for changes in the aims and goals, and for innovation. In contrast to 'total and closed' theories, like for example Chomsky's Generative Transformational Grammar or Michael Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics, CDA has never had the image of being a 'sect' nor does it want to have such an image. (Wodak 2001:p.7)

I think the thing I want to say is that CDA is not a unitary position neither theoretically, methodologically, or intellectually. Different people draw on different traditions. But having said that, there are certain traditions that one can see that have been more or less important for people. (quoted from interview with Fairclough by Rogers 2004: p.4)

Inasmuch as the above assertions hold, it is also important to state that many works in CDA touch on the Hallidayan concept of Systemic Functional Linguistics which has proved to be more compatible with the quest to analyse language in a more active and functional way due to its orientation to social factors.

### 2.3 CRITICISMS AND DEFENCES OF CDA

The quest to analyse text in a critical style is a reason for the huge diversity that exists in works of CDA. This quality of it being critical is presented as an in-depth, self-reflective and crucial rather than a mere critiquing with an ill-mannered motive. Because it is supposed to unearth covered meanings and implications, approaches and models towards achieving these goals are diverse and this differentiates CDA from other analysis as presented by Wodak below in her interview with Kendall:

"Critical" means not taking things for granted, opening up complexity, challenging reductionism, dogmatism and dichotomies, being self-reflective in my research, and through these processes, making opaque structures of power relations and ideologies manifest. "Critical", thus, does not imply the common sense meaning of "being negative"—rather "skeptical".(Kendall 2007, paragraph 16).

The idea of CDA as ‘skeptical’ in the above quotation presents a difficult situation for a general consensus. Despite its objective of tackling particular negative social phenomena, skepticism stands far apart from it since claims made by CDA are grounded firmly on textual evidence. On another level, diversity in CDA is a characteristic phenomenon, as works of frontline researchers show no uniformity or conformity to a unitary approach, so have the subsequent works all not aligned themselves to a grand prescriptive framework. Henderson (2005), while reviewing CDA theory makes a similar observation:

Fairclough (1989, p.10) identified his approach, not as just another method of language study, but as ‘an alternative orientation’. What he called ‘a social theory of discourse’ (Fairclough, 1992a, p.92) was an attempt to ‘bring together linguistically-oriented discourse analysis and social and political thought relevant to discourse and language’. In pulling together these fields, Fairclough (1989) argued that a close analysis of language contributed to understandings about power relations and ideology in discourse. (Henderson 2005, p.13)

Once again, the response to this is that analytical frames are developed based on the research questions that are contained in a particular research and also, researchers more often than not focus on a social occurrence at a given time. This is probably the reason why different frameworks of doing CDA are possible even within the works of an individual researcher as objects of research change. For instance, while Fairclough (1989, 1992) focused on researching into questions of power and ideology within language in his early works in CDA, subsequent works have focused on social change, globalization, knowledge economies and transition and so have the models of CDA employed in them.

Method as well is affected by the non- uniformity that applies to CDA theory. As research is normally tied to social issues, methodology is also tilted towards social and political theory and linguistic analysis of text. However in CDA research, the features mentioned above are not proportionally represented. Based on an observation of the trend in previous researches, the distribution between social, political and linguistic is dependent on the object of study; the research questions and the individual bias of the researcher. With this peculiarity of CDA, criticism of its theories and analytical frames is not uncommon. Prominent among the criticisms include Henderson's 2005 work which sought clarity as to whether CDA is a "principled eclecticism or a method searching for a theory?" To him, theory in CDA has mostly been implicit and without any reference point or 'standard theory' to which other works look up to. It presents itself as an eclectic activity that touches on both micro and macro analysis. That is, the linguistic and social aspects of discourse analysis in an alternating manner. He draws a conclusion by saying that a well espoused social theory is necessary to account for the tenet that defines CDA as mouthpiece against unequal social relations.

To go by the criticism above will mean a drift back to traditional theories that have every research directly hanging on a unitary approach without room for the possibility of modification leading to innovation even where the object of research calls for such modifications. Having made this point, a further disapproval is expressed by Weiss and Wodak (2003). Even though aware of the absence of a grand theory with which CDA research can be associated, they argue that the quality of it to draw from several relevant theories rather stands as a strength leading to innovative and result-oriented theories. To them theory is ‘understood as tools that researchers may apply or develop, to deal with the issues, problems, puzzles and difficulties that are at hand’. (Weiss & Wodak, 2003, p.7). And since many works in CDA succeed in unearthing the puzzles that were previously beyond comprehension, no criticism can stand against its innovation in theory, or its ability to discover knowledge. Data used in discourse analysis often belong to particular sects which are referred to as genres. These vary from Politics, Education, Health, Law, Religion, and Economics to any well defined area of human activity. Moreover, some data are interdiscursive which means a combination of several genres in a single discourse. This results in a complex string of multiple objects of research at the same time. This complexity involves not just linguistic elements but also socio-political elements since language is considered to be reliant on society and vice versa (Halliday, 1973).

Besides, CDA as an analytical-theoretical framework is blossoming and gradually serving a pivotal role in bringing on innovation and keeping traditional linguistics afloat in the hectic struggle for relevance among disciplines according to Beaugrande (2008). He has this to say in support of CDA which comes as a response to some criticisms:

Whereas in other language-related areas, journals are losing their readership or closing down altogether ... . Partly out of envy, perhaps, a motley crowd of enemies have set out to attack CDA as a menace to such values as objectivity, scientific rigour, or fairness, if not indeed an outright fraud. However, ... . I see nothing objective in the ostensibly scientific lucubrations of say, the ‘new criti-

cism' or 'generative grammar', which make literature and language itself out to be something patently different than the linguistic, cognitive, and social resources and events that constitute them. It is surely no accident that such approaches share the implicit move of freeing the analyst from such responsibilities as admitting that *any* approach to literature or language involves active participation in activating and actualising it. (Beaugrande 2008:p.18).

On the view of interdiscursivity as a complexity, Ruth Wodak shares similar thought in an interview with Kendall (2007: p.5) in which she explains what makes research critical this way:

And I need to emphasise again, every theoretical approach in CDA is inherently interdisciplinary because it aims at investigating complex social phenomena which are inherently inter- or transdisciplinary and certainly not to be studied by linguistics alone. "Critical" (as mentioned above) is not to be understood in the common sense of the word, i.e. criticizing, or being negative. Thus, "positive" is in no way to be understood as the counterpart of critical research as recently proposed by Jim MARTIN in his version of "Positive Discourse Analysis"!(Kendall 2007:p.5)

A research that ends its analysis of the social aspects of discourse just at the superficial level (as is the case with Sociolinguistics) is in Kendall's (2007) view inadequate, therefore it is necessary to consider as well how the discourse (data) functions in a political sense (that is in creating relations of power in social interactions). Thus, the analysis of the social elements of discourse instead of rendering CDA 'unscientific, unacademic' or a masked undertaking of personal political leanings, it rather results in the discovery of new knowledge. Analysis of discourse in every way is inherently political and subjective if the functional nature of discourse is taken into consideration. (Wodak, 2006). This has been a major one of the traditions of many CDA researches. These traditions abound in CDA due to its quest to develop theories that are of high relevance and well suited to the object of research and the immediate society of the research. Despite this feature of CDA, consistency is not lacking since the objects of research most often than not centre on issues that cause inequalities and hegemony in society. Studies over the years have resulted in the

compilation of some principles that run through works in CDA which according to Fairclough (2010), serve more as a ‘guide’ than a ‘blueprint’. The principles of CDA research as presented by Wodak & Meyer (2001) will be adopted for this study as shown below in ten short paragraphs that attempt a brief explanation on each one. The choice of Wodak’s principles is arrived at based on the simplistic and detailed nature in which she presents them as well as the explanation given under every topic statement as listed below:

(1) The approach is interdisciplinary. Problems in our societies are too complex to be studied from a single perspective. This entails different dimensions of interdisciplinarity: the theories draw on neighbouring disciplines and try to integrate these theories. Teamwork consists of different researchers from different traditionally defined disciplines working together. Lastly, the methodologies are also adapted to the data under investigation.

(2) The approach is problem-oriented, rather than focused on specific linguistic items. Social problems are the items of research, such as ‘racism, identity, social change’, which, of course, are and could be studied from manifold perspectives. The CDA dimension, discourse and text analysis, is one of many possible approaches.

(3) The theories as well as the methodologies are eclectic; i.e., theories and methods are integrated which are adequate for an understanding and explanation of the object under investigation.

(4) The study always incorporates fieldwork and ethnography to explore the object under investigation (study from the inside) as a precondition for any further analysis and theorizing. This approach makes it possible to avoid “fitting the data to illustrate a theory”. Rather, we deal with bottom-up and top-down approaches at the same time.

(5) The approach is abductive: a constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data is necessary. This is a prerequisite for principle 4.

(6) Multiple genres and multiple public spaces are studied, and intertextual and interdiscursive relationships are investigated. Recontextualization is the most important process in connecting these genres as well as topics and arguments (top-oi). In our postmodern societies, we are dealing with hybrid and innovative genres, as well as with new notions of “time”, “identity” and “space”. All these notions have undergone significant change; for example, “fragmented” identities have replaced the notion of “holistic identities”.

(7) The historical context is always analyzed and integrated into the interpretation of discourses and texts. The notion of “change” (see principle 6) has become inherent in the study of text and discourse.

(8) The categories and tools for the analysis are defined in accordance with all these steps and procedures and also with the specific problem under investigation. This entails some eclecticism, as well as pragmatism. Different approaches in

CDA use different grammatical theories, although many apply Systemic Functional Linguistics in some way or other.

(9) Grand Theories might serve as a foundation; in the specific analysis, Middle-Range Theories serve the aims better. The problem-oriented approach entails the use and testing of middle-range theories. Grand Theories result in large gaps between structure/ context and linguistic realizations (although some gaps must remain unbridgeable).

(10) Practice and application are aimed at. The results should be made available to experts in different fields and, as a second step, be applied, with the goal of changing certain discursive and social practices.

(Wodak 2002: p: 14-15)

By way of explicating further the principles, it can be observed that they present a complete overview of the dominant traditions in CDA, even though the explanations presented here may not reflect the way every researcher conceives of traditions in CDA and neither are they the exact modalities upon which this work will be measured. These have been adopted into the study since they are parallel to the views and ways in which the work conceives of CDA. However, the disparity that is very likely to exist between this version of CDA principles and others such as Fairclough's and van Dijk's among others is proof once again of the subjectivity characteristic of all the levels of CDA.

Apart from the differences that derive from principles, other salient concerns exist in other aspects of research in CDA. Wodak & Meyer 2001, once again touches on these under what they term 'Open Questions and Perspectives'. They discuss among other things the linguistic theory upon which analysis of discourse is based. According to her, Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics so far has been widely used in CDA research for linguistic analysis yet some problems still pertain in other aspects which are listed below in what she terms "Open questions and Perspectives"

- The problem of operationalizing theories and relating the linguistic dimension with the social dimensions (problem of mediation);
- The linguistic theory to be applied: often enough, a whole mixed bag of linguistic indicators and variables were used to analyze texts with no theoretical notions or grammar theory in the background:

- The notion of “context”, which is often defined either very broadly or very narrowly: how much extra-textual information do we need to analyze texts, how many and which theories have what kind of impact on the concrete analysis and interpretation of texts?
  - The accusation of being biased – how are certain readings of text justified? To justify certain interpretations, the decisions for a particular analysis should be made more explicit.
  - Inter- or trans-disciplinarity have not yet been truly integrated into text analysis.
- (Wodak 2002:p.24)

By way of response to Wodak’s concerns as presented above, it is in the right order to say that ‘mediation’ between the linguistic and social theory employed in a study will be informed and regulated as well by the object of research concerned just as the selection of models for the research is dependent on the object of research. This, in my view will add up to the ‘subjectivity and non-traditional’ quality of CDA. In this regard, CDA as a study that concentrates more attention on analyzing socially-based issues, say discrimination, cultural issues, economic or political issues than the linguistically based concerns of discourse, is biased towards social theories in an explicit manner.

In the case of the current study, political domination is of prime concern yet the linguistic side will receive substantial attention so as to create a balance in the results. And since this is a CDA, the justification of choice is closely linked to purpose and also the question of which theory is best suited to achieving the aims of the study. A grand linguistic theory might not be used if a well demarcated framework with the ability to account for the linguistic characteristics of the data is developed. It is here that the description of CDA as an eclectic venture could be applicable. Yet this possible eclecticism positively aids the final purpose of the study.

CDA’s deep scale result-orientedness always necessitates an inquiry into context of the data. In cases such as the current study, the context will involve background information on the participants involved. This is because their personalities contribute to the interpretative effects pos-

sessed by their discourse. This, results in the situation expressed by Wodak above about contexts being either under or over- investigated. Though the information on context might be superfluous, it serves more as an incentive than a disincentive to the overall outcome of the research. It is in situations where context is investigated in a shallow depth that raises much concern. Apart from direct contextual information, other extra-textual information is crucial. The make-up of data most often than not is discursive, and touches on different genres, therefore making the inclusion of other texts indispensable. In response to these complexities, the concept of intertextuality is integrated as part of the general framework of the version of CDA in the current study. This will extend the boundaries of context within which analysis will be centered. The possible outcome due to the extension of the contextual confines of the research is an enrichment of the findings. The issue about a biased interpretation or justification of a particular reading of a text is dealt with to a high extent when the contextual information is detailed enough to be able to provide evidence in support of a chosen interpretation of a text.

## **2.4 MODELS OF ANALYSIS IN CDA**

Differences exist between CDA and other forms of discourse analysis including pragmatics and sociolinguistics mainly based on principles. The agenda of CDA is mostly different compared to the other approaches which remain silent about their ultimate concern. While topics that concern society and advocacy are top priority of CDA research agenda, other analytical models seek to present just a description of the nature of things mostly with the backing of statistics. As an approach, CDA proceeds into research by reading between the lines to release meaning and as such chooses a more inductive perspective. A form of deconstruction of discourse to reveal unequal relations of power embedded within the social practice under investigation. The exercise is made

successful through an interdisciplinary approach which tackles the discursive nature of dominative practices. This leads to a kind of research that tackles objects for investigations which demand more deductive oriented approaches. Theoretical frameworks are also more likely to illustrate assumptions upon which they are built normally with few examples which fit their claims as the present study adopts. Other models of analysis such as Fairclough's, Kress's, Jee's, Wodak's, and Van Dijk's are the easily accessible ones. By way of a brief discussion of the various models of doing CDA, we touch on van Dijk's (2001) Socio-cognitive Approach which revolves around the theoretical 'discourse-cognition-society' triangle. His explanations of the concepts of 'discourse', 'cognition' and 'society' are given below: discourse is seen as any text both visual and verbal; cognition includes beliefs, goals, emotions, and mental representations that are part of discourse and interaction; while society includes interactions, as well as social and political structures. These concepts according to van Dijk (2001), describe the text-context relationships that are a nexus of CDA analysis.

Dispositive Analysis (DA) which is said to be closest to Michel Foucault's original discussion of the concept of discourse, takes it further by the introduction of a mediation between discursive and non-discursive practices and their manifestations. It creates a dualism of discourse and reality. Conceptualizing discourse as a single manifestation of functional language, Dispositive Analysis does not entirely agree on the notion of discourse which includes non-linguistic elements. Rather, it conceives of discourse as an organized way of communication which enacts control and consolidates action thereby applying power. It is this concept of the 'dispositive' as a complex capsule which envelops all discourse practices which Dispositive analysis seeks to analyse.

The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) is said to be the most linguistically based among CDA approaches. Its theory of discourse is established in the connection between what it classi-

fies as fields of action, genres, discourses and texts. Discourse Historical Approach sees context as historical. It attempts an explanation of discourse within a context of history in a less theoretical style and rather develops conceptual tools which are context biased but relevant to the specific social problems that are engaged in a particular research. Wodak and Reisigl's Discourse Historical Approach engages more in the field of politics where it has developed conceptual frameworks for political discourse analysis. On the linguistic portion of this model, argumentation theory is employed in one instance which they argue is best fitted for the research questions. The general claim of this model is that every discourse is embedded in the historical context of society.

Another model such as the Corpus Linguistics Approach (CLA) is an extended linguistic version of CDA which provides additional linguistic devices for text analysis. According to Wodak and Meyer (2001), Corpus Linguistics Approach is applicable alongside other CDA approaches while the Dialectical-Relational Approach (Fairclough) draws influences from the Marxian tradition of social conflict theory and attempts to trace a link between it and linguistic manifestations in discourses to arrive at elements of dominance and resistance. It posits that every social practice can prove to be semiotic and that social relations, social identities, cultural values and consciousness are dialectically related elements of social practice. With CDA conceptualized as a study of dialectical relations and social practices which lead to the constitution of genres and styles, a general societal order of discourse is always imminent. The Dialectical-Relational Approach to CDA swings between the structure of discourse and the action contained within it. This must, as a matter of necessity be focused on solving problems which lead to a liberation of a sort to some sections of the social stratum. Halliday's (1985) Systemic Functional Linguistics theory of language provides frameworks for analysis of language with particular emphasis on grammar.

This leads to a revelation of the social functions they perform which is used to describe and explain discourse in the Dialectical Relational Approach.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter, the frameworks employed in the analysis of the data for the present study will be discussed. This will involve a brief explanation of the theoretical assumptions that underpin the frameworks in their original stages and the modifications they undergo in the quest to suit them to the specifications of the data of the current study.

#### **3.2 SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS (SFL) MODEL**

As stated in Chapter One, the analysis of language, power and ideology will be partly based on the foundations of the Hallidayan view of language as used in communication. Language as ‘social semiotic’, that is language perceived as a system from which a choice is made to express thought from among a range of other possible alternatives which have developed over a period in various cultural contexts of human activity. This view is contrastive of the traditional claim of language as a system of rules which suppress creativity as well as persuasiveness in speech.

Halliday & Hasan (1985:94) has this to say on the above point:

Whereas Saussure thought of the various semiotic systems as simply copresent, systemic functional linguistics attempts to integrate language as a semiotic system with other semiotic systems in a community. It is clear that the claim of co-genesis itself rests on that of the semiotic relation of coding which integrates the context of culture and situation with language and communication.

Halliday (1978, 1994) makes some central claims about language which serve to illustrate the assumptions and principles upon which analysis of text is based. The revelation of vital information in text analysis results from the assumptions as shown below that:

1. Language is functional. The idea of functionality is expressed in the ability of language to be used as a medium of communicating thoughts to release meaning. Quainoo (2011: 50) while espousing on this assumption of SFL intimates that: “. . . SFL is semantically oriented. It is concerned with how language is structured and used to make meanings (Eggins 1994). In that sense, systemic functional grammar represents a major contrast with the theory of language as a system of rules.”

2. Language is semiotic. In other words, meanings are made through a process of selecting from several options that amount to the idea that is to be conveyed. The semiotic quality stretches across written, spoken and multi-modal text forms and all the forms are ‘semiotically’ substitutive of each other. However, the focus in this study will be on written text forms and political discourse in particular.

3. Text is understood within context. Thought is communicated and represented appropriately into meaning in an environment in which their social and cultural contexts are understood. SFL makes the argument that in order to understand a text, information about the context within which it was generated: the ‘context of situation’ and the ‘context of culture’ must be available. The explanations as adapted from Quainoo (2011) present these concepts in simple language for a better understanding:

*Context of Situation* takes into consideration the activities and considerations around which texts are organized. For one thing, a message which is accompanied by the situation would make more sense to others than if it were not. This means that it is possible for people to miss the message being communicated by others because the words that are exchanged in these contexts get their meaning from activities in which they are embedded . . . Similarly, the *Context of Culture* is very important because it unveils the whole cultural history behind texts and helps to put messages into proper perspective. (Quainoo, 2011:50).

The ‘context of situation’ and the ‘context of culture’ come together to situate and project the circumstances and nuances that surround the text so as to reveal the special characteristics that

are contained there-in for a better appreciation of its import.

After introducing the concepts of ‘Context of Situation’ and ‘Context of Culture’ and their roles in enhancing understanding and analysis of text, it becomes equally necessary to break context of situation into its component parts.

All the complex levels of language have grammar as the core upon which the other levels such as semantic, social and cultural relations are developed. This core is referred to as the Lexicogrammar, since it involves grammar and vocabulary. The levels are interlinked to realise one another both within the linguistic and extra-linguistic features and this linkage is retraceable from both directions to determine the inception point. As the SFL theoretical assumptions state, a text realises a specific context of situation and simultaneously encodes three metafunctions at the semantics level. These include the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual meanings.

***The Ideational:*** The ideational metafunction is concerned with the way external reality is represented, that is the content of the message. It is the obvious semantic reasoning that a text conveys. This meaning making potential is derived from a systemic pattern of choices which reveals the meaning potentials of language. According to Downing and Locke (2006: 122-3):

A fundamental property of language is that it enables us to conceptualise and describe our experience, whether of the actions and events, people and things of the external world, or of the internal world of our thoughts, feelings and perceptions. This is done through transitivity, contemplated in a broad sense, which encompasses not only the verb but the semantic configuration of situation type.

It communicates the processes, participants, and the circumstances involved in the text. The logical relationships between processes and participants are revealed through analysis of this metafunction. Among the numerous concepts contained in SFL, transitivity is consistent with several CDA approaches to discourse analysis which is also a major component of the ideational

metafunction. This type of transitivity according to David (2002: 10) as quoted below is quite detailed.

In SFL transitivity is much more than the traditional distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs; it is concerned with the type of process involved in a clause, the participants implicated in it, and, if there are any, the attendant circumstances. Transitivity is thus the relationships established between the processes, the participants and the circumstances encoded in the clause.

Transitivity as follows from the description below will be adapted in this study. Verbs have been classified traditionally between two divisions as transitive and intransitive depending on the presence or absence of a direct object after the verb in a clause. This traditional classification of transitivity and intransitivity are shown in examples (1) and (2) as illustrated below:

1. *He speaks English* ('speaks' is transitive).
2. *He speaks* ('speaks' is intransitive).

According to Halliday (1985), the processes, activities and 'goings-on' that are communicated through language make it a storehouse of meaning. These meanings are analyzable to expose the semantics of the language through the grammar by looking at its transitivity.

In following SFL analytical procedure, *process* refers to the action part; it is where gist of the clause is communicated. This is achieved by the verbal group while *participants* are animate or inanimate units that play a role in the meaningful process. Among the concepts listed by Halliday (1985) as part of the processes in the transitivity system, *material*, *mental*, *relational* and *verbal* will be captured in the present study since they stand to contribute to the analysis of power and

ideological processes in the research data. They are further illustrated below including a diagram together with the sub-elements by which they can be defined.

**Material processes** are seen by some as the action clauses in which an action is carried out by an entity which may be carried out on some other entity. The *Actor*, *Goal* and *Beneficiary* are the participants involved in this process. With *Actor* being the ‘doer’ of an action or process; *Goal* being the entity, whether animate or inanimate that suffers the action; and *Beneficiary* being the participant that benefits from the process. (Halliday, 1985). The *Actor* is said to be the obligatory element of this process. Below are some examples:

1. We      are building      a democratic state.

*Actor*      *process*                      *goal*

2. Ghanaians      are investing      into peace      and nothing less.

*Actor*              *process*                              *goal*

In the examples above, ‘We’ and ‘Ghanaians’ play the Actor roles with the processes ‘are building’ and ‘are investing’ shifting the doer roles on to the actors. The expressions ‘a democratic state’ and ‘in to peace’ play the roles of goal while ‘beneficiary’ is absent. The absence of a beneficiary could be a style of discourse presentation which seeks to emphasise the need for acting in unity first without thinking immediately about the benefits to the audience.

**Mental process** is about the perceptions or states of minds that result from the activity concerned. Under this process, the elements that realise the mental process fall under the ability to perceive hence the verbs that feature in this category are not doing-words, instead they normally express state-of-being. Examples of these verbs include: fear, think, please, enjoy, see, feel,

know, please, hope, assume, perceive etc. With this process, the animate or inanimate participant of the process is termed the *senser* while what is sensed is termed *phenomenon*. The sentences below illustrate the *mental process*.

1. I            pledge to deliver    this                    to the good people of Ghana.  
*Senser*            *process*                    *phenomenon*                    *circumstance*

2. I            know            numbers            can be boring.  
*Senser*            *process*            *phenomenon*            *circumstance*

From the examples above, the senser ‘I’ places himself at the end of power where his state of mind as expressed in the processes of ‘pledge to deliver’ and ‘know’ is demanding the agreement of the audience. Though he may not be able to achieve his pledge, the message at that instance is that he will deliver hence an expression of power through discourse. On example 2, some people in the audience might be very interested in the numbers so as to make comparisons and draw conclusions, but since the speaker (senser) says numbers ‘can be boring’, it is taken to be a unanimous view that is shared by all.

**Relational process** is about the state of the participating entities in a discourse. It could also be between an entity that is participating and another attribute. Copular verbs such as *be, seem, appear, become, look* and so forth realise the relational process of transitivity according to Halliday (1978). This revolves around elements such as *carrier, possessor, attribute or identifier* under a possessive, intensive or circumstantial as the examples below illustrate.

1. *Possessive* that expresses “X has Y” relationship:

We            have reserved                    \$100 million as a business incubator fund for SMEs

*possessor*      *process*                      *attribute*

2. *Intensive* that expresses “X is Y” relationship:

The ‘Dutch Disease’ . . .    is                      a feature of hydrocarbon rich countries

*identifier*                      *process*                      *identifier*

3. *Circumstantial* that expresses “ X is at / of Y” relationship:

This program              will help              them                      become employers

*identifier*                      *process*                      *attribute*                      *circumstance*

**Verbal (verbalization) processes** are simply about a source communicating to a target. The elements involved in this process are the *sayer* and the *target* which represent the addresser of a speech and addressee of the same speech respectively. *Say, tell, argue, proclaim, intimate, announce, report* and so on are the verbs that normally come under this process. Examples are shown below:

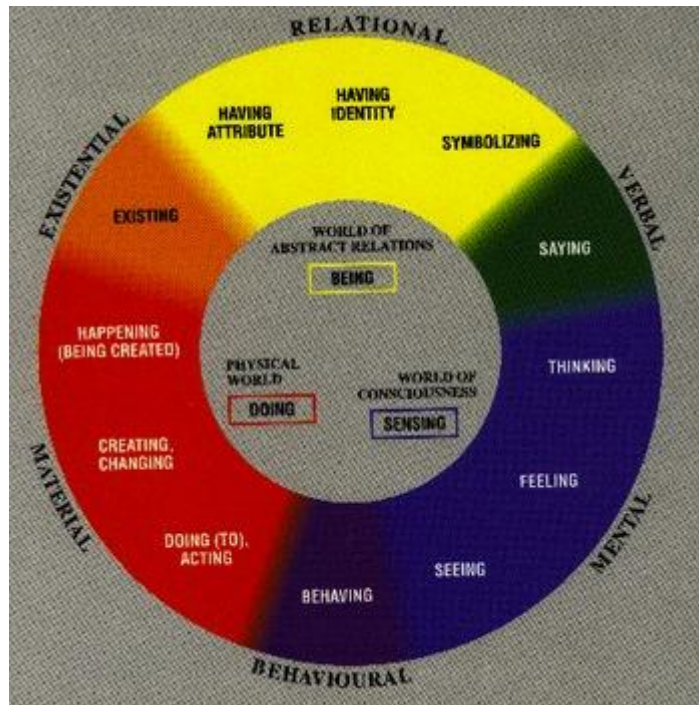
1. I      would like to speak to                      the various people I have met . . .

*sayer*                      *process*                      *target*

2. I      articulated                      in my speech to the UN General Assembly

*sayer*    *process*    *target*

In the second example, the sayer (I) comes with some amount of prestige since he is able to address a UN General Assembly, which makes the statement to be highly accepted by the audience.



The grammar of experience: adapted from the cover page of *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 2nd ed. (1994), by M.A.K. Halliday, showing the types of processes as they have evolved in English grammar

***The Interpersonal:*** The Interpersonal metafunction is concerned with the relations, especially of power or societal conventions that exist between the speaker and addressee(s), and between the speaker and text. The Interpersonal presents the speech function of the text. In other words, it is at this metafunction that information about relations contained in the text are analysed. Texts come under the four main mood types present in the English language either in the form of declarations, interrogations, imperatives or subjunctives, all develop different relations with the audience as well as with the speaker. David (2002:10) once again has this to say about the interpersonal metafunction:

A major feature of the interpersonal metafunction is that of mood. Mood is analysed in terms of a Mood element and the Residue. The Mood element is consti-

tuted by the Subject and the Finite. The Finite, which to the best of my knowledge is not specifically defined or isolated in any other theory, is that element which, with the Subject, enables us to determine the mood of a clause. In English the Finite is encoded in the first (the leftmost) auxiliary in the verbal group. Hence, the order Subject^Finite establishes the mood as declarative, while the order Finite^Subject establishes the mood as interrogative.

**The Textual:** The Textual metafunction is that part of the meaning which builds up different coherent thematic structures into the main text. At the textual level, the audience is able to appreciate the topicality of the message produced, or its significance to the context in which it occurs, as well as the coherence between the whole text. All these elements combine to express coherence and relevance to the audience in a socially appreciable way. (Halliday and Hasan 1985).

The metafunctions discussed above are described in terms of three main variables that influence language use. They are Field, Tenor, and Mode which map on to the Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual metafunctions respectively. By way of relating them to the metafunctions, the terms are appropriately discussed as they apply to SFL below:

1. Field refers to the subject matter of the text.
2. Tenor refers to the socially defined relations between the interactants involved in a communicative event.
3. Mode is the medium and role of language in the situation. (David 2002).

### **3.3 LANGUAGE AND MEANING**

Communications of all forms which are intended for a fruitful exchange between more than one persons have meaning. The meaning that is conveyed by the words, phrases or sentences can differ from the speaker's intended meaning. It is the difference between intended mean-

ing and word or phrase meaning that is of concern under the concept of speech act. Words as distinct elements have denotative meanings which change as the words are employed in strings of words to form sentences. In other words, words do stand as representative of a certain element which has meaning but do convey a different meaning according to the context and the intended meaning of the speaker.

For example, when two friends (Mr. A and Mr. B) who belong to one political party just come out of a boring marathon of a meeting in which they have succeeded in planning a foolproof strategy towards winning an election. And Mr. A, upon his high conviction that the strategy is sure to succeed, says to the other:

*It's all over!*

The sentence could be intended to mean a sigh of relief for being finally done with their marathon meeting. But it equally could mean that Mr. A is so satisfied with the outcome of the meeting that he projects ahead into the election and sees their party as having won power, hence the sigh of relief: *It's all over!* To mean the elections are over and his party is taking over power.

It is upon this ability of expressions to carry multiple meanings that J. L. Austin's concept of *Speech Act Theory* stands. This study will apply the theory in analyzing the data to expose the implicit and explicit meanings that may be present.

### 3.3.1 THE SPEECH ACT THEORY

This was first propounded by the English scholar- J.L. Austin in his 1962 work: *How to Do Things with Words*. The Speech Act Theory is a widely accepted theory employed in the study of language which goes beyond the traditional views held on it in the days before Austin's work. In this theory he states that in uttering a sentence, other actions could be achieved as well. These actions he terms the locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. This point is noted in the following paragraph by Austin (1962: 108) quoted in Quainoo (2011:59):

. . . performing a locutionary act . . . is roughly equivalent to uttering a certain sentence with a certain sense and reference, which is again equivalent to meaning in the traditional sense . . . we also perform illocutionary acts such as informing, ordering, warning, undertaking, etc., i.e. utterances which have a certain conven-

tional force. Thirdly, we may also perform perlocutionary acts: what we bring about or achieve by saying something, such as convincing, persuading, deterring, surprising or misleading.

The paragraph above sets apart the actions achieved by the performance of an act. These include locutionary (the uttering or saying), illocutionary i. e. what is said through the act of saying. The third action called perlocutionary act which refers to what is achieved from the performance of the utterance.

In the field of politics, perlocutionary acts abound. It comes as the safe haven for political speech makers to win the people's approval. This is because illocutionary and perlocutionary acts are able to give relief, either permanent or temporary to the audience. It is in this light that the following expressions are wholly welcomed by the populace during the 2012 general elections.

*1). Free SHS is coming*

*2). Vote for John Mahama and the NDC's Better Ghana Agenda*

The assumed background to the first statement is that of a difficulty on the part of audience in catering for their wards secondary education. This situation which is giving parents lots of worries is going to see its end through the salvaging leadership expertise of the presidential candidate. Thus, the hearing of it and the sight of the politician who is promising this offer brings happiness to the people.

In the same vein, the second sentence is coming from an assumed background of an improved way of governance under the National Democratic Congress. The call on the people by the second sentence thus is this: that the Better Ghana Agenda which is already being experienced is going to be given an impetus under the combined leadership of John Mahama and the NDC.

From the examples discussed above, the speakers perform *illocutionary acts* by assuring the people through the sentences about a change in their lives for the better and a continuation of an agenda towards the betterment of their lives in the respective situations. These result in *perlocutionary acts* in which the worries and concerns of the people are seemingly vapourised at the instant. This theory will be applied to analysing the data of the current study.

**John Searle** (1969) is another scholarly modification to the work of Austin (1962). Based on the foundations laid by Austin, Searle goes further to classify speech acts according to the purposes they achieve when employed in an interaction. In other words the effects that speech acts have on the addressee are what this latter work delves into. They are listed under five groups as follows:

1. Assertive acts: these are performed in sentences which cause the development of perceptions, ideas or beliefs in the recipients of these acts. The speaker is straight and firm in this act and makes utterances that hang on the truth values contained in them.
2. Directive acts: these are utterances that require a direct response on the part of the addressee. These call for an action of a sort by way of a reaction to the utterance. These include commands, orders, conditionals and others.
3. Commissive acts: this is when the speaker commits himself by speaking to an action to be carried out in the future.
4. Expressive acts: these touch on the psychology of the speaker. They are utterances that derive from and communicate the emotive and immeasurable abilities of the speaker.
5. Declarative acts: with this act the authoritative capacities of the speaker and his expert knowledge in the field concerned, is performed.

Apart from the classification above, Searle points out that every utterance performed influences the actions, responses, beliefs, leanings and thoughts of people. Therefore, by accumulating a particular idea over a time gives one the ability to persuade, convince, win or change the beliefs of others. If this is true as espoused by the Speech Act Theory, then political speeches and particularly the data of the current study possess the power to cause actions towards changing people's ideological stands and directly changing them through their (speakers') speeches.

### **3.4 CONCEPTUAL ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**

With this study being an exercise in Critical Discourse Analysis, the conception of theoretical framework is definitely multidisciplinary in order to arrive at a detailed analysis of the data. For this reason, the analysis will follow an eclectic approach involving a Systemic Functional Linguistic framework, the Speech Act Theory as discussed above, as well as CDA according to the layout that follows:

The analysis will be structured under three main divisions which include Description, Interpretation and Explanation. (Fairclough, 2001).

1. ***Textual Analysis (Description)***: Selected parts of the data are analysed to reveal syntactic patterns using the SFL theoretical framework. This will result in a systematic method for analyzing the link between discourse and its social context. Since events and actions may be described with syntactic variations depending on the involvement of actors (agency and perspective), the “responsibility and authority” of the politician may be emphasized through the employment of active constructions. All the metafunctions will be analysed to reveal the relations that are developed in the various speeches.

2. **Discursive Analysis (Interpretation).** What reasons account for the speakers' use of texts outside the field of politics to enrich the effects conveyed by their speeches under the concepts of :
  - i. Intertextuality/ Interdiscursivity
  - ii. Context of Situation/ Discourse as History.
  - iii. Speech Act (Force of Utterance)
3. **Social Analysis (Explanation):** the production, distribution and consumption of the text are explained. The underlying elements that convey power and ideological relations in the data will be explained. This framework and the conception developed above will be used to analyse the data.

### 3.5 METHODOLOGY

This section outlines the considerations that make up the choice of politicians for the research. It also discusses how the choice on data for the research is arrived at out of the numerous speeches made by the selected candidates in the 2012 election period.

The data is a selection of campaign speeches, one each of two presidential candidates in Ghana in the lead up to the 2012 general elections. They are: Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and John Dramani Mahama of the National Democratic Congress (NDC). Since they belong to two different political party persuasions, it is expected that the strategies they use will differ and so will the messages and vehicles they employ. Since the inception of the fourth republic in Ghana, only the two political parties mentioned above have had the opportunity of governance. This makes them the parties with the highest followers and they

are the most popular today. Apart from the above, the issues surrounding the selection of the two candidates as flagbearers of their respective parties have greatly influenced the choice to examine their speeches.

Nana Addo Danquah Akufo-Addo of the NPP won a contest involving seventeen contenders for the position of flag bearer in the run up to the 2008 elections with over 60% of the total votes cast. During the main elections that same year, he lost by a margin which was considered all over the world as one of the most keenly contested elections ever with about 40,000 votes out of several millions of votes cast. He got the approval once again in the 2012 period as the flag bearer on the ticket of the NPP. With the previous margin by which he lost, it was expected that the 2012 campaigns would be intensely contested and so would the speeches delivered.

For the second candidate - John Dramani Mahama, his tenure as Vice President is considered by many Ghanaians as one of the most successful due to his contributions toward the successful single-term presidency of the late John Evans Atta-Mills (president of Ghana from January, 2009- July, 2012). This won him a declaration as flag bearer for the 2012 general elections by his party - the NDC, without having to compete with others for it. The challenge he faced of campaigning throughout the whole nation in just three months meant he had a difficult task to perform. His campaign, like Nana Akufo-Addo's, was expected to be as intense as possible. Based on the history of elections in Ghana and the processes the two candidates went through, they are considered the most popular candidates for the election hence the selection of their speeches for analysis.

In respect of the choice of speech for the research, it was intended that a "level playing ground" be given to both flag bearers so as to improve the chances of arriving at findings that apply largely to the aims of the research with high levels of authenticity. The Institute of Economic Affairs' series on the 2012 elections was settled upon. The Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) is an es-

established body in Ghana that has a prestige in contributing to issues of national interest. It is therefore rated highly by both the political parties and the electorates in its ability to serve a coordinating role in the flag bearers' quest to present their messages to the electorates. Two different encounters were organized by the IEA: the individual-encounters and the general debate among all the candidates from the various parties. The speeches from the individual-encounter series were chosen over the debate series because it was assumed that the former is appropriate to the research aim of power and ideological underpinnings emanating solely from the speaker without another speaker influencing the process.

The text document of the speeches presented by the above candidates during their turns in the series is the data for the study.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **4.1. INTRODUCTION**

The purpose of this thesis is the analysis of the selected speeches of Nana Akufo-Addo and John Mahama to expose the expressions of power and ideology through the manipulations of language to influence their relations with the audience. The linguistic and the textual features as well as the discursive elements of the socio-cultural setting and the speakers' background all form the essence of the analysis. To reach the goal of unearthing the strategies used to create power relations and to ideologically influence the audience, the analysis is structured under three subtopics: the Description of the linguistic and textual features; the Interpretation of the discursive practice; and the Explanation of the socio-cultural milieu that help shape the ideas of the speakers.

#### **4.2 DESCRIPTION: ANALYSIS OF TEXT AND LINGUISTIC FEATURES**

This stage analyses the features of voice, transitivity and the linguistic as well as literary devices and styles that are deemed significant in the creation and sustenance of relations of power and ideological manipulations in the speeches.

#### **4.3 SELF PROJECTION**

This is a strategy by which the speaker develops a conception of himself to the audience as on a very high pedestal. That is, say, an 'haute' introduction of a sort that creates indelible perceptions in the audience of him as a much esteemed person of power who operates on higher levels of

dominion. By this, the audiences' relation with the actions of the speaker, as well as his speech, develops a somewhat permanent balance which has the speaker above and the audience at the lower end as seen in the lines below:

*Chairperson, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, friends from the media, fellow Ghanaians, good evening. **This event was to have taken place two weeks ago, but was postponed at my request when President Mills passed away. May he rest in perfect peace. Ghanaians should be proud that together we are building a democratic state, a Ghana being governed by the rule of law.** (Nana. pg. 2: lines 2-3)*

The speaker's deliberate emphasis in lines 2 and 3, on the death of the former President – Atta Mills and the circumstances that led to the postponement of the IEA presentation are for reasons of power. In this case, the speaker is interested in making his audience aware that it was at his instance that the original schedule was changed as seen in the bold part with emphasis on the underlined portion. The essence of this is not just for informatory purposes, but as the beginning, as far as this text is concerned, of a continuation of a process towards developing a power relation between speaker and audience, with the speaker being the most powerful since he could cause the postponement of such a prestigious occasion.

## 4.4 LITERARY DEVICES

### 4.4.1 EUPHEMISMS

The Ghanaian traditional context is perfectly reflected here. Being a people who have detailed customs especially in respect of the dead, one must be cautious in communicating information about death appropriately in order to be considered worthy of attention, as having had a good upbringing and finally to be accepted by the audience as one of their own. This is the reason for

the speaker's use of a more heightened language in referring to the death of the former president.

Thus he says:

*“..... when **President Mills passed away.**” (Nana. pg.2: line 3)*

The device of Euphemism is a technique of avoidance when it comes to aspects that might arouse the audience's displeasure. The use of a blunt word to describe what befell the former president, say “death”, would have been perceived indecorous. The quality of euphemisms to tone down the actual “venom” possessed by a word is employed to the advantage of the speaker. That words create relations that are not positive is supported by Fairclough (2001: 97-8) when he says: “A euphemism is a word that is substituted for a more conventional or familiar one as a way of avoiding negative values.”

Euphemisms are normally associated with literary works. Their effectiveness in making communication possible in areas including non-literary circles especially, political discourse is great. They (euphemisms) appear in their diverse forms to support or suppress the goals of the speakers. The common ones include metaphor, imagery, personification, euphemism, analogy, antithesis, apostrophe, simile, synecdoche among others. Some of the literary devices present in the data are analysed below.

#### **4.4.2 METAPHORS**

Metaphors and proverbs are employed most in literary works because of their quality in rendering meaning in crystal clear representations. Political speechmakers rake-in every tool available in the presentation of their speeches in persuasive ways, hence the use of metaphors and proverbs. The speaker in talking about the need for the development of research into science and

technology towards economic progress on page 8: (*Nana. pg.8: lines 3-5*), presents it as the provision of “*the nuts and bolts*” for the running of the new economy. With this analogy, the thoughts of the speaker are well represented for the audience’s easy appreciation.

#### 4.4.3 ANALOGY

Before the comparison of prices, the speaker narrates two separate stories to illustrate his claim that things are getting out of hands. From the education sector to the agriculture sector; another story is presented in the health sector to further buttress the same point the speaker wants to put across. These analogies, once again are a common feature in political discourse. Though the authenticity of the analogies is not ascertained, the speaker employs them to paint his desired picture of the situation the country is faced with as shown in the excerpt below:

*“I recall the sad story of a 17 year-old boy in Akwasiho, in Abetifi, in the Eastern Region, who said he dropped out of school because his parents couldn’t pay his senior high school education. This particular boy’s story stays with me mostly because of the sound of desperation in his voice. There are thousands and thousands like him. I met Kwame Osei, in Suproano in the Anhwiaso Bekwai District, Western Region. He is a cocoa farmer and at age 42, he should be one of our success stories. But he said, “the cost of fertilizer and pesticides, coupled with the collapse of mass spraying, is making life very hard.” At the Sango Beach, here in Accra, fishermen were downhearted and frustrated. ... .. Esinam told me in Vakpo, in the Volta Region, that her problem was the collapsing National Health Insurance Scheme. She said, “NHIS egblen!” Young men and women everywhere I go are crying for jobs, they*

*are desperate for someone to give them hope for a meaningful future. (Nana Addo.pg.2: lines 13-20; 23-25)*

The analogies could be fictitious or highly exaggerated, yet they contribute towards serving the objectives of the speaker. These objectives include among others, the creation of an image of hopelessness: of a crumbling economy that requires immediate attention to help salvage the situation. The speaker also initiates a process to enact and re-enforces himself as a symbol of unity. This is as a result of the cross-ethnic nature of the sources of his analogies. They are drawn from the Eastern, Western, Greater Accra and Volta Regions of Ghana. All these are strategic towards the speaker's bid for the presidency. The reference to the Eastern Region, being his home region, goes to re-emphasize the Akan proverb: '*se adze wo fiea o ye*' which seeks to prioritise one's home above all other places with respect to the provision of developmental projects. With the Greater Accra region hosting the capital and also the most populated in the whole country, it becomes almost politically suicidal not to recognize it in any political activity. The Volta Region also happens to be the opposition's stronghold. It is an opportunity therefore to paint the gloomiest picture of it so as to communicate saliently to the people by saying "*reexamine yourself and see whether you are treated well*". Since health, which is one of the top priorities in many countries is presented by somebody other than the speaker as collapsing, the people of the region will want to do a reexamination of their situation.

Direct quotations employed by the speaker in making reference to the various people he came into contact with are for strategic reasons directed towards persuasion and are ideologically motivated. While the speaker narrates the interactions between himself and the people, he inserts into his speech direct statements from the people so as to reaffirm the claim that these are not his personal thoughts, but those of Ghanaians in general. It helps in persuading the people into be-

believing the speaker since he reports what supposedly are the exact thoughts of the people. Ideologically, the speaker creates a brand effect for himself as a caring leader who listens to his people and does not let their concerns evaporate into thin air but follows up on them with attempts to seeing them solved. This makes him to be thought of as honest, selfless and well-meaning.

#### 4.4.4 REPETITION

*“And, yet, the town criers of NDC propaganda tell us we are living today in better times. Well, well, well!” (Nana Addo pg. 3: line 4-5)*

Repetition is used as dramatized emphasis. The speaker expresses the situation in a completely different manner so as to draw the audiences’ attention to what he expresses very passionately. This is characteristically done through repetition of a word, a phrase or a sentence. In the quote above, the speaker repeats and dramatises **“Well!”** three times which increases the seriousness attached to the preceding line and also leaves it with an open-ended meaning in the minds of the audience.

#### 4.4.5 HIGH DEFINITION IMAGERY

*Ladies and gentlemen, the **long-cherished** vision of our citizens for Ghana’s **very own national** carrier will be realized under our next term. We will, in partnership for the private sector, bring back a **proud and prosperous** airline for Ghana. I am convinced and determined, that together, we can reach new heights of growth and development. (JM. pg. 4: lines 35-40)*

The presence of adjectives of high descriptive value is for strategic purposes. Firstly, these are presented to the audience as if they were a unanimous demand made by the whole nation, and as

a caring and listening government led by the speaker, they have listened and attended to their demands. The responsibility of government in providing for the needs of the people is barely brought to the fore in this situation. It is therefore phrased very vividly to create a mental effect in the audience while ‘the responsibility of request’ is put fully on the people with the government’s own previous pronouncements on the issue backgrounded. This is a situation comparable to what Fairclough 2001:109 talks about as the division of information into *“relatively prominent and relatively backgrounded (tending to mean relatively important and relatively unimportant) parts”*.

The use of multiple adjectives in describing nouns for effect is another style of imagery. The speaker strategically describes nouns by pre-positioning them with picturesque adjectives that evoke thoughts of the exact idea the speaker seeks to put across to the audience. Phrases such as *“Our much-touted economic growth; ghost jobs; the hard truth”* are those that come under this group. The adjectives that precede nouns *“growth, jobs and the truth”* come as a summary of a sort to what the speaker’s assessment of the situation is. When the speaker says *“Our much-touted economic growth”*, he is casting insinuations at the excessive publicity the previous government made about the economy which is relatively without much to show in the personal lives of the people. When he says *“the hard truth”*, there is a presumption that a second version exists: *“the soft truth”*. He succeeds in making this point and goes ahead to provide them with the right information about the economy according to him. Evidently, the effects of these adjective-combinations on the audience are numerous. They present the speaker as honest; as being discerning; as a researcher and a well informed leader of the people.

#### 4.4.6 HOPE RHETORIC AND ALLUSION

Generally, the speaker's style of rhetoric of hope is continuously perpetuated with less concrete and tangible ideas on issues. One of the available reasons or evidence presented for his claims include a general allusion to political philosophers and theologians. The speaker employs these allusions based on his projections that the audience will be convinced by associations he tries to create with philosophers and even theologians since they are held in high esteem by the people. One feature, however, is that the speaker does not name emphatically any of the political philosophers and theologians who make the claims he is alluding to. But the effect on the audience is successfully created by this strategy.

*“What a resilient people we are! What a mighty people we are! These people are pushing ahead for a better Ghana. Interacting with these citizens has reinforced my optimism. It has reinforced a belief that was already strong, my belief that the future that lies before us, all of us—not just some of us—is bright.” (JM. pg.2 lines 1-4)*

*“Ladies and gentlemen, as you know, we are in a dynamic period of our nation's history and there is much hope for a bright future ahead. We are told by political philosophers, and even theologians, that to think positive of your circumstances is to invoke the more remarkable good tidings and future prospects: Our country is great, and will be even greater”.(JM. pg. 3: lines 1-5)*

The speaker's style of rhetoric of hope is continuously perpetuated with less concrete and tangible reasons. One of the available reasons of evidence presented for his claim includes general allusions to political philosophers and theologians. The speaker employs these allusions based on his projection that the audience will be convinced by the associations he tries to create with philosophers and even theologians since they are held in high esteem by the people. One feature

however, is that the speaker does not name directly any of the political philosophers and theologians who make the claims he is alluding to. But the effect on the audience is successfully created by this strategy.

After the numerous paragraphs of expectations and promises, the speaker calls on the audience saying:

***“Just imagine what we can achieve if we stand together as one people, with one nation and one common destiny.”(JM. pg. 7: lines 7-8)***

This is a highly expressive statement in nature without tangible issues addressed. By this strategy, the speaker appeals to the operations of the mental faculties of the audience which work well for his cause which has from the above paragraphs, been to convince them with allusions based on emotional appeals rather than issues. With expressive appeals to the audience's emotions, the yardstick for measuring the speaker's speeches is replaced with an elusive emotional scale which causes one to side with the speaker without analysing the worth of the speech. By this, the speaker succeeds in persuading the audience into approving of him as suitable for the presidency.

***“ In between now and 2016, we have two critical milestones: As has been announced by the Volta River Authority, in December, we will end the current load management exercise that was put in place as a result of interruption in gas supply from the West Africa Gas Pipeline Project by end of next month . By the end of 2013, Ghana's deficit in Energy supply will be significantly minimised, thereby largely eliminate the need for load management.” (JM. pg.4 :lines 1-7)***

While the speaker claims to be speaking on some critical milestone which require urgent solutions, he makes an empty promise which wins him acceptance but is highly vague and open-ended therefore presupposing an ideological manipulation of the audience for the sake of politi-

cal ends. The speaker says: *“By the end of 2013, Ghana’s deficit in Energy supply will be significantly minimized, thereby eliminate the need for load management.”* The issue with the above is the presence of several expressive words which hardly present a clear meaning of the whole sentence to the audience. So, while it appears as if the speaker has communicated his plans clearly for the power problem being experienced at the time, a critical look at the statement leaves it too blurred for any straightforward interpretation. Persuasively, the speaker makes great impact with this technique of speech.

The speaker begins another reference process which is intended to give credence to his new point. Even though, he has education as an issue to be addressed, he strategically links it up with his expressive utterances so as to soften the audience's perception of what he thinks on education. Apart from that, he also uses allusive references and through that enjoys the positive esteem with which the audiences see the references. So he begins expressively by saying:

*“I know and respect the importance of education, the value that it brings not only to the students, but also to their families, communities and to the entire country. So, too, did the architects who set down the foundation of this Fourth republic. The drafters of our constitution of 1992, in all their wisdom, provided for the implementation of Free Universal Basic Education.” (JM.pg.7: lines 21-26)*

By succeeding in introducing the allusions to the fathers of the Fourth republic, the speaker immediately shifts attention from the subject of the discussion onto *“The drafters of our constitution of 1992”*. What the speaker does by that is the creation of a power scale on which the referents are placed, as an all-knowing group on everything about Ghana, especially education. Having successfully done that, he uses their recommendation as blue-print document on running the

country. The speaker does this because it falls in line with his ideas and policies on education. Thus producing a rippling effect in terms of the persuasive goals he achieves on the audience.

With the same agenda pursued from previous lines, the speaker makes allusion to the highest oath of the land- the presidential oath to support his point that the process towards increasing access and reducing cost to education should be a gradual one.

*“ No President who has sworn the oath to defend the constitution—as I have done and as previous presidents have done—can stand unilaterally against the implementation of the provisions of that constitution.”(JM. pg. 8: lines 1-3)*

Upon stating that he has sworn the presidential oath, he presupposes he is on top of the issue at hand. Statistical figures once again provide rescue to speech makers. Normally used to confuse the audience, this time around it comes to clarify a point the speaker is making. This means that, the use of statistical figures in supporting a point, whether favourable or unfavourable is solely dependent on the convincing power they bring to the current issue under discussion, but not the merit they have by themselves.

## 4.5 AGENCY

**“When put to the test, our democratic institutions rose to the occasion. The transfer of the presidency was peaceful, smooth and constitutional and we should all be encouraged by the way the system worked. It strengthens those of us who have fought all our lives for democracy to flourish in Ghana.....”** (Nana. pg.2: lines 6-9)

Agency is deliberately blurred. The putting “to the test” of the nation in the underlined part of the speech was as a result of an occurrence which took place at a particular point in time and under

somebody's leadership which the speaker could have mentioned. Yet these pieces of information are completely exempted from the speech for ideologically motivated reasons. The message is communicated to exclude the particular actors under whose watch and mandate the unprecedented transfer of power took place, and to whom the credit of a successful transfer should go. The speaker rather chooses to allocate agency to the inanimate subject "*our democratic institutions*". This is a strategy to downplay the efforts of the government that oversaw the process which will automatically mean taking the credit away from them implicitly in the eyes of the audience. Agency is used as another way of taking credit away from whom it is due. Hence the speaker in the above text chose the phrase "*our democratic institutions*" as if these institutions were not run by people.

Also, "*The transfer of the presidency*" as used in line 6 is another attempt in the same direction as above to erase responsibility. Even though the speaker is well aware of the parties involved in the transfer, he avoids mentioning any names. He rather talks about the transfer in an agentless manner. He succeeds in doing this by the use of a passive construction which turns the sentence into an event with several happenings. The happenings are chosen carefully to catch the audience's attention so that they think more about that than about the real actors. Here, the obvious reason for this style is to avoid a (mis)communication to the audience of an endorsement of the good work of the people involved in the transfer. Since the action of transfer is being presented as "*peaceful*"; the participants equally stand the chance of being given the accolade as peacemakers. If it were smooth and constitutional, then the actors involved must be at the top of their game and really good citizens who respect the constitution of the country. Should this have been the case, the speaker's goal would have been dealt a negative blow, hence the choice of avoiding an agency that mentions directly the participants but praises the action.

“... .. we should all be encouraged by the way the system worked. It strengthens those of us who have fought all our lives for democracy to flourish in Ghana ... ..” (Nana. pg.2: lines 7-9.)

However, at the latter stage as shown in the lines above, the initial style of constructions with inanimate agents is replaced by one with a human agent and an attributed state to the sentence. The speaker becomes the principal actor at this instance where he trumpets his exploits in making democracy flourish.

**“The Single Spine Pay policy has seen an escalation of Public sector wage bill from GHC2billion to over GHC5billion”.**(JM. Pg. 2: lines 25-6)

In another instance, the speaker makes a point with an inanimate agent. The statement as well is a passive construction which draws attention to some other features of such constructions. Generally, agency in sentence constructions is left to animate subjects which directly points to causality and responsibility. This is not the case in this situation. This is done on purpose with its target being the promotion of the pay policy and to with the target being the promotion of the pay policy and to announce the attendant occurrence of the “*escalation of Public sector wage bill from GHC 2 billion to over GHC 5 billion*”. The speaker’s interest lies mainly with the tripling of the wage bill which is a result of the Single Spine policy. This could not have been better represented since an animate agent, say “The people” would have been inappropriate considering the corresponding increase in cost of living with the new pay policy. The speaker’s use of the word ‘escalation’ in addition to the passivisation stand as evidence pointing to a form of discontent with Single Spine pay policy.

Another passive construction is employed in the next paragraph. It is also agentless just as the previous one. The recurrence of this style of construction crosses out any possibilities of it being a coincidence. Instead, these cases fall directly under what Fairclough (2001:104) refers to as “obfuscation of agency and causality.” When the speaker says:

*“our country is now credited to be among the very first in Africa south of the Sahara to be in transition to true middle-income status.”(JM. pg. 2: lines 29-30)*

The obfuscation lies in the exempted agent phrase “by . . .” which will have provided extra information about the claims the speaker is making. The unmentioned agent could be one that is not credible or recognized by the audience which then necessitates its exemption by the speaker. Ideological motivation can be deduced from the style of presentation of the speaker using grammatical tools.

#### **4.6 ASSOCIATIONS/AFFILIATIONS AND GENERALISATIONS**

The speakers employ two strategies: generalisation of a problem to make it appear universal and not limited to just Ghana and associating oneself with some bigger groups or countries that share a similar situation.

*“The issue of jobs has become a global challenge, and everywhere in the world. It is a significant challenge facing all nations, from the United States to France to South Africa. The attention of governments has been squarely focused on how to expand their job markets to put people who have been laid off back to work, and on how to absorb new entrants into the job market. Ghana is no exception.” (JM. pg.5: lines 18)*

With the first strategy, since the speaker successfully presents the problem as a *'global challenge'*, it presupposes that a national solution is not possible in rectifying the situation hence sending the audience into backing out of their pressures for jobs. It means that the solution lies within the domain of international organisations that will approach issues with diplomatic procedures.

By associating Ghana with other great nations with the same problem, it presupposes that Ghana at large, and the government in particular, has done well to reach a level where we share common challenges with mighty nations like the United States of America, France and South Africa. Instead of complaining, the speaker is indirectly requesting some form of praise for being able to be en par with the supposed great nations by the structuring of these lines.

Once again, the speaker does not only associate the nation with other great and bigger nations, he also associates himself with greatness as well as American in his use of the word *program*, the American version of programme (a British form).

*"Recently in my address at the United Nations General Assembly, I announced that we have developed a blueprint for a Young Entrepreneurs Program. This program will guide and assist young graduates and other youth to set up business enterprises of their own in any sector of their choice".(JM. pg. 5: lines 15-18)*

The above is evidence of his quest to be known as a mighty and sophisticated personality who mingles with big shots of the world. This is as a result of his ability to address a General Assembly of the United Nations. Since the UN is the apex of all international organizations, the speaker's opportunity to speak at such a huge platform implies he is international, well connected and known. Also, having made an issue about the youth, entrepreneurship and job creation a part of

his topics addressed at the UN, it presupposes he is really dedicated to the cause of the youth and the provision of jobs for his people. The paragraph then is a very effective one in transmitting the ideological motivations of the speaker and also sustaining his relations with the audience.

The speaker continues with his strategy of sustaining the power relations between himself and the audience by taking them through a swift journey of the process towards developing business ideas, receiving training on those ideas and finally graduating from the training in an idealistic manner aimed at attracting the interest of the audience. This is taken full-heartedly by the people even though the speaker provides no single time limit to the whole process from the conception of his business plans through to the graduation stage. Yet he ends up saying the programme will help people *'become employers, providing jobs for the others, rather than employees seeking jobs from others'*.

*'They will be assisted to develop feasibility studies and business plans, provided start up finance and capital, mentorship and technical support, and eventually graduated from the program. This program will help them become employers, providing jobs for others, rather than employees seeking jobs from others'. (JM. pg. 5: lines 19-22)*

Having analysed the above, it is needful to bring to light the speaker's representation of the ***other***. While the speech is directed at the youth and the young ones, the speaker mentions at the tail end of the paragraph that the programme will help them provide ***'jobs for others rather than they becoming employees seeking jobs from others.'***

The classifications that hold up the ideology behind the statement are in two parts. They are: ***'the youth and the young ones'*** on the one hand and the ***'others'*** on the other. The former are of concern to the speaker while the latter are supposed to live under the shadow of the former. Hence,

they (others) become employees of the youth and the young. Since the youth are the recipients of the speech, it comes as the appropriate order of events. A critical analysis reveals that the supposed flagship term '*young and youth*' is supposed to include all people under the employable age group. This leaves us with nobody else without employment thus rendering the speaker's position questionable.

Akufo-Addo also recognizes the positives of the peaceful transfer and ends up associating them with himself and the audience. Even though the speaker was talking about the success of the transfer without any human association of responsibility, he quickly becomes the principal actor in another construction that sought to underscore his exploits in making democracy flourish. The style employed is one that has ideological effects and contributes towards the enactment of a power relation that plays to the advantage of the speaker.

*"It strengthens those of us who have fought all our lives for democracy to flourish in Ghana, for it shows that constitutional democracy is the best form of governance for our beloved nation."*

*(Nana Addo.pg.2: lines 8-10)*

*"I congratulate our new President and new Vice President on their assumption of office and wish them well in their brief, caretaker role. Their most important responsibility to Ghana is to ensure that we have a peaceful, free and fair election in December."* *(Nana Addo.pg.2: lines 14-16)*

It often happens that the speaker downplays the positives and the successes chalked by the opponent; but there are times when there is no escape route than to swallow the bitter pill of recognizing the achievements of a political opponent. When this happens, speakers in political discourse are quick to counter such achievements or positives by downplaying it as being temporary or not

substantive. This is the case in lines 14 and 16 of page 2 where the speaker says the tenure of the president and his vice is “*brief*” and for that matter a “*caretaker role*”. However, when it comes to outlining their responsibilities as leaders of government, the speaker makes a generalization, presenting it as an expectation of all Ghanaians but not a cross-section. The cue of the statement so far is that of an implicit interest by the speaker to present himself as inclined towards a peaceful, free and fair election while shifting all predictable worries to the doorsteps of the other contender. The political opponent is packaged in a contemptuous manner and presented to the people since the speaker puts all the responsibility on him.

The characteristic occurrence of positive self-association is seen again in the speaker’s speech. After showering himself and his party with all the positives and elements that project him before the audience, he cautiously appeals for peace during the elections. This time, the institutions that are stated by law to oversee the elections are not directly petitioned. But instead, it is a higher power who occupies absolute authority of supremacy both to the audience and the members who make up the institutions mentioned. By choosing to appeal to a higher authority, the speaker is implicitly expressing mistrust for the government in particular and the institutions in general since the former has a controlling power over the latter. The speaker is not only expressing his mistrust of government, but also contributing towards the enactment of an ideological element of himself as a godly person. The speaker goes through a judgmental process psychologically in which he presents himself as god-fearing since his appeals are directed at God. This influences a conclusion that the speaker is God’s choice of leader for the people based upon his consistent associations with him (God).

*“My party and I are totally devoted to Ghana’s peace and stability, as we have always been.*

*We, famously, demonstrated this in 2008 when, despite the narrowest of losing margins, we did nothing to jeopardise the stability of the nation and lived up to my pledge of not allowing a single drop of Ghanaian blood to be shed. I pray to God that all other stakeholders, especially the Electoral Commission, the ruling party and the security agencies, also make a genuine commitment to work towards a peaceful election, one that is free from fraud, intimidation, harassment and violence.” (Nana Addo.pg.2:lines 17-21; pg.3:lines 1-2)*

Another association with bodies or groups that are seen as highly advanced, successful and sophisticated is employed by the speaker. This is to press-on his quest for acceptance by the audience as the ultimate choice for the position of leadership of the country. This is the situation in line11-15 of page 7 when the speaker laments the insufficiency in skills training for the country’s job market. In presenting his opinion of a solution, he introduces Germany – a giant in relation to skilled training and development of its human resource towards national development. The speaker talks about his association with Germany which will play a major role in securing collaboration between the two countries which will lead to an end of the current poor situation. By this, the speaker is implicitly announcing himself as a highly ‘*networked*’ person who associates with the big players of world politics. For this reason, he possesses all the state-of-the-art approaches to solving the problems the nation is currently faced with.

*“Our young people need skills for the job market. We need apprenticeship schemes that teach skills and guarantee quality. We will borrow from the experiences of countries that have industrialised with the skills of artisans. On a recent trip to Germany, I explored the possibilities of collaboration so that we can bring home the apprenticeship models, which have helped Germany make quality products that are famed around the world.”(Nana Addo.pg. 7: lines 11-15)*

## 4.7 OVERWORDING

This term is described by Fairclough (2001:96) in his descriptive analysis of data to show a situation of extravagance with words by speakers for effects of power relations. He says: “overwording – an unusually high degree of wording, often involving many words which are near synonyms. Overwording shows preoccupation with some aspect of reality which may indicate that it is a focus of ideological struggle”.

The underlined portions of the data below are used to discuss this concept to reveal the contribution of overwording to the overall ideological set-up of the speaker through his speech.

*“Over the last 2 years, I’ve been going around the country on my various tours, meeting Ghanaians in their homes, workplaces, farms, markets, lorry stations, at organised functions and sometimes at unscheduled stops; and I have heard their stories and seen their conditions. I read the numerous comments on my facebook page, and in our newspapers, and hear comments on radio and television. What I see, hear and read makes me more and more convinced that we have to change the way we do things and transform our economy into a new one – a new economy that will help us give our children good education, create jobs, provide good healthcare, feed ourselves adequately, and give every Ghanaian an opportunity for a good life.” (Nana Addo. pg.3: lines 4-12)*

The choice of attempting an enumeration of the various types of vocations, occupations and gatherings under which the speaker meets the audience (Ghanaians) comes under what is clearly an over elaboration. By this, it means there is a statement of an idea which could have been equally well communicated with fewer words than is the case in the data. For example, the speaker lists several places he meets with his audience and ends the list with what he terms “unscheduled stops”. This presupposes that all the other meetings were scheduled. The speaker

could have therefore said all he said in a shorter sentence as: *Over the last two (2) years, I've been going around the country on my various tours meeting Ghanaians on scheduled and unscheduled visits.*

It is clearly the situation with the lines above. The speaker talks about “workplaces, farms, markets, lorry stations”. It is easily observable that nothing new is said in the line since all the words could have been substituted for the word “*workplaces*”. In other words, what the speaker has said are all a chain of synonyms which carry the same meaning as “*workplaces*”. Since the majority of people found at all the other places mentioned are there to carry out activities that amount to them working. The speaker goes on to list a chain of media he follows and from where he sees, reads and hears the views and interests of the people when he says: “*I read the numerous comments on my facebook page, and in our newspapers, and hear comments on radio and television.*” Obviously, this chain of words could have been replaced with the single word “media” but the speaker’s choice of mentioning all the various media is on purpose.

The preoccupation of the speaker in these lines is to capture every likely occupation of the people present as audience and possibly those not present. The ideological focus of the speaker in this case is to present himself as an all-rounded leader. One who speaks the mind and interests of the people he seeks to lead. Since he has already met and had discussions with possibly *all* of them. The implicit tag the speaker hangs around his own neck is that of a “*man for the people*”.

Also, the speaker talks about stories he has heard and conditions he has seen. He did not stop there but went ahead to elaborately state where he has heard them. By doing this, the speaker’s concern is not only about stating the source of the information he has, but also to reaffirm his ability to track the times and move along; thereby being up to speed with the technological innovations of the time e.g. facebook; for that matter presenting himself as not being of the “*elderly*

*generation*”, not having a colloquial style of thinking and acting, but rather as an energy-filled youth. This is so, taking into consideration the big issues that developed around the youthfulness of presidential candidates both in Ghana and abroad in recent times.

#### **4.8 REFERENCE TO STATISTICAL FIGURES**

*Under the NDC government, Ghana’s economic output, which is also known as Gross -- Domestic Product (GDP), is currently about GHc 70 billion, from a low value of GHc 30 billion and GHc 36 billion recorded in 2008 and 2009 respectively. These are among the latest or end-September 2012 projected figures released by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS). This is a sign of an economy that is growing by leaps and bounds. (JM. Pg. 2: lines 12-17)*

In lines 12-17 of page 2 as shown above, the speaker begins to expantiate on his four key points. In talking to the economy, he makes reference to statistical figures as proof of progressive management under the “NDC government”. These figures according to him are sourced from the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS). However, the benchmarks considered in the computation of those figures are not mentioned. If they were provided, it could have clarified the claims better since the audience could trace to deduce whether the figures were the true reflections on the ground or not. So by making reference to GSS, the speaker attaches an air of authenticity and accuracy to his figures. Since the audience is most likely to accept the GSS as genuine, the speaker earns a place in the audience’s minds as a truthful, hardworking and caring person. From this instance, the ideologically motivated strategies of the speaker begin to yield results.

Also, the speaker compares figures of 2012 to those of 2008 and 2009 before concluding that the economy is “*growing by leaps and bounds*”. This comparison is not solely for its own sake, but also to call the audience’s attention to the opposition NPP’s rate of GDP against the huge im-

provement of more than a 100% with his party's first 4 years in government. He however fails to mention the factors that contributed towards the attainment of these figures. There is an interested strategy of trumpeting what stands to present him positively in the eyes of the audience; and suppressing what does not do so in the eyes of the audience. Language therefore is employed to manipulate, persuade, and to develop and sustain relations of power by the speaker.

Again, in lines 20-22 of page 2, the speaker makes reference to the cost of outboard motors in the year 2008 and 2012.

*“At the Sango Beach, here in Accra, fishermen were downhearted and frustrated. Their major complaints were about the increasing cost of fishing equipment and inputs. **Outboard motors that cost GH¢2,900 in 2008 now cost GH¢8,000 - in single digit inflation Ghana.**” (Nana. pg. 2: lines 20-22)*

The speaker states bluntly an amount -GH¢ 2,900 as the cost of an outboard motor without providing any information to clarify further what the inclusions and exclusions are that informed that price. Neither does he provide the source of the figure he put across since he probably knows distributors are not likely to have uniform prices for the same commodity they have on sale. The speaker is surely not unaware of the above considerations, however since he stands the chance of benefitting from the huge disparity in the two prices he provides, every other consideration is relegated to the background. The speaker is, apart from the above, aware that his audience will not be interested in cross-checking the figures he mentions at that material moment. So he goes on to use those figures as evidence to his point that prices have gone overboard. These figures, at times, are meant to instill fear in the audience about the *“pathetic state of”* affairs from the speaker's perspective. It is a similar situation that Obeng (2002:8) describes when he says that: “use of threats and fear to persuade an electorate has also been used effectively by Ghana's re-

cently elected New Patriotic Party. In particular, they use the “number game”... .., that is, they engage in the selective mention of very rough figures to show the extremely pathetic state of Ghana’s economy”.

On pages 5 and 6, another persuasive technique is employed. By the use of statistical figures and numbers, the speaker presents a situation that appears convincing to the audience. In as much as these figures are convincing, they also succeed in baffling the audience since they may not have the expertise in these technicalities to be able to ascertain the accuracy of the figures. Also, the claims of the speaker cannot be examined at the time of speaking since he alone has access to the source from which those references are made. On the whole, the speaker uses statistical figures as another way of referencing outside the text to support his own pursuit of persuasion. His interpretation of the figures is largely fixed to favour his political interest on the issue under discussion. For example, in lines 30-32 of page 5, he talks about the cost of *“providing free secondary school education which includes tuition, boarding, feeding and all the other charges for 2013-2014 academic year”* being 0.1% of GDP. It is however, not a precise listing of the cost of secondary education since the proportion that comes under what he terms *“all the other charges”* is vague and therefore incalculable using standard statistical procedures. This implies that the figures provided by the speaker are not only questionable, but also very difficult to cross-check. Yet the effects of these pronouncements are tagged to the advantage of the speaker.

On lines 12-18 of page 6, the reference to statistical figures continues but on an amplified scale this time. The speaker makes a comparison between Ghana and several countries including Japan, Malaysia and Lesotho. In criticising the percentage of GDP allocated to education in Ghana, the speaker says *“even tiny Lesotho puts us to shame by spending 13% of its GDP on education”*. The critical point is, that the audience are not provided with the total amount of money

Lesotho is able to accumulate as GDP for the year under comparison for a clearer comparison. Since it is possible that the lower percentage Ghana allocates to education could be more in physical cash value than what Lesotho has. Apart from the above, since the speaker's interest lives with free SHS for Ghanaians, comparisons that go beyond SHS may not be an appropriate comparison to make since the figures spent on tertiary education are not available.

From line 20 onwards of page 6, the speaker makes reference to NDC's (the party in government) payment of judgment debts to the tune of GH¢ 640 million, which amounts to 1.4% of Ghana's 2010 GDP. This reference cannot stand as a justification for the call for an increment in expenditure on education since it is not a recurrent expenditure.

#### **4.9 ACCUSATIONS AND REPRESENTATIONS (MINORITY AGAINST MAJORITY)**

Akufo-Addo once again talks about the negative consequences of the fall of the cedi as reflected in the '*black market trade*', which he says is back. This presupposes it had once existed in times past. It also supposes that he was fully or partially involved in a successful effort that resulted in putting an end to such acts. By this, the speaker takes advantage to score political points by putting on record that he has been part of a team that fixed an unbeneficial situation hence his perfect capacity of fixing the situation again if given the opportunity. Not only does the speaker imply the above, he also communicates, without saying so that the current situation is caused by those at the helm of affairs, thereby accusing them of mismanagement and incompetence.

*“The black market trade in foreign currency is back as the cedi continues to fall against all major currencies. Business people complain of the rising cost of business, poor sales, lack of credit and support to grow their businesses. Ghanaians are clearly unhappy and dissatisfied*

*with the conditions of their lives. And, yet, the town criers of NDC propaganda tell us we are living today in better times. Well, well, well!”(Nana Addo.pg. 3: lines 1-5)*

It is rather on the sidelines, in a silent note, that what the speaker has presented sought to state that the black market trade is completely harmful to all without any benefits whatsoever to any of the people. This is not the exact case, since those who deal in this trade make more than just a living at the expense of the majority, from the trade. The speaker, from the above, can be said not to have factored in the interests of the minority who deal in the trade. This, in the practice of politics, does not come as an oversight, instead, it is a reality that political speeches are meant for the majority who share the reasoning and opinions of the speaker. Immediately in the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> line; the subject of the sentence is “*Ghanaians*”. A generalization which goes to benefit the speaker thus does not cater for the numerous exceptions that cannot be captured under the truth-value of the statement “*Ghanaians are clearly unhappy and dissatisfied..... ...*”. This is confirmation once again of the point that political speech makers at times cater for all the people and at other times do not, depending on the benefit they stand to gain from the particular issue under discussions.

#### **4.10 POSITIVE SELF AND NEGATIVE OTHER PRESENTATION**

Sometimes, both Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo and John Dramani Mahama had to change the issue under discussion on to others. In JM’s speech, he moved onto another issue since he had been speaking about issues with no real link to the situation of the people. The change of the topic comes as an affirmation of his superior position on the power relations between himself and the audience. By this relation, he determines what else to talk about, and his choice of topic comes as a support to the ideologically motivated presentation he is offering the audience of himself. While claiming to be answering questions thrown at him by the people, he takes the

opportunity to give a brief history of his father's work, his life and his contribution to family and the nation as a whole. This and the couple of lines that follow are a continuation of his agenda to persuade the audience through emotional utterances of expressive value.

*“The questions I have been hearing most are: “How do these impact on me and my family?” This is the area in which NDC’s track record in Putting People First counts”.*(JM. pg. 7 lines: 9-11)

On another note, Nana Akufo-Addo succeeds in doing two things without being explicit. While he pretends to be talking *“service to the people,”* he ends up presenting a detailed résumé about himself through all the periods of the nation’s political history. For instance, the speaker takes the opportunity to state that he is a lawyer, a political activist, a human rights campaigner. He has ever been a Member of Parliament, an Attorney General and a Minister of Foreign Affairs. His successes are not left out of the résumé, neither is it limited to his political life. It is inclusive of his business life as well as claims about his *“pioneering role”* in initiating moves towards improving access to mobile telephony in the country. All the issues the speaker addresses about himself are successes and include neither failures nor regrets on his part in the process towards these successes. While failures, both personal and institutional alike are inevitable in real life, political speeches hardly discuss them. Audiences may not be so inquisitive or at other times, may not have the luxury of time to question these assertions of speakers. Speakers benefit from this to indelibly enforce themselves in the minds of the audience as super-humans. This is confirmation that ideologically, political speeches often touch on *“interested”* issues.

*“My life has been about service to people. This has been my driving force as a lawyer, as a political activist against military rule, as a campaigner for human rights and democracy, as a Member of Parliament, as Attorney General and as Minister for Foreign Affairs. In between*

*these endeavours, I have also been in business and done reasonably well. Twenty years ago, I was excited by the potential of mobile telephones and played a pioneering role in bringing the first mobile telephony company, Mobitel, to Ghana, which started an industry that has transformed the lives of millions of Ghanaians. As a lawyer, I mentored many young people who are now among the leading lawyers of our country. It is these various roles and experiences that I believe, in all humility, have prepared me for the serious job of the Presidency.” (Nana. pg. 3: lines 6-15)*

On the other hand, the speaker wastes no time in lashing out at his contender profusely as if to say he (contender) has not got any successes as a person in the data below:

**“LEADERSHIP:** *My goal is to provide transformational leadership and help build a prosperous society, which creates opportunities for all its citizens, rewards creativity and enterprise, honesty and hard work, a society where there is discipline and fairness, where people go about their lives in a free and responsible manner, a society where there are safety nets for the vulnerable and decent retirement for the elderly, an open society protected by well-resourced and motivated security services and where the rule of law works. For this to happen, Ghana needs effective leadership, leadership which is honest, competent and determined to deliver. A leadership of conviction – which is committed to fighting corruption and dedicated to the welfare and wellbeing of the Ghanaian. It is clear that corruption has become rampant in these last few years, robbing us of much needed resources for our development. I am determined to fight corruption aggressively, and I can do so, because I am not corrupt, have never been corrupt, and will demand the same of my team.” (Nana Addo.pg. 4 : lines1-15)*

Summarily, the speaker presents his goals as the provision of transformational leadership. The speaker goes ahead to put in perspective what he means by transformational leadership. All his explanations seek to indirectly state that the situation currently lacks all the qualities which come under the speaker's definition of transformational leadership. If it were not so, there was no need mention them since the audience, being rational beings, expect something different from what they have at the moment. Furthermore, the speaker launches an attack on the leadership style of the current president. Even though he does not say so directly, his play on words and insinuations lead to the conclusion when they are critically examined. This strategy comes as negative other presentation in political discourse as explained by Obeng (2002:xii) in the prologue below:

*“Through language, use reason, emotion and character assassination to outwit your political opponent. Without language, there can be no political survival. In order to survive, speak the unspeakable through vagueness, indirectiveness and implicitness. If these do not work, speak it in strange or foreign tongue”.*

#### **4.11 PRONOUNS AND ARTICLES**

Pronouns and articles are used in referring outside and inside the text in a manner which is of significance to the creation and enactment of power relations and ideological elements. Lines 18-22 of page 4 of the data coded Nana Addo are full of these instances as shown below in the analysis.

A way of introducing new issues and elements is of concern here: the speaker avoids the process of having to introduce new issues to the audience gradually and rather employs straightforward introductory features using the definite article *“The”* which suggests that the audience are already in the know about all the issues and thus need no introduction. The speaker takes advantage of this and just refers to new issues which are either outside or inside the text. Hence in

talking about new issues that concern the previous government, the speaker goes straight to the point by saying: “**The last NPP government; The National Health Insurance; The constant fear; the inhumane Cash and Carry etc.**”

The speaker talks about these issues for the first time, that it is assumed that the audience is prepared for them and need no introduction to the backgrounds of the issues. And so, the speaker presents them to the audience as current issues of which they (audience) are fully aware of. For instance, the speaker mentions “***the inhumane Cash & Carry system***”. Even though it is not introduced to the audience, the speaker touches on their historical awareness to create a political context around such issues for the audience to be able to appreciate what is being talked about.

Another element is the use of inclusive pronouns to talk about what the speaker deems an issue that will be of interest to every member of the audience. With such cases, he makes a generalization which seeks to demand everybody’s contribution. He quickly moves to talk about “***The NPP***” when it comes to the government level of decision making. This is a technique of getting the audience involved in the decisions that are acceptable by all and basing on that ideology, to present a situation as if to say the whole audience agree and identify with NPP, and for that matter support the speaker’s bid to the presidency. In the lines below, we see how Nana Akufo-Addo fuses the pronouns “***we and our***”.

*“Fellow citizens, we will revive and..... Our goal is to ..... for all Ghanaians. The NPP will spend more on public health education and primary healthcare.” (Nana. pg. 4: lines 23-27)*

*Our country is now accredited to be among the very first in Africa south of the Sahara to be in transition to true middle-income status! Ladies and gentlemen, let me say emphatically here that this nation is making remarkable progress. She is not retrogressing. (JM. Pg. 2: lines 29-32)*

In the above lines, the speaker uses different pronouns to make reference to the country as a way of varying the meaning relations possessed by the pronouns for ideological effects. While the first reference to the country- “*this nation*” is well suited, the next reference “*she*” is strategically placed for the effects of the meaning relations embedded in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular pronoun that marks the feminine gender. These include the presupposed meanings of the country as “feminine, a wife, fertile, productive, caring among others on the one hand and “patient, longsuffering, submissive on the other hand. By this referent, the speaker communicates several meanings to meet the tastes of several audiences. This is because the denotative meanings are numerous and highly expressive thus making it impossible to pin down the speaker to an exact meaning.

#### **4.12 ARGUMENTATION STRUCTURE**

On the whole, political speeches do take on a general structure of argumentation through which they put across to their audiences their ideas and plans. With the data coded *Nana Addo*, a similar structure runs through. The speaker’s opinions and plans are not presented straight away to the audience with examples or explanations which go to strengthen the basis of those arguments. What is observable is, that the speaker presents an outline of his visions, plans and targets for the country (people). These are mostly made up of issues which are of high interest to everybody and catchy across board. While the issues succeed in performing the trick of capturing the audience into siding with the speaker’s opinions and sending them to the peak of their expectations, the speaker quickly presents the second part of his line of reasoning.

These lines of reasoning normally come as the conditions necessary for the realization of the juicy plans presented in the first stage of argumentation. The condition is just the audience's endorsement and support for the speaker's bid to the presidency.

The data: Nana. pg. 4: lines 1-30; pg.5: lines 1-25 come together to illustrate this argumentation style. On page 4, the speaker talks about his goals as providing *transformational leadership, creating opportunities for all, rewarding creativity and enterprise* and so on. It is only from line 8 that the second part of the argument is introduced. This is the condition necessary for the realisation of all the goals mentioned in the previous paragraph. The speaker then presents himself as a perfect catalyst to the realization of the conditions required. He ends up being accepted therefore framing himself as the only option of a leader to be endorsed. The condition that projects him is in the beginning of line 8 which says:

***“For this to happen, Ghana needs effective leadership, ... ..”***

This style of argumentation is repeated on page 4: line 17 and page 5: line 1 respectively but with both goal and condition in the same constructions:

***“The people of this country have to be healthy, if we are to make any meaningful progress in nation-building”***

***“If good health is basic to our survival, good educational is critical to our development.”***

With the latter construction, the speaker builds another point based upon his last point on health. This implies that he has attained unanimity with the audience on the issue of education and has therefore taken advantage of its effectiveness to present another opinion to the audience. This time, the speaker employs an argumentation style of gradation. This is where he implicitly designs a scale against which the issues are juxtaposed. With this scale, it is the speaker who acts as

referee in determining which issue stands above the other. The opinion of the audience is relegated to the background while the speaker is given prominence hence accepted as the right choice for the people. This style is effective in persuasion as well as in developing and perpetuating a power relation that is already in place.

### **4.13 DISCURSIVE PRACTICE OF INTERPRETATION**

Having worked on the part labeled DESCRIPTION, we proceed with an interpretation of the text to expose the underlining contexts of culture; contexts of situation; inter-textual contexts and presupposition; speech acts. (Fairclough, 2001).

#### **4.13.1 CONTEXT OF CULTURE/ SITUATION AND DISCOURSE TYPE.**

The cultural elements of every given situation serve as the basis upon which the activity stands. It is in the same manner that the cultural and situational contexts of the discourse serve as the springs upon which the discourse rests. These contexts are brought together from within and without the discourse data. Those from outside the discourse data are gathered with a discourse reference to the text. The elements within are not always explicit and require experience on the part of the analyst to lay bear these elements which will contribute largely to the successful analysis of the data as a whole.

Having stated the above, the interpretation shall proceed from an eclectic interpretation of the situation according to the dictates of the unfolding data.

The introductory part of the data is the appropriate convention required to every speech of a formal nature. The reference to a “*Chairperson , distinguished ladies and gentlemen....*” is appropriate for the grand identification of the discourse presentation as a formal activity. Yet it still maintains its touch with the people, which is a non-negotiable element of all political speeches.

Thus, Nana Akufo-Addo takes the opportunity to link with the immediate audience when he says on page 1: line 1 : “... *friends from the media..*”.

A cultural context of the respect of the dead is presented in his immediate reference to the passing away of President Mills after the NPP had commented severally on the sickness of the president in times prior to his demise. The context of death in Ghanaian culture dictates and causes a change from the political tone to an ‘*acceptable*’ tone of sympathy and regret on the part of the speaker towards the NDC. In all these cultural restraints, the speaker adds the touch of politics to his speech.

*“This event was to have taken place two weeks ago, but was postponed at my request when President Mills passed away. May he rest in perfect peace. Ghanaians should be proud that together we are building a democratic state, a Ghana being governed by the rule of law. We have just gone through a unique period in our history, dealing with the death in office of a sitting President”.* (Nana. pg. 1:lines 2-6)

In other words, the activity, topic and purpose of the occasion are upheld at all stages of the process. With the purpose of the presentation being to persuade the audience into buying the speaker’s views and plans so as to subsequently win him their votes, the text is largely marked by elements of persuasion. These elements, however, are not always presented explicitly.

*“It strengthens those of us who have fought all our lives for democracy to flourish in Ghana, for it shows that constitutional democracy is the best form of governance for our beloved nation. We must cherish and protect these precious democratic values, which form the basis for the unity and progress of our country. We may have our differences, but what joins us together is more*

*important. We are One Ghana and I am totally committed to working to ensure peace and unity for the Ghana project". (Nana. pg. 1 lines 8-13). Implicit statement of purpose.*

*"It is these various roles and experiences that I believe, in all humility, have prepared me for the serious job of the Presidency." (Nana. pg. 3: lines 13-15). Explicit statement of purpose.*

The speaker's statement of purpose implies the presence of participants involved in the activity. These participants are the immediate targets of the speaker.

On another level, other participants exist apart from the immediate audience. The immediate ones are those who are physically present – they are the first targets for the speaker. The distant audience who consume a relayed version of the data is bigger. And since politics is about numbers, the speaker is conscious of them and therefore caters for them in the speech. Page 2: lines 4-26 of Nana Addo's speech involves groups of participants i.e. Ghanaians at home, workplaces, farms etc. By this, we mean the speaker directs his purpose of persuasion on them without saying so.

The speaker creates several relations between himself and the audience at different stages of his presentation. This is not the case in other fields of discourse where a single relation runs through. With politics and for that matter persuasion, all possible relations that contribute towards winning a voter is brought on board. The speaker could have taken on several relations simultaneously in order to stay in touch with several members of the audience in his persuasive pursuit.

On page 3; lines 6-9 of Nana's speech:

*"My life has been about service to people. This has been my driving force as a lawyer, as a political activist against military rule, as a campaigner for human rights and democracy, as a*

*Member of Parliament, as Attorney General and as Minister for Foreign Affairs. In between these endeavours, I have also been in business and done reasonably well.”*

Multiple relations are created by the speaker through his speech. Ever being a lawyer, he enacts a relation of being a defender of the audience who occupy the imaginary mental position of client in a law court. As a political activist, he occupies the relation of a fighter on behalf of others, as Foreign Affairs Minister, he stands in for the whole country as the sole voice on matters relating to foreign nations. This implies that every member of the audience develops his /her own unique relation with the speaker based upon the interpretative meanings of the speech the audience is able to create.

In the same vein, the speaker also develops multiple relations with the audience in question. So, he is to the fisherman at Sango beach, a caring father who is concerned about the cost of the out-board motors for his fishing business (*Nana. pg. 2, lines 20-22*); to the 17 year-old school dropout at Abetifi, the speaker comes across as a reviver of his hopes of higher education. (*Nana. pg. 2 lines 13-15*); to the businessman, the speaker presents himself as an advocate on the falling currency which is causing a rise in the cost of doing business. Even the very young ones are not left out of the relations the speaker creates since he has mentioned his efforts all his life in fighting against military dictatorship to making democracy flourish in Ghana (*Nana. pg. 1 line 8-9*).

Observably, in all the relations the speaker creates with the audience across the board, he places himself in the superior position of power while the audiences are supposed to look up to him for their salvation. This is a great platform for the propagation of the speaker's agenda of persuasion. Since the relations he develops will determine the common-sense (Fairclough, 2001) assumptions that underlie the interpretation of the speech the speaker makes.

Having developed relations with the audience, the next step is to look at the medium through which these relations are maintained by the speaker. At the immediate instant, speech is the only activity through which the speaker maintains a link with the audience. Language in this sense performs the role of an instrument or a tool with which the speaker's task of persuasion by communication is achieved.

The language is highly manipulated to achieve persuasion through several processes as seen in the descriptive stage of the analysis. However, these different manipulative units or parts of the text all come together to create a kind of speech characteristic of political discourse. The various units are linked together by connections both to each other (sentences), to the general situational context and to the purpose of the discourse.

#### **4.13.2 REJOINDERS/ SETTING THE RECORDS STRAIGHT**

As the speaker reports the stories of the people he has come across on his tour of the country, he links those reports to the general situation of the country under what he terms 'the black market trade'.

*(Nana. pg. 3 line 1-5) 'The black market trade in foreign currency is back as the cedi continues to fall against all major currencies. Business people complain of the rising cost of business, poor sales, lack of credit and support to grow their businesses. Ghanaians are clearly unhappy and dissatisfied with the conditions of their lives. And, yet, the town criers of NDC propaganda tell us we are living today in better times. Well, well, well!'*

The NDC's catchy slogans such as "***E dey bii Kεεε! And Better Ghana Agenda***" which were part of their campaigns are what Nana Addo on the other hand, in the lines above, sought a rebuttal to since he considers them a wrong reflection of the situation on the ground.

This context of the situation of his utterances is continued with the column under Jobs/Economy. It is on record that the ruling government's officials have once given a figure of 1.7 million as the number of new jobs that were added to the various sectors of the economy. But upon further

questioning, it could not really point to any specific sectors and people who had those jobs. Even though, the figure was proven false by the media, Nana Addo (*Nana. pg.7: lines 26-29*) reiterates that the government is deceiving the people. By this, the situational context reveals the purpose of the speaker's line through interpretation, inter-textual context and presupposition.

The speaker's speeches do not always address issues in a straightforward manner. Since they are supposed to carry ideological/relational and persuasive motivations, they do connect to the historical series of discourse and referencing. This re-enforces the interpretation the audience arrive at, thus achieving the purposes for which they are produced.

In talking about the deplorable state of the economy which is not able to provide for the people, the speaker makes an historical reference to the "*the Guggisberg raw material exporting economy*". This is in reference to the country's situation in the colonial era when it had a colonial governor named Guggisberg, who ensured that the nation consistently remained a producer of raw materials to feed the industries of the United Kingdom. This means that the economy is about stagnant since no industries have been developed to add value to its raw materials. (*Nana. pg. 8 lines 1-8*) By this reference, the ideas of the speaker on the economy are communicated to the audience. And this goes to serve the purpose of the speaker in the discourse presentation.

Also, the speaker makes another reference to "*the ECOWAS integration project*". In line with his idea of an expanded market which produces finished goods, the speaker is able to link this call to the benefits the country stands to gain from the joining together of 16 nations of the sub-region. The ECOWAS integration project is the planned unification of all West African states into a single economic force. Obviously, when this is achieved, the market size will be massive hence the speaker's call to plan ahead.

Presuppositions also reveal meaning through context in the interpretation of the context. The use of presupposed phrases and sentences communicate contextual meanings which contribute to text interpretation. In *Nana: pages 9&10*, the presupposed meanings embedded in the sentences reveal the context from which the interpretation is better done. The speaker having said the refinery is not working at present presupposes we have a refinery which once worked. The willful starvation hints on corruption on the part of the actors. The party that will change this situation is different, thus not corrupt. Since the speaker and his party have plans for the oil find, it somewhat presupposes a confusion about what to do about the find hence nothing being done at all by the ruling party. It also presupposes that there is no strong petrochemical industry in Ghana and that there are private and public financing for investments into the economy.

As Fairclough (2001:128) says, “*presuppositions can be . . . sincere or manipulative . . . presuppositions can have ideological functions . . .*”. This is particularly true of political discourse which has an overriding purpose of persuasion, through ideologically generated relations of power. This is evident in the lines below (*Nana. pg. 10: lines 23-28*):

*“We will do this by managing government resources and projects efficiently and attracting substantial capital from the private sector – in public-private partnership initiatives. Our infrastructure programme includes the development of roads, water supplies, sanitation, railways, ports, airports, and our plan to triple the irrigation of arable land and to complete a nationwide fibre optic backbone to facilitate effective and efficient ICT access.”*

The speaker mentions the efficient management of government resources and projects, attracting substantial capital from the private sector and so on. This presupposes the absence of these ideas and plans. However, the situational context as it stands has the current government reducing spending by placing an embargo on employment of civil servants; the top executive forgoing al-

lowances and per-diem; the over-subscription of bonds intended to raise capital for projects among others. The presence of presuppositions do come as sincere, manipulative or ideological. The ideological target of presuppositions is achieved when the discourse succeeds in creating a perception, usually a negative one about an issue which does not reflect the accurate situation.

### **4.13.3 INTERDISCURSIVITY**

Interdiscursivity traces characteristic elements of a discourse type which are drawn upon in other discourse types (Fairclough 1992). This results in a form of hybridism of discourse. The feature of interdiscursivity cannot be distanced from political discourse. This is as a result of the all-rounded nature of political discourses which normally seek to cast a wider net of contents in the pursuit of its purpose of persuasion. In so doing however, political speeches are also conscious of the impact they make on the audience. This reason of seeking to effectively communicate is what influences political discourse, especially those that are for persuasive purposes, to use very simple non-technical language yet involving interdiscursivity.

It is the same situation that is contained in the data of this research. Though the speaker sub-categorises the discourse over a range of topics, the language is simplified to the level of everyday language so as to ensure effective communication with the audience. This makes occurrences of interdiscursivity difficult to find in the data.

### **4.13.4 SPEECH ACTS**

These are the central meeting points of the pragmatic, situational inter-textual contexts as well as discourse type employed in the communication of meaning. The force of utterance contained in a

statement with reference to the various contexts mentioned above put together is what speech acts are about.

This is so because textuality alone does not always communicate the exact meaning of an utterance since the cultural/situational context or the relations that exist between the participants involved do affect the force of utterance of the text. The discourse type also influences the structuring of the text in several ways. For instance, with the purpose of a political discourse being to persuade an audience to accept or endorse a speaker through voting, the forces of utterance in such a situation are likely to be more indirect and less “*face threatening*” (Brown & Levinson 1978). In the same vein, in a situational context of the current study of the Ghanaian context where a section of the audience see the exercise of campaigning and voting during elections as an activity to find well-paid jobs for politicians, one (speakers) cannot afford to be seen as overly domineering. Hence, the force of utterance will be mild.

Since the above discussion applies to the data under analysis, the same factors will be considered in analysing what the speaker really does when he makes a statement in the data.

#### **4.13.5 FORCE OF UTTERANCE**

This is widely used in the data. By this, speakers communicate to the audience information about their personal lives and achievements, their plans for the country and the people, as well as plans for their opponents. In using this strategy, the speakers succeed in communicating to the audience that they (speakers) are the sure leaders to change the lot of the people and ‘move the country forward’. The main allocating forces of statements identified from the utterances were to

convince or persuade, inform, promise or make a pledge, to show gratitude to the audience and the Institute for Economic Affairs as shown below:

***Gratitude:***

*“ I thank the IEA for organising this event and commend them on their continuing commitment to the development of democracy in our country.”(Nana.pg. 2: lines 2-3)*

*“I would like, first, to thank the Institute of Economic Affairs for organizing these encounters.”  
(JM. pg. 1: lines 3-5)*

*“Thank you” (Nana. pg. 11:line 9)*

By expressing gratitude the speaker is able to soften any burdens or discomfort the audience goes through, either presently or in the past, in service to what finally works to the benefit of the speakers. The show of gratitude therefore urges the audience on and also shows the speakers' recognition of their support. By this recognition, the audience is geared on and they feel appreciated.

***To Convince/ To persuade:***

The persuasive utterances have been presented in ways that do not appear to be aimed at explicitly persuading the audience. However, given the tone and diction of the statements which make it easy for the speakers to carry the audience along their (speakers') lines of reasoning, the ultimate target to persuade is achieved. This target of persuasion contributes towards presenting the speakers as the best for the position of president. Sometimes, the speakers adopt very emotive statements. These appear to be more effective as the audience's faculties for critical reasoning

are excluded at this level. The lines below show instances of this strategy of persuasion used by the speakers.

*“What a resilient people we are! What a mighty people we are! These people are pushing ahead for a better Ghana” (JM. pg. 2: lines 1-2)*

*“What is missing is the clear correlation between the good people of Ghana and the benefits of the programmes that are being promised”. (JM. pg. 1: lines 24-5)*

*“In fact, the possibilities that lie before us for true and sustained progress are limitless” (JM. pg. 1: lines 9-10)*

*“I am convinced and determined, that together, we can reach new heights of growth and development”(JM. pg. 4: lines 39-40)*

*“At the Sango Beach, here in Accra, fishermen were downhearted and frustrated.”(Nana. pg. 2 : line 20)*

*“ We are told by political philosophers, and even theologians, that to think positive of your circumstances is to invoke the more remarkable good tidings and future prospects: Our country is great, and will be even greater.” (JM. pg.3: lines 2-5)*

*“And, yet, the town criers of NDC propaganda tell us we are living today in better times. Well, well, well!” (Nana. Pg. 3: lines 3-4)*

*“I believe in you. I believe in the can-do spirit of Ghanaians. I believe in Ghana. And, above all, I believe in God.” (Nana. pg. 11: lines 2-3)*

**To inform:**

The speakers persuade the audience by providing with information. This is strategically done in ways that carry not just information, but also implicit elements aimed at persuading the audience. The information elements in the lines below are rather brief, while the part aimed at per-

suading the audience is usually of considerable length with many elements that are pleasing to the audience.

*“My goal is to provide transformational leadership and help build a prosperous society, which creates opportunities for all its citizens, ... ..” (Nana. pg. 4: lines 1-2)*

*“Under the CDB facility we have reserved \$100 million as a business incubator fund for Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs)”.(JM. pg. 5: lines 11-2)*

*“If good health is basic to our survival, good education is critical to our development”.*  
*(Nana.pg. 5: lines 1-2)*

*“The Single Spine Pay policy has seen an escalation of Public sector wage bill from GHC2billion to over GHC5billion” (JM. pg.2: lines 25-6)*

*“The hard truth is that the current size and structure of our economy is not big enough to provide the jobs that are needed.”(Nana. pg. 8: lines 1-2)*

*“We have improved cotton production over tenfold and, through the SADA vehicle, have established a Shea butter processing factory at Buipe, an oil mill in ... ..”(JM. pg. 2: lines 21-4)*

The lines above reveal that in providing information to the audience, the speakers gradually build on their persuasive and ideological agenda which contributes towards consolidating the world-view they set out to create of themselves, their ideas and strategies in the eyes of the audience.

### ***To pledge/ make promises:***

To pledge or make promises to the audience is a common strategy employed by the speakers. This is because they seem to find it an easy way of achieving persuasive and ideological targets. This is because the promises and pledges they make have the future as timelines for maturity. Also, the realization of some of these depend on them (speakers) ascending into the high office of president which is further dependent on the audience’ votes. This sophistication in tracing and

tracking the speakers on their promises and pledges render this a good strategy towards the development of persuasion and ideological relations with the audience.

The lines below show the dominating presence of this force of utterance:

*“They **will** be assisted to develop feasibility studies and business plans, provided start up finance and capital, mentorship ... ..” (JM. pg.5: lines 19-20)*

*“Ghana deserves this and I, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, **pledge** to deliver this to the good people of Ghana” (Nana. pg.4: lines 15-6)*

*“We **shall** expand health facilities and increase the training of health workers; we have done it before, increasing it by seven-fold in just six years” (Nana. pg. 4:lines 26-7)*

*“We **will** also agree with the GNAT, PTAs and all stakeholders on the best way of enforcing the compulsory aspect of the **FCUBE programme.**” (JM. pg. 8: lines 26-7)*

*“To change this situation, we **will** redefine basic education and make it compulsory from Kindergarten to Senior High School.” (Nana. pg. 5: lines 16-7)*

*Leadership is about choices – I **will** choose to invest in the future of our youth and of our country. ( Nana. pg. 5: lines 27-8)*

*“We **shall** review the Capitation Grant periodically to keep pace with cost levels, progressively expand coverage of the School Feeding Programme ... ..” (JM. pg.8: lines 21-3)*

*“That is why an Akufo-Addo presidency, God- willing, **will** introduce a Teacher First policy to give teachers the recognition they deserve.” (Nana. pg. 7: lines 7-8)*

*“My government, God willing, **will** give new impetus to value-addition.” (Nana. pg. 8: lines 16-17)*

*“We **will** forever transform your lives and that of generations yet to come.” (Nana.pg. 8: lines22-23)*

This is one of the dominant forces in the data. The speaker is able to enforce the power relation that presents him as able, powerful and mighty in the eyes of the audience which goes to serve the speakers' purpose. On the whole, the illocutionary force achieved through the use of implicit statements in the majority of instances, realises the exact situations the speakers seek to create, namely to perpetuate ideologies and power relations.

#### **4.14 EXPLANATION OF CONTEXTS**

An explanation of the socio-cultural background structure of the discourse is crucial in perfecting the critical analysis process. By this analysis, the processes that make up the content, form and presentation of the speeches are made explicit. This deepens the understanding of the reader of the structures developed by the speaker and places in the right perspective the plans, ideas and aspirations of the speaker.

In other words, an explanation of the socio-cultural context will reveal the premises upon which the discourses are based. The underlying struggles and forces that direct the course of the speeches are also brought to the fore, since the speakers make these speeches based on the socio-cultural currents that direct society. Even though speakers at times launch a whole new struggle from outside the socio-cultural boundaries of the society, these do not travel the path of the socio-cultural structure unimpeded. Instead, they are shaped by the existing socio-cultural structure of the society in as much as they also shape the existing structure discursively.

The preceding analyses have all shown that the two speakers are involved in a contest over the audience through especially persuasion by the creation of power relations and ideologically motivated speeches. These speeches however, are developed upon the foundations of a broadly based concept referred to as Socio-cultural context. The socio-cultural context includes the social

situation of the country, the political atmosphere of the country as well as past and present economic situations.

It is clear from the analysis that, the political discourse in Ghana is dominated by politicians' interest in gaining power, with a lesser part dedicated to the development of the party's agenda. That is to say, the speakers' speeches contribute substantially to the party's chances of capturing power thus the reason for the high rate of persuasive techniques employed by the speakers in their speeches. The passion accompanying these speeches is intended to contribute towards the speaker's capture of power as is usually the case with politics everywhere. The other contributing influences to the style of political speech presentation, as mentioned above, include the social, political and economic contexts that dominate the country as a whole. Such situations are highlighted in the illustrations of the data below:

*"It is these various **roles and experiences** that I believe, in all humility, have prepared me for the serious job of the Presidency." (Nana. pg. 3: lines 13-15)*

*"Fellow Ghanaians, all these **initiatives on the economy and infrastructure** are foundations for the creation of Sustainable Jobs" (JM. pg. 4: lines 41-43)*

*"Just imagine what we can achieve if we **stand together as one people, with one nation and one common destiny.**" (JM. pg. 7: lines 7-8)*

**"IN CONCLUSION:** *Let me say that our desire for seeking re-election on December 7, 2012 is driven by a solid record in office and our commitment to build a **prosperous and equitable society.**" (JM. pg. 14: lines 14-16)*

Socio-culturally, the practice of politics in Ghana is viewed differently by the various sections of the population. Though there can be several subdivisions of the social stratum in Ghana, a blanket division into two main groups will be referred to in this discussion. They are those who derive direct benefits and those who do not. Some members of the first group include the family of the politicians, party foot-soldiers (members) and external beneficiaries (friends and associates) who are neither family nor party members. While the second group: those with no direct benefit cuts across the length and breadth of society.

The first group adores the game of politics. They will forgo every other activity or programme but not those on politics. These almost worship their political leaders and will go to any length to support the candidate of their choice to achieve victory. This group engages itself in activities such as campaigns, propaganda, arguments, street fights and mob actions (riots/demonstrations) in their expression of solidarity with the party. It does happen at times that people lose their lives while engaging in such acts – all in the name of support and love for the party. With this group, the gist of the speeches presented by politicians does not count in informing their choice of leader. They participate in such occasions as organized by the Institute of Economic Affairs (as is the case of the data for this research) purposely to show support by clapping, cheering and sometimes behaving in an awkward manner to statements made by the speakers. A similar situation was recorded at the last encounter of the presidential series when a member began to clap at every statement by the speaker-John Dramani Mahama including his announcement of regret at the death of his predecessor. With such people, their main interest is in creating a seeming situation that presents their choice of flag bearer as being on top of issues and the best for the post of president. With this group in place, the speaker always has in his mind a sure support base among the audience and therefore becomes psychologically settled. The task of persuasion is reduced to only a section of the audience and it is this ‘uncommitted audience’ that the speaker attempts to

win. Since the audience is made up of people of diverse social backgrounds, speakers benefit from this by touching only briefly on every one of the social classes so as to satisfy everybody. Social groupings always make a case when they are not captured in speeches of politicians and conclude by saying the particular speaker has no plans for them as normally is the case with gender sensitive groups that advocate speeches centered on women. So is also the case with groups made up of physically challenged persons. This results in a presentation that is not so detailed on the issues raised but rather touching in bits and pieces of almost every sector. This strategy creates an easy escape for the speakers who often leave their speeches with very scanty information upon which one could retrace their commitment to the issues and feasibility of the ideas presented.

Also, a social situation that affects the presentation of speech is the background of the speaker. These range from his personal life to his work and others. For instance, issues were made though trivial as they were, around the physical appearance of the speakers. Descriptions such as handsome, short, gentle-giant, strong, tough have been used to refer to flag bearers for which reason some liked or disliked speakers as their choice of leader. Their personal relationships are not left out of the interpretations of their speeches. A candidate could be accused of not loving or respecting his wife if women issues are not addressed in his speech. So could a speaker's physical stature be given as reason for not endorsing his bid for the presidency due to deep rooted stereotypes about leaders as people with athletic stature. Political commentaries revolve around issues addressed in speeches by flag bearers with the geographic origin, tribe, name, parents of the speaker all serving as influences over the speeches.

The spread of modern technology in disseminating speeches across a wide spectrum means speakers factor in the scale of audience they address. This presents the advantage of reaching

more people with a single speech presentation to the speakers, as well as the associated underpinnings of power and ideology contained in the speeches. However, since different issues appeal to different people, the speakers are presented with the challenge of which issues to address and those to avoid. The religious sections of the society are not left out of the influences on the political speeches. The politicians are able to involve religion directly or indirectly in their activities either by making allusions to religious activities or by their personal lives. Sometimes, it is the nature of the Ghanaian society which causes people to read religious meanings into political activities. There are instances where leaders of religious setups mount political platforms to lend their support for politicians, pray the blessing of God and even call on the people to endorse the candidature of some politicians. With the huge influence of these religious leaders, the politicians benefit massively from these gestures from religious leaders. Such actions are so common that disagreements and contests do arise between religious leaders when it comes to their choice of political leader at a time. This was the case when two prophets claimed to have been given 'divine revelations' of who will win the 2012 elections. Politicians benefit hugely from the import of religious leaders to their bid for election which is later repaid when they (politicians) win power. The speeches analysed contain traces of moral elements that are intended to cater for the high religious nature of the people. These come mostly in the form speakers calling on or associating their suitability for the presidency with God and claiming his approval in an implicit way.

Economically, the prevailing situation in the country can only be represented as non-uniform. This is because some sections of the people express their displeasure while others do not. That some people do not complain is not because they are content with the situation, instead it is a reflection of the growing feeling of disillusionment among sections of the population who see no change in the economy no matter the leader in power. They are not moved at all by whatever is

said about the economy. Other sections are highly concerned about what they term as the ailing economy and expect to hear the plans of the flag bearers on it. A major issue on the economy is the new pay policy: the Single Spine Salary Structure (SSSS) has received mixed criticisms across board with some seeing it as a boost to the economy while others see it as the source of the problems faced by the economy. This is reason for the big portion allocated in the data by both speakers to discussions on the economy. There is also a feeling that members of political parties stuff themselves with huge chunks of the nation's resources while the ordinary people languish in poverty. They are thus perceived as corrupt and have nothing new to offer the nation and thus viewed with some level of suspicion.

It is clearly seen from the above, that several factors of the socio-cultural, sociopolitical and the socioeconomic situation all come together to shape the nature of the ideas and plans presented by the flag bearers, which go a long way to determine the power relations and the ideologies communicated by the speakers in the speeches analysed.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 CONCLUSION AND FINDINGS

This research analysed relations of power and ideological manipulations embedded in the selected speeches of two presidential candidates in Ghana. It analysed these under three frameworks: Descriptive, Interpretational and Explanational to reveal the implicit underpinnings by which the speakers sought to persuade their audience to endorse their quest for power. It reflected largely the use of language for power and ideological purposes in discourses presented by politicians. The linguistic and textual features of the speech and the socio-cultural situations that influence the speeches were considered in the analysis in a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) fashion with other related frameworks serving as associations to the analysis.

##### 5.1.1 FINDINGS OF DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

The analysis revealed under the framework of Description, several ways by which the speakers created power relations and ideologically manipulated the audience. These included:

###### *1. Self Projection*

This is a strategy by which the speaker presents himself superior to the audience. In other words, the speaker presents himself in a grand style that creates indelible perceptions of him in the audience as a much esteemed person of power who operates on higher levels of dominion. By this, the audience's relation towards the actions of the speaker, as well as his speech, develops a somewhat permanent yardstick which places the speaker above and the audience at lower level.

## **2. *Hope Rhetoric and Allusion***

The speaker's style of rhetoric of hope was continuously perpetuated with less concrete and tangible ideas on issues. One of the available reasons or evidence presented for the claims they make include a general allusion to highly esteemed persons or institution e.g. political philosophers and theologians. The speakers employ these allusions based on projections that the audience will be convinced by the associations created with philosophers and even theologians since these people are held in high esteem by the ordinary man and woman. One feature however, is that the speakers do not pointedly name any of the political philosophers and theologians who make the claims they allude to.

## **3. *Blurred Agency***

Agency is used as another way of taking credit away from whom it is due by a complete absence, and at times, being shifted unto inanimate objects. The result is that the people are not aware of the actor hence the credit is not given. It is a way politicians use in suppressing each other's successes in the eyes of the people.

## **4. *Accusations and Representations (Minority against Majority)***

The analysis revealed that speakers sometimes accused opponents indirectly over issues the people do not feel good about. At other times, the speakers aroused the anger of the people against other politicians and blamed each other for such actions, while presenting pleasant images about themselves to the people. When this happens, speakers set the minority up against the majority and group themselves with the majority.

### **5. *Statistical figures***

Speakers also employed statistics which magnify negative aspects of their opponent. They also presented comfortable figures to back their own ideas without providing relevant details such as the source, the benchmarks, variables and the assumptions that were considered in arriving at such figures.

### **6. *Argumentation Structure***

An argumentation structure was found to be dominant in the speeches analysed. The speakers' opinions and plans were not presented straight away to the audience with examples or explanations that strengthen the basis of those arguments. It was observed, however, that speakers outlined their visions, their plans and their targets for the country (people). These were mainly issues of high interest and catchy across board. As the issues succeeded in getting the audience to identify with the speaker's opinions, speakers quickly presented their main intentions. These intentions were presented as the conditions necessary for the realization of the interesting issues raised in the first stage of the argumentation.

### **7. *Pronouns and Articles***

Pronouns and articles were used in referring to words outside and inside the text in a manner which was of significance in the creation and enactment of power relations and ideological elements. Speakers employed straightforward introductory features using the definite article "***The***" which suggests that the audience is already in the know about all the issues and thus need no introduction to them. It is another way which speakers use to talk about issues for the first time.

Another element was the use of inclusive pronouns to talk about what the speaker deems to be of interest to the audience. This is a technique of getting the audience involved in the decisions that are acceptable by all and basing on that ideology, to present a situation as if to say all the audience agree and identify with their bid to the presidency.

### **8. *Literary Devices***

The common ones used by political speakers included *metaphors, euphemisms, allusions, imageries, proverbs and analogies*. These devices succeed in doing the bidding of speakers by serving as means by which their ideas were given meaning. These contributed towards the speakers' ideologies and power processes.

## **5.1.2 FINDINGS-DISCURSIVE PRACTICE OF INTERPRETATION**

The elements of discursivity were used in this part of the analysis. They included context of culture or situation; discourse type; intertextuality; and speech acts (force of utterance). It reveals that the contexts of the speech played a general influencing role in the way the presentation went while the sub-divisions of topics also had a bearing on the presentation. Speakers made intertextual references to elements far and near in authenticating the ideas and opinions which contain power and ideological underpinnings. The speech acts show the tasks that speakers make the people do in ways that are not realized by the people.

## **5.1.3 SOCIAL PRACTICE**

The socio-cultural, socio-political and the socio-economic situation of the country were the factors used in analyzing the column of social practice. The findings showed that the socio-cultural

situation is highly represented in the presentations. Issues were discussed along lines that reflected the cultural beliefs of the people. The socio-cultural don'ts were respected. However, the local situation was linked to the global situation with the latter seeming to impose a cautious influence on the former.

The socio-political situation is firmly tied to the economic situation. The political influences are normally determined along with economic influences and vice versa. The speeches all carry some religious undertones and target the masses. The political situation is uniquely structured by all these factors which shape and direct the pattern of the speeches.

## **5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS**

The research was focused on some selected speeches of Nana Akufo-Addo of the NPP and Mr. John Dramani Mahama of the NDC in the 2012 general elections. One speech each from their presentations at the Institute of Economic Affairs series is used as data for this study. The aims have been to analyse power and ideology as they are enacted through language. Theoretical frameworks as espoused in concepts developed by Austin (1962); Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995); Halliday (1978, 1994) among others were consulted to arrive at a framework presented in three divisions: Description, Interpretation and Explanation in the analysis of the selected speeches.

The data was discussed under textual analysis, discursive analysis and analysis of the social practices of the text to reveal the underpinnings of ideology and the power relations that were developed by the speakers through the text. The analyses revealed that speakers, through their speeches developed relations of power in relation to the audience, in a top-down direction, with speakers on top and audience below. This served the speakers' purposes of presenting themselves as

powerful and suitable to lead the country. The speakers also employed ideological underpinnings through language in persuading the audience to endorse their bid for the presidency and at the same time seek to present their opponent as incapable and not suitable for the position.

After having concluded the research on selected speeches presented at a setting of a formal institution, it would be appropriate to recommend that a similar research be done on speeches presented at a different setting. This is likely to reveal different findings.

Also, this research has been concerned solely with the text of the presentation, but a study that takes into consideration extra-linguistic multimodal features could lead to new revelations.

On another level, given the multilingual situation of Ghana and the high use of the native languages in political activities, it is recommended that a similar research be conducted on data in a Ghanaian language.

Finally, in as much as this research is expected to serve as reference material for studies on power and ideology through language, it is also recommended that a study with broader data be undertaken considering the number of participants in politics in Ghana.

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## **APPENDICES**