



CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURAL ADDRESSES OF THE FOURTH REPUBLIC OF GHANA

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Abstract:

The study investigates two selected Presidential Inaugural Addresses (PIAs) delivered by John Agyekum Kuffour and John Evans Atta Mills. The objective is to identify the broad thematic outline of the selected PIAs, unravel the ideological positions of Kuffour of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and Mills of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) expressed covertly and also determine the possible areas of divergence and convergence in ideological standpoints of the two political heads. This is essential because, with the entrenchment of democratic cultures in Africa, the need for a deeper appreciation and application of ideological analysis of linguistic choices of political speakers pertaining to particular social contexts is critical. This study is rooted in CDA approach to discourse analysis based on Fairclough's assumption that, discourse analysis aims at systematically exploring often opaque relationships of causality and determination between; discursive practice/events/texts and wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes. Investigating how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony is another element of CDA as identified by him. (Fairclough, 1993) Specifically, this study attempts to expose covert ideology which is 'hidden' in the texts. Kuffour is found to be more direct in his discourse in espousing his capitalist ideology, condemning the previous government and also the one with least self-criticism whilst the study discovers Mills in contrast is not so direct, espouses socialism, less critical of others and sounds more conciliatory.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, presidential inaugural speech, Ghana

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1. Background of the Study

Social goods are the stuff of politics. Since when we use language, social goods and their distribution are always at stake; language is always “political” in a deep sense. (Gee, 2011). Related to this affinity between language and politics is what Schaffner (1996:210) opines that, *“any political action is prepared, accompanied, controlled and influenced by language”*.

Political speeches form part of the most influential and sought-after speeches in the world. They attract such enormous listeners because of the caliber of persons (political leaders) who make such speeches and the impact of their policies on the lives of citizens in general. Burns (1978) explains leadership over human beings is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize, in competition or conflict with others, institutional, political, psychological and other resources so as to arouse, engage, and satisfy the motives of followers (p.18). Within all types of political systems; democratic, fascist, monarchic, autocratic, aristocratic, etc., political leaders and heads of nation-states, by virtue of their position, play a critical role in national development and international politics. They often rely on the spoken word to influence and mobilize their followers and convince people of the benefits that can arise from their leadership.

“These political speeches are motivated by the desire to persuade and convince the nation or society and familiarize the audience with their socio-economic policies, plans and actions”
(Denton & Hahn, 1986; Teittinen, 2000).

Socio-economic policies, plans and actions of these politicians are rooted in the particular political ideology of the political divide of the political actor. CDA is primarily concerned with focusing on relations between discourse and critical elements or issues in society such as power relations, ideologies, institutions, social identities, etc. This study, rooted in the theory of CDA espoused by writers such as Fairclough, Wodak, Van Dijk, etc., concerns itself with ideological underpinnings of political speeches and studies how the selected Presidents-elect seek to espouse their political ideologies as posited by writers such as Dentin and Hahn (1986) and Teittinen (2000) that, such addresses are motivated by their desire to persuade and convince the nation or society. Therefore, it is necessary that developing economies like Ghana begin to analyse scholarly, political speeches, especially inaugural addresses of presidents, for their persuasive and convincing function in proffering their political ideologies. This has called for the need for an ideological analysis of the presidential inaugural addresses of John Agyekum Kuffour and John Evans Atta Mills of NPP and NDC respectively.

1.1 Problem Statement

There have been studies into linguistic analysis of political speeches. Many have examined the political discourse for the communicative strategies employed in political processes and also on ideological underpinnings of such speeches. Even with these, much of the data are speeches of non-African presidents.

On the African continent, some studies on analysis of political speeches of prominent African leaders with a view to seeing how African leaders persuade the African people on the expediency of various political and socio-economic policies and plans that are capable of enhancing African economic recovery and development have been carried out though minimal.

Discourse analysis of presidential inaugural addresses of leaders in Africa has been a new field of interest among academicians, perhaps due to the advent of multi-party democracy in several parts of the continent. Even among these, studies on ideological analysis enacted in Presidential Inaugural Addresses (PIA), especially of African heads of states including Ghana have been very few.

Such studies that have already been undertaken are also not focused on subtle indications made by these political leaders of their ideological orientations and positions in their political speeches.

Studies that investigate how well linguistic study could be used to help create the course for enhancing linguistic encoding and decoding messages correctly to foster socio-economic development in Ghana, as well as that of Africa in general are woefully minimal, if not lacking. In the same vein, a politician's inability to efficiently communicate government's ideology as implemented through its policies will be unsuccessful in garnering support and commitment from the citizenry and the world towards its programmes. As posited by Wilson (2001), *"we not only use language to shape reality but we use it also to defend that reality, against anyone whose alternative values might threaten ours"* (Wilson, 2001:34). The very use of language is ideological as it deals with careful selection of linguistic forms that convey the user's intended message. It is then evident that, research into how linguistic choices employed in their PIA's convey and reaffirm their political ideological positions to the people whose mandate they have given to them is very important.

Therefore, it is timely for this study to be conducted to bridge the gap in literature on ideological analysis of Presidential Inaugural Addresses in the Fourth Republic of Ghana.

1.3 Research Objectives

The research primarily seeks to indicate to what ends political speeches are employed as tools for espousing ideologies to garner citizenry confidence in and support for government.

In summary, the specific aims of the study are to:

- identify the broad thematic outline of the selected Presidential Inaugural Addresses of President John Agyekum Kuffour (henceforth Kuffour) and John Evans Atta Mills (henceforth Mills).
- identify the ideological positions of Kuffour of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and Mills of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) expressed covertly.
- determine the possible areas of divergence and convergence in ideological standpoints of the two political heads.

1.4 Research Questions

This study intends to answer the following questions;

- What are the broad thematic outline of the selected PIAs of Kuffour and Mills?
- What are the identifiable ideological orientations and positions that the texts reveal about these political leaders?
- Are there any identifiable areas of ideological divergence or otherwise between Kuffour and Mills that their speeches expose about them?

2. Literature Review

2.1.1 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis, is a cross-disciplinary field of research that has emerged, especially since the mid-1960s, in virtually all disciplines of the humanities and the social sciences. Initially developed in linguistics, literary studies and, it soon also spreads to sociology, psychology, communication research and other disciplines. (Van Dijk, 2004).

Discourse Analysis has been succinctly described as language in use. Discourse Analysis has been defined as studying language in the context of society, culture, history, institutions, identity formation, politics, power and all other things that language helps us to create and which in turn, render language meaningful in certain ways and able to accomplish certain purposes. (Gee & Handford, 2012:5). This therefore gives discourse analysts the concern and preoccupation with language in use since the context within which language is employed informs the interpretation or meaning of discourse. This context in turn is defined or created through language. This puts the interplay between language and context to the fore in the work of discourse analysts as the two are interdependent. Discourse analysts accomplish this by focusing on systematic, detailed and theory-based analyses of actually occurring structures of text and talk. Thus, paraphrase or summarization of the 'content' of discourse on the basis of their knowledge of discourse is usually done. (Van Dijk, 2014).

Again, discourse analysts focus on the broad social and cultural functions, conditions and consequences of text and talk, including the role of discourse in the study of ideology which forms the primary concern of this study.

The field of discourse studies/analysis as a discipline according to Van Dijk obviously follows the study of text and talk in the various disciplines in the humanities and the social sciences, and now also includes social psychology, communication research, political science and history. He states further that, ideally, an integrated study integrates the analysis of discourse structures per se with the account of their cognitive, social, political, historical and cultural functions and contexts. (Van Dijk, 2000). It is in this context that this work situates PIAs within social context in trying to extract meaning based on not just the structure of the text but also the ideological properties of the presidents that delivered those speeches.

The approaches to discourse analyses include the descriptive and the critical forms. Those who employ the descriptive approach seek to describe how language works in order to understand it, with the hope to have intense explanations of how language or the world works and why they work that way. Though their work may have practical applications in the world, these discourse analysts are not motivated by those applications.

The critical approach to discourse analysis which this study adopts is however different. The goal for this approach is not just to describe how language works or even to offer deep explanations but also to speak to and, perhaps, intervene in, social or political issues, problems, and controversies in the world. This approach unlike the descriptive approach is highly motivated by the quest to apply. They want to apply their work to the world in some fashion.

In the view of Paul Gee (2011), people who take a descriptive approach often think that a critical approach is “unscientific” because the critical discourse analyst is swayed by his or her interest or passion for intervening in some problem in the world. People who take a critical approach often think that a purely descriptive approach is an evasion of social and political responsibility.

It is the critical approach to discourse analysis that this study adopts.

2.1.2 Politics and Political Discourse Analysis

Harold Laswell (1958) in his famous and perhaps the most catchy words, defined politics as “*who gets what, when and how*” which though the title of his book became accepted as the definition. He defines politics as study of changes in the distribution of value patterns in society which is only possible with power. To him, values refers to desired goals, power refers to the ability to participate in decisions whilst political power to him one’s ability to produce intended effects on other people.” (Lasswell, 1936) The famous political scientist, David Easton (1965:96) has also propounded a very short but detailed definition of the word politics as “*authoritative allocation of values for society*”. They, together with political scientist share consensus on the fact that politics encompasses the allotting scarce societal resources to members within a society and authority or power with which such allocation is done constitutes politics. So, in the broader sense, politics permeates all aspects and levels of society from personal, family, community, state, regional, continental and even global/international levels. Our focus is on politics at the state level.

What speech is termed political is defined in terms of general issues such as *power, conflict, control, or domination* (see Fairclough, 1992; 1995; van Dijk, 1993; Chilton, 1997), since any of these concepts may be employed in almost any form of discourse. In this sense however, one runs the danger of over generalizing the concept of *political discourse*.

The study of political discourse, like that of other areas of discourse analysis, covers a broad range of subject matter, and draws on a wide range of analytic methods. Wilson (2001: 398) describes political discourse as language used in formal and informal political context with political actors, such as politicians, political institutions, government, political media and political supporters operating in political environments with political goals (Moreno, 2008:34).

A speech can be delimited as political based on the subject matter as being concerned with formal or informal political contexts and political actors; that are politicians, political institutions, governments, political media and political supporters operating in political environments to achieve political goals (Moreno & Barley, 2008). In essence, they are spoken, written by and for primary political actors.

Perhaps, the subject matter of political discourse can be delimited to those concerned with formal/informal political contexts and political actors; with, that is, politicians, political institutions, governments, political media, and political supporters, operating in political environments to achieve political goals. This approximation makes clearer the kinds of limits we might place on thinking about political discourse.

Political discourse will, thus, include a wide and diverse set of discourses, or genres, or registers, such as policy papers, ministerial speeches, government press releases or press conferences, parliamentary discourse, party manifestos, speeches delivered on platforms or gatherings, electoral speeches, and so forth (Barley, 2008). They are all characterised by the fact that they are spoken or written by (or for) primary political actors – members of the government or the opposition, members of parliament, leaders of political parties and candidates for office, electorate, etc.

A political discourse, therefore, may be delimited to a discourse in any political forum, such as campaigns, parliamentary debates, interviews, speeches, writing and so forth. This largely agrees with Wilson's (2001) cited in Al-Faki (2014) description of a political discourse as language used in formal and informal political context with political actors, such as politicians, political institutions, government, political media and political supporters operating in political environments with political goals (Moreno, 2008). For the purpose of this discussion, issues of enactment of power, control, domination, resistance (Chilton and Schaffner, 1999) are embedded in the concept of political goals. Political discourse has undisputedly been a major domain of language use that attracts the interests of researchers. This is because political discourse is a complex human activity that deserves critical study particularly because politics assumes central place in the organisation and management of society. (Easton, 1965)

In agreement with Faki, one can summarise political discourse as the written or spoken language, verbal or non-verbal, used in politics to steer the emotions of audience to affect their opinions and attitudes (Al-Faki, 2014). It can be deduced that, for a discourse to be classified as political, its actors must be political, who's utterances under study must be utterances made within a political context. Of such may include; parliamentary proceedings and briefing, government/opposition press conferences, cabinet meetings, inaugurations and swearing-ins, campaign meetings and electoral activities and of particular concern to this study, Presidential inaugural addresses (PIAs).

There have been several studies into linguistic analysis of political speeches especially outside Africa. Many have examined the discourse for the communicative strategies employed in those speeches and also paid attention to analysis of the ideologies of the political figures that delivered such speeches. Even with these, much of the data are speeches of non-African presidents.

Rachman1 & Yunianti (2017) make an analysis of Donald Trump's utterances in his presidential campaign in November 16th, 2015 at Knoxville Convention Center. Skoniecki and College (2004), for example, examined President Ronald Regan of the United States of America's speech, calling for action against communism, to the people of West Berlin and the world. In a related work, Rudyk (2007) examines power relations in Bush's union speech. In

another related work, the public discourses of former U.S. presidents Barack Obama and George W. Bush are analysed from a post-colonial perspective using the practice of Critical Discourse Analysis (Viberg, 2011). These among several others are studies from outside Africa.

Though minimal, studies into political discourse and specifically on PIAs on the African continent have been ongoing. This area of study has been of new interest over the past few years which are perhaps attributable to the extensiveness of multi-party the African continent presently. Even among these, studies on ideological underpinnings in presidential inaugurals, especially of African heads of states, have been woefully minimal if not lacking to our best of knowledge.

On political speeches of which includes the *British Journal of Arts and Social Sciences* publication by Alo Moses, titled "A Rhetorical Analysis of Selected Political Speeches of Prominent African Leaders", an analysis of political speeches of prominent African leaders with a view to seeing how African leaders persuade the African people on the expediency of various political and socio-economic policies and plans that are capable of enhancing African economic recovery and development. Politicians under study in this work were discovered to have used many rhetorical and metaphorical devices. These devices have great effect in manipulating the mind of the citizenry and subtly touching on critical issues covertly. Lexical choices and pronouns were also found to be used by politicians as linguistic tools that are used to persuade and manipulate the audience. (Alo, 2012)

Much of the studies done on political speeches of diverse kinds have focused on the linguistic choices made to represent events in a way that fits the ideology of the politicians (Alo, 2012; Al-Faki, 2014) and to exhibit power. Among the few works done on speech acts in African presidential speeches is the studies on the 2007 inaugural address of President Umaru Yar Adua of Nigeria by Olaniyi (2010) and Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012), Adetunji's (2006) study of speech acts and rhetoric in the Second Inaugural Address of President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and President George Bush of America, Josiah's & Johnson's (2012) study of the inaugural address of President Goodluck Jonathan of Nigeria, and exploration of the use of assertives in Ghanaian presidential inaugurals (Boakye, 2014), among several others and not ideological investigations.

Adu (2015) has also conducted an investigation on the use of epistemic modality in two selected State of the Nation Addresses delivered by Ex-president John Agyekum Kufour of Ghana on 16th February, 2001 and 14th February, 2008 respectively. His study, similarly does not focus on PIA's neither does it investigate ideologies.

Selected political speeches delivered by John Evans Atta Mills have been investigated which encompass almost every sphere of his political life including a campaign speech. In this study, Anderson (2014) analysed the stylistically significant features prevalent in his speeches that has earned him the accolade, 'man of peace' but this study analyses ideological features.

Studies that investigate how well linguistic choices are selected by political leaders to express their ideologies that relate to critical issues in society through more covert means in Ghana as well as Africa in general, is minimal if not lacking. In the same vein, a politician's

inability to efficiently communicate government's ideology as implemented through its policies will be unsuccessful in garnering support and commitment from the citizenry and the world towards its programmes. As posited by Wilson (2001), "*we not only use language to shape reality but we use it also to defend that reality, against anyone whose alternative values might threaten ours*" (Wilson, 2001:34). The very use of language is ideological as it deals with careful selection of linguistic forms that convey the user's intended message.

2.1.3 Presidential Inaugural Address (PIA)

From the Aristotelian perspective of genres of rhetoric, Presidential Inaugural Addresses (PIAs) are kinds of epideictic speeches delivered by presidents on their day of inauguration into high office of heads of states. (Campbell & Jamieson, 2008)

Immediately after conferring political mandate on erstwhile presidential candidates, they reiterate their promise and assurance to the electorate especially on the very day that marks the beginning of their tenure of office. Due to the celebratory nature of inaugural ceremonies where PIAs are delivered, the communicators/political leaders attempt to accomplish many tasks with their speeches of which includes rallying the support of citizens towards government's policies and programmes and also defining citizens' general attitude towards these socio-economic agenda, policies and programmes. The citizenry general acceptance or otherwise of national policies of a particular regime are greatly influenced by the kind of speech delivered to them. Such national policies and programmes are defined by the ideological underpinnings of a particular regime in power.

Larner equally agrees shares the same opinion on PIAs as he defines PIAs as speeches delivered by presidents at their inauguration ceremonies which formally mark the beginning of their tenure of office (Larner, 2009).

Speech is a force or a power that is used to accomplish different ends or goals in different circumstances, and it is important to understand the purposes or goals of the communicator and the circumstances under which the communication is taking place. (Medhurst, 2010) The communicative goals that political heads seek to accomplish with PIAs are diverse as the presidents attempt to perform a plethora of functions with their speeches (Campbell & Jamieson, 2008). Inaugurals of African Presidents are not exempted as they are imbued with a variety of communicative intention. (Trosborg, 2000; Adetunje, 2007; Olaniyi, 2010; Adekunle, 2011)

It can then be established that, PIAs form an essential part of political leaders' communicative tools for espousing their ideologies because of the nature of event under which they are delivered. They include acknowledgement and appreciation of the populace and reiteration of their commitment to their proposed policies and national progress as a whole and even to either condemn or appreciate entities.

In Juraj Horvath's paper (2017) on Critical Discourse Analysis of Obama's Political Discourse, he examines president Obama's public speaking as well as its covert ideology enshrined in his inaugural address. He bases his study on Norman Fairclough's assumption on CDA that, "*ideologies reside in texts*". (Fairclough, 1995) which is a study outside Ghana and Africa in general.

Botchwey (2015) has conducted a study specifically on Presidential Inaugural Addresses (PIA) but was primarily concerned with exploring the speech acts performed in Presidential Inaugural Addresses (PIAs) by President J. E. A. Mills' in 2009 and President Mahama's in 2013. It also investigated the indicators that gave rise to Speech Acts and not rooted in Critical Discourse Analysis with focus on ideological perspective of the politicians. Again, the sampled speeches used were those of President J. E. A. Mills' 2009 inaugural speech and President Mahama's 2013 inaugural speech by Botchwey (2015) whilst this study samples those of John Agyekum Kuffour in 2001 and John Evans Atta Mills in 2009.

2.1.4 Ideology

Ideology refers to a set of general principles about which members of the party share a considerable measure of agreement – beliefs about the nature of present society, about the kind of society they want to create, about individuals in relation to society, and about the general values which they hold to be important. Because these beliefs are pitched at a fairly abstract level, they may not appear to have direct practical application, but they enter as high-level propositions into chains of deductive reasoning that have practical policies as their outcome. (Apter, 1964)

Ideologies may as well be very succinctly defined as the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group. This means that ideologies allow people, as group members, to organize the multitude of social beliefs about what is the case, good or bad, right or wrong, for them, and to act accordingly. Ideologies may also influence what is accepted as true or false, especially when such beliefs are found to be relevant for the group. Ideologies in this framework are not simply a 'world view' of a group, but rather the principles that form the basis of such beliefs. (Van Dijk, 2000)

Terry Eagleton (1991) has described a set of characteristics or definitions of ideologies including the following:

- a) the process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life;
- b) a body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group or class;
- c) ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power;
- d) false ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power.

Similarly, Mullins (1972) emphasizes four qualities in ideology: the way ideas have power; guiding evaluations, guiding actions and finally, logical coherence. This idea is further espoused by Minar who is of the opinion that, when an ideology plays an important role in guiding human-social interaction and in the structure of organizations, the coherence of these organizations requires their normative acceptance. (Minar, 1961)

Ideologies take many forms including religious, philosophical, popular, scientific and of utmost concern to this work, political. Other well-known ideologies include ones based on political economic theories such as communism, mercantilism, and social Darwinism. (Nescolarde-Selva, Usó-Doménech, Gash, 2017) as well as capitalism, socialism, democracy, etc. basically classified in terms of Marxist and non-Marxist.

Ideologies are important in human life from personal levels through to the broader societal level. Van Dijk (2000) has equally espoused that ideologies are important for the

reason that they play a central role in both personal identity and in the way society holds itself together. It is the element that keeps society functioning as expected because all members are oriented to accept the dictates of a particular ideology and live accordingly. He again sees ideologies as important for the fact that, ideology is a systemic property of cognition central to the transmission and actualization of beliefs. Similarly, Eagleton (1991) sees ideologies as “constructed ideas used to define reality”. This defined reality dictates to members within a particular society how to live and act based on the accepted ideology constructed by the society itself. To him, ideologies as well have the negative effect of being too focused with an ideological bias which may result into blinding one to some of the alternative ideologies available to humanity.

According to Taiwo (2007), in most interactions, users bring with them different dispositions towards language which are closely related to their social positioning. These dispositions define the political ideological perspective they share which vary from person to person. Such ideological positions are expressed in the communicative strategies employed by the users of language through which they seek to influence the opinions of their listeners. In Taiwo’s view, such variation in disposition (ideology) is determined by the social positioning of the individuals thereby establishing the influence of one’s society on his/her language use.

From the foregoing, it is realized that the impact of the broad societal ideology on individual’s personal orientation cannot be overemphasized. Every individual in a society constructs their own understanding of their social world on the basis of their personal experiences in society constructed based on societal ideology.

In conducting ideological analysis, (Van Dijk, 2000) explains that the practice of ideological analysis also means that ideologies cannot simply be 'read off text and talk. What is an ideologically relevant expression in one discourse or context may not be one in another, or may have an opposed ideological function at another moment. This means that ideological discourse analysis is very complex, and needs to take into account all levels of text and context, as well as the broader social background of discourse and interaction. Similarly, Norman Fairclough on critical discourse analysis opines that "ideologies reside in texts" that "it is not possible to 'read off' ideologies from texts" and that "texts are open to diverse interpretations" (Fairclough, 1995).

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA is a framework for analyzing texts that grew out of the research of Norman Fairclough in the 1980’s. He stated in his first publication, *Language and Power*, three pillars upon which his research is based; Language, Ideology and Power (Fairclough 1995:3).

CDA in itself is not an entirely objective scholastic analysis of text. This is what Professor Teun Van Dijk explicitly confirms as he claims CDA defines and defends its own sociopolitical position. That is, CDA is biased – and explains it: “unlike much other scholarship, CDA is proud of it” (Van Dijk 2003:96). He again indicates that, CDA is obviously not a

homogenous model, nor a school or a paradigm, but at most a shared perspective on doing linguistics, semiotic or discourse analysis. (Van Dijk, 1993b: 131). Fairclough (1989, 1992) including several other prominent CDA analysts, view CDA as a form of research tactics, an approach to discourse analysis or even a direction of research. It is within this framework of model/approach of analyzing discourse that this work is situated.

CDA views 'language as a form of social practice' (Fairclough, 1989:20) and attempts 'to unpack the ideological underpinnings of discourse that have become so naturalized over time that we begin to treat them as common, acceptable and natural features of discourse' (Teo, 2000). CDA therefore links language to the activities which surround it, focusing on how social relations, identity, knowledge and power are constructed through written and spoken texts in communities, schools, classrooms, etc.

CDA's objective is to perceive language use as social practice as also expressed by Ruth Wodak who indicates that, the purpose of CDA is to investigate language behavior in natural speech situations of social relevance (institutions, media, minority, problems, racism, etc. (Wodak, 1989:xv). The users of language do not function in isolation, but in a set of cultural, social and psychological frameworks.

Discourse serves as the intermediary in social life mediating all the activities of social life. Hyland is of the view that, discourse constructs social and political reality and in turn discourse is conditioned by the social and political realities it has also constructed. (Hyland, 2009). This makes the relationship bi-directional. It is not only language use that is affected by its groundedness within certain frame of cultural or social practice, but also the "language use in turn influences and shapes the social and cultural context it finds itself in. CDA recognises both directions, and in particular it "[explores] the tension between these two sides of language use, the socially shaped and socially constitutive" (Fairclough (1993: 134)

Another objective of CDA is to reduce the opacity in the relatedness of discursive practice and social function which is often overlooked in other discourse analysis. Fairclough, in his definition perceives CDA as, discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between;

- a) discursive practice, events and texts, and
- b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. Fairclough (1993: 135). This quest to reduce this level of opacity is one of the aims this study seeks to accomplish.

Another important aspect of CDA is the order of proceedings in the process of analysis. The first stage is description where formal properties of a text are treated. Next to it is the interpretation, which looks at text-interaction relations. Finally, there is the explanation, which explores relations between interaction and social context (Fairclough, 1995:21, 22).

To execute the analysis of these variables, a qualitative approach has been used in order to expose how; for example, words can be misinterpreted when employed in different contexts.

Of the important features or elements of CDA is the conception of knowledge. Jäger, based on Fairclough's theory, proposes five central issues which are; what knowledge (valid at a certain place at a certain time) consists of, how this valid knowledge evolves, how it is passed on, what function it has for the constitution of subjects and the shaping of society and what impact this knowledge has on the overall development of society. (Jäger 2003:32-33)

Again, one element of CDA which makes its analysis unique from other forms of discourse analysis is its attribute of 'critical'. 'Critical' implies showing connections and causes which are hidden; it also implies intervention, for example providing resources for those who may be disadvantaged through change" Fairclough (1992: 9). It is this quest to explore and make these hidden, 'critical' elements in text, exposed to the people involved and to enable them responds accordingly, that this study is concerned with.

Batstone (1995) indicates that, Critical Discourse Analysts seek to reveal how texts are constructed so that particular (and potentially indoctrinating) perspectives can be expressed delicately and covertly; because they are covert, they are elusive of direct challenge, facilitating what Kress calls the "*retreat into mystification and impersonality*". (Batstone, 1995: 198-199)

Having established the importance of drawing out hidden elements that reside in text, Fairclough proposes methodology of undertaking CDA analysis in his work *Language and Power* (1989) in which he examines how the ways in which we communicate are constrained by the structures and forces of those social institutions within which we live and function. (Fairclough 1989: vi).

According to him, there are three levels of discourse, firstly, *social conditions of production and interpretation*, i.e. the social factors, which contributed or lead to the origination of a text, and, at the same time, how the same factors effect interpretation. Secondly, the *process of production and interpretation*, i.e. in what way the text was produced and how this effects interpretation. Thirdly, the *text*, being the product of the first two stages, commented on above. He then proposes gives three stages of CDA, which are in accord with the three abovementioned levels of discourse:

- Description is the stage which is concerned with the formal properties of the text.
- Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction – with seeing the text as a product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation.
- Explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context – with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effects. (Fairclough 1989: 24-26)

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Design

This study uses the qualitative method of analysis. It adopts an exploratory research design with a survey method on Presidential Inaugural Addresses in the 4th Republic of Ghana. Our primary concern is contributing to the building of the theory of language use.

Priest (1996) has described the qualitative design as any method for doing social science research that uses general observation, depth, and verbal description in place of numerical measure. Again, Strauss and Corbin (1990:17) say that a “*qualitative research is any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification*”.

One can say that a qualitative research is concerned with understanding the context in which behaviour occurs. This method is used to investigate selected presidential inaugural addresses in the fourth republic of Ghana in this particular study.

Since this study is a social science research, it requires more qualitative analysis more than quantitative one. The strength of the qualitative technique allows a broader view to be taken and so, makes the research approach more flexible. This is justified by the fact that the study included studying the ideological underpinnings of Presidential Inaugural Addresses for which reason absolute result was not our target.

This research again used the qualitative approach because qualitative approach does not only investigate about what a problem is but also why, how, where and when the problem appeared. This method does not only produce information in the particular cases studies but also draws the general conclusions on the informed assertion. It also can be used to seek empirical support for such research hypotheses (Lincoln, 2005).

3.2 Population and Sample Population

The study was completely library-based with secondary source of data. Our population is the seven (7) Presidential Inaugural Addresses (PIAs) of presidents of the Fourth republic of Ghana, out of which two; the January 7, 2001 of President John Agyekum Kuffour and January 7, 2009 inaugural addresses and President John Evans Atta Mills are sampled purposively for our investigation. The choice of these two addresses is as a result of an attempt to present a work that incorporates speeches from the two main political divides in the country. Again, it is their first ever inaugural addresses that are considered because of the high interest and polarized nature that characterized the 2000 and 2008 general elections in Ghana which saw the transition of power from one political party to rival party which makes these speeches key in Ghana’s political history. The speeches belong to the non-spontaneous category of oral speeches. In other words, they were formally prepared and written for oral delivery. The ideologies of the political figures who delivered these speeches; John Agyekum Kuffour and John Evans Attah Mills as evidenced in their speeches, were of importance in this study.

3.3 Data Collection Procedure

The written texts of the inaugural addresses were retrieved from archives both electronically and manually. Electronically, President John Agyekum Kuffour's speech was retrieved from <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/repUBLIC/prez-inug-adr.php> and John Evans Atta Mills' speech was retrieved from <http://www.ghc-ca.com/Animation/speech>. Manually, John Agyekum Kuffour's Address was retrieved from the Daily Graphic's 8th January 2001 edition whilst that of John Evans Atta Mills was retrieved from that of 8th Jan, 2009. This was to ensure authentic copies of the original selected inaugural speeches. The complete speeches are presented at the Appendix: Speech 1 and Speech 2.

3.4 Data Analysis Procedure

The researcher coded each sample speech into clauses. A complex sentence was coded as one clause since our focus is the main clause. However, a compound sentence was broken down into the number of simple sentences it carries.

Data was analysed in three (3) stages in line with Fairclough's (1989) proposal. Description is the stage which is concerned with the formal properties of the text. Here, the broad outline of the two speeches is presented.

Interpretation which is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction is offered.

The hidden/ opaque meanings that ordinarily do not come out clearly to readers and listeners are carefully drawn out and interpreted based on prevailing political, social, economic and cultural conditions at the time of production and delivery of text.

Finally, explanation is proffered of the presidents' ideology based on the critical issues their speeches touched on doing a comparison between the ideological analysis of the two leaders.

4. Data Analysis and Discussion

4.1 Introduction

The goal of this research is the analysis of selected inaugural addresses of John Agyekum Kuffour and John Evans Atta Mills with the main purpose of; unraveling the possible ideologically significant features prevalent in the selected speeches and also attempts to link the inaugural discourse with the social processes and to decipher covert ideology of these texts. In view of this, the ideological elements, socio-cultural and political setting as well as the political background of these political figures will form a crucial component of the analysis.

To achieve this goal, the analysis is structured into two parts. Firstly, broad outline of the two speeches will be provided separately. Meanwhile, the second part will analyse the ideological themes prevalent in the selected political speeches comparatively with their respective interpretations of their discursive properties to arrive at the various ideological standpoints of the two presidents.

Reference to excerpt in the speeches will be marked by quoting the sentence number in which they are selected from after the quote to allow for easy referencing. The symbols K and M will precede any sentence quoted from the speeches of Kuffuor and Mills respectively.

4.2 Thematic Outline of Inaugural Speeches

The broad outline of the two PIA's are provided separately with their corresponding sentence numbers quoted after the thematic element.

4.2.1 John Agyekum Kuffour (Kuffour)

A. Introduction and Acknowledgements (K 1-6)

Kuffour opens his speech with a vocative and an introduction which includes personal acknowledgements and appreciation first and foremost to God and the Ghanaian citizenry. It also includes personal commendation of the democratic achievement made by Ghanaians in the successful conduct of election and subsequent peaceful change in government.

B. Call-to-Action (K 7-17)

The people of Ghana are charged to translate this democratic feat into all other facets of life especially economic transformation as he relays his confidence in the state due to its potentials.

C. Addressing the World (K18-34)

Kuffour acknowledges the contributions of the international community towards the political and economic achievement and give commendations. He again extends a call to the international community to commit more such as debt reliefs. He assures the donor community of his government's commitment to prudent practices that would maximize economic relief by cutting down on corruption and waste.

D. Addressing Sections of the Ghanaian Community (K 35-63)

Sections of the Ghanaian population such as the youth, NPP supporters, expatriates and women are specially addressed, paying tribute to their sacrifices and commitment in the feat Ghana has achieved. He does this in addition to expressing their new roles responsibilities in the new state they had helped achieve and therefore charges them to be responsible.

E. Economy (K 64-83)

Kuffour opens his thoughts on economic transformation by assuring Ghanaians of his government's commitment to instilling institutional confidence especially in the legal services which would create the enabling environment entrepreneurship. Private businesses, free market, individual empowerment, competition, hardwork and discipline, innovativeness are some of the virtues to be upheld by the new administration to ensure economic progress.

F. Call to State Institutions (K 88-91)

All state institutions in the executive, legislative and judicial arms of government are enjoined to remain faithful to their constitutional responsibilities with a sense of urgency to redeem the state from its shackles as he reiterates his personal interest in championing this course as the chief executive of the state.

G. Addressing Continental and Sub-regional Actors (K 92-100)

Political leaders from the continent present are personally acknowledged and appreciated and he extends reassurance to be committed to continental and sub-regional integration and cooperation.

H. Conclusion (K101-104)

Kuffour concludes his speech by reiterating his appreciation, commendation and pride of the Ghanaian populace and assures them of his commitment to delivering confident of their support; an idea that he's expressed severally in his entire speech.

4.2.2 John Evans Attah Mills (Mills)

The speech opens with the usual vocative.

A. Acknowledgement of Predecessors (M1-5)

Mills officially pays tribute to his predecessors, first and foremost with special acknowledgement of their contribution in bringing the state thus far. He indicates his resolve to utilize their wealth of experience during his tenure. He ends this by extending his acknowledgements and gratitude to the foreign dignitaries present.

B. Appreciation, Commendation and Assurance (M6-13)

Mills expresses appreciation to the Almighty and Ghanaians for the political achievement.

C. Promotion of Unity (M14-23)

President Mills used the occasion to espouse his concern for the need to promote unity among the Ghanaian populace, even to members of the opposition, as he considers consensus building as the only way forward in building a prosperous nation.

D. Internal Security (M24-25)

Ensuring security of citizens, he indicates as his government's priority as it would check against endangering human freedoms.

E. Promoting Equality and Equity (M26-42)

Mills indicates his concern with ensuring equity in political, economic, legal opportunities for all citizens irrespective of their affiliations and inclinations.

F. Economy (M43-49)

Even in expressing economic goal for the country, the president extends his resolve into ensuring economic progress for the shared benefit of all Ghanaians and not just a few. He is resolute in his resolve to prioritizing local businesses progress over any other enterprises.

G. International Relations (M50-53)

He states his government's foreign policy objective of maintaining diplomatic commitments at global, continental and sub-regional levels.

H. Conclusion (M54-60)

Mills concludes his speech by subtly exposing the state to its critical condition and therefore urges citizens to facing the reality of being committed to hard work but not without expressing confidence in the state to surmount the foreseeable challenges ahead.

4.3 Comparative Ideological Analysis

Ideological analysis of the PIA's of the two presidents is done comparatively simultaneous to each other. There are areas of ideological convergence as in the case of foreign policy objective of committing to global, continental and sub-regional peace and security. Also, the affectionate mode of addressing Ghanaians with interpersonal modes such as 'fellow citizens' 'dear' 'friends', brothers and sisters', etc.

Major ideological themes of divergence that the speeches address includes the thematic areas are subjected to critical discourse analysis.

4.3.1 Impression of Previous Government/ Administration

Kuffour throughout his speech bastardizes the previous administration but this he does through subtle means. His speech reveals the impression of the just NDC administration under Rawlings. He accuses the past government engaging in practices that constitute serious human rights abuses. Indications from his speech include '**turbulent times**', '**wrongs suffered**' (K13), '**we dare not forget but ... try to forgive**' (14), '**freed from poverty, hunger and disease**' (29), '**economic and political asylum**' (45, 46), '**there has been enough suffering...**' the employment of the cohesion device of reiteration in recounting the various instances of suffering with the repetition of the phrase, '**there has been enough**' depicts his sense of enormity of the sufferings the past government had caused in the state (83). This can further be deduced from the speech, '**ours is not a poor country and even though we are now poor people**' (K-34a). The use of the temporal deixis '**now**' here is to depict the current economic condition inherited from his predecessor.

His bastardly impression of the past NDC government is further revealed in his use of the personification device in the clause '**fear must be banished**' (85) to create a more comprehensive reality of the conditions of fear under which Ghanaians were subjected to during the past, as he refers to the period by using the identification device, '**the struggle of the past 20 years**' (43b). Kuffour insinuates that many Ghanaians were caused to seek economic and political asylum and made 'homes' away from the shores of Ghana due to this condition of fear (45-47). By extending, a call to these Ghanaian expatriates to come back '**home**' (48) implies the change in government alone has made conditions in Ghana favourable enough to be home again.

He regards the successful democratic transition of power, not a mere achievement but a '**historic**' (8) one because it entailed struggle which suggests the past administration did everything possible to entrench itself in power which is equally undemocratic thereby making it monumental. He indicates the long suffering endurance of Ghanaians during the NDC regime by the statement, '**our people have been very patient**' (90).

Kuffour expressed by changing the Rawlings government, Ghanaians had found reason to have joy which he qualifies with the adjective '**spontaneous**' (9) to depict the natural outburst or flow of momentary impulsive emotion that can only be borne out of years of frustration under the past administration. He confirms this notion as he expressed in sentence 84 that, Ghanaians '**must learn to smile again**' in essence to depict that the borne frustration has formed the sad habit in Ghanaians such that, for Ghanaians to be able to smile

again, it would involve learning which is a process and cannot be spontaneous under the circumstances.

Mills however generally does not accuse the Kuffour government of human right abuses though one can infer insinuations and accusations of the previous government of selectiveness and government of the privileged the few as depicted in '**... Ghana's prosperity will reach all, not just a few**' (K- 49) as well as '**honesty, fairness, compassion and sincerity will be the hallmark of my administration**', '**I have no wish to carry out political vendetta of any kind**' and '**we must avoid the syndrome of one set of laws for one group and another for the others**' (K- 29, 30, 34). The NDC during electioneering campaign for the 2008 general election held onto the mantra of accusing the then NPP government of ostentatious affluence. Affirmation of this ideology held by Mills is exposed through more covert means in using the comparative reference device in '**our politics will not focus on power and privilege... willingness to put personal advantage aside**' (26-28).

4.3.2 Acknowledgement of Predecessor(s)

In Kuffour's speech, he does not acknowledge his predecessor, Jerry John Rawlings and even does not factor him in his vocative. Kuffour gives his predecessor the cold treatment and treats him as though he did not exist. This cold treatment is to further his impression created throughout his speech of the erstwhile government being only good at bringing untold suffering and hardship of the people of Ghana. This is to confirm his total disregard for the previous administration as well as its leader and as such not worth the niceties accorded dignitaries of his caliber since according to Teo, the meaning of the text can also be deduced not only from what is said but also from what is left unsaid. (Teo, 2000, p.24)

Mills on the other hand, begins his entire speech by openly recognizing the two predecessors without discrimination. He openly expresses his respect and recognition of their status and experience which he terms "*invaluable*" (M-3).

4.3.3 Economic Policy

Capitalist economic ideals are proffered by Kuffour in his speech as his government's economic policy. Major capitalist tenets are given out as the guiding economic policy to go by. The skills, perspectives and capital of Ghanaian expatriates are invited in (K- 47) as well as *local and foreign investments* (K- 70, 75). *Creation of the enabling environment* for businesses to flourish (K- 71), private sector being the main agency for wealth creation (K- 72), government empowerment of small and medium scale private businesses-*entrepreneurship* (K- 73-77). Competition (K- 78), ideals of *hardwork, discipline, reward for excellence, radicalism* and *innovation, constant upgrading of skills* (K- 80, 81, 86) are outlined in his economic policy directives for the state which are all capitalist ideologies. Major socialist tenets are inferred from Mills' speech. Though he expresses his belief that he considers the operation of foreign business considered essential for the creation of a robust national economy, he precedes this belief with; *our goal is to facilitate creation of a business environment that balances the resuscitation and growth of local industries and enterprises* (M- 43). He asserts his government's intervention against any activities and policies that

would cause unfair competition in favour of foreign industries and promote support for local industries (M- 44, 45).

Mills, in no uncertain terms, further exposes his socialist ideology in; *and we will strive to balance the efficiency of the market with the compassion of the state* (M- 46). In general, Mills' speech espouses collective and communal ideals of to the benefit of all that align him with the socialist ideology.

4.3.4 Fresh Start and Sense of Urgency

The dominant use of temporary time deixis such as to *'today'* (K-4, 10, 84, 92, 100, 101), *'now'* (K- 2, 40), *'since'* (K-9), *'currently'* (K- 26, 42) by Kuffour depicts his idea of Ghana beginning to function properly only from the period of assumption of office by his government to buttress his ideology of the failure of the previous government for which reason there was the need for a fresh start. Other lexical items like the identification device *'the first time'* (K- 5), *'start'* (K- 10,12, 101), *'new and fresh'* (K- 3,30, 47, 48, 64, 81), *'renew and restore'* (K- 64, 70).

Kuffour's sense of resoluteness in desisting from the legacy of the past government is expressed in his use of the phrase, *'never again should Ghanaians...'* used repeatedly. (K- 45, 46).

He expresses the need to right the wrongs of the past government not only with this fresh resolve but also with a sense of urgency expressed *'we cannot afford to waste time and energy'* (K- 90) and *'but they will not forgive us if we do not start work immediately'* (K- 91). All these are to strongly depict the poor economic condition of the state so the need to urgently put it on the *'sound footing'* (K- 66).

Mills does not express the need for freshness and urgency in direct strong words as Kuffour does. He however leaves impressions of this in his use of the word *'change'* (M-8, 17, 18). Even in these instances, change is either expressed in terms of change in power or for direction in unity of purpose. When the popular slogan; *'better Ghana'*, is used (M- 16, 49), he still expresses it in relation to *'where opportunities are available to all our people'*, still against sectionalism and not full scale economic deprivation as expressed by Kuffour. Especially, when Mills speaks directly on the economic situation inherited, he does not concisely express poor economic conditions but rather expresses that would be revealed later which he describes could be *'even the most difficult of tasks'* (M-54-56) and *'though our task ahead presents many challenges'* (57), Mills does not attach urgency with the call to action as expressed by Kuffour. In one instance where this is expressed, he does this with minimal sense of urgency (M-14).

4.3.5 Addressing Parties in Power and Opposition

Kuffour accords the opposition less recognition. His address to the opposition is to assure them of his government's tolerance of varied opinion but Kuffour does not fail to immediately indirectly add the caveat that such tolerance is reciprocal. His use of the phrase, *'honoured roles'* (K-50) suggests to the opposition that anything below honourable behavior from the opposition would not be tolerated by his government. Though a statement in form,

it performs the speech act function of warning or caution to the opposition to behave responsibly.

Kuffour in his speech, makes direct reference to his party, the NPP depicting its struggles in bringing about the change in government for which reason he congratulates it with the Twi word, '*ayekoo*' (K- 38-40); the only instance in his speech. This is to solidify his relationship with them and better identify with his group.

A better and higher assurance is given to the opposition by Mills in his speech as he is constantly found extending words of assurance to the members of the opposition that he will recognize their opinions (M-20), '*I will be president for all Ghanaians, whether they voted for me or not,...*' (M-19, 20), '*I have no wish to carry out political vendetta of any kind*' (M-30), '*it is my duty to as President to heal wounds and unite our dear nation*' (M-22).

Mills does not accord his party members special recognition though he takes the pain to address the opposition specifically. The only instance where he makes reference to his party; the NDC, is when he reiterates his government's commitment to delivering on the party's core campaign message. (M- 47, 48)

4.3.6 Security

The need to ensure security on the part of Kuffour, is rooted in the belief that by creating the right atmosphere for security and justice, economic activities as well as investor confidence in the state would be boosted. (K- 66 - 91).

Mills on the other hand, expresses his ideology on security concerns is in terms of maximizing the larger freedoms of citizens in general (M- 24, 25) and does not necessarily attach it to promotion of economic activities.

4.3.7 Cause for Hope and Confidence

To Kuffour, the cause for hope in Ghana recovery lies in his belief in the abilities and potentials of the state's natural reserves, youth, expatriates, donor support, etc. (K- 15, 17, 34, 36, 37, 47, 64, 87). With the use of the place deixis; '*here*'(K- 17) and '*this*' (K-37) used as demonstrative references to directly point to the Ghana as where all those potentials are for which reason there exists hope for salvaging the economy of Ghana. His reiteration of the phrase '*this is where...*' (K- 37) demonstrates that action towards salvaging the economy had already begun to entice the populace to evoke their confidence in his government.

Mills' ideology on hope and confidence in the prosperity of the state lies in the strength of character, love of country and hope for shared future (M- 56, 57).

5. Summary of Findings, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.2 Summary of Findings

With reference to the research questions, the study has produced the following findings:

5.2.1 Thematic Outline of Kuffour's Speech

- Introduction, acknowledgements and appreciation are rendered (K- 1-7).

- Call on the general Ghanaian citizenry to action in working towards economic transformation (K- 8-17).
- Addressing the global world especially the donor community by acknowledging their contributions and further appealing for more support attached to the assurance of prudent management on the part of his government (K18-34).
- Sections of the Ghanaian population which includes the youth, New Patriotic Party (NPP) supporters, expatriates and women (K35-63).
- The economy is addressed by espousing the general economic policy directives to achieve economic transformation with (K64-83).
- A call is made on state institutions to remind them of their constitutional roles and their prominence in charting the course for Ghana's development (K- 88-91).
- Continental and Sub-regional leaders and issues are addressed (K92-100).
- Kuffour conclude his address with appreciation, commendation and assurances to Ghanaians (K101-104).

5.2.2 Thematic Outline of Mills' Speech

- Mills begins his speech with outright acknowledgement of his predecessors; Jerry John Rawlings and John Agyekum Kuffour (M- 1-5).
- Extends appreciation, commendation and assurance to Ghanaians (M- 6-13).
- Promotes unity among Ghanaians (M14-23).
- Raises internal security concerns and gives assurances (M24-25).
- Seeks to promoting equality and equity among Ghanaians (M26-42).
- Economic issues are addressed (M43-49).
- Global, continental and sub-regional matters are addressed (M50-53).
- Conclusion drawn by sending feelers on the economic challenges and expressing confidence in surmounting them (M54-60).

5.3 Comparative Ideological Analysis

Areas of ideological convergence as in the case of foreign policy objective of committing to global, continental and sub-regional peace and security are identified as well as affectionate mode of addressing Ghanaians with interpersonal modes such as 'fellow citizens' 'dear' 'friends', brothers and sisters', etc.

Major ideological themes of divergence that the speeches address includes the thematic areas are subjected to critical discourse analysis is as follows;

5.3.1 Impression of Previous Government

Kuffour portrays a very bastardly impression of the previous Rawlings led NDC government. He accuses the past government engaging in practices that constitute serious human rights abuses. Indications from his speech include '*turbulent times*', '*wrongs suffered*' (K13), '*we dare not forget but ... try to forgive*' (14), '*freed from poverty, hunger and disease*' (29), '*economic and political asylum*' (45, 46), '*there has been enough suffering...*' (K- 83), '*ours is not a poor country and even though we are now poor people*' (K-34a) as well as expressions such as '*fear must be banished*' (K- 85), '*the struggle of the past 20 years*' (K-

43b), *'come back home'* (48), *'historic achievement'* (8), *'our people have been very patient'* (90).

Kuffour expresses by changing the Rawlings government, Ghanaians had found reason to have *'spontaneous joy'* (9) and *'learn to smile again'* (84) suggesting the previous government had only but given Ghanaians hardship.

Though Mills does not condemn the Kuffour government, utterances such as *'... Ghana's prosperity will reach all, not just a few'* (K- 49), *'honesty, fairness, compassion and sincerity will be the hallmark of my administration'*, *'I have no wish to carry out political vendetta of any kind'*, *'we must avoid the syndrome of one set of laws for one group and another for the others'* (K- 29, 30, 34) and *'our politics will not focus on power and privilege... willingness to put personal advantage aside'* (26-28) all expose Mills' ideology of the previous government selectiveness, though covertly done.

5.3.2 Acknowledgement of Predecessor(s)

Kuffour's outright condemnation of the previous government is further manifested in his choice to ignore his predecessor by not acknowledging him. This is in line with Teo's conception that meaning can be deduced not only from what is said but also from what is left unsaid. (Teo, 2000, p.24)

Meanwhile, Mills accords acknowledgement of his predecessors of utmost importance such that, he begins his full address by acknowledging them and according both of them the same respect.

5.3.3 Economic Policy

Major capitalist tenets are espoused by Kuffour in giving out economic policy outline of which include inviting in the skills, perspectives and capital of Ghanaian expatriates (K- 47), *local and foreign investments* (K- 70, 75), *creation of the enabling environment* (K- 71), private sector empowerment (K- 72), entrepreneurship (K- 73-77), competition (K- 78) as well as capitalist ideals of *hardwork, discipline, reward for excellence, radicalism* and *innovation, constant upgrading of skills* (K- 80, 81, 86).

In Mills' speech, major socialist tenets are invariably inferred. *'our goal is to facilitate creation of a business environment that balances the resuscitation and growth of local industries and enterprises'* (M- 43), *'unfair competition'* (M- 44, 45) and *we will strive to balance the efficiency of the market with the compassion of the state* (M- 46) are excerpts from Mills' speech that espouse collectiveness and communalism which all conform to socialism ideology.

5.3.4 Fresh Start and Sense of Urgency

Mills however leaves impressions of the need for fresh start subtly in his use of the lexical item, *'change'* (M-8, 17, 18) used in relation to unity of purpose. When the popular slogan; *'better Ghana'* (M- 16, 49), even so, he still expresses it in relation to *'where opportunities are available to all our people'* still against sectionalism and not full scale economic deprivation as expressed by Kuffour. Mills does not attach urgency with the call to action as expressed by

Kuffour. In one instance where this is expressed, he does this with minimal sense of urgency (M-14).

5.3.5 Addressing Parties in Power and Opposition

Kuffour accords the opposition less recognition. His address to the opposition is to assure them of his government's tolerance of varied opinion but Kuffour does not fail to immediately indirectly add the caveat that such tolerance is reciprocal. Kuffour's only instance of directly addressing the opposition, through the use of the phrase '*honoured roles*' (K-50) suggests that anything below honourable behavior from the opposition would not be tolerated by his government. Though a statement in form, it performs the speech act function of warning or caution to the opposition to behave responsibly. Meanwhile, in addressing his own party; the NPP, he is full of praise and commendation and is found using the local word, *ayekoo*' (K- 38-40) to better promote comradeship with his group.

'I will be president for all Ghanaians, whether they voted for me or not, ...' (M-19, 20), *'I have no wish to carry out political vendetta of any kind'* (M- 30), *'it is my duty as President to heal wounds and unite our dear nation'* (M-22) are Mills' direct message of assurance to the members of opposition.

The only instances where Mills makes reference to his party; the NDC, is when he reiterates his government's commitment to delivering on the party's core campaign message (M- 47, 48) and does not directly address his party as Kuffour does.

5.3.6 Security

Kuffour's ideology on maintaining security is to promote economic activities, boost investor confidence therefore causing economic boom. (K- 66 - 91).

To Mills, maximizing the larger freedoms of citizens in general is his motivation for promoting security (M- 24, 25).

5.3.7 Cause for Hope and Confidence

Kuffour's ideology of hope and confidence in Ghana's economic rests in his belief in the abilities and potentials in the state's natural reserves, youth, expatriates, donor support, etc. (K- 15, 17, 34, 36, 37, 47, 64, 87) by pointing to Ghana through the use of the place deixis; '*here*'(K- 17) and '*this*' (K-37) as well as reiteration of the phrase '*this is where...*' (K- 37).

Mills' ideology on hope and confidence in the prosperity of the state, on the other hand, lays in the strength of character, love of country and hope for shared future (M- 56, 57).

5.4 Conclusions

On the day of inauguration, president elects tend to give speeches that portray more conciliatory posture on the surface. But a critical analysis of such addresses, uncover several ideological standpoints expressed in more subtle and covert means by careful selection of linguistic choices that suit the celebratory nature of the political event of presidential inauguration.

Whilst, Kuffour is upfront, though through covert and subtle means in condemning the previous, Rawlings led NDC government, Mills is less condemning of his predecessors. There is convergence in terms of ideology on foreign policy but in terms of other areas such as; impression and regard for predecessors, politico-economic theory, fresh beginnings with the takeover and sense of urgency, various political factions, security and source of hope and confidence, there are evidences of divergence.

5.5 Recommendations

With the establishment of democratic cultures in Africa, the need for a deeper appreciation of political speeches to critical discourse analysis has become not only essential but critical due the complexities of African societies and culture. As a result, more scholars should be encouraged to pay a critical attention to the shaping and formation of presidential political discourse in order to meet the communication demands of modern democratic governance in Ghana and the rest of Africa.

In addition, the study should be replicated in other political discourse genres; campaign messages, State of the Nation's Addresses, Independence Speeches, among several others, as well as in other parts of Africa to help citizens grasp ideological perspectives that underlie utterances of political leaders to be able to get the full import of their messages to them.

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Appendices

Speech 1: Inaugural Speech by President John Agyekum Kuffuor, Fourth President of the Republic Of Ghana at Independence Square Accra January 7th 2001.

*“Mr. Vice President,
Mr. Speaker of Parliament,
My Lord Chief Justice, Your Excellencies brother Presidents and Vice President, Nananom,
Your Excellencies
Members of the Diplomatic Corps,
Distinguished guests,
fellow citizens and friends,*

- 1. One hour ago, I took a solemn oath before Parliament to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of Ghana.*
- 2. I swore that I now dedicate myself to the services and well-being of the people of Ghana and to do right to all.*
- 3. Please join me in giving thanks to the Almighty for bringing us to this new beginning for our country.*
- 4. We demonstrate today our maturity and our cohesion as a nation by the smooth transfer of power from a democratically elected government to another.*
- 5. This is the first time this has happened in our 43 years of existence.*
- 6. It is an achievement of which we can all be justifiably proud, and which we can happily celebrate.*
- 7. But we cannot rest there.*
- 8. What we can, and must do is to try and utilize the advantages that come from this historic achievement.*
- 9. The spontaneous joy and feeling of goodwill that is in the country since 28th December 2000 should not be allowed to disappear without translating it to tangible improvements in the lives of the mass of our people.*
- 10. We have work to do and that starts today.*
- 11. Our greatest enemy is poverty.*
- 12. And the battle against poverty starts with reconciling our people and forging ahead in unity.*
- 13. We have gone through turbulent times and we should not in any way down play or brush aside the wrongs that have been suffered.*
- 14. I do not ask that we forget, indeed we dare not forget, but I do plead that we try to forgive.*
- 15. That way, we can concentrate our energies on the big battle of bringing prosperity to our nation.*
- 16. It is not beyond our capabilities.*
- 17. We have all the ingredients here, a fertile and beautiful land endowed with goodness and richness and blessed with a dynamic and entrepreneurial people.*
- 18. As we strive to realise our potential, I must acknowledge the help and encouragement that our foreign friends have extended to us.*
- 19. I acknowledge their role in the electoral process and the deepening of our democracy.*

20. *I am grateful for the many messages of congratulations and the universal praise that we have received for the conduct of the elections and the transition.*
21. *Having helped us so far to get where we are, our international friends should keep faith with us.*
22. *They must remember that we face grave challenges with our economy, challenges that are likely to put severe strains on our people's belief and enthusiasm for the democratic process and its slow and painstaking methods.*
23. *We have been down this road before, in the second and third republics, when adventurers were able to exploit temporary difficulties by promising instant solutions and overthrowing constitutionally elected governments.*
24. *We need the continued support and help of our foreign friends and I urge them to consider seriously the appeals that are being made for the relief of debts.*
25. *This will enable us build our economy.*
26. *We are currently spending a fourth of all our revenue annually on simply servicing our debts.*
27. *Such a burden is not sustainable and is likely to dampen the enthusiasm of our people when they do not see any democratic dividends.*
28. *It is imperative that our people see concrete evidence that democracy is more than just sweet words.*
29. *They should see that there is a difference in their lives, they need to be freed from poverty, hunger and disease and this should be done in conditions of freedom.*
30. *We on our part in the new administration, accept that we need to sacrifice and work hard.*
31. *We pledge to cut waste and corruption from public life.*
32. *There will be, under this administration, ZERO TOLERANCE of corruption and I make a solemn pledge to you my compatriots, and fellow citizens that I shall set a personal example."*

Help

33. *"We shall also cut our coat according to our size of our cloth and utilize whatever help we get in the most appropriate manner.*
34. *Ours is not a poor country and even though we are now a poor people, there should be no room for the despondency that has settled on large sections of the population.*
35. *In this regard, I want to make a special appeal to our young people.*
36. *We need your energy, we need your dynamism, we need your creativity and above all, we need your dreams to rebuild Mother Ghana.*
37. *This, is where it is happening, this is where you should be and this is where you should be helping to translate your dreams into reality.*
38. *I must at this stage, pay tribute to the many members and supporters of my party, the New Patriotic Party, who have worked so hard to bring about this victory.*
39. *Many of you have toiled for long years without any thought of reward, spurred on only by our common belief in democratic freedoms and the certainty in our ultimate victory.*
40. *To you I say, "Ayekoo", and remember the more difficult fight for the betterment of our people has only now begun.*
41. *I must also acknowledge the contributions made by our compatriots who live outside the country.*

42. *Currently you contribute a third of the capital inflow into the country.*
43. *Many of you do more than just send money home, many of you have kept up keen interest in the affairs at home, and some of you have even been part of the struggle of the past twenty years.*
44. *I salute your efforts and your hard work and I extend a warm invitation to you to come home and let us rebuild our country.*
45. *Never again should Ghanaians have to resort to dubious means to get to or live in foreign lands simply to make a living.*
46. *And certainly never again should Ghanaians have to seek political asylum anywhere in the world.*
47. *To those of our compatriots who have made homes beyond our shores, I make a special plea for your help; we need your newly acquired skills and contacts, we need your perspective and we need your capital.*
48. *To those who left and have stayed out only because of the military revolution or political differences, I say come back, come back home where you belong and let us join in building a new Ghana."*

Roles

49. *"I pledge that it will not be a case of one set of Ghanaians coming back from exile to be replaced by another set of Ghanaians going into exile.*
50. *Multi-party democracy is here to stay in our country, and there is room for differences of opinion, our political opponents have their honoured roles to play and I urge all of us to extend the same tolerance to each other that we want for ourselves.*
51. *During the campaign, the amount of enthusiastic support that came from our women for the cause of change was remarkable.*
52. *I believe this is because our women are at the sharp edge of the economic realities in the country.*
53. *You go to the market, you have to make sure there is food on the table and children are fed and dressed well.*
54. *I believe that is why you have been in the forefront of this democratic revolution.*
55. *I salute you, the women of Ghana; I salute your hard work and your dedication.*
56. *You deserve to be treated with respect, and the burden you carry on all our behalf must be lightened.*
57. *I salute you for the uncomplaining way you look after all of us.*
58. *What reputation we have as Ghanaians comes from the love and attention given us by our mothers, sisters and wives and you must be safe on our streets.*
59. *I therefore condemn in the strongest possible terms the murders of women that have plagued us and have thus far not been solved.*
60. *I shall do my best to ensure that the police give the highest priority to solving the murders and bringing the perpetrators to book.*
61. *Nothing should stand in the way, and I promise that my administration will give all the help needed to enable the police get to the bottom of these gruesome murders.*

62. *With God's help and guidance, we shall soon see the end of this most unpleasant chapter in our history.*
63. *And to make sure that you take your rightful place by your men- folk, my government will establish a Ministry of Women Affairs, of Cabinet rank to ensure all policy is pervaded with due consideration for your interest.*
64. *The potentials of our nation have always been known, and I take the fresh mandate given us so enthusiastically, as a mandate to renew our pride and self-esteem in ourselves.*
65. *As we continue to take pride in the historic struggle for democratic freedom in our country, it is appropriate that we also salute with pride those who led the struggle for a return to constitutional rule in the past 20 years.*
66. *Our pride will be even more justified when we have put our economy on a sound footing.*
67. *My government will do its part in creating the right atmosphere of safety and security and assurance that there will be rule of law.*
68. *Every citizen will have protection under the law and nobody will be victimized because of tribe, religion or political affiliations.*
69. *When disputes arise, as they will, because we are human beings, we expect the judiciary to resolve them by the rule of law and with fairness.*
70. *We urge them to renew and restore the faith of our people in the administration of justice so that it will be manifest that our country is a safe place to invest in.*
71. *Whilst we set about creating the enabling atmosphere, we shall give all the help and encouragement we can to our entrepreneurs so that business flourishes.*
72. *We have pledged to create wealth and we know that the main agency for the creation of wealth in all its manifestations in the private sector."*

Economy

73. *"My government will therefore support every feasible venture.*
74. *We will encourage, in particular, small and medium scale ventures in all sectors of the economy.*
75. *We believe an added gain will be the strengthening of democracy through the many individuals who will be empowered through this wealth creation.*
76. *The message to the business community both here and abroad therefore is, "Ghana is open for business" come in and let's do business.*
77. *Our business people have the responsibility to lead the economic transformation of our country.*
78. *The challenge that faces them is to recognize the implications of the global economy and the fact that a nation's prosperity depends on its business being competitive.*
79. *My resolution is to launch a golden age of business and enterprise in our country that will transform the lives of our people within the next decade.*
80. *To get to this golden age, our farmers and workers must join the crusade through their hard work and discipline.*
81. *They must accept a new work ethic, embrace new methods of working and constantly update their skills to make us an integral part of the global economy.*
82. *I intend to make dialogue and co-operation with the TUC and all workers a central feature of the fight to bring economic prosperity to our people.*

83. *There has been enough suffering in our country, there has been enough of children whose dreams die before they have a chance to grow and there has been enough of our elders who, having served their nation, are forced into indignity in their old age.*
84. *From today we must learn to smile again, we must learn to appreciate the good in each other and we must feel pride in being Ghanaians.*
85. *Fear must be banished from our public and political life.*
86. *We should reward excellence and recognize hard work.*
87. *We are a blessed people and with God's guidance our smiles might even become laughter in the not too distant future.*
88. *I make a special plea to all branches of government, the Legislature, the Judiciary and all the institutions of state to join in the building of our nation.*
89. *As the duly elected Chief Executive of the Nation and the Commander in Chief of its Armed Forces, I expect, indeed, I demand loyalty from the public and civil services and the Security Services.*
90. *We cannot afford to waste time and energy.*
91. *Our people have been very patient but they will not forgive us if we do not start work immediately.*
92. *Today we have been joined in our celebrations by many of our neighbours.*
93. *I wish to thank all of them, His Excellency the President of Senegal Abdoulaye Wade, The President of Cote d'Ivoire, Laurent Compaore, and President of Togo, Gnassingbe Eyadema, The President of Mali, ...Alpha Omar Konare, our special guest of honour the President of Nigeria Olusegun Obasanjo, and Vice President Jacob Zuma of South Africa.*
94. *Thank you all for the honour done to Ghana and me personally by your presence here with us."*

Hope

95. *"We cannot hope to build a vibrant and prosperous Ghana unless we are at peace with our neighbours.*
96. *I pray that our sub region which has been in such turmoil for so long will have peace so that we can bring some happiness to our people.*
97. *I pledge that Ghana will do her part in helping to maintain peace in the region.*
98. *We shall also play our part in helping to continental institutions and their reform to make them relevant to the needs of the peoples of Africa in the 21st century.*
99. *Thank you brother Presidents for joining us.*
100. *Africa has good reason to be proud of what has happened in Ghana today.*
101. *We in Ghana have good cause to be proud. Today, let us smile and take that smile with us into tomorrow as the hard work starts.*
102. *Thank you for your confidence.*
103. *I pray that with God's guidance and blessing, and the support of you the good people of Ghana, I shall lead you to a prosperous, progressive and peaceful Ghana.*
104. *Thank you and God bless us all."*

Speech 2: Inaugural Speech by The President John Evans Atta Mills, Wednesday, 7th January 2009

*“Madam Speaker,
Vice-President John Dramani Mahama,
Her Ladyship Chief Justice,
Hon. Members of Parliament
Our Chiefs and Queen Mothers,
My Fellow Ghanaians,*

- 1. I wish to begin by acknowledging the presence of my two predecessors: former President Jerry John Rawlings and former President John Agyekum Kufour.*
- 2. On behalf of our nation, I salute you, Your Excellencies.*
- 3. I recognize your invaluable experience and deep insight into matters of state and ...*
- 4. ... you will be important reference points during my tenure of office as President.*
- 5. I wish to extend a special welcome to our distinguished guests who have travelled far and near to witness this momentous occasion.*

Madam Speaker,

- 6. A short while ago, I took the oath of office as the Third President of the Fourth Republic.*
- 7. With a grateful heart, I want to thank all Ghanaians for giving me the mandate to serve as President.*
- 8. You have changed the face of the Presidency, Parliament and the political process itself.*
- 9. The least I can do is to work to your satisfaction and deliver on our promise for a better Ghana.*
- 10. We have emerged from one of the most keenly-contested elections in the history of our country.*
- 11. Our democracy has been tested to the utmost limit.*
- 12. Thanks to the steadfastness of the good people of Ghana, sovereign will has prevailed.*
- 13. We give thanks and praise to the Almighty.*
- 14. At this moment of joyful celebration, I hear a call to duty ...*
- 15. ... and I make a pledge to you, my brothers and sisters, that I will strive to make a difference in the politics of our nation.*
- 16. This is the dawn of a new era of change for the better Ghana.*
- 17. It is not change for change sakes.*
- 18. It is a change in a new direction to enable us move forward with unity of purpose.*
- 19. Ours will be a consensus-driven agenda, and...*
- 20. ... in building that consensus, we will recognize the contribution of our compatriots in other political parties.*
- 21. I have always said that I will be President for all Ghanaians whether they voted for me or not, and without consideration for which part of the country they come from.*
- 22. It will be my duty as President to heal wounds and unite our dear nation.*
- 23. I intend to pursue relentlessly all avenues for entrenching peace and unity in all parts of the country as I am enjoined by the Constitution to do.*
- 24. We will not let the fear of crime rob law-abiding citizens of their freedom.*
- 25. Improving the internal security situation will, therefore, be a top priority of the new Government so that Ghanaians can begin to feel safer in their homes and community.*

Madam Speaker,

26. *Our politics will not focus on power and privilege.*
 27. *On the contrary, we will not forget the concerns of the Ghanaian people, who want to see an improvement in their living conditions.*
 28. *Willingness to put personal advantage aside will, therefore, be one of the key demands on those who will serve in the Atta Mills government.*
 29. *Honesty, fairness, compassion and sincerity will be the hallmark of my administration.*
 30. *I have no wish to carry out political vendetta of any kind.*
 31. *The principles of accountability will be upheld, ...*
 32. *... and the law will be allowed to take its course.*
 33. *We have a duty to ensure that our laws are administered without fear and favour, ...*
 34. *... and to this end, we must avoid the syndrome of one set of laws for one group and another for the others.*
 35. *We have a challenge to ensure that our laws work in a system that is blind to one's place in society or one's political persuasion.*
 36. *We will do all in our power to ensure social justice, equity and equality under the laws of Ghana.*
 37. *There is only one Ghana, ...*
 38. *... and that Ghana must work in the interest of every Ghanaian.*
 39. *I extend a hand of cooperation to members of the Judiciary, security services and public service.*
 40. *I remind them of their obligations to the state ...*
 41. *... and [I] urge them to be loyal and committed to the larger interest of the Ghanaian people.*
 42. *I also want to reassure the business community that the government which I lead means well.*
 43. *Our goal is to facilitate creation of a business environment that balances the resuscitation and growth of local industries and enterprises with operations of foreign business considered essential for the creation of a robust national economy.*
 44. *We will not pursue a policy that sees Ghanaian industries suffering from unfair competition.*
 45. *Our local businesses will be encouraged to create jobs and play their role in growing the Ghanaian economy.*
 46. *And we will strive to balance the efficiency of the market with the compassion of the state.*
 47. *We made promises to Ghanaians on the strength of which they have reposed trust in me and elected me and the National Democratic Congress to lead our nation over the next four years and hopefully beyond.*
 48. *The core of our campaign message and our agenda for change was:*
 - *Investing in people*
 - *Job creation*
 - *Infrastructural development and expansion*
 - *Open, transparent and accountable Government*
 49. *Our success is accomplishing the agenda for change will be measured by the extent to which we realized our vision for a better Ghana where opportunities are available to all our people and where Ghana's prosperity will reach all, not just a few.*
- Madam Speaker,*
50. *We will strengthen our relation with our neighbours ...*
 51. *... and [we will] help accelerate the processes towards economic integration in the sub-region.*

52. *We will continue to be active in the African Union and in efforts to resolve conflict on the continent.*
53. *We will collaborate with the United Nations and other international and global institutions to make the world a better and safer place.*
- Madam Speaker,*
54. *When the political transition is completed, I will address the people of Ghana on the state of the economy which we have inherited, ...*
55. *... but I know we have to face hard truths and bold, strong measures.*
56. *I believe that as a nation, we will find the strength of character, love of country, and hope for our shared future as a nation, to accomplish even the most difficult of tasks.*
57. *Though our task ahead presents many challenges, I am confident that working together we will prevail, and Ghana will be the ultimate winner.*
58. *I want to tell you, my brothers and sisters across our nation, from Gambaga to Accra, from Wiawso to Keta, from every village, nook and cranny to every city centre and in-between, letn us join in this great challenge that the Almighty has laid before us, to so transform our country in the years to come that we may be the ultimate beneficiaries of a prosperous nation under God.*
59. *I thank you.*
60. *May God bless our homeland Ghana and make her great and strong."*

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