

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH



**FROM PROCESS TO PERSUASION: A TRANSITIVITY ANALYSIS  
OF 2012 AND 2016 MANIFESTOS OF THE NDC PARTY**

**ERIC ANING**

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BY  
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This thesis submitted to the Department of English of the Faculty of Arts, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy degree in English Language

AUGUST 2022

## DECLARATION

### Candidate's Declaration

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

Candidate's Signature.....Date.....

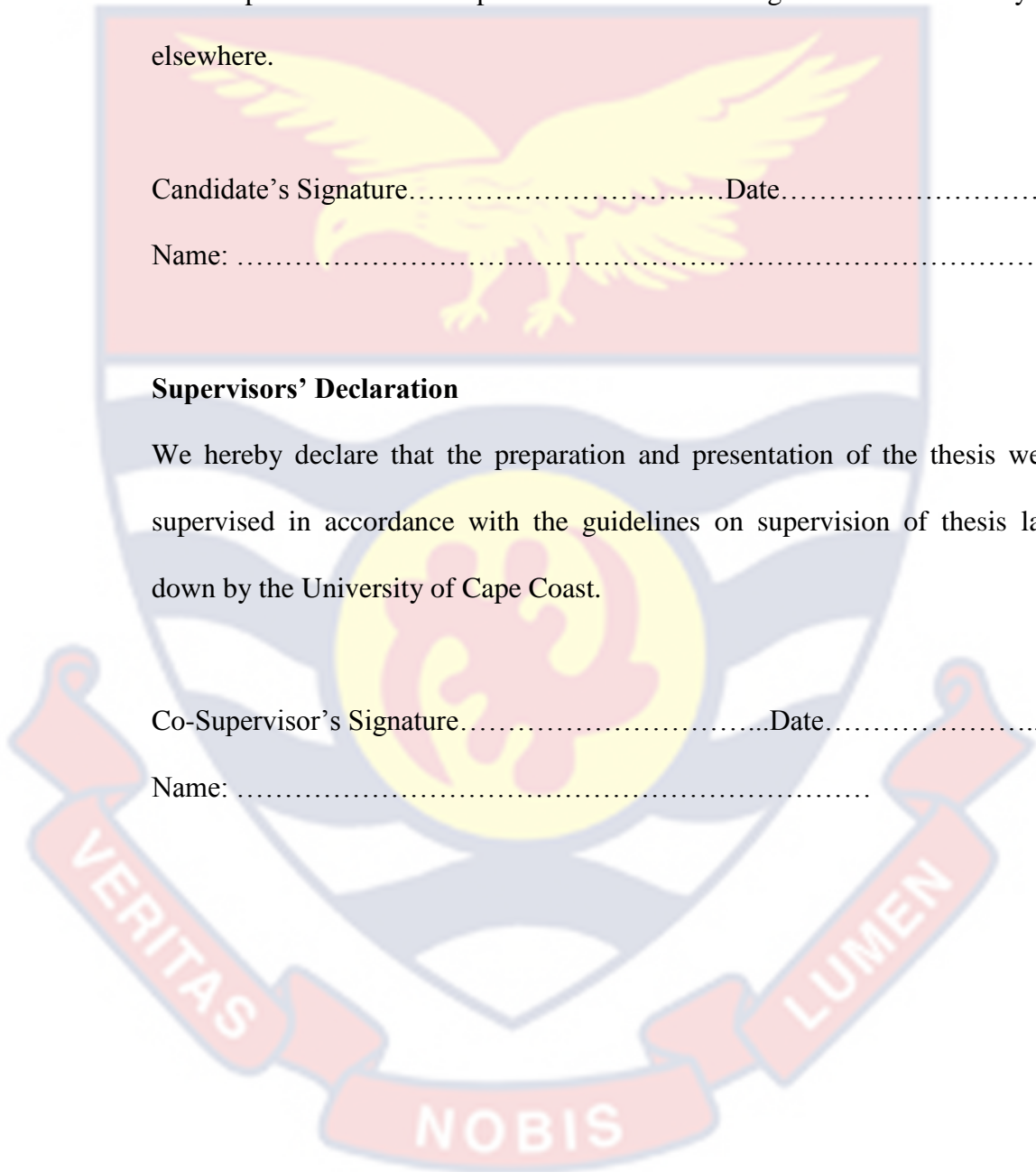
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### Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Co-Supervisor's Signature.....Date.....

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## ABSTRACT

The study analyzed how presidential candidates employed language in the education sections of the 2012 and 2016 NDC manifestos to convey their message and motivate voters to cast ballots. The study's primary focus was an examination of transitivity in the manifestos. As a theoretical framework, Systemic Functional Linguistics by Halliday was utilized, and the qualitative research design was utilized for the textual analysis. The current study employed interpretative textual analysis to explore the linguistic choices made by candidates in their manifestos. In total, 76 and 141 clauses were selected from the education sections of the 2012 and 2016 manifestos, respectively. Thus, 217 clauses served as the study's sample size. The analysis found that material processes have the highest frequencies and percentages (125, 86%); (245, 88.4%) in the education portion of the 2012/2016 manifestos, whereas existential process types are employed insignificantly with a total occurrence of 3.5%. The predominance of material processes suggests that the candidate and his administration have completed a lot of concrete projects in an effort to establish continuity in development and policy direction within the education sector. The study concludes that the material process is predominantly used in the education section to convince voters to cast ballots.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Finally, to all my friends and loved ones who in diverse ways gave me advice and encouragement, God bless you all.



## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family



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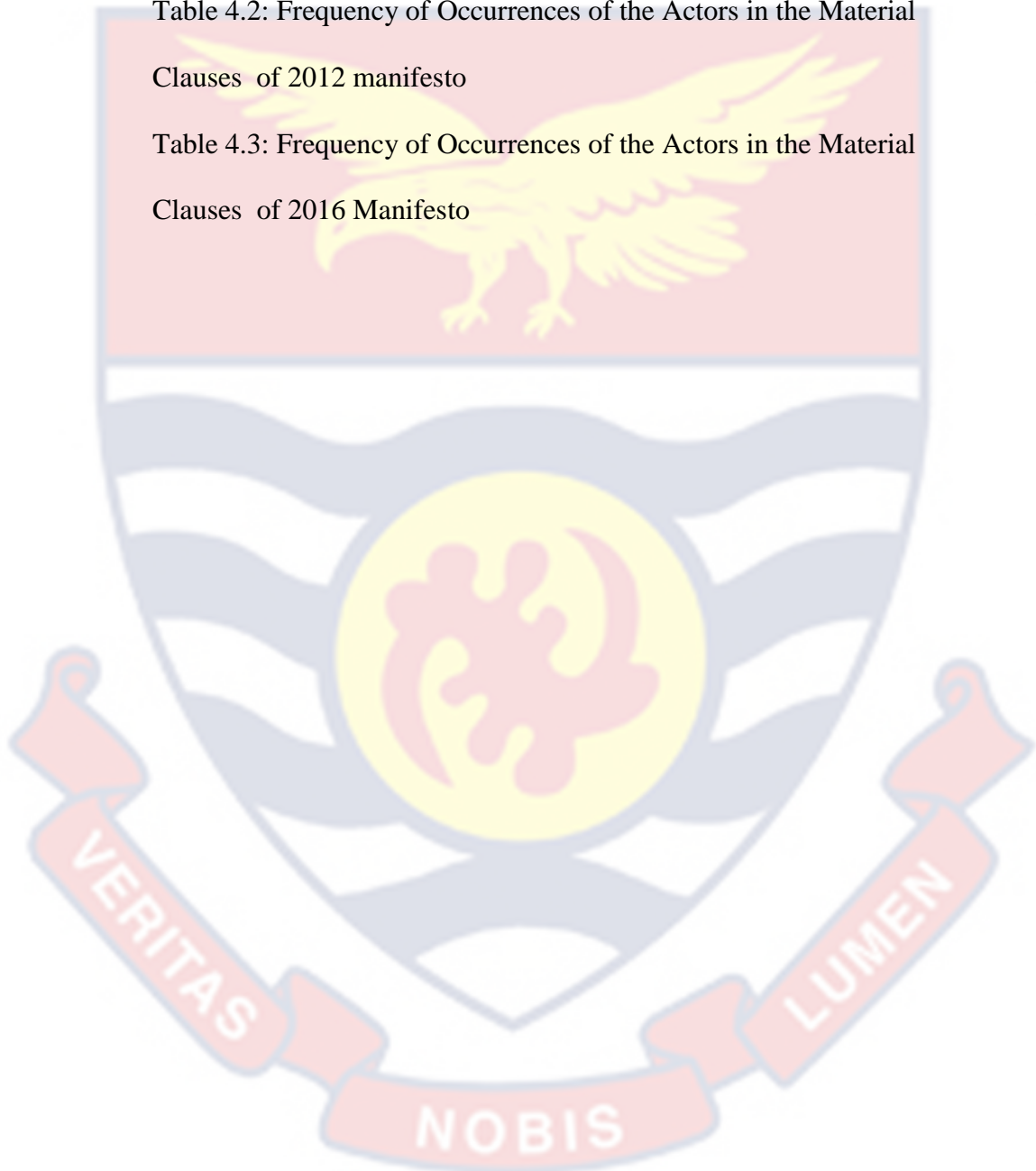
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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### Introduction

The purpose of the research is to examine the transitivity choices and the persuasion features carefully chosen in the education section of the 2012/2016 NDC party manifestos. The chapter commences with a discussion of the study's context. The statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, and the research questions follow. The chapter also analyses the significance of the study and its delimitations, and it finishes with a chapter summary.

#### Background to the Study

Language remains decisive in the display of power scuffle, attaining dominion and inducing political activities (Chilton, 2004). Thus, the politicians practice rhetoric in order to exercise power, which is evident both in spoken discourse during election campaigns and in written discourse in their party manifestos.

Communication is very decisive for the reason that human existence can be said to hinge on the receiving and giving of information. Language as a means of all human communications has many purposes. It helps as the most vibrant tool in the hands of humans. It is used to send information or to tell other people one's opinions and to communicate the inner states and emotions of the speaker, among others.

According to Charteris-Black (2005: 1), leaders in all kinds of political systems, including autocratic, oligarchic and democratic ones, have used words to convince the electorate to follow them. In a democracy, voters have the choice to cast their ballots for their favourite candidates at the polls on

election days. Whether or not the electorate's choice is influenced by political belief, it is almost certainly the result of verbal communication.

As a persuasive rhetorical text, the political manifesto is a key text in political discourse. Political manifestos are public pronouncements of political parties in which they outline their policies and tell electors how the country would be governed if they are given the mandate to take up office and use power (Klingeman et al., 1994). The prominence on manifestos is central because they have possibly played a vital part in elections all over the world.

Manifestos create the stage on which political parties and politicians who are looking for electoral mandates established their anticipated retorts to social needs and demands from the electorate through the use of language. The National Democratic Congress sees itself as a social democrat party and its brand of social democracy seeks to link the effectiveness of the market and private inventiveness with the consideration of state involvement to protect the underprivileged and the marginalised and to ensure best production and distributive justice. This objective expounds the political vision of the party.

Education is seen as the growth of a person's inborn capabilities, which will allow them to significantly control their environments and realize their potential (Saxton, 2000). In today's world of globalization and new technologies, education is very important for both personal and social growth. It is necessary for the growth of human capital and it is associated with a person's health as well as prospects for a better standard of living (Battle & Lewis, 2002). The provision of high-quality education also generates new revenue streams that contribute to the nation's economy (Saxton, 2000).

In addition to being backed by democratic institutions, education is also exploited by candidates for president to further their political agendas in both developed and developing nations. The government invested money on a highly visible and well-liked public sector, like education, in an effort to increase voter turnout in subsequent elections. Since education is so institutionalized, strategic political actors find it particularly appealing to include it in manifestos since they ought to be motivated by meeting voter expectations.

The study concerns itself with the transitivity choices and persuasive features employed in the education section of the 2012 and 2016 NDC manifestos. The study concentrates on the experiential function in the education section of the manifestos. Ideational denotes the use of language to communicate the experiential meaning. I deduce it essentially mirrors how the transitivity choices are characterised and made in the education section. This function of language is grammatically realised by the transitivity system that denotes to the process types, the roles entities play in the clauses and circumstances represented.

Transitivity analysis makes it probable to relate to the clausal elements at the level of the clause in terms of structure with ideologies embedded in the texts. All these become principally pertinent for the study in that Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) say that clauses of different process types thus make distinctive contributions to the construal of experience in text. Thus, in this study, the identification, categorisation and analysis of the process types, participants involved, as well as the circumstances associated with them and the Aristotelian appeals aid us to comprehend how the education section is

construed in the manifestos. I chose the NDC manifestos of 2012 and 2016 because the education section abounds with transitivity choices to carry their messages across to the electorate.

### Statement of the Problem

Numerous studies have utilized transitivity analysis in a variety of applied linguistic analyses, including literary stylistics. Scholars have extensively utilized SFL to analyze a variety of text types. Legal Discourse analysis (de Carvalho, 1999), theme-rheme analysis (Bonney, 2008; Frimpong, 2007), communicative functions (Adjei & Ewusi- Mensah, 2016; Al Faki, 2014), transitivity analysis (Burton, 1982; Cunanan, 2011; Halliday, 1971; Lukin, 2015; Mwinlaaru, 2012; 2014; Simpson, 2014), Critical Discourse (Cloran et al., 2007; Edu-Buandoh and Mwinlaaru, 2013; and media discourse (Anofo, 2017). Political manifestos have been looked at from diverse viewpoints as well as communication (Druckman et al., 2009); functional analysis (Benoit, 1999, 2017); content analysis (Netswera, 2016); modality (Nartey & Yankson, 2014); critical discourse analysis (Ehineni, 2014; Mloi & Bojabotseha, 2014; Kyerewaa-Owusu, 2017) and corpus linguistics analysis (Sarfo-Kantanka, 2021). These researchers contribute significantly to scholarly research on manifestos. However, no study employed transitivity analysis to study Ghanaian political parties' manifestos. Interestingly, these researchers who employed the transitivity frame of Halliday and Matthiessen mostly applied it in analyzing modern party-political figures of state, political speeches, media, legal discourse and literary discourse with minimal work on written manifestos. This study therefore investigates the education section of the manifestos using the transitivity



model under Systemic Functional Linguistics of Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) that perceives language as central for construing human experiences and to identify the transitivity choices which abounds in the education section of the 2012 and 2016 NDC manifestos.

### **Objectives of the Study**

Examining transitivity choices and persuasion in the National Democratic Congress's manifestos of 2012 and 2016 education sections is the goal of this study.

1. To identify the process types used in the education section to reveal the NDC party's campaign message.
2. To examine the roles participants are engaged in the manifestos' education sections.
3. To examine the persuasive linguistic features and patterns use to construe persuasion in the manifestos' sections on education.

### **Research questions**

The study is directed by the following questions:

1. What process types are selected to carry its campaign message across in the educational sections of the manifestos?
2. What roles are participants engaged in the manifestos' educational sections?
3. What persuasive linguistic features and patterns are used in the educational sections of the manifestos?

### Significance of the Study

The study will increase the exploration in language then campaign discourse analysis to support researchers who intend to research into manifestos from a different standpoint. It would enhance the area of research on how politics and language interrelate. The study uses the functional linguistic concept of transitivity to examine language in manifestos. The ongoing discussion on political discourse analysis will benefit from knowledge, notably about transitivity and language use in such manifestos. The study will provide a new perspective to the research on discourse analysis of political manifestos in Ghana by examining how process types are utilized and the meanings encoded in them.

The study also has theoretical ramifications. A number of texts from other disciplines have been analyzed using the transitivity paradigm Halliday suggested in SFG. In addition, the study will help other linguists who are interested in this area to comprehend the language of politics and to spot the political presuppositions hidden in the terms employed in the manifesto's education part. The transitivity analysis of political discourse enhances the field of transitivity research and offers light on the significance of language used in the education section of the manifestos. The understanding of transitivity in particular will be helpful for teaching and studying political language in the fields of communication studies and political science. They will be able to comprehend the language strategies of individuals who seek to obtain, wield, and keep power. The use of language with process types at the core of each sentence is crucial for instructors' and learners' daily interactions. The study will have a positive influence on the instruction and

study of clauses at all academic levels. The results of this study can once again be utilized as pedagogical aids in the university-level instruction.

### **Delimitations of the Study**

The scope of this work is the transitivity analysis of the National Democratic Congress manifestos of 2012 and 2016. The emphasis, however, is only on the provisions in these two manifestos' education sections and not on their entirety. The transitivity analysis excludes the circumstances.

### **Organization of the Study**

There are five chapters to the study. In chapter one an overall overview of the research, the problem statement, the study's objective, the research questions, the significance of the study, and its delimitations has been stated. In chapter two, the relevant literature is looked at. Theoretical and empirical reviews include both conceptual and theoretical reviews as well as discussions of related empirical studies. Chapter three talks about the methodology employed to gather and analyze data for the study. This comprises the research design, sample and sampling method, data collection technique, data processing, and data analysis. The first part of chapter four is about how the data are analyzed, interpreted, and discussed in line with the research questions. In Chapter five a summary of the entire study, including what was found and what the conclusions are have been elaborated. It also makes suggestions for where more research needs to be done.

### **Chapter Summary**

The first chapter has given a general idea of what the study is about. First, it offers a brief overview of the study and explains the rationale. This is

ensued by the statement of the problem, the study's objective, the research questions, the significance of the study, then its delimitations. It ends with the organisation of the research.



## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Introduction

There are three sections to this chapter. The first part discusses the conceptual framework to the study. The second part focuses on the theoretical framework. The empirical review on manifestos is also discussed in the last part.

#### Conceptual Framework

To contextualize the subject of study, a brief overview of the manifesto, National Democratic Congress Party, ideology, persuasive language use, communicative factors of persuasion, principles of persuasive theory, and political discourse will be discussed.

#### Manifesto

A manifesto stands out because it is the official party policy statement that has been approved by a formal convention or congress, according to Klingemann, Volkens, Bara, and Budge (2006: xvi). A political manifesto is an official paper made public before a general election. Because they are the primary means of explaining to voters why they should support a certain political party, manifestos serve a crucial purpose. In order to persuade readers that the policies they contain are in their best interests, they are typically written in a persuasive tone.

Political party manifestos are public statements that explain their platforms and describe to the electorate how the country would be run if given the opportunity to govern and exert power Klingemann Volkens, Bara, and

Budge (1994). This study places a lot of attention on manifestos because they undoubtedly had a significant influence on elections around the globe. Political parties draft manifestos and promote ideology in an effort to win elections and subsequently gain power. The party's development strategy will be laid out in detail in the manifestos' policies and programs, if that party is elected to office. Elections are comparable to products like social welfare policies and programs in this regard a political manifesto's major characteristic is that it often outlines the party's goals and provides some context for why each one would be beneficial to society as a whole, in an effort to persuade voters to support it. A wide range of political problems, such as those pertaining to the economy, health, education, welfare, employment, housing, agriculture, security, etc. are typically covered in manifestos.

According to Ray (2007), the manifestos of political parties can be viewed as contracts between the parties and the electorate or as relatively amorphous declarations of the identities and philosophies of the parties. Branding is a crucial component of contemporary political manifestos. This often starts with a title intended to appeal to voters and frequently makes some allusion to the central idea of the party's election campaign. The party's policies are often broken down into many important sections in the body of a manifesto, and each of them comprises a number of sub-chapters, such as Education, where they describe their plans covering these areas in more detail. The policies covering these several areas are intended to be combined to form a package that will be appealing.

## **National Democratic Congress Party**

The largest political opposition group in Ghana is the National Democratic Congress party. It was founded by Jerry Rawlings, who presided over Ghana from 1981 to 1993 and from 1993 to 2001, a social democratic political party in Ghana. The international community put pressure on Ghana to re-establish democracy after the creation of the Provisional National Defence Council, which seized power through a military coup on December 31, 1981 (Oquaye, 1995). Prior to the 1992 elections, in which Rawlings won the presidency, the NDC was established as the ruling party. The NDC party leans left-centre. An umbrella with a dove's head on top serves as the NDC party's emblem. The party's colours are red, white, green and black. The party's motto is Unity, Stability, and Development. The NDC party is a part of the Progressive Alliance and Socialist International on a global scale (Bob-Milliar, 2012).

### **The Ideology of the NDC Party**

The NDC is one of many political parties in Ghana that stake a claim to certain customs, fundamental convictions, creeds, or philosophies. I will refer to this group of doctrines as ideology. Social democracy is the party philosophy of the NDC. Over time, the NDC's declared doctrine has changed. The PNDC, a military organization founded in 1981, was justified by the party's founder as a response to corruption, moral decay, an outrageous concentration of riches, and a lack of government responsibility. There was a general consensus that the PNDC would adopt a socialist philosophy. However, the PNDC's economic policy choices, as well as a union with Washington, questioning whether the PNDC was a government with socialist

leanings. Jerry Rawlings, the group's head, later declared that he had little interest in party politics and that, despite praise for his advocacy of decentralization concepts, the decentred government agenda was mostly a plan to keep him in power (Crook, 1999).

But because of overt and hidden foreign pressure, everything changed in 1992, he called for multiparty democratic elections (Oquaye, 1995). The NDC has advocated for social democracy ever since, but especially since 2002 (Bob-Milliar, 2012). The Party is a Social Democratic Party that trusts in the impartiality and the equal handling of all persons regardless of their social, cultural, educational, political, religious, and economic links in a multi-party milieu, as stipulated in Article 5 of the NDC's party constitution. There are echoes of a democracy that values social fairness, community progress, and overall human development in these emotions. The party has a revolutionary philosophy, claim Daddieh and Bob-Milliar (2012, p. 8).

### **Persuasive use of Language**

Most conversations end in some levels of persuasion. It may be found practically anywhere-in politics, religion, the media, advertising, society, etc. Without a doubt, campaign discourse is one of the most overt examples of persuasive talk. Language choices are considered tools in persuasive theories that political actors can employ, intentionally or unconsciously, to influence the electorate. These choices are used to persuade readers or listeners to cast their votes for a party that wishes to gain or hold onto power in a specific way. A transitivity examination of how political actors, in this example, the NDC party, interpret the world shows that manifestos are persuasive and have an



agenda to change attitudes. It is interesting to see how their messages are delivered to them and around them.

### **Communication-related persuasion factors**

Persuasion, according to Power (1998), is the process of inspiring someone to alter their attitude or behaviour through communication. To put it another way, persuasion is the intentional endeavour to alter a person's viewpoint or attitude toward something. People's communicative factors, such as who says what, what was said, to whom it was said to, and how it was said, must be taken into consideration if one is to successfully persuade them (Lasswell, 1948). Considering that someone always conveys information to another person in a specific way throughout communication. According to Lasswell (1948), the first-hand elements of persuasion are the communication factors. The persuasive speaker must appear credible and employ figurative language, such as repetition, metaphors, and alliteration, as one of the primary techniques for persuasion. These techniques, particularly metaphors, can allow language users to allude to things they otherwise would not be able to if language usage was solely literal (Harrison, 2007). Again, in order to persuade, a speaker must implore their listeners or voters to make a decision, demand commitment from them, and frequently rely on appealing to their emotions in order to compel them to take action.

### **Persuasive Features**

The three pillars of persuasive philosophy, according to Aristotle, are the logos, the ethos, and the pathos (1991). He asserts that the logos, sometimes referred to as the logical appeal, is the decisive aspect in

persuading. It relates to the language of speakers or writers to convince the audience by appealing to their reason. Consequently, to logically ask earnestly the electorate, the message should be coherent. It should state a claim and be backed up by verifiable data. This is one method of persuading the public in an effective manner.

Ethos, also referred to as the ethical appeal, is the second pillar of Aristotle's philosophy of persuasion. Greek ethos is the word for character. Therefore, this tenet primarily considers the utterer's or author's sincerity, dependability and believability. This is carried through the tone of the message and style as well as the speakers' or writers' opinions and self-referential allusions. The speaker or writer can successfully persuade the audience by demonstrating their expertise and authority on the subject through the ethos.

Pathos, referred to as the emotional appeal, is the last pillar. It is assumed that engaging the audience's emotions and intellectual curiosity will encourage them to identify with the speaker's or author's point of view. Pathos has the ability to modify the audience's attitudes and behaviours. In summary, ethos appeals to one's character, pathos appeals to emotion, and logos appeals to reason in Aristotle's distinction of the three approaches of persuasion. These three arguments can each be used independently or in concert to achieve a specific persuasive goal. Parts from the data would be extracted to find out how the pathos, logos and ethos have been used in the education sections of the manifestos to persuade the electorate.

## Political Discourse

In Applied Linguistics that is concerned with the language employed to mirror and constitute numerous social establishments, structures, and processes is normally seen as 'discourse analysis'. Jones (2012) explains it as the study of ways in which language is used in real life to perform tasks such as persuade, flirt and argue.

Political discourse is seen as the language of politics, it brings to mind two autonomous arenas: 'politics' and 'discourse'. Chilton and Schaffner (2011) describe politics as the use of language in the composition of social groups (p. 303) whilst Aduradola and Ojokwu (2013) define politics as an effort to minimize pressures amongst needs and social veracities and language through message becomes important to accomplish such resolution (p. 110). Similar to Michira (2013), politics is basically anxious with power and authority: choices and exertions pressed by politicians are, consequently, to have or wield mightiness and mastery.

Political discourse denotes to all discourse produced by politicians in diverse situations for different tenacities. Political Discourse, consequently, needs to be looked at to bring to the forefront the concealed and unclear meaning which may be said. Dylgieri (2014) opines for any political spectacle to become substantial, it has to be articulated in words. Politics cannot be understood shorn of words. Political discourse has been studied to scrutinize how politicians coax the public to back them. Persuasion is realised through 'untruthful' potentials and other language stratagems in political discourse, including stylistic features and rhetorical devices. According to Chilton and

Schaffner (2011) political discourse analysis may be carried out in diverse strata, such as at the pragmatic level, semantic, and syntactic level.

### **Theoretical Framework**

This section will examine the theoretical framework that underpins this investigation. First, the systemic functional linguistics, which serves as the study's overarching framework, will be discussed.

#### **Theoretical Framework for the Study**

The framework for this study is the transitivity frame of Halliday and Matthiessen (2014). The transitivity frame under the Systemic Functional Linguistics reveals how the education section is perceived through their transitivity choices, and this is the basis for adopting this framework. The SFL investigates the use of language and the way this language is organised for use. The transitivity frame in the SFG theory is hunk of a social semiotic method to language called Systemic Functional Linguistics developed by Halliday and Matthiessen (1985, 1994, 2004 and 2014).

SFL sees language as instituting 'social semiotic' systems or 'meaning potentials' that have progressed to enable human beings exchange three essential forms of meaning: ideational meaning; interpersonal meaning and textual meaning. Halliday opines that SFL is concerned primarily with the selections that the grammar makes available to orators and authors and how the orators apply these choices in their interaction with their audience. The 'function' systematically decodes the grammar into a sense of meaning. The SFL views the clause as the basic component that "embodies our construal of representational meaning and interpersonal meaning" (Downing & Locke,

2006:5). This theory sees function of language and semantics as basics of the communication procedure and it tries to find the working of language within a social milieu. The social context represents the relationship between the social environment of the speaker and his choices of linguistics items and structures.

The SFL employs systems in language as the best approach in identifying the meanings contained in a text that are usually concealed from the listener or reader. This frame looks at language outside its official structures and considers the context of culture and the context of situation in language use (Halliday, 1985, 1994; Matthiessen, 1995; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). Halliday and Matthiessen (2014:32) claim that a given language is construed by locus to its semiotic milieu. In effect, the context of situation determines greatly the language users' choice because the choices vary as the situation varies. Therefore, in analysing language under this theory, the context of situation is a major influential component that cannot be underestimated.

Egins (2004:2) opines that SFL is more and more known as a descriptive and interpretive framework for regarding language as a tactical meaning-making resource. This assertion by Egins reveals the reason for the application of the transitivity frame in speech analysis by many researchers in recent years. The SFL theory has two components namely; Systemic Grammar and Functional Grammar. These components are two inseparable parts of a fundamental framework of linguistic theory of Halliday and Matthiessen (1985, 1994, 2004 and 2014).

Systemic theory means that the grammar of a language is represented in the form of system networks and not as an inventory of structures (Halliday

& Matthiessen, 2014: 23). In other words, system denotes to a complex, but interrelated conventional of linguistic items that stand in opposition to one another in such a way that they present choices to the language user as possible meaning making resources. The sense of the manuscript is therefore reliant on the selections made by the utterer from the possibilities available in the language system. Also, the theory is systemic in that, it contains linguistics items and structures that make a complete whole and present unlimited choices to the users of language to make linguistic utterances and texts.

The theory uses systems in language as tools to discern the hidden meanings of a text. The system works as a network. It integrates the concept of choice in language through grammar that offers language users varieties of possibilities. Eggins (2004) asserts that a linguistic item in a system obtains its meaning by entering into both paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations with other items. The paradigmatic relation refers to the choice or opposition that exists between linguistic features whilst syntagmatic relation deals with both the linear relationships that exist in any structural arrangements of words as well as the collocation that exists among selected particular lexical items. As stated by Eggins (2004), a system network represents a class of linguistic choices available to the language user and specifies how these choices are realised as structure, which is a sequence of ordered lexical items. These choices are categorised into six major process types by Halliday and Matthiessen namely: material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioural and existential.

The theory is called “functional” in the sense that in a number of circumstances language performs infinite practical functions. Language

unlimited real functions can be classified into a set of highly coded and abstract functions that are inherent in every language (Adjei et al 2015). Functional grammar affirms that language is a means of social interaction among humans based on the position that language system and the forms that make it up are inescapably determined by the uses or functions which they serve (Zhuanglin, 1988). The function of language is to create and convey essence. The social and cultural context in which they are exchanged have effect on these meanings. The process of using language is semiotic. The functional use of language starts in the contextual facet of the social context of situation called register, with its three variables of field, tenor, and mode. It further goes through the intra-linguistic levels of semantics. Hence, meaning is realized in three components: ideational, interpersonal, and textual.

In this study, I will look at the experiential meaning under the ideational metafunction of the education section of the 2012 and 2016 NDC manifestos. The experiential meaning is defined by Halliday as the function of language in representing “goings-on” or “flow of events” in the world (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 213). Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) propose that “the clause construes a quantum of change as a figure or configuration of the process, participant involved in it and any attendant circumstances” (p. 169). Thus, the experiential meaning which shows how goings on in the world are presented, is embodied in the system of Transitivity.

The theory aids to comprehend how language functions in a social environment and views semantics and language function as the building blocks of communication. The speaker's social surroundings and the linguistic

items and structures he chooses to use are related in terms of the social context. SFL is growing in popularity as a depictive, and analytical paradigm for comprehending language as a planned, meaning-creating tool. As a result, this present study differs from previous studies in that it analyzes manifesto writings using the transitivity framework, which is a subset of the ideational metafunction. The process types and the participants are two of the rudiments of the transitivity framework that are highlighted in the analysis of the study to uncover a text's hidden meanings, the theory employs language systems as instruments. The system operates as a network that incorporates the concept of language choice through grammar in order to give language users with a variety of possibilities. The data will be reviewed in this study to reveal the decisions made by the political actors in the manifestos' education sections in an effort to influence the electorate. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) present six process types. This will also expose the ideologies espoused in the manifestos' education sections.

The second research question demonstrates how language is used in the current study as a functional system. The goal of a functional system is to match these two sets of choices (syntagmatic and paradigmatic) by looking at the range of acceptable options for both the types of meanings or functions we would wish to accomplish and the wordings we might use to communicate those meanings. I will look at participant roles in the clauses and how they are distributed in the manifestos' section on education. The grammatical function of the participant refers to the role that a word or a group plays in relation to other parts of a clause and how effectively the speaker utilizes these roles to persuade the electorate to vote. The use of process types by the political



players reveals the idea of language as a tool for construing events. The clause is viewed as a representation of reality by the ideational metafunction. Through experience, it develops and upholds a theory of reality. This indicates that the speaker or author has expressed in language his understanding of the phenomenon as it exists in reality through language. Transitivity demonstrates the three-dimensional nature of the material world, the world of cognition, and the world of interactions.

### **The Concept of Transitivity**

Transitivity is the analytical framework employed to examine the language in the education section of the manifesto. Transitivity is the way by which the meaning of events and occurrences is represented via the clause (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). Typically, experiences are represented by a clause with three primary components. The process that is denoted by the verb. The process is viewed as the clause's primary notion, that is communicated through time (Downing & Locke, 2006). Typically, the participant is expressed by a noun phrase, whereas the circumstance is conveyed by an adjunct. The circumstance adds significance to the clause. Thompson (2013) argues that the process types are the most important means of comprehending the meaning of clause.

In this study, transitivity analysis makes it probable to relate the structural organisations at the clausal level with the ideologies entrenched within the texts analysed. All these become principally appropriate for the study, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) reiterate that clauses of different process types thus make distinctive contributions to the construal of experience in text. Thus, in this current study, the identification and analysis

of the types of processes, participants are involved, the circumstances associated with them, then persuasive features employed make us to comprehend how the education section is construed as well as persuade the electorate in the 2012/2016 manifestos of the NDC.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 168) present six different process types which construe the world of experience: Material processes, mental processes, relational processes, verbal processes, behavioural processes, and existential processes. And the participant elements are different from one process to another. Below are the processes discussed in detail.

### **Material Processes**

Physical activities and occurrences constitute the material process. It is the most prevalent of the process types and contains numerous subtypes that can be subclassified into other groupings. According to Thompson (2013), all material processes have an actor. Sometimes the actor is omitted from the clause, but this does not imply that there is no doer. The presence of the actor is implied by the sentence. As previously stated, material processes can be classified into numerous subcategories. The processes can bring an entity or things into existence; that is, they can bring something that does not currently exist into existence. Material processes can accomplish this by producing or calling the entity into existence. Occasionally, material processes might affect an existing entity or thing in order to convert it from one state to another. These two sub-groups are referred to by Thompson as creative and transformative, respectively.

There are two significant participants in the material processes. The actor and the goal. The actor is the entity that accomplishes an action in the

clause, whereas the target is the entity that is affected by the actions performed by the actor. In other words, the actor is the one who performs the acts in the clause, whereas the goal is what the activities are aimed at. Halliday finds additional actors associated with material processes. They include the initiator, the scope, the client, the recipient, and the attribute. Several examples of these arrangements are provided below.

a.

The boy	shot	the bird.
Actor	Process: material	Goal
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group

(Adapted from Thompson, 1996, p.80)

Example (a), *The boy* is the clause's actor. The clause's process is *shot*, which is considered a material process; action process. Since it is affected by the action of the actor and process, *the bird* is the clause's goal. However, the Actor may also be inanimate or abstract, as illustrated by the following examples below.

b.

The vehicle	skidded	off the road
Actor	Process: material	Circumstance
nominal group	verbal group	Prepositional phrase

(Adapted from Thompson, 1996, p. 80)

From the above example, the inanimate entity, for example, 'the vehicle' is considered to be 'actor' of the clause. In addition, the representation in *material process* may be represented in two forms; active (c) or passive (d), as in the examples below.

c.

The boy	killed	the bird.
Actor	Process: material	Goal
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group

(Adapted from Halliday, 1994, p. 110)

From the above example *c*, the animate entity, for example, *The boy* is considered to be 'actor' of the clause. The process of the clause is *killed*. The Goal of the clause is *the bird*.

d.

The bird	was killed	by the boy.
Goal	Process: material	Actor
nominal group	verbal group	prepositional phrase

(Adapted from Halliday, 1994, p.110)

In example *d* above; *The bird* is the *Goal/affected* of the passive clause. The process of the passive clause is *was killed* and *by the boy* represents the prepositional phrase circumstance.

Passive clauses are distinguished from active clauses in texts by the fact that a passive clause is typically used for a specific purpose, whereas an active clause is used naturally when there are no specific reasons not to. Finding out who is portrayed as the most powerful person in the text requires an analysis of material processes. To put it more simply, if the clause has an Actor, Affected, or Goal, it may be said that this Actor is being shown as being reasonably powerful and in charge of the activity. When there is only an

Actor present and no Affected, the Actor appears weaker. Participants in the Affected or Goal appear helpless and passive.

### Mental processes

Mental process is concerned with a person's inner experiences. Mental process includes thinking, emotion, and desire. According to Downing and Locke (2006), not everything can be represented through acting. Internally, without displaying or executing an action, this can be accomplished. In other words, it focuses on the mental events that occur. Similarly, to material processes, mental processes have sub-categories. Four mental process sub-categories are found. Emotional as demonstrated by the verbs *love*, *appreciate*, and *like*. Verbs such as *know*, *understand*, *believe*, and *forget* denote cognition. Perception expressed through verbs such as *feel*, *hear*, *observe*, *taste*, and *yearn*; *hope*, *want*, *wish*, and *desire* (Downing and Locke 2006, Halliday & Matthiessen 2006, Thompson 2014). The two participants of the mental process are the senser and the phenomenon. The senser is the entity being sensed, and the phenomenon is the entity being sensed. The mental processes listed below have been broken down into their component elements.

(i)

Condellia	felt	Her face burning
Senser	Process: mental (perception)	Phenomenon
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group

(Adapted from Thompson 2014: 99)

(ii)

John	thought	that Mary was coming
Senser	Process: mental (cognition)	Phenomenon
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group

(Adapted from Thompson 2014: 99)

### Relational Processes

Relational processes entail residing in a universe of abstract relations. Generally, an abstract relationship between two process participants is considered, but unlike in the case of a material process, one member does not physically impact the other. They describe a link between two parties without implying that one party exerts influence over the other.

Relational clauses are used to explicitly characterize and classify participants in a text (Goathy, 2003). Relational processes refer to the specific types of relationships that a language reflects. Attributive and identifying are the two types of relational processes.

Attributive relational process describes an object's characteristics. This type of relational activity is characteristic of the connection  $x$  carries the attribute  $y$ , in which a participant, the Carrier, is assigned an attributive adjective. Typically, the word *be* conveys the relationship between an Attribute and its Carrier. The identifying relational process identifies the shared characteristics between two things. This procedure comprises two independent parties: a Token, which is a candidate for definition, and a Value, which assigns a meaning, referent, function, position, or role to the Token (Halliday, 1994). They can be (a) intensive, expressing  $X$  is  $a$ , (b) possessive,

expressing X has a, or (c) circumstantial, expressing X is at/on a Y. The following examples show these differences:

a.

The performance	is	great
Carrier	Process: relational (intensive)	Attribute
nominal group	verbal group	adjective group

(Adapted from Halliday 1994: 110)

b.

Clinton	has	a car
Possessor	Process: relational (possessive)	Possession
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group

(Adapted from Halliday 1994: 110)

In addition to material, mental, and relational activities, the conventional combination of semantic and grammatical criteria permits the distinction of three additional, less central categories. Each of them possesses similarities to the basic categories. Verbal processes, which sit between mental and material activities, are the most significant. Behavioural processes are a further category of processes that exist between mental and material processes. Existential Processes are the last sort of process, and they are often distinguished by the fact that the Subject is 'there'.

### Verbal Processes

These are examples of modes of communication. It exists at the convergence of mental and relational activities. Similar to speaking and meaning, the verbal process expresses the connection between human-created

ideas and language-based notions (Thompson, 2004). The roles of sayer (the speaker) and target are associated with verbalization processes (the addressee to whom the process is directed). This is the function of verbiage, defined as what is spoken, is added. Here are a few examples:

1.

The teacher	said	that	
Sayer	Process: verbal	Verbiage	
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group	

(Adapted from Simpson, 1993, p. 90)

2.

They	announced	the decision	to me
Sayer	Process: verbal	Verbiage	Target
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group	prepositional phrase

(Adapted from Simpson, 1993, p. 90)

According to the example, 'The teacher', 'They', and 'John' are considered 'Sayer' of the clauses' verbal processes. The processes are 'said', and 'announced'. These are verbs of expression and are therefore considered verbal processes. The purpose of analyzing verbal processes is to determine who gets to speak and have their words (verbiage) reported.

### Existential Processes

Existential depicts existing and occurring process. Existential clauses mostly contain the process 'be', and 'there' is required as a subject despite its lack of a denotative function (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Existential refers



to the assertedly existing entity or entities. Existents can be any phenomenon, including human or non-human. The verbal element *are* is termed as Existential processes. For example:

a.

There	are	leopards
	Process: verbal	existent
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group

(Adapted Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 259)

### Behavioural Processes

The physiological and psychological elements of behaviour are behavioural processes. Behavioural processes are the least prevalent of the six process kinds, and their limits are indeterminate; they are both material and mental (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014:301). Behavioural processes are the exterior manifestations of internal processes, as well as the expression of consciousness and physiological states. The participant who is behaving is the Behaver. In general, a behavioural process verb is intransitive (it has only a subject) and denotes an activity in which the mental and physical components are inseparable and essential. Here are a few examples:

1.

She	gave	a faint sigh an embarrassed laugh
The boy	laughed	an embarrassed laugh
Behaver	Pr: Behavioural	Behaviour

In conclusion, the analysis of transitivity focuses on explaining the various processes and the arrangement of participant roles that go along with them in specific groups. By employing transitivity analysis political discourse, one is able to identify the process types used and the meanings embedded within them.

### **Empirical Review**

This section deliberates briefly literatures of scholars who have applied the transitivity frame by Halliday and Matthiessen in different discourses. They are elaborated in terms of their perspectives and connection to the present study. I have grouped these studies under themes: literary text, political discourse, legal discourse and manifestos.

#### **Empirical review on Literary Texts**

Using the transitivity analysis framework, Rizwan (2013) depicts socio-cultural identity in short stories written in Urdu. Through his explanation of transitivity qualities, Rizan shows how socio-cultural identity is built into literary works through both literal and symbolic depictions of men and women. He makes an effort to highlight the numerous language decisions authors make that influence how readers interpret the characteristic traits and uniqueness of characters within particular paradigms of thought. Based on the transitivity analysis of Ashfaq Ahmad's and Ismat Chughtai's Urdu short stories Tota Kahani and Lihaaf, this study looks at how different Indo-Pakistani characters are shown to be deeply rooted in their cultural, social, and religious traditions. By examining the figures within a specific Indo-Pakistani social framework, their representations are made clear. A number of

influences enter into the definition of ethnic and social identity: racism, nationalism, stratification into classes and castes, status and role, solidarity, and distance, social stereotypes, according to the study. It also suggests that characters in literary works show who they are through different physical actions and mental actions that help readers figure out who they are (Crystal, 1987:15). It is presumed that such representation primarily presents people as beings who have suffered at the hands of an oppressive social structure in their environment. It is asserted that such a portrayal aids in exposing human passivity and powerlessness against this societal backdrop as well as attempts on the parts of various characters to reject group silence and acquiescence to dominating ideology. According to the analysis, authors have been successful in bringing attention to the discursive and coercive activities that frame the identities of traditional Indo-Pakistani Muslims. It can be argued that both writers do this by heavily relying on the material, relational, and nuclear participants involved in those processes.

Nguyen (2012) analysed Hoa Pham's Heroic Mother using the transitivity theory. The essay looked into how the characters in Hoa Pham's Heroic Mother construct their personalities using the SFL theory and how this personality is conveyed in the text. In his poem Heroic Mother, Hoa Pham discusses the elderly living in seclusion and sharing their experiences with newer generations as a means of educating them. This short story also shows the spiritual and emotional differences between older people and their children who often care more about the outside world or their own hobbies than about their family ties. In the first-person story Heroic Mother, the protagonist

serves as the narrator and addresses herself by name while giving a description of what happened from inner viewpoints.

As a result, the character gains the benefit of sympathy, and readers are better able to understand the character's innermost thoughts and feelings.

In Hanoi, Vietnam's capital city, the main character resides with her family. Her family members view her as a little crazy, an elderly woman who is forgetful and exhibits conservative sentiments and behaviours, and an absent-minded person. She also appears to be neglected and ignored by her family members. The main character of the novel recounts events from the past to demonstrate that she is not mad and that she only played crazy in order to blend in with the resistance and fight the war. There are also several specifics regarding the neighbourhood and the main character's friends. The main character, who is also the narrator, tries to show how she interacts with, acts toward, and thinks about the other people in her family, as well as how she feels about life and society as a whole. This is shown by selecting more relational processes, behavioural processes, and mental processes than material processes.

Halliday's transitivity model was used by Mehmood, Amber, Ameer, and Faiz (2014) to show how love is shown in Oscar Wilde's *The Nightingale and the Rose*. To show how each of the story's main characters saw love from a different point of view, Oscar Wilde took into account how often certain things happened, who was involved, and what the circumstances were. After looking at the participants and the most common types of processes, the study found three common ones: material, verbal, and relational processes. As there were fewer mental processes in the story, the material processes stood out

more. This showed that actions were based more on physical things than on psychological revelations and conscious happenings. The lack of mental processing showed that the characters' feelings or thoughts were not thought about much. The most common material processes were the repeated patterns of behavior that the actors engaged in and carried out. The way the characters talked to each other in the story was shown by the story as a whole. The relational process set up links between the actions of the actors, the actors who did them, and the traits that were linked to them. Because of this, the reader's assumptions for analyzing this story will be more objective because they will have formed their own opinion based on the actions shown through material, verbal, and relational processes. The reader is given enough information about the few mental and existential processes that make up the general sketch that they can come up with their own ideas. The reader knows what the characters are doing and what is going on in their lives. Even though this study is about a piece of fiction, its method of looking at how often processes and characters appeared and what they did in the story is useful to the current investigation. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) say that the three main processes are material, relational, and mental. The results of the study hold this claim.

In a similar way, Akogbeto and Koukposi (2015) looked at the language of a few male and female characters in Soyinka's *The Lion and the Jewel* (Lakunle, Baroka, Sidi, and Sadiko) to figure out how gender issues are shown in the play. By focusing on its transitivity system, as Halliday suggested, a lexico-grammatical analysis is done to figure out how women and men are portrayed (1994). This analysis lets readers access the inner and outer worlds of Wole Soyinka's characters, which helps them make sense of

what's going on in their own lives and the world around them. The study shows that Soyinka, either on purpose or by accident, made his male characters strong and powerful, like lions, because men are usually the ones who do things in the real world. It does this with the help of transitivity and Critical Discourse Analysis. Almost always, they get people to do something. Their female counterparts, on the other hand, are linked to the senses and emotions and are portrayed as the men's goals or the people who benefit from their actions. Akogbeto and Koukpossi (2015) used the same level of analysis as this study to describe the participants and what they did in a literary text. This study is important because it and other studies have shown that the transitivity model of SFL is an important tool for understanding any kind of text and that it can be used with other theories.

Msuya (2014) used the verbal transitivity process of Systemic Functional Grammar to look at the style of 'Xuma' and 'Leah' in Peter Abraham's 'Mine Boy'. The SFL frame is used by Msuya to determine the characters based on what they say. Even though the SFL frame was used in a literary work, making the Sayers largely imaginary, what they say is a replication of events that take place in the physical, natural, cultural, and social world. Characterization, the technique by which a writer divulges a character's personality, effectively disclosed the identities of the characters. The results indicate that the language used by characters reveals a great deal about who they are, and that the transitivity analysis of their language and the interactions between the people they talk to and the people they talk to about them show a lot about how they think, feel, and act. It is clear that Xuma addresses more women than men while using his words. Leah, a female

character, however, communicates with considerably more men than women. It is evident that Xuma is primarily a sayer whilst Leah is primarily a receiver, both have relatively few receivers of both sexes. However, author Peter Abraham may have intended gender reciprocity by having a male central character have more female sayers and the opposite for a female character.

Opara (2012) made use of transitivity to analyze some of Emecheta's narrative discourse from transitivity systems in selected narrative discourse. According to her research, using transitivity analysis, we may identify how the discourse creator uses language to represent a character. The study also comes to the conclusion that feminism as a topic is present in the debate. Analysis of transitivity also serves as a link to discover the themes that the discourse creator selected. According to the research, positive character traits predominate in the themes Emecheta chose.

Laya Heidari Darani (2014) aimed to uncover the persuasion technique utilized in George Orwell's *Animal Farm* (1945) from a semantic-grammatical perspective, based on Halliday's transitivity framework. He looked into the various processes that contribute to the realization of the persuasive style. According to the analysis, the material process completely trumps all other processes. The characters most definitely followed instructions, as evidenced by the predominant use of the material process types.

### **Empirical Studies on Political Discourse**

François Hollande's inauguration address was examined by Koussouhon and Koukpossi (2013) for transitivity patterns, with a focus on the participants as well as material, relational, and mental processes. The

study shows that most of the things that happen in this speech are material. According to them, the fact that material processes occur regularly shows a strong adherence to strategic situations and practical steps. Material processes are employed more frequently than the other processes.

Alafnan (2021) looked at Trump and Biden's inaugural speeches to figure out what their political goals were and how language facilitates ideology and power. The study focused on transitivity, modality, and texture. Regarding transitivity, the ideational function analysis shows that Biden used relational process, material process, and mental process to convey his vision, make complex ideas simple, and win people's trust while Trump used material process to portray himself as the actor and the doer with clear goals. Regarding modality, the examination of the interpersonal function reveals that Trump used medium and low certainty modals to clearly express his objectives, vision, and manifesto in order to represent his goals, inspire confidence in the populace, and create a sense of hope. The functional analysis of Biden's speech indicates his fatherly approach to boosting morale and building trust, despite the structural perspective's low modality's potential to reflect weak leadership and lack of confidence. Trump focused on real concepts (such as jobs, riches, and borders), while Biden focused on abstract concepts and American ideals, according to an analysis of the thematic development and lexical coherence in both speeches (i.e. unity, democracy, racial justice). Ideologies are presented through the use of numerous synonymous references, excessive repetitions, and the conceptual use of *We* and *them* from the textual analysis. Similar to the last study, this one uses SFL



and focuses on transitivity to examine how voters are persuaded to support the NDC party.

Shayegh (2012) used SFL to examine power in Obama's speeches. President Barack Obama's seven interviews were chosen for examination. The results demonstrate that Obama mostly employed material processes to convey the accomplishments of his administration; he used transitivity to win over the audience. In this analysis, the material processes dominate the other processes in the NDC party manifestos from 2012 and 2016. Again, Shayegh (2012) is pertinent to this study because it showed that some physical advances and concrete action have already been done.

Benazir Bhutto, the prime minister of Pakistan, was the subject of a study by Naz, Alvin, and Albaseer (2011) that examined her political language. To analyse her speech on Democratization in Pakistan, they used transitivity. The findings showed that, depending on the situation, different Transitivity processes had different semantic functions. The relational processes were utilized to provide a soft image of her character, while the material sentences were primarily intended to persuade listeners. According to this study, the NDC party is trying to convince the electorate by using persuasive language in the manifestos' sections on education. This is accomplished by listing specific measures taken by the NDC party and specific activities that will be conducted if elected to lead the nation for an additional four years.

In order to investigate the abuse of power that exists in his depiction of his country as one part and Indonesia as another half, Ulfa (2012) conducts a qualitative and quantitative analysis of Obama's (2010) address in Jakarta. In

addition to CDA as a critical theory, the Hallidayan Transitivity served as the theoretical foundation for investigating the process types. As the president introduced both countries equally, the analysis revealed that there was no overt display of dominance. In two respects, Ulfa's (2012) work is crucial to the current investigation. In order to examine the processes in both manifestos, this study first utilized the same theoretical framework and CDA. Last but not least, the data from this study indicated the ideology of inclusivity rather than the explicitness of power display in the manifestos.

Transitivity was used by Adjei and Ewusi-Mensah (2016) to analyze Kufour's final speech to the Ghanaian parliament in 2008. The research shows that, among the six process types included in the transitivity model, the speech uses the material processes more frequently, the existential processes less frequently, and the behavioural processes less frequently. The predominance of material clauses in Kufuor's writing shows that he bases his understanding of reality on his previous and present encounters. He lists some of the most significant accomplishments made during his administration and offers helpful advice to the future administration in order to maintain the projects his administration started. The material processes dominate the other processes in this study as well, and they are used to chronicle accomplishments listed by the NDC party. Again, there are not many existential processes, whereas there are not many behavioural processes. In fact, this study also makes use of the transitivity model.

Adjei, Ewusi-Mensah and Okoh looked at the main types of process in the 2009 State of the Nation Address in Ghana (2015). Mills used persuasive language in his first State-of-the-Nation speech to get his political message

across to the crowd. This was the subject of the study. They looked at 536 clauses in the State of the Nation address. The paper showed that the way language is put together can lead to ideas and meanings that are not always clear to readers. This gives the notion that the way language is put together isn't random but serves a purpose. The study also found that, of the main types of process, material processes are employed most often in speech (59.14%), while mental process types are employed 14.37% of the time. Mills's heavy reliance on material processes suggests that his government and himself are the main people looking out for the people's best interests.

The first television debate between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton was subjected to a transitivity study by Yichao Zhang (2017). The aim of the study was to analyse how speeches were composed, how they were similar to one another, and what purposes they served. The key conclusions were that both candidates' speeches were dominated by material processes, relational processes, and mental processes, with Trump tending to use more existential processes when compared to Hillary. Yichao comes to the conclusion that speakers measure their utterances with extra carefulness to engage with others, to communicate their political views in political dialogues, the realization of the interpersonal function is mostly accomplished by influencing audience members' attitudes and judgments as well as their beliefs and behaviour. (p. 66). In this study, the manifestos' education sections are dominated by the material, relational, and mental processes. In contrast to the study mentioned above, there is little usage of existential processes in the manifestos' sections on education.

*The Other Extradition*, written by Norman Stone and published in the Guardian in November 1998, and *Will Castro Be Next in the Dock?* written by Maurice Walsh and published in the New Statesman at the same time, were the two articles Ruddick (2009) used to examine the Transitivity system. The investigation demonstrated that the decisions made by language producers can be a useful strategy to subtly promote meanings associated with their own beliefs. The study comes to the further conclusion that just the verbal and material process types can disclose how the characters are positioned in the texts to express favourable or unfavourable opinions.

### **Empirical Studies on Media Discourse**

Ong'onda (2016) analyzes newspaper headlines about the terrorist incident at the Westgate Mall in Nairobi, Kenya, using the transitivity framework. The study's goal was to determine how Halliday's transitivity theory can be used to describe the Al-Shabab attacks at Nairobi, Kenya's Westgate Mall. The purpose of the essay was to find and clarify how the Al-Shabab were depicted and characterised in newspaper headlines by the reporters. Since it is narrative-based and hence generally applicable to the concept of transitivity, newspaper discourse was chosen. The research identified several viewpoints in the newspaper headlines that are communicated through grammatical choices. Twenty-four (24) newspaper headlines from the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard Newspaper* were gathered. The results demonstrate that material and relational processes outweigh all other processes, which suggests that acts and events are at the center of the entire terrorism process. The analysis identifies the language traits that support the creation of Al-unfavourable Shabaab's perception. The results also

demonstrate how the grammatical choices in newspaper reporting contribute to subtly expressing the authors' viewpoints on Al-Shabaab, which influences how readers form opinions. The importance of this study lies in the fact that it helped in identifying the many sorts of processes connected to the terrorism incident in Kenya. The Al-bad Shabaab's reputation is highlighted by the transitivity analysis. Al-Shabaab consistently commits violent and disruptive activities, creates insecurity, and threatens state authority in the headlines where it plays the lead role (material processes). Nine (9) out of the twenty-four (24) headlines that were gathered, which were used in analysing of transitivity patterns in the data of the Westgate Mall incident in Kenya, demonstrated the prevalence of material processes. The verbs attack, shatter, kill, massacre, claim, break, turn, and harm are all part of the Al-Shabaab's material processes, which fall under the semantic category of violence and disorder. As a result, the study demonstrates that all material processes involve violence, destruction, and harm. The Al-Shabaab has claimed to have victimized Kenyans. As a result, they were depicted as having mental processes like vulnerability, appeal, injury, etc. The findings indicated a material process preponderance, which denotes a positive representation of Kenyans as peaceful people and a negative representation of terrorists. The studies come to the conclusion that whereas the al-Shabaab was continuously connected with the negative sub-type, the neutral and positive verbal sub-types were constantly related with Kenyans.

Using Halliday's transitivity analytical framework, Dechaboon (2004) investigates language and representation. In order to determine whether there is any language usage or portrayal from a specific standpoint that, to some

extent, may lead to bias about the group, the study examines hilltribe news in printed media. The study shows that hilltribes are portrayed in numerous unfavourable ways by using the transitivity analysis and lexical choice analysis. They are depicted as encroachers of the forest who harm both the ecosystem and the vast majority of Thai people. According to Dechaboon (2004), the examination of transitivity processes can be used to study how a certain group is represented. An important linguistic tool for understanding our universe of experience, according to the study, is transitivity analysis. Halliday (1985) claim that a central quality of language is that it helps humans form a rational image of reality, to make logic of their experience of what goes around and in them. In addition, the analysis of this study has shown that newspapers are yet another fascinating source for learning about language, representation, and the part of language play in our lives.

Chew (2001) investigates the portrayal of political women in the media. The sociolinguistic analysis model is employed for the investigation. According to the study, there are two different representations of political women in Singapore. They are first portrayed through the development of a stereotype, packaging the political woman as a type of woman and like all women, functioning within the context of the family, such as their role as spouses, mothers, and as the weaker sex. The other is through language itself, such as the overuse of lexicalization, address phrases, and tabloid commenting style.

Manan (2001) examines how Mr. Anwar and his reformist movement have been covered in the Malaysian media. She examines the Malaysian newspaper New Straits Times using Halliday's transitivity analysis approach

to see how linguistic choices might reveal social and political identities. The study focuses on the persuasive quality of language that has the power to alter and redefine popular ideology. The analysis demonstrates that Mr. Anwar uses several linguistic strategies to establish himself as the most powerful individual.

In light of critical discourse analyses of *The Battle for Tripoli*, Seo (2013) uses the Hallidayean transitivity framework to analyze the complementary headlines of two major newspapers. From August 21 to August 25, 2011, data were gathered and analyzed from online articles in *The Guardian* and *The People's Daily*, two national daily newspapers in China and the United Kingdom, respectively. The Libyan civil war came to an end at this time when the rebels in Libya took over Tripoli, effectively ending the conflict. The analysis shows that online news sources' coverage of Libya was exploited to advance Britain's and China's perceived national interests. Consequently, the newspapers' coverage of the Libyan civil war tended to replicate the national benefits of either country. *The Chinese People's Daily* newspaper inclined to concentrate on analytic observer arguments on the course of the war, in contrast to the *British Guardian newspaper*, which inclined to highlight a Western pro-war angle of humanitarian defence for Libya. The process types that predominate in the headlines of both newspapers as well as the frequency of headline highlights and summaries make this observation clear. *The People's Daily* of China presented a total of 44 headlines with 3 summaries and 41 highlights, compared to *The Guardian's* total of 47 headlines with 10 summaries and 37 highlights. The diverse kinds of language employed in the microstructures of each headline

type, summary, and highlight help to show how important each headline is to the social and national setting of each newspaper. This information backs up Van Dijk's theory that different headline writers write different headlines about the same news story depending on their political or national context (van Dijk, 2008). Both papers often frame their headlines in terms of physical actions, which make the event and its participants seem more real, or in terms of an actor's action or goal. But each newspaper has its own way of making the paper. The material process is used more often in the headlines of The Guardian than of The People's Daily.

The frequency difference between The Guardian and The People's Daily shows that The Guardian's take on news stories about the Libyan civil war tends to involve more physical acts than The People's Daily. The People's Daily, on the other hand, has a lot more verbal processes in its headlines than The Guardian. The People's Daily often uses verbs, which makes it seem like it is observing the Libyan civil war from afar rather than taking part in it. So, the different numbers of words and elements in the headlines of the two newspapers showed that each one was written for a different country. Focusing on the information is in line with Britain's active role in the conflict as a country in touch with the Libyan rebels. The People's Daily's focus on voices, on the other hand, makes China's role as a third-party player in the war seem less important. So, these differences in how many people took part tend to show how each country saw the Battle for Tripoli: Britain played a dynamic role, while China mostly just watched. So, the way newspapers wrote about the Libyan civil war tended to reflect the national interests of either country. The Chinese People's Daily newspaper inclined to concentrate on arguments



from analytical observers on how the war was going. On the other hand, the British Guardian newspaper tended to focus on a pro-war Western view of humanitarian fortification for Libya in the Guardian.

### **Empirical Studies on Legal Discourse**

Alo and Ogungbe (2012) investigated the language of justice by concentrating on the lexical and syntactic constructions made by judges in three appellate judgements on cases of election petitions in Nigeria, contextualizing the application of Systemic Functional Linguistics concepts to judicial parlance. The researchers' findings utilizing SFL and CDA showed that the appellate judges decided the cases by employing lexical collocations and syntactic techniques like modal and transitivity choices to convey their opinions, interpretations, and perspectives.

Bartley (2017) studied the conversation in the courtroom. Analysis of the prosecution lawyer's concluding arguments revealed that the accused was given a worse evaluation than the defence lawyers. The study also demonstrates that the prosecutor made numerous allusions to the emotional process in order to deduce the victim's emotional state then provide a favourable image of the victim while painting the accused in a negative light.

### **Empirical Studies on Manifestos**

Literature on manifestos exists in and outside Africa. Below are some relevant studies that have been conducted in Africa.

Nartey and Yankson (2014) examined the semantic basis of modals in the manifesto of a Ghanaian political party (New Patriotic Party) in 2012. Essentially, their study makes known that modal auxiliary verbs are able to

decipher the different shades of meaning distinctive of political discourses. They note that modals are used in manifestos to indicate a sense of intention, promise, obligation and necessity in a conscious and strategic attempt to persuade the electorate. They conclude that modal verbs convey such discourse functions as promise and necessity which are tactical enough to convince the electorate. The researchers found the modal *will* as the most recurrent, a confirmation of a political party's preparedness and/or promise to offer a service. Nartey and Yankson (2014) findings is similar to this current study in the sense that the 2012 and 2016 manifestos of the NDC abounds with modals. However, the modal *will* dominates the other modals which demonstrates the NDC's party willingness/promise to offer a product.

Kyerewaa-Owusu (2017) analyses the 2016 manifestos of the NDC and the NPP from the perspective of critical discourse. She realises that the manifestos use numerous rhetorical strategies, including blame-game, self-praising, comparison, parallelism and overload of emotive language. Kyerewaa's study does not give a sense of varied uses of the strategies employed by the two political parties, repudiating the reader an understanding of the contextual significance of those strategies. Her study is different from my research in terms of theoretical perspective but similar with the data.

Afful (2015) examines how health policies are projected in the manifestos of the National Patriotic Party (NPP) and National Democratic Congress political parties in Ghana. Afful looked at the generic construction and the linguistic features of the 2012 election manifestos of the National Patriotic Party (NPP) and National Democratic Congress (NDC). The study classifies a two-move pattern. A point of departure in the move structure of

the two manifestos is without an introductory move in the NDC manifesto. Afful looks at the projection of a policy that is Health in the 2012 NDC/NPP manifestos which is similar to this current study which looked at the education policy in the 2012 and 2016 NDC manifestos.

Sarfo-Kantankah (2021) explores the key concepts in the manifestos of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National democratic Congress (NDC) using the corpus-linguistic methods. The aim of the study is to scrutinise the strategies and the focus of the manifestos of the two parties. The analysis shows that while the NPP aim both policy and the personalities of their rival candidates, the NDC tend to focus primarily on policy. The conclusion drawn is that, be it a focus on policy or personality, contextual significance is the key.

Ehineni (2014) explores the ideological foundations of modal auxiliaries from the Labour Party and Action Congress of Nigeria manifestos through a critical discourse analysis. Ehineni states that modals such as *will*, *shall*, *must* and *can* used by the politicians in both manifestos for persuasion, obligation, to make promises, demonstrate political willingness/commitment, and seek public support and manipulation. He concludes that modals can be used as ideological tools. Ehineni's study is similar to this present study because modals are equally employed in the 2012 and 2016 NDC manifestos for persuasion, promises and commitment.

Moloi and Bojabotseha (2014) analyze the African National Congress' (ANC, South Africa) manifestos of 1999, 2004 and 2009 through CDA, concentrating on intertextuality and interdiscursivity. They discover that the ANC's manifestos are branded by various texts and voices, that are replicated

and invoked to legitimise the ANC and its feats, challenges and strategies in its struggle to improve the socio-economic and political lives of South Africans. The manifestos also forestall and involve critical and adversarial voices by pinpointing and admitting the challenges that accost the South African society. The study further indicates that the ANC manifestos “bracket or suppress meanings and norms that are different from the dominant ones” (p. 422). These findings suggest that the ANC high spot their positives and repress the positives of their fellow contestants and/or repress their own negatives and highpoint the negatives of their fellow contestants.

Bartholomeus (2016) looks at the stylistic and rhetorical devices in the South West Africa People’s Organization (SWAPO) and Democratic Turnhalle Alliance election manifestos during the 2014 Namibian presidential elections. Bartholomeus concludes that both manifestos make use of multimodal aspects, lexical, syntactic and semantic literary devices and deviations to convince voters.

Netswera (2016) examines four (1995, 2000, 2006, and 2011) local government election manifestos of a major South African political party- the African National Congress. The study demonstrated that the repetitive use of a precise keyword amount to message reinforcement. Similarly, in this study some words have been used repetitively in the 2012 and 2016 NDC manifestos for emphasis.

Some studies on manifestos outside Africa settings that have conveyed interest in either linguistics or rhetoric. Breeze (2011) worked on a comparative study of the discourse of manifestos presented by three political

parties sought to determine the difference in rhetorical strategies. The study found that the discourse of the three political parties were affected by their position determined in that incumbent's discourse varies significantly from challengers.

Kareinen (2019) uses the methods of corpus linguistics to analyse personal pronouns and modal expressions in two election manifestos in Canadian elections. The analysis depicted substantial modifications in the quantitative use of both personal pronouns and modal expressions. Likewise in this study the personal pronoun 'We' and modals are used in the 2012 and 2016 NDC manifestos to enable the candidates put across their messages to the readers.

Dobson (2007) explores the language employed by two British political leaders of the 1990s in their election manifestos. This examination aims to explore how each leader's language reflects their, and their party's, political stance at each election and what social, economic, technological, and above all, political influences are ostensible from the language used. In doing this, the intertextuality of both manifestos will be meticulously scrutinised to determine how each party leader makes use of other texts within their own discourse. Alterations in the content and language used in the two documents are found, and this is seen to emanate from the prevailing circumstances in each of the two election years. The findings reveal that the 1992 manifesto shows the conventional left-right divide of British politics, making positive locus to class struggle and state direction, the 1997 document has strengthened or chucked such notions. By 1997 a new way had been projected between the

traditional extremes of left and right politicking, quoting the need for rights stable with duties for the citizenry.

Savola (2008) analyses the language of the educational policies of the British Labour party in the General Election manifestos between the years 1983-2005. The twenty-year period studied has been a period of substantial changes in world politics, and in British politics, particularly for the Labour party. The objective of the study is two-fold: to examine the structure of the political manifesto as an example of genre writing and to analyse the content using critical discourse. From the analysis of the content a generic description is built. By looking at the lexical, grammatical and rhetorical features a clear change in language of the Labour Party can be noticed. The use of the metaphors appeared to be the tool for the formation of the image of the party characterised through the manifestos. The findings show that the use of the exclusive *We*, the use of the future tense and the present progressive aspect can shed light to the description of the genre of manifesto writing. This current study also makes use of the exclusive *We*.

Malgani, Akhar, and Farooqi (2019) researched a paper on critical discourse analysis of manifestos of Pakistani political parties, relating to the general election of 2013. The study showed that all the political parties under study employed the discursive strategies in their party manifestos in order to boost the positive self-image of party to in-group people, by concentrating on the negative parts of the out-group, thus (re)creating people's political identities and ideologies and attaining the anticipated domination for itself.

These studies either do not cover a wide range of topics or do not belong in the category of linguistics. Two major studies are done by Nadeem

et al., (2014) and Sarvat (2015); these researches are not wide in their scope, in terms of the theoretical, methodological and analytical aspect and in terms of the objectives of the study. Nadeem et al., (2014) research is quantitative concentrating more on the political agenda than linguistic. Whilst, Sarvat (2015) only studied the manifesto of one political party, concentrating on the use of conflict between that particular party and other parties in the creation of party credo.

A paper was conducted by Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development (PILDAT, 2012), examining Election manifestos of three political parties of Pakistan. This study is within the category of Political Science and it does not include any type of linguistic analysis to attain the research objectives, though there was an enormous scope for the researcher to realise the same objectives through the linguistic analysis of the designated manifestos. Thus far another research on Pakistani political parties' manifestos steered by Pakistan Institute of Development Economics-PIDE organised by Siddique, Kemal, Muslehud Din, and Khalid (2013). This study is grouped under the area of Economics and Political Science and the objective of the study was to aid the political parties advance their political vision to pact with the matters linked to the economy of the country.

Looking at the studies that have been conducted on different types of data, as far as I know, political manifestos have not been subjected to transitivity analysis of political manifestos in Ghana. This study looks at the transitivity choices in the education sections of the 2012 and 2016 National Democratic Congress manifestos from a personal perspective. Transitivity analysis makes it probable to relate the structural organisations at the clausal

level with the ideologies entrenched within the texts analysed. All these become mainly pertinent. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) opines that clauses of different process types thus make distinctive contributions to the construal of experience in text. Hence, in the present study, the identification and analysis of the types of processes, circumstances associated with them, as well as the persuasive features make us to understand how the education section is construed in the manifesto.

### **Chapter Summary**

The transitivity analysis framework was covered in this chapter. The chapter examined manifesto, the National Democratic Congress Party's manifesto, its ideology, the communicative variables of persuasion, and the persuasive theory. In terms of pertinent research issues and research methodologies, a review of prior and related works on transitivity has also been offered. According to the review, the transitivity model or frame could be used to analyze all kinds of human language, particularly political discourse, literary texts, media discourse, and legal discourse.



## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODS

#### Introduction

The methodology is discussed in this third chapter. The chapter gives details of how the entire research was conducted, the specific research methods adopted, the research setting, the sampling techniques employed and the data collection used.

#### Research Approach

I adopted the qualitative research approach. The qualitative research approach generally focuses on the dimensions or aspects of human experience and how these qualities are expressed through a selected representation form and conceptual perspective. According to Stokrocki (1997), a qualitative study has the following six characteristics: it is field-focused, is designed with the researcher acting as an instrument, is interpretive in nature, is expressive in language, is extremely detailed, and is convincing. According to Guest et al. (2013), this method provides explanations for the whys and hows behind human behaviours, assessments, and experiences.

According to Creswell (2007 & 2014), the qualitative approach involves data gathering in a context that is sensitive to the subjects being studied and data processing that is inductive and establishes patterns or forms. As a result, the data is initially made available for analysis so that inferences can be made based on the results. The current investigation is qualitative. I adopted a qualitative research approach because qualitative research emphasizes the social meaning people assign to certain circumstances and experiences around them. Also, qualitative research focuses on texts, words

and/or images. It is useful for coding and categorizing data into themes; it is also effective for examining trends and patterns in a particular data.

### **Research Design**

Textual analysis was employed as the research design for this study. Researchers gather data on texts that have meaning when conducting textual analysis. Vanderstoep and Johnston (2009: 211) emphasize that meaning is at the heart of textual analysis. The meaning from these texts may be examined from the speaker's perspective or the context in which the texts were produced or experienced. According to Fairclough (2006: 5) 'textual analysis frequently provides valuable insights into what is 'in' a text. He indicates that textual analysis can give insight into what is in (implicit) and outside (explicit) of the text. He stresses the need for the implicit analysis of the text for it reveals hidden information which could not have been noticed if the text is to be analyzed explicitly. This thinking by Fairclough shows that textual analysis can really help to bring out hidden meanings which could not have come up. It is this same view that explains why the current researcher uses textual analysis as the research design, for it is effective in bringing out the process types, their respective meanings and patterns that are embedded in the education section of the 2012 and 2016 manifestos of the NDC. Therefore, as held by Frey et al, (1999) significant considerations in textual analysis are to select the types of texts to study, in order to analyze the relevant texts and produce the intended results, choose the proper texts to use and the specific approach to use. The official party manifestos of the NDC were chosen as the study's data, making the textual analysis design appropriate. The textual study of process types provides context for the message's structure and substance in the manifestos.

The manifestos are particular campaign discourses delivered during campaigns in an election year. This type of research design helps to analyze the texts to basically interpret the meaning the texts intend to provide through the process types. Again, the view by Fairclough shows that textual analysis can really help to bring out hidden meanings which could not have come up. It is this same view that explains why the current researcher uses textual analysis as the research design for it is effective in bringing out the process types, their respective meanings and patterns that are embedded in the education section of the 2012 and 2016 manifestos of the NDC.

### **Data Collection Procedure**

Documentation/ document analysis is the method used to obtain data for the investigation. According to Corbin and Strauss (2008), document analysis is an analytical technique used in qualitative research that calls for the scrutiny and interpretation of data to create meaning. Bowen (2009:27) also avers that Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents — both printed and electronic materials. With documentation, the documents which serve as data are then analyzed based on the process types in them. This type of instrument is chosen because the selected manifestos are obtained from written texts. Furthermore, the manifestos are chosen based on the fact that cumulatively the NDC has governed Ghana for 16 years and has contributed enormously to the education sector in Ghana compared to the NPP as of today has governed for 14 years. Again, the education section abounds with transitivity choices to convince the electorate. The data were obtained from the education section. The researcher went to the NDC office in Asante Mampong for copies of the manifestos and

the researcher was asked to get copies of the manifestos from their website because the remaining copies were for referencing and could not give them out. The 2012 and 2016 manifestos were then downloaded from the NDC's website (<https://www.ndc.org.gh>). The downloadable pdf version of the manifestos was checked for its authenticities at the party office in Mampong-Asante to make sure I was working with the correct data.

I looked through the entire manifestos but especially through the education section for the data. And my choice for both manifestos was hinged on the fact that the party is a social democrat and the advancement of any country is based on its educational system. The sections needed for the analysis were photocopied by the researcher. The manifestos provided the information that was directly acquired, and these were used to address the study questions. The secondary data, which was used to write the literature review, was information that was found in books, journals, and the internet.

In all, 76 clauses and 141 clauses were extracted from the 2012 and 2016 respectively from the education section of the manifestos. Thus, 217 clauses served as the sample size for the study.

### **Sampling Procedure**

This study employed the purposive non-probability sampling method. In purposive sampling, the characteristics of the population serve as a basis of selection. The study examined the education section of the 2012 and 2016 NDC manifestos. When people or a unit of the population are chosen for a study based on a purpose, this is known as purposeful sampling (Creswell, 2013). In purposive sampling, the researcher chooses the data that will be representative of the data being studied using both his prior knowledge of the

data and the objective of the research (Patton, 2002). It makes sure that no unnecessary data are added. Again, the purposive sample technique was used for this study since it is the sampling strategy most likely to enable the researcher to achieve the study's goals. With the sampling of the data, the education section of the 2012 and 2016 manifestos of the NDC were collected based on the basis of how well transitivity was embedded in them. This method of sampling ensures that the relevant data which meet the objectives of the study are selected.

### **Data Analysis Procedure**

I analyzed the manifestos on the basis of the six process types that are developed by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) to find out how language functions are unearthed through transitivity in the education section of the 2012 and 2016 manifestos of the NDC. To contextualize and systematize the analysis, the selected texts are identified and coded (M12- 2012 manifesto, M16- 2016 manifesto, Cl- clause) into the various identifiable clauses and process types using the diagram box. The first step was identifying the process types utilized in the NDC's 2012 and 2016 manifestos' sections on education. Focusing on verbs and related processes in clauses, the transitivity analysis - the analysis of the clause as representation - is applied and understood. The identification of the participant roles and process types as specified in the manifestos' education sections made up the second phase of investigation. The final step involved analyzing the transitivity patterns used by both manifestos and what linguistic features are employed for persuasion. This was accomplished by looking at the common patterns that both manifestos'

education sections shared between the participants in connection to the process types employed in each clause's specific setting.

### Chapter Summary

The research strategy, research design, sample strategy, and sampling size were all covered in this chapter. The chapter has indicated how the manifestos were collected for analysis.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### Introduction

This chapter shows the results of the analysis in three main parts. The first part talks about the types of processes selected to construe the education section of the 2012 and 2016 NDC manifestos. The results of the transitivity study of manifestos are shown in detail with tables showing the frequency distribution of process types and the roles given to the participants. This chapter also looks at the patterns of transitivity in the sections of the manifestos about education.

#### **Research question 1: Process Types and the Message on Education in the Manifestos**

A useful tool for analyzing the meanings expressed in sentences is the transitivity analytical frame. The system of transitivity, according to Halliday (2002), is made up of the many kinds of processes and the structures that carry out these processes. Four different process types which are material, mental, relational, and existential processes are found in the education sections of the manifestos.

**Table 4.2: Process Types in the Education Section of the 2012/2016 Manifestos**

Year	Total number	Material process	Mental process	Relational process	Existential process
2012	144	125	4	10	5
%	100	86.8	2.8	6.9	3.5
2016	260	245	10	5	-
%	100	94	4	2	

As shown in the above table, in the education section of the 2012 manifesto the total number of 144 process types were recorded from 76 clauses. And out of the total number 125 material processes were observed representing 86.8 %. This shows the highest number of process types utilized in the manifesto to persuade the electorate for votes. The relational process was the second most common sort of process. There are 10 different types of relational processes that were observed, showing 6.9%. The third phase was the mental process, and it took place 4 times, depicting 2.8%. There were 5 occurrences of the existential process type, or 3.5%.

In the education section of 2016 manifesto, a total of 260 process types were extracted from 141 clauses. Out of the total number of processes 245 material process types were recorded representing a percentage of 94%. This suggests that material processes made up more than half of the total number of processes examined. The mental process types were the second most common process type. There were 10 mental process types noted, showing 4% of all processes. The last process type discovered in the clauses was the relational



process type. It happened 5 times, representing 2%. It is clear that the two data were dominated by material processes.

Thus, Matthiessen (2007: 812) finds that the most prevalent process categories across different registers in a quantitative corpus study of English are material, mental, and relational, in that order. The present study, as indicated in Table 4.2 above, supports the frequency distribution of process kinds that are material, mental, and relational. Comparatively, the material processes have the highest frequencies and percentages (125, 86.8%); (245, 94%) in the 2012/2016 manifestos respectively in the education section. The dominance of material processes indicates that the manifestos' sections on education represent more events and acts in the educational field. The presidential aspirants recount a number of actions or developments done and also what particular actions and developments will be undertaken to ensure sustainability and developments in the education sector as expected by the electorates. Specifically, candidates for the presidency frequently concentrate more on recalling events and advocating specific actions for their intended audience. And by listing the number of development projects the NDC party has undertaken, it is subtly influencing the electorate to give it another four-year in office.

### **Analysis of the Material Process**

The process type that is most frequently used to convey the function of the NDC in the manifesto sections on education is the material process with actors as participants. As seen in instances 1-13, development in the field of education is communicated through a range of material processes:

1.

<b>M12CL 1</b>			
The 1992 constitution of the fourth Republic of Ghana	categorizes	education	into basic, secondary, tertiary education and functional literacy
Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	Circumstance (Guise)
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group	prepositional phrase

(NDC 2012 manifesto)

2.

<b>M12CL6</b>			
All NDC administration	have worked and recorded	significant strides	in these two areas
Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	Circumstance
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group	prepositional phrase

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

3.

<b>M12CL14</b>		
Three million school uniforms	Have been provided	to children in needy and deprived communities across
Goal	Pr: Mat	Recipient
nominal group	verbal group	prepositional phrase

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

4.

<b>M12CL15</b>		
Over 40 million exercise books per year	have been distributed	to about 4.8 million pupils in basic schools nationwide
Goal	Pr: Mat	Recipient
nominal group	verbal group	prepositional phrase

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

5.

<b>M12CL16</b>			
Over 10,000 laptop and desktop computers	have been supplied	to various institutions and across the country	through the Ministries of Education and Environment, Science and Technology
Goal	Pr: Mat	Recipient	Scope
nominal group	verbal group	prepositional phrase	prepositional phrase

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

6.

<b>M12CL19</b>			
We	have increase	the Capitation Grant	by 50%
Actor	Pro: Mat	Goal	Circumstance
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group	prepositional phrase

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

The material processes denoting actions are as follow; *worked, recorded, categorizes, provided, commenced, doubled and supplied* in examples 1 through 8 above offer the subsequent transitivity template: Actor + Process: material + Goal + Circumstance. The template shown above illustrates the classification of learning structures in the education sector. In example 2, the transitivity template: Actor + Process: material + Goal + Circumstance. Again, it reflects the range of action of working and recording in fulfilling the obligation of the constitution for all Ghanaians to benefit from the education system.

In example 3, the transitivity template: Goal + Process: material + Recipient + Circumstance. The presidential aspirant informs the electorate that

needy children have benefitted from the school uniforms as a way of sustaining the interest of pupils to attend school.

In example 4, the transitivity template: Goal + Process: material + Circumstance. Again, the presidential aspirant tells the electorate that pupils in basic schools across the country have received books to make learning easy for these pupils as a way of investing in education.

In example 5, the transitivity template: Actor: We + Process. The pronoun *We* is the Actor 'the doer of the act of doubling' the noun group 'the number of beneficiary school children' is the Goal of the process 'have doubled', 'from about 600,000 pupils in 2008/2009 to over 1.4 million in 2011/2012' is the Scope of the Material process 'have doubled' because it depicts the range of action of doubling the school feeding programme at the basic schools. This has been done to maintain learners' interest in basic schools across the country. And if the pupils are satisfied, they can then give their full attention to studies.

In example 6, the same pronoun 'we' is used as Actor 'the doer of the act of increasing', the nominal group 'the capitation grant' is the (Goal) the things to be done: 'capitation grant' which refers to a scheme. The presidential aspirant made it known to the electorate for many school age going children to get enrolment and for the school fees to deter parents the capitation grant had been increased to increase access to education.

The following examples demonstrate how the material process choices are made to replicate development in the education sector.

9.

<b>M12CL39</b>				
We	will allocate	more resources for the rehabilitation of kindergarten facilities	throughout the country to provide the essential resources necessary	for the training of children at that level of education
Actor	Process: material	Goal	Circumstance (place)	Circumstance (purpose)

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

10.

<b>M12CL40</b>			
We	will introduce	a one-year specialized skills training programme	in the various Colleges of Education for the training of teachers
Actor	Process: material	Goal	Circumstance (place)
Nominal group	Verbal group	Nominal group	Prepositional phrase

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

11.

<b>M12CL41</b>					
In the long term	we	will establish	special schools	in designated Colleges of Education to train graduate teachers	solely on early childhood care and development
Circumstance (time)	Actor	Process: material	Goal	Circumstance (place)	Circumstance (adjunct)
prepositional phrase	nominal group	verbal group	nominal group	prepositional phrase	adjunct

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

12.

<b>M12CL42</b>		
We	will eliminate	the remaining 60% identified 'schools under-trees'
Actor	Process: material	Goal
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

13.

<b>M12CL43</b>			
We	will expand	coverage of the Feeding Programme	to all public basic schools in rural and needy communities
Actor	Process: material	Goal	Circumstance (place)
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group	prepositional phrase

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

14.

<b>M12CL44</b>			
We	will continue	the construction programme to eliminate the 'Shift System'	from the public school system
Actor	Process: material	Goal	Circumstance (Place)
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group	prepositional phrase

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

The material processes *allocate*, *introduce*, *establish*, *eliminate*, *continue* and *eliminate* in the examples clearly show the plans intended to improve the education sector. The purpose is to bring about change and advancement in the education field. Clauses 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 have the

same (Actor) 'We' which is the doer of the action and the initiator of the change and progress in the area of education, while the (Goal) is their achievements. Therefore, the party manifesto is telling the electorates about the actions that would be taken to see change and progress in the field of education when voted into power. The manifesto gives an overview of the developments executed in the educational sector in the previous years and what developments and progress will be done to develop in the field of education is realized through different material processes as in examples 9-14.

15.

<b>M16CL4</b>		
These interventions	have allowed	the NDC Government to significantly expand access to education
Actor	Process: material	Goal
Nominal group	Verbal group	Nominal group

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

16.

<b>M16CL5</b>		
The number of educational institutions at all levels of basic education	increased	from 45,447 in the 2008/2009 academic year to over 57,270 in the 2014/2015 academic year.
Actor	Process: material	Circumstance (time)
nominal group	verbal group	prepositional phrase

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

17.

<b>M16CL5</b>				
One hundred million free exercise books	have been distributed	with free school uniforms	also provided	to over two million school pupils
Goal	Process: material	Circumstance (guise)	Process: material	Circumstance (Recipient)
nominal group	verbal process	prepositional phrase	verbal group	prepositional phrase

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

18.

<b>M16CL11</b>		
Twelve million five hundred thousand English, Mathematics and Science textbooks	were distributed	to public basic schools between 2013 and 2015
Goal	Process: material	Circumstance (Recipient)
Nominal group	Verbal group	Prepositional phrase

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

19.

<b>M16CL14</b>			
90,000 laptops	have been distributed	to basic schools	in all 10 regions under the Basic School Computerization Programme
Goal	Process: material	Circumstance (Recipient)	Circumstance (place)
Nominal group	Verbal group	Prepositional phrase	Prepositional phrase

(2016 NDC Manifesto)



20.

<b>M16CL16</b>			
Over 40,000 locally produced school sandals	have been distributed	to pupils	in some deprived districts
Goal	Process: material	Circumstance (Recipient)	Circumstance (place)
Nominal group	Verbal process	Prepositional phrase	Prepositional phrase

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

21.

<b>M16CL17</b>			
The cost of BECE examination fees	has been subsidized	for all registered candidates	in both public and private schools
Goal	Process: material	Circumstance (client)	Circumstance (place)
Nominal group	Verbal group	Prepositional phrase	Prepositional phrase

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

22.

<b>M16CL28</b>			
We	have constructed	one thousand six-unit classroom blocks and over 180 two-storey dormitories	in selected 2 <sup>nd</sup> cycle institutions
Actor	Process: material	Goal	Circumstance (place)
Nominal group	Verbal group	Nominal group	Prepositional phrase

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

23.

<b>M16CL56</b>			
We	established	the University Energy and Natural Resources	in the Brong Ahafo Region
Actor	Process: material	Goal	Circumstance
Nominal group	Verbal group	Nominal group	Prepositional phrase

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

24.

<b>M16CL61</b>			
We	provided	150 million Ghana Cedis grant	to 654 institutions, Vocational Education and Training
Actor	Process: material	Goal	Circumstance (Recipient)
Nominal group	Verbal group	Nominal group	Prepositional phrase

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

In examples 15-24 the processes ‘allowed’, ‘increased’, ‘providing’, ‘provided’, ‘expand’, ‘completed’, ‘distributed’, ‘subsidized’, ‘equipped’, ‘train’, ‘improve’, ‘constructed’, ‘established’ and ‘provided’ indicate the concrete steps taken to increase developmental aid in order to raise education standards in the nation.

In example 15 and 16, the nominal groups ‘These interventions’ and ‘the number of educational institutions at all levels of basic education’ are non-human entities performing the role of Actor in the clauses. (The transitivity template for the former: Actor + process + Goal + process + Goal + Circumstance). This demonstrates the breadth of the activity taken to broaden the educational system’s structure for universal accessibility at all

levels by all. The transitivity template for the latter: Actor + Process + Circumstance. This also reflects the range of the action of increasing educational infrastructure at all levels respectively.

In example 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21 the nominal groups ‘One hundred million free exercise books’, ‘over 90,000 laptops’, are the (Goal) which begin the material clauses. The transitivity template: Goal: One hundred million free exercise books + Process: have been distributed + Circumstance: to over two million school pupils. Another transitivity template: Goal + Process: + Circumstance. The structure for the material clauses is a passive construction where the Actors are known by the electorates and as such these Actors are agentless. They reflect the range of the action of distributing and providing free exercise books, laptops for pupils to use in their various basic schools, and subsidizing the cost of the examination fees for the JHS candidates who have registered to write the BECE respectively.

In examples 22, 23, and 24, *We* is the Actor of the Material clauses. The Actors are human entities engaged in the happenings in the clauses to develop the educational sector of the country. The transitivity template: Actor: We + Process: have constructed + Goal: one thousand... + Circumstance. The transitivity template of examples 22, 23, and 24 have the same patterns in the Material clauses (Actor + Process: material + Goal + Circumstance). They reflect the range of the action of constructing, establishing and providing to show progress in the educational sector. Several examples are seen below:

25.

<b>M16CL76</b>			
Actor	Process: material	Goal	Circumstance
We (NDC party)	have introduced	social interventions	in the education sector

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

26.

<b>M16CL77</b>			
Actor	Process: material	Goal	Circumstance
We	will review and implement	the national policy	Early Childhood Care and Development

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

27.

<b>M16CL78</b>			
Actor	Process: material	Goal	Circumstance
We	will strengthen	collaboration	between the Ministry of Education and the Department of Social Welfare

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

28.

<b>M16CL79</b>			
Actor	Process: material	Goal	circumstance
We	will continue to allocate	more resources	for the rehabilitation and construction of kindergarten facilities throughout the country

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

29.

<b>M16CL80</b>			
Actor	Process: material	Goal	Circumstance
We	will establish	special schools in designated Colleges of Education	solely for Early Childhood Care and Development

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

30.

<b>M16CL81</b>					
Actor	Process: material	Goal	Process: material	Goal	Cir
We	will complete	the process of eliminating the remaining public schools under trees	and abolish	the shift system	countrywide

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

31.

<b>M16CL137</b>			
Actor	Process: material	Goal	Circumstance
We	will establish	a unit	under the National Council for Tertiary Education

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

32.

<b>M16CL139</b>				
Actor	Process: material	Circumstance	Process: material	Goal
Incentives	will be provided	to industries and businesses	that provide	more room for internships

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

33.

M16CL140			
Actor	Process: material	Goal	Circumstance
We	will continue to review	curriculum development of tertiary institutions	for the development the skills and human capital needs of industry

(NDC 2016 Manifesto)

The material processes ‘strengthen’, ‘train’, ‘meet’, ‘review’, ‘implement’, ‘strengthen’, ‘continue’, ‘allocate’, ‘establish’, ‘complete’ and ‘abolish’ in the examples depict an effect of change and progress in the education sector. The word continue is foregrounded in the examples to show continuity of committing more resources to the educational sector, capacity building, development of Human resource, and executing developmental projects which could not be completed within the four years. Continuity is the fulcrum to persuade the electorate vote the NDC party than any other party into power to continue developing the educational sector. The transitivity template: Actor: We (NDC party) + Process: continue to allocate + Goal: more resources + Circumstance: for the rehabilitation and construction of kindergarten facilities throughout the country. Therefore, the NDC party manifesto is telling the electorate about the actions that will be taken to ensure continuity and development in the education sector when given the mandate.

### **Analysis of Passive Constructions in the Manifestos**

I realized from the analysis that thirty (30) of the material clauses have passive constructions. These clauses are agentless because the actors are not mentioned. Below are some examples:

34.

<b>M12CL21</b>	
Fifty-nine out of the one hundred and ten Science Resources Centres nationwide	have been rehabilitated
Goal	Process: material

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

35.

<b>M12CL34</b>		
A four-storey Lecture Theatre	has also been completed	at the Wa campus
Goal	Process: material	Circumstance (Place)

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

36.

<b>M12CL23</b>		
Three hundred emergency classroom blocks	were constructed to ensure	for the unplanned infrastructure and logistics for fourth year SHS students
Goal	Process: material	Circumstance (Purpose)

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

37.

<b>M12CL31</b>		
Two new Public Universities	have been established	in the Brong-Ahafo and Volta Regions
Goal	Process: material	Circumstance (place)

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

38.

<b>M12CL26</b>			
With the introduction of the Local Enterprises and Skills Development Programme	provision	has been made	for the short-term training and employment programmes.
Circumstance (Means)	Goal	Process: material	Circumstance (Frequency)

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

39.

<b>M12CL18</b>			
Under the Complementary Basic Education Programme	125,000 out-of-school pupils	have been enrolled	
Circumstance (place)	Goal	Process: material	

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

From the above clauses, we realize that 36, 37, 38, 39, have similar structures. The transitivity template: Goal: A four-storey Lecture Theatre + process: has been constructed + Circumstance: at the Wa campus. They begin with a goal *A National Strategic Plan, Three million school uniforms, Over 40 million exercise books, Over 10,000 laptop and desk top computers, Five Thousand (5,000) scholarships, Three Hundred (300) emergency classroom blocks, A National Apprenticeship Programme, Study leave, Two new Public Universities*, with the material processes used passively *has been initiated, have been provided, have been distributed, have been supplied, have been rehabilitated, have been provided, were constructed, have been provided, has been made, has been granted, has been trained, have been established* followed by the *circumstance in Ghana, in 25 different skills areas, in the*



*Brong-Ahafo and Volta regions, in mostly deprived areas, at the Wa campus, etc.*

In passive constructions such as those above, Sakyi-Baidoo (2003) claims that the agent or the real subject (Actor) is removed completely. The choice of this clausal construction has a lot of linguistic and ideological implications. The passive voice is very effective in political discourse because it highlights accomplishment. Sekyi-Baidoo further explains that the passive voice has implications for politeness, and it is therefore used very effectively in formal discourse such as political manifestos. The omission of the actors may indicate that authorial personality is excluded and the goal of the clause is fore-grounded to carry the impression of neutrality and prominence of the education section of the manifesto. Goals represents provisions and accomplishments the party has made.

In the education section of the manifesto, the presidential aspirant employs passivization to foreground achievements and accomplishments to hide agency. It is indeed a way of highlighting the developments done by his government thereby pushing the NDC administration to the background. This alludes to the fact that the presidential candidate co-operates with other members of his administration, his party, and all other parties involved in the growth of the education sector.

In the education section of the manifestos, the material process types are used to recount developments made in the education sector and again, to increase voter confidence in the NDC government and secure their support, the material process types are used. The manifesto urges voters to support the

party and put the NDC in office in order to carry out the stated goals. It is significant to remember that new goals are established through material processes. Hence, they are used to depict the developments executed in the education sector to present or sell himself as the best candidate to be given another mandate to govern the country.

### **Analysis of the Relational Process**

Relational processes denote the fundamental concept of existence, developing, and having (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 259). Relational mechanisms create connections between two entities. The relational process type contains three main sub-categories. They include the intensive relational process, the circumstantial relational processes and the possessive relational process.

#### **Intensive Attributive Relational Process Type**

The intensive attributive relational clauses were fundamentally for stating the level where some developmental projects have reached in the educational sector. In the education section of the 2012 manifesto the intensive attributive relational process type was employed 3 times while the intensive relational was used 2 times in the 2016 education section of the manifesto. Let us consider the examples below.

40.

<b>M12CL18</b>		
...basic education	is	free, compulsory and universal
Token	Relational: Attr (Intensive)	Value

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

41.

<b>M12CL10</b>		
Resources for the creation of space and the provision of teachers at both the basic and second cycle levels	are	the topmost priorities of the education system
Token	Relational: Attr (Intensive)	Value

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

42.

<b>M12CL14</b>		
We	are	conscious of the obvious linkages between education including tertiary and socio-economic development
Token	Relational: Attr (Intensive)	Value

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

The transitivity template: Token + Process: Relational + Value is used in the manifesto, as shown in examples 40, 41, and 42. It is obvious that the relational process, especially with the token 'Resources...', 'We' and token 'Basic education' have been used in the clauses above to enumerate developmental projects done and projects that will be done when given another term. The developmental projects that will be undertaken are juxtaposed with other parties to persuade the electorates to enable them judge for themselves as to whom to vote for.

### **Circumstantial Relational Process**

Four circumstantial relational clauses were identified in the 2012 education section of the manifesto. The circumstantial relational processes were employed to provide details on developments in the education section of

the manifesto. The extra information is intended to explain issues better to the electorate. Below is an example:

43.

<b>M12CL16</b>			
In the Greater Accra region in particular	We	are	<b>on track to completing the construction of 48 three-storey 18-unit classroom blocks to end the shift system</b>
Circumstance (Place)	Token	Relational: attributive	Attribute: circumstantial

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

44.

<b>M16CL69</b>			
Consequently	We	are	<b>on course to eliminating the trained teacher deficit</b>
Circumstance (adverb)	Token	Relational: attributive	Attribute: circumstantial

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

In the example 44, the candidates provide extra information which is decisive for canvassing for votes. The information provided gives more understanding about certain developmental issues in the education section to the electorate. The additional explanation will help the electorate understand the message. The usage of the circumstantial relational clauses provides extra information which increases the credibility of the message.

### Analysis of the Mental Process

The mental process involves feeling or experiencing anything that occurs in the mind's interior. It reports thought and encodes the meaning of sensation or thinking. Mental processes always involve at least one human participant that has the capacity to feel and experience the process of sensing, knowing, and feeling. The Mental processes in the manifestos are used for different purposes. The manifestos make use of the mental processes of desire and cognition. Some examples are provided below:

45.

<b>M12CL5</b>		
The NDC government	recognizes	that a programme for the progressive introduction of free education
Senser	Cognitive	Phenomenon

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

46.

<b>M12CL35</b>		
We	believe	that we can do even better by streamlining our efforts and creating a stronger linkage between our TVET training and industry
Senser	Cognitive	Phenomenon

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

47.

<b>M16CL90</b>		
We	intend to complete	the construction of the 200 Community Day Senior Schools
Senser	Desiderative	Phenomenon

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

48.

<b>M16C1L91</b>		
We	intend to expand	the progressively free SHS programme to cover boarding students with emphasis on needy students
Senser	Desiderative	Phenomenon

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

The transitivity template for example 45, 46, 47 and 48 are; Senser + Process: Cognitive + Phenomenon.

The transitivity template- Cir + Senser + Process: Desiderative + Phenomenon + Cir. For example; Cir: With TVET + Senser: We + Process: Desiderative seek to empower + Phenomenon: *our youth* to make it more efficient and self-reliable. All the desiderative Mental process choices 'seek' and 'focus' used in the manifesto assign to the willingness and commitment on part of the NDC party to empower the youth.

Clauses 47 and 48 have the same transitivity template; Senser + Process: Desiderative + Phenomenon. the Senser 'We' refers to the presidential aspirant and his government. The Mental cognitive process comes next 'intend to complete' and 'intend to expand' which are used to designate

future desire of the aspirant of the phenomenon. This reflects on how the presidential aspirant and his team will address these concrete challenges devoid of any prejudice in the future.

Therefore, the presidential contender described development using mental processes that include the concepts of cognition and aspiration to describe progress, change and development in the education sector to the people. The mental process types such as *recognize*, *concentrate*, *believe*, *intend* and *focus* to express thought, opinion, persuade and to concretize projects and development in the education sector.

#### **Analysis of the Existential Process**

The processes that deal with existence are known as existential processes. Thus, *Existential* processes indicate that something exists or happens and they are recognized easily because the clauses begin with the word *there* (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). From the analysis in table 1 above, it is realized that there are 5 existential clauses in the education section of the 2012 manifesto of the NDC, representing 3.5%.

49.

<b>M12CL4</b>		
A programme	for the free Compulsory Universal Basic Education	exists
Existent	Circumstance	Exist

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

50.

<b>M12CL18</b>		
There	is	no space
	Exist	Existent

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

51.

<b>M12CL19</b>		
There	are	no teachers
	Exist	Existent

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

The investigation shows that the existential processes are used to inform the Ghanaian populace about the fact that there are deficiencies in terms of infrastructure and inadequate teachers at the basic level. In example 49, *A programme for the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education* is the existent. The presidential aspirant is telling the electorate that the FCUBE is a reality and only 20% of the Ghanaian school going age children are not able to enjoy the FCUBE may be due to the fact that there are no classrooms to accommodate them or where there are classrooms there are no teachers.

The word *there* serves as the dummy subject in these kinds of clauses, serving no representational purpose. Nevertheless, it helps to highlight an aspect of existence and is required as a subject in interpersonal interactions (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p.257). Few existential processes are used in the 2012 manifesto of the education section. In example 50 and 51, space and teachers are central in the development of education is identified through the



Existential process 'are' which is used to describe the subject of priorities at the basic and second cycle levels. *Resources for the creation of space and the provision of teachers* is a reference to topmost priorities of the education system. The candidate is worried about an existent, that is, no availability of classroom and lack of teachers at the basic as well as at the secondary level. He acts accordingly by putting measures in place. This means 20% of learners who have attained school going age cannot attend school. 46% of secondary and vocational students will also not gain admission. He is also of the view that there is the need to provide equal access to education and construct additional classrooms as well as recruiting more teachers.

The candidate communicates his idea to coax the electors only through the manifesto. The material processes and the relational processes are mostly chosen to present facts of reality from the perspective of the electorate. Thus, they seem to be more objective than other processes.

### **Research question 2: Participant Roles in the education section of the 2012 and 2016 manifestos**

Analysis of transitivity depends on participants. Processes and participants' interactions may show characteristics of particular discourses. Every procedure involves various participants. Only the participants who appeared frequently in each manifesto were the subject of the analysis. Table 4.3 shows how the participant roles were distributed between the two manifestos.

**Table 4.1: Distributions of Participants in 2012 and 2016 Manifestos**

Participants	Constitution	Parliament	Government	We	Programme	Total
Number	2	2	13	150	21	187
Percentage	1%	1%	7%	80%	11%	100

Table 4.3 shows that the pronoun ‘we’ and the nominal group, ‘government’, ‘constitution’, ‘parliament’, ‘programme’ are the participants in the 2012 and 2016 education section of the manifestos. The pronoun ‘We’ most frequently occurred in the manifestos with a frequency of (150, 80%), followed by ‘Programme’ (20, 11%) and then ‘government’ (13, 7%). ‘Programme’ in the manifestos shows the concrete actions the NDC have put in place to accelerate development in the education sector. ‘The NDC government’ in the manifestos refers to no other party but the NDC which the presidential aspirant is running on its ticket. The aspirant distances himself from the NDC government. He does not identify himself with the party. ‘We’ appears more with material processes 150 references respectively confirming the aspirant’s tendency and choice along the education section of the manifestos to portray them, that is himself, his party, and his government as doers, as agent of change.

#### **Analysis of Actors in the Material Clauses**

The data analysis showed that the main participants are realized by the Actor. The table below gives a description of the participants that play the role of Actor in the 2012 and 2016 NDC manifestos.

**Table 4.2: Frequency of Occurrences of the Actors in the Material****Clauses of 2012 manifesto**

Realization of Actor	Frequency	Percentage
We	36	52.2
NDC Government	9	13
Agentless	15	21.7
The 1992 constitution	2	2.8
Others (relative pronoun and other non-human actors)	8	11.2
Total	69	100

According to Table 4.4, there were a total of 69 actors utilized in the NDC 2012 manifesto's section on education. With a frequency of 36, or 52.2% of the data examined, the pronoun *We* is most frequently used to indicate the actor. With a frequency of 9, or 13% of the data examined, the NDC Government is the second most commonly chosen Actor. Others, which includes certain non-human performers, is the third most often used category of actors (*the constitution, who, resources and the provision, kindergarten education delivery, the centre, etc.*).

The frequency for this category is 8, which corresponds to 11.2 % of the data examined. The constitution appeared 2 times representing 2.8% in the education section of the 2012 NDC manifesto.

**Table 4.3: Frequency of Occurrences of the Actors in the Material Clauses of 2016 Manifesto**

Realization of Actor	Frequency	Percentage (%)
We	98	77.2
Agentless	12	9.4
Parliament	2	1.6
This	2	1.6
Enrolment	2	1.6
Others (pronouns and other non-human actors)	11	8.6
Total	127	100

According to Table 4.5 above, there were 127 actors utilized in the 2016 NDC manifesto's section on education. Once more, *We* is most frequently used to refer to the actor, with a frequency of 98 reflecting 77.2 % of the data examined. Others, which includes non-human actors, is the second most often used actor category. This group is made up of pronouns and noun groups and has a frequency of 11 representing 8.6%. The next most frequently used actors are *parliament*, *this* and *enrolment* with the frequency of 2 each representing 1.6% respectively of the analyzed data.

#### **Analysis of Participants in the Relational Clauses**

Eleven (11) relational processes, representing 2.6%. It is realized by both human and non-humans as token/carrier/possessor. Among the 11 clauses there are 6 human token/carrier/possessor whilst non-humans constitute 5 of the entire Relational clauses. The participants of the clauses

that serve as token/carrier are mostly the personal pronoun *We*, *that basic education, resources, the provision, it, that, who* etc. Examples are found below;

52.

<b>M12CL16</b>		
We	are	on track
<b>Carrier</b>	Relational: intensive	Attribute: Circumstantial

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

53.

<b>M12CL14</b>		
That	is	a capacity and pedagogy improvement programme
Token	Relational: intensive	value

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

54.

<b>M16CL140</b>			
That	has	a component	for leadership
Possessor	Relational: possession	possessed	Circumstance

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

In clause 52, the personal pronoun *We* which is the carrier is used to represent the candidate and the NDC party which he belongs to. In effect, with the process *are* the candidate is informing the electorate and readers that ‘they’ are still on the pathway to develop the education sector. In clause 53, *That* is a token referring to the T-tel initiative for capacity building for tutors

in the various colleges of education with the process *is* reveals a value which is *a capacity and pedagogy improvement programme*. In clause 54, the Secondary Education Improvement Programme launched by the NDC is represented by the possessor *That* has a leadership component in the programme for the various heads at the secondary level will enormously benefit from. With the process *has* reveals where that component which is the possessed element for leadership.

### Analysis of Participants in the Mental Clauses

The mental clause necessitates at least one participant with the mind as the capacity to experience since it connotes a quantum of change in the flow of events occurring in human consciousness. However, among 14 mental clauses, it was realized that only 3 clauses had non-human sensors whilst the remain 11 clauses had human sensors. Below are some examples.

55.

M12CL5			
The NDC government	recognizes	that a programme	for the progressive introduction of free Secondary Education
Sensor	Pr: Mental- Cognitive	Phenomenon	Circumstance

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

56.

<b>M12CL65</b>		
The centre	will concentrate	on expanding what has been attained at the tertiary level
Sensor	Pr: Mental- Cognitive	Phenomenon

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

57.

<b>M16CL37</b>		
We	recognize	that countries have well developed technical and vocational education
Sensor	Pr: Mental- Cognitive	Phenomenon

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

58.

<b>M16CL35</b>		
We	believe	we can do even better
Sensor	Pr: Mental- Cognitive	Phenomenon

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

59.

<b>M16CL90</b>		
We	intend	to complete the construction of the 200 Community Day Senior Schools
Sensor	Pr: Mental-Desiderative	Phenomenon

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

It is obvious from clauses 55 and 56 that the sensors, *the NDC government and the centre* respectively which are both non-human but have been given the capacity to feel. The sensor in clause 55 is the NDC government which recognizes a programme for free education at the secondary level as contained in the phenomenon of the clause and in clause 56 the sensor is the centre and through the phenomenon reveals that, the centre will solely concentrate *on expanding what has been attained at the tertiary level*.

It is evident in clauses 57, 58 and 59 that they have the same sensor which is the personal pronoun *We*. The sensor *We* represents the candidate and the NDC party. In clause 67 through the phenomenon, it is revealed that the electorates are being informed that countries that have developed their technical and vocational education properly are producing more globally and thereby generating more employment for their people. It is implied that the NDC will revive and strengthen the technical and vocational education in the country for the same effect as seen happening in other countries. In clause 68, it is revealed through the phenomenon that the NDC government can do better by creating a robust link between TVET training and industry to give students



first-hand experience on the job. In clause 69, it is again revealed through the phenomenon that the NDC government have the desire to complete the building of Community Day Senior Schools. This will enable more students to be admitted in the Community Day Schools and as well as ease pressure on existing secondary schools in the country.

**Research question 3: persuasive strategies and patterns used in the education section of the manifestos.**

Aristotle (1967) talked about three different persuasive strategies: logos, ethos and pathos. These three appeals intend to sway the recipient to reach 'out of free choice' a goal desired by the speaker (Poggi, 2005, p. 298). This is attained by persuading the addressee of the high value of the apparent goal through the manipulation of their beliefs.

*M12C12. The Government of the NDC is committed to ensuring the fulfillment of the constitutional obligation to provide Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education under Article 25 (1) (a) and Article 38 (2) It is equally committed to the progressive introduction of free secondary education under Article 25 (1) (b). A programme for the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education exists and is being implemented. (Extract1)*

**Logos:** From extract 1, it is obvious that the candidate appeals to the logical reason of the electorate by quoting the constitution of Ghana to demonstrate commitment to the provision of FCUBE to children who have attain the school going age in country. The candidate goes on to appeal again by referring to the constitution to show commitment to the advanced introduction of free SHS education.

**Ethos:** From extract 1, the candidate demonstrates a high level of transparency by upholding the constitution of Ghana with the commitments contributes to moral accepted substance for the candidate.

**Pathos:** From extract 1, the candidate attempts to convey positive emotional state such as trust, especially to the electorate.

*M12Cl8. While the Constitution requires basic education to be free, compulsory and universal, 20% of Ghanaian children of school going age presently are not able to go to school because there is no space or there are no teachers. At the secondary level only about 46% of those who qualify to enter Senior High School, Vocational or Technical Schools are able to gain admission either because there is no space or there are no teachers. Resources for the creation of space and the provision of teachers at both the basic and second cycle levels therefore are the topmost priorities of the education system. (Extract 2)*

**Logos:** From extract 2, the candidate appeals to the reason of the audience by making reference to the constitution that necessitates FCUBE. The candidate states a claim: a requirement from the constitution and goes on to back the claim with figures 20% of children cannot attend school because there is lack of space as well as teachers. Only about 46% of students gain admission to enter SHS and Vocational or Technical due to lack of space and teachers.

**Ethos:** from extract 2, the candidate goes on after presenting the problem of space and teachers at both the lower and the SHS levels that prevent many learners to go to school and gain admission into the second cycle institutions. The candidate finds solution to the problems by finding resources to create

space and provide teachers are the topmost priorities to increase enrolment. And this makes the electorate believe and rest on the candidate for the creation of these essential services.

*M12C114. Three million school uniforms have been provided to children in needy and deprived communities across the country. Over 40 million exercise books per year have been distributed to about 4.8 million pupils in basic schools nationwide as part of our commitment to investing in our people. In the Greater Accra Region in particular, we are on track to completing the construction of 48 three-storey 18-unit classroom blocks to end the shift system. Over 10,000 laptop and desktop computers have been supplied to various institutions and students across the country through the Ministries of Education and Environment, Science & Technology, and GIFEC. (Extract 3)*

**Logos:** from the extract 3 the candidate appeals to the reason of the electorate by giving figures for instance *three million, over 40 million, 18- unit classroom, 48 three-storey, over 10,000 laptop and desktop computers* to support the claim to the provision of various items and logistics given to communities and schools.

*M12C118. Under the school feeding programme, we have more than doubled the number of beneficiary school children from about 600,000 pupils in 2008/2009 to over 1.4 million in 2011/2012. We have increased the Capitation Grant by 50%. We have provided additional facilities for schools in deprived communities with a \$75 million Schools and Districts Grant Facility. Fifty-nine (59) out of the one hundred and ten (110) Science*

*Resources Centres nationwide have been rehabilitated. Five Thousand (5,000) scholarships have been provided to Mathematics and Science students from Second Cycle and Tertiary institutions under the Mathematics, Science and Technology Scholarship Scheme. (Extract 4)*

**Logos:** from the extract 4, the candidate is still appealing to the reason of the electorate to see the efforts and commitment the candidate has exhibited in the education sector. It is evident from the extract that the candidate enumerates the accomplishments done in the education sector backed with figures to show trustworthiness for instance: *Five Thousand (5,000) scholarships.*

**Ethos:** the candidate employed those figures to enable the electorate judge for themselves and also to hinge on and have confidence in the candidate. The candidate does that for sole purpose of persuasion.

*M16C15 The number of educational institutions at all levels of basic education increased from 45447 in the 2008/2009 academic year to over 57270 in the 2014/2015 academic year. This represents an increase of 26%. School enrolment increased from 7,038,738 students in the 2008/2009 academic year to 8891892, in the 2014/2015 academic year, representing an increase of more than 26%. (Extract5)*

**Logos:** from extract 5, the candidate is appealing to the reason of the electorate to see that the number of educational institutions that have been built. There has been an increased in the number of educational facilities from 2008/2009 to 2014/2015. Not only this but there was a significant increase in the admission of learners in the year under discussion. These are no mean

achievement for the NDC party. These figures are being presented to the electorate to make their own informed decisions as to whom to vote for.

*M16C113. The number of pupils benefiting from the school feeding programme quadrupled from about 440,000 in 2008 to 1.7 million in 2014. Over 90000 laptops have been distributed to basic schools in all 10 regions under the Basic School Computerization Programme. Under the same Basic School Computerization Programme, 50000 basic school teachers across the country benefited from ICT training and supply of free computers. Over 40,000 locally produced school sandals have been distributed to pupils in some deprived districts. The cost of BECE examination fees has been subsidized for all registered candidates in both public and private schools. (Extract 6)*

**Logos:** from the extract 6, the candidate persuades the electorate for vote by actually elaborating on key issues in the education sector that has been addressed. He does that by appealing to the reason of the electorate. The candidate present facts and these facts are being backed with concrete figures to support the argument. These are depicted to show the concreteness of challenges that are dealt with by the party. For instance, the beneficiaries of the feeding programme have increased tremendously *from about 440,000 in 2008 to 1.7 million in 2014.*

**Ethos:** from the extract 6 the candidate appears to be reliable, sincere and credible.

Considering Aristotle's three-fold classification, the classification of logos in the education section imply that the logos and ethos are mostly used than the pathos. Apart from the Aristotelian appeals for persuasion, the

candidate employs the first-person plural pronoun, repetition, and choice of words to convince the audience.

### Analysis of the pronoun *We*

Fairclough (2001) postulated two relational values of different sort for pronouns in English. Thus, there are two values for *We*: inclusive *We* and exclusive *We*. The former, inclusive *We*, includes addresser and addressees, and the latter, exclusive *We*, includes addresser plus one or more others but not the addressees.

The pronoun *We* was also mostly used across the education section of the manifestos. The candidates employed *We* to show their recognised or administrative uniqueness. *We*, according to Bano and Shakir (2015), connotes familiarity and camaraderie. This may be true in manifestos, when candidates work to make the language approachable in an effort to win the public's trust and vote. The candidates make a dint that they are team players and for that purpose, they make reference to themselves and the party they work for using *We*. It demonstrates the candidates' desire to become closer to their supporters. The examples below explain this point further.

60.

<b>M12CL19</b>			
We	have increased	the capitation	by 50%
Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	Circumstance

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

61.

<b>M16CL84</b>		
We	will review	the capitation grant
Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

In clauses 60 and 61, the presidential candidate sees himself and his government as the sole actors and implementers of the major developments taking place in the nation's education sector. In this case, the pronoun *We* is used anaphorically in the manifestos to represent the candidate and his administration. The usage of *We* as an actor is usually connected to the concept of inclusivity (Halliday, 1994).

Thus, the candidate prefers the inclusive pronoun *We* when alluding to the participants in the clauses. The recurrent use of *We* is a sign that the candidate sees himself as a member of a group, whether it be a political party or the electorate (Steffens & Haslam, 2013). The candidate appears selfless and acts on behalf of the group. The group has no class, ethnic, regional, or religious distinctions. Considering Ghana's diversity, group cohesion is essential because the candidate intends to serve all Ghanaians. As members of a group, everyone shares responsibility for Ghana's development. The electorate is voting for the candidate, and he must appear capable of leading the nation. When appropriate, candidates use *We* to achieve their goal of persuading voters.

### Analysis of tense

Tense choices made inside the verbal group that functions as the clause's process help to construe time. The simple present is used 15 times out of 79 tense systems in the 2012 manifesto to denote a different time range, such as general, or customary to persuade the electorate. For example; *categorizes, exists, requires, qualify, seeks, provide*, etc. These are some of the processes used to construe the simple present.

The process of doing in the 2012 manifesto is material and 18 out of the 79 tense systems are in the transformative construction. The tense system used in the passive construction is the present perfect tense construing a different time frame that some entities have received. Examples of some of the material processes used in the passive construction are; *have been provided, have been distributed, have been supplied, have been constructed, have been rehabilitated, has been trained, has been completed, has been initiated etc.* The tense system predominantly used in both manifestos especially in the education is the future tense to construe a different time frame that some entities will receive. For instance, *will encourage, will review, will promote, will allocate, will introduce, will establish, will continue, will eliminate, will accelerate, will institutionalize*, etc.

In the 2016 manifesto, the clauses are in the active construction with the pronoun *We* performing the actions. The process of doing in the manifesto is material. The Actors depict the concept that some entities 'do' something that have been done 'to' another entities. The tense system is the present participle construing a different time frame. This tense has been used 30 times



compared to the 6 times used in the 2012 manifesto. This is clear indication that physical actions have been done in terms of development in the education sector before the election year 2016. For example; *have expanded, have benefitted, have constructed, have built, have established, have developed, have abolished, have provided, have passed* etc.

These processes are selected to persuade the electorate. Again, the participant is the 'Goal' (*one hundred million free exercise books, the cost of BECE examination fees, the Ghana Reading Action Plan* etc) employed 14 times in the 2016 manifesto in the transformative construction. This construes that an entity 'has done' something- which has been done 'to' some other entities. The tense system used in the passive construction in the manifesto is the present perfect construing a different time frame that some entities have benefitted. Examples of some of the processes indicating passive are; *have been completed, have been distributed, has been subsidize, has been provided, have been equipped, has been attained, has been completed*. These material processes denote action which has been deliberately selected to persuade the electorate to see the physical actions executed and as such the NDC represents one of the best parties to be voted for.

The past tense is the tense system used in manifesto to construe a different time frame that an entity 'has done' something to some other entities in the past. Some examples are; *commenced, awarded, established, provided, extended, submitted, produced, commissioned, increased, absorbed, passed* etc. Again, these verbs denote physical actions acted upon by the Actors in the material clauses.

The future tense system used in manifesto construes projects to be completed later by the NDC government due to time factor. Some examples are; *will pilot, will continue, will work, will implement, will improve, will increase, will align, will appoint, will accelerate, will establish, will rebrand and strengthen*, etc. These examples indicate that the ‘NDC government’ has some developmental projects to be executed in the education sector in future. They could not have commenced these projects due to time factor and as such they are appealing to the electorates for votes to enable the NDC party continues these when given the mandate.

### **Repetition of the continue**

The most frequently used verbs in both manifestos are *continue*. The verbs *continue* has been used 21 times to show continuity of developments in the education sector. The verb *continue* has been used 7 times in the 2012 manifesto while *continue* has been used 14 times in the 2016 manifesto. The word *continue* is used in both manifestos to signify that most of the developmental projects, and human capacity building are to be continue in the education sector to see development. Some examples are seen below.

62. We will *continue* the provision of infrastructure for the universities of Health and Allied Sciences and Energy and Natural Resources

63. We will *continue* to provide consumables for effective and efficient use of the Science Resource Centres.

**The use of the modal *will***

In the manifesto, *will* is mostly used in the education section of the manifestos. For instance, *will* is used to express intention, reiterating Quirk et al's (1973) posture that *will* is used to show an intention or promise. Examples of clauses are presented below.

64. We *will* provide accommodation for teachers who accept postings to deprived rural schools.

65. We *will* establish special schools in designated Colleges of Education to train teachers solely for Early Childhood care and Development.

In essence, the usages of *will* buttress the actual objective of a political party to win elections and remain in governance. The NDC is no exception to this rule; hence, steadily, *will* is employed in the manifesto to assure the electorate of a better education. Undeniably, it can be considered intended and calculated given that by giving voters with a number of genuine possibilities.

Furthermore, the patterns are also seen in the choice selection of material process in the education section of both manifestos. In the 2012 manifesto of the education section the first pattern realized is: Actor + Mat + Goal + Cir. And they have been used 11 times. Below are some examples:

68.

<b>M12CL20</b>			
We	have provided	additional facilities	for schools in deprived communities...
Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	Circumstance

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

69.

<b>M12CL42</b>			
We	will eliminate	the remaining 60%	of identified 'Schools-Under-Trees'
Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	Circumstance

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

70.

<b>M12CL47</b>			
We	will accelerate	ICT education	by training more
Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	Circumstance

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

Clauses 68, 69 and 70 have the Actor *We* with different material processes denoting some particular actions on the different goals which are nominal groups to inform the electorates about what the NDC has been able to do for citizenry and at the same time asking the electors to judge for themselves what the NDC government has done and cast their votes for no other party than the NDC party.

Another pattern drawn from the 2012 manifesto is Goal + Mat + Cir. This pattern denotes a passive construction. Below are some examples:

71.

<b>M12CL27</b>		
Study	has been granted	to over 9,000 teachers
Goal	Pr: Mat	Recipient

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

72.

M12CL29		
Twenty-four thousand trained and untrained teacher	were recruited	as a stop-gap measure for the shortage of teachers...
Goal	Pr: Mat	Circumstance

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

73.

M12CL31		
Two new Public University	have been constructed	in the Brong-Ahafo and Volta Regions
Goal	Pr: Mat	Circumstance

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

Clauses 71, 72 and 73 have the same goal with different material processes denoting some actions performed by the NDC government. And these clauses are used to persuade the electors.

Again, there is another pattern which is: Actor + Mat + Goal + Cir + Mat + Goal. This pattern has been used 3 times in the 2012 education section of the manifesto.

74.

<b>M12CL53</b>					
The NDC government	will upgrade	all polytechnics	into degree awarding institutions	to award	both HND and Degrees
Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	Cir	Pr: Mat	Goal

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

75.

<b>M12CL64</b>					
The NDC government	will support	the centre	for National Distance Learning and Open Schooling	to harmonize	open and distance learning activities
Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	Cir	Pr: Mat	Goal

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

76.

<b>M12CL71</b>					
We	will implement	a diversified	of incentives	to include	housing, training and professional development
Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	Cir	Pr: Mat	Goal

(2012 NDC Manifesto)

Clauses 74 and 75 have the same actor 'The NDC government' with processes 'will upgrade', 'will support' and 'will implement' towards a goal 'all Polytechnics', 'the Centre' and 'a diversified mix' are the choices made by the political actor to persuade the electorate for votes.

Some transitivity patterns are used across both 2012/2016 manifestos and the pattern is: Actor + Mat + Goal + Cir. This pattern has been used 33 times in the education section of the 2016 manifesto of the NDC party. Below are some examples:

77.

<b>M16CL106</b>			
We	will introduce	special incentives	at the basic and second cycle levels for all pupils and students with special needs
Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	Circumstance

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

78.

<b>M16CL25</b>			
We	have commenced	construction	of 123 out of the planned 200 Community Senior High Schools...
Actor	Pr: Mat	Scope	Circumstance

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

79.

<b>M16CL26</b>			
We	have implemented	the progressively free Senior High School Programme	in line with Article 25 of the 1992 constitution
Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	Circumstance

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

80.

<b>M16CL28</b>			
We	have constructed	One thousand six-unit classroom blocks	in selected 2 <sup>nd</sup> cycle institutions
Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	Cir

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

Clauses 77, 78, 79 and 80 have the actor ‘we’ doer of the material process ‘will introduce’, ‘have commenced’, ‘have implemented’, ‘have constructed’ towards a particular goal ‘special initiative’, ‘construction’, ‘the free SHS programme’, and ‘one thousand six-unit classroom blocks’. These are the choices selected to persuade the electors to cast their votes for the NDC party for more of such development. The passive construction has been used in the education section of the 2016 manifesto to inform and to persuade the electorate for votes. The transitivity pattern is: Goal + Mat + Cir. This pattern is used 5 times in the manifesto. Below are some examples:

81.

<b>M16CL11</b>		
Twelve million five hundred thousand English, Mathematics and Science textbooks	were distributed	to public basic schools between 2013 and 2015
Goal	Pr: Mat	Cir

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

82.

<b>M16CL17</b>		
The cost of BECE examination fees	has been subsidized	for all registered candidates in both public and private schools
Goal	Pr: Mat	Cir

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

83.

<b>M16CL21</b>		
A gender parity ratio of 1:1	has been attained	at the primary level
Goal	Pr: Mat	Cir

(2016 NDC Manifesto)



Clauses 81, 82 and 83 are passive constructions to inform the electorate that ‘twelve million five thousand English, Mathematics and Science textbooks’, ‘the cost of BECE examination fees’, and ‘a gender parity ratio of 1:1’ through a material process ‘were distributed’, ‘has been subsidized’ and ‘has been attained’ have been achieved.

Another transitivity pattern worth noting in the education section of the 2016 manifesto is: Actor + Mat + Goal + Mat + Goal. This particular pattern was used 4 times to persuade the electors for votes. Below are some examples:

84.

<b>M16CL27</b>				
we	have initiated	a Secondary Education Improvement Programme under which 125 existing SHS	are undergoing	facility and quality upgrade
Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	Pr: Mat	Goal

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

85.

<b>M16CL55</b>				
We	commissioned	ICT facilities in the Regional Distance Education Centres	to aid	Distance Education
Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	Pr: Mat	Goal

(2016 NDC Manifesto)

Clauses 84 and 85 have the same actor *We* as the doer of the action of the processes ‘have initiated’ and ‘commissioned’ towards goals ‘a secondary education improvement programme’ and ‘ICT facilities’ to prove to the electorate that massive development have taken place in the education sector. Comparatively, both manifestos employ the present, future, progressive, present participle, the past tense and the passive construction to state a point in time as when a developmental project was executed.

Moreover, the candidate intends to persuade the Ghanaian electorate about his suitability to be president. While various factors certainly influence persuasion, language is one factor. The choice of process, and participants conveys an active candidate who can bring desirable development to the education sector. This is done by creating an auspicious brand of the candidate in the minds of the electorate. Perception is complex and beyond the scope of this study but the persuasive function of manifestos has been argued to encourage a certain perception of candidates.

The candidate preference for processes, participants and persuasive features are used to project himself as the most suitable person to be president. These language features are perhaps constants in political discourse. Language is employed to represent his actions, descriptions, and thoughts and hopes which benefits everyone in Ghana. Hence, the representation of the candidate emphasizes his positive traits but de-emphasizes his negative traits.

### **Chapter Summary**

Results are presented in this chapter. The first research question was answered by examining at the process types employed in the education

sections of the 2012 and 2016 NDC manifestos. The second research question was answered by looking at the participants and their involvement in the various clauses of the education sections of the 2012 and 2016 manifestos. And the last research question was answered by looking at the persuasive features and the transitivity patterns across the education section of the manifestos.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Introduction

This chapter offers a summary of the results of a transitivity analysis of the NDC's 2012 and 2016 manifestos. The chapter is divided into five parts, the first of which provides a synopsis of the whole study. The second part provides summarizes of the key findings. The third portion offers the study's implications, whilst the fourth section elaborates on the limitations of the study. The fifth section concludes with recommendations for further research.

#### Summary of Study

The primary purpose of this research was to investigate transitivity choices and persuasion in the education sections of the NDC Party's 2012 and 2016 manifestos. In the study, three key concerns are addressed. Firstly, it sought to determine the process types in the education section of the manifestos. Second, it looked at the participant roles in the education section. Lastly, it looked at the persuasive features used to convince the electorate and patterns across the education section of both manifestos.

This research utilized Systemic Functional Linguistics theory (SFL). The framework for this study is the transitivity framework of Halliday and Matthiessen (2014). This research is guided by two aspects of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), namely system networks and the concept of language metafunctions (Halliday, 1985, 2006; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). SFL is functional and systemic. These

allow the researcher to examine the process types, the participant roles assigned to these process types and the persuasive features as well as patterns used across the education section of the 2012 and 2016 manifestos of the NDC party. The research is a descriptive one using the qualitative research methodology. This study uses textual analysis as its qualitative analytic framework. Using this analytical framework alongside transitivity analysis, the data were evaluated and comprehended. The initial part of transitivity analysis involves identifying and isolating sentences containing process types. The six basic process categories of the transitivity framework were utilized to classify sentences, which were then classified into syntactic-semantic units. The frequency, distribution, and repetition of patterns were tallied. Again, Thompson's (2008) method was utilized to assess the transitivity decisions made in the manifestos, taking into account not just the process types but as well the entities represented by the various participant roles. Thompson's transitivity concordance and Transitivity templates were useful for analyzing the process types, identifying participant roles, identifying the persuasive features as well as patterns in manifestos.

### **Summary of Key Findings**

The investigation produced a number of significant findings based on the three research questions posed in chapter one. The research revealed that material, relational, mental, and existential processes were used in the education component of the 2012/2016 manifestos. The first research question was to assess the process types in the manifestos reveals about the campaign message on education. The number of material processes listed in the 2012 manifesto's education section is 125, which represents the biggest percentage

(86.8%) of all processes. The relational process type was second, occurring 10 times, representing 6.9%. With a rate of 2.8%, the mental process types showed up 4 times. Existential process types were the least common form of process. A total of 5 were counted in the examined clauses, representing 3.5%.

The education part of the 2016 NDC manifesto acknowledged three distinct sorts of processes: relational, mental, and material. Material process had the highest rate of 94% which appeared 245 times. The mental process, which appeared 10 times, accounted for 4%. The least type of process was the relational used in the clauses. It was counted five times and comprised 2% of the total.

Political manifestos are frequently associated with doing specific acts in the actual world, hence the material process predominates in the manifestos' sections on education. The doings are interpreted in terms of the physical developments in the educational field, and once again, the public uses these physical developments as voting criteria. It is clear that the candidate used the intensive, circumstantial and possession process types which are sub-categories of relational processes. In both manifestos, the relational process types were used 11 times. In the 2012 manifesto the intensive process was used 3 times and the circumstantial was used 4 times whilst in the 2016 manifesto the intensive was used 2 times, the possession 1 time and the attribute also 1 time. These process types were employed especially the relational circumstantial to inform the electorate about the level and the progress of development pertaining to the education sector as well as clear any doubt on the minds of the citizenry. The relational process is the being process and its purpose is to define or identify the characteristics of something.

The act of sensing is a mental activity. It conveys such inward processes as human desire, cognition, and perception. In the 2012 manifesto, the process denoting cognition was used 2 times and the process denoting perception was used 2 times whilst in the 2016 manifesto the process denoting cognition was used 2 times and the desiderative was used 7 times and perception was used 1 time. The desiderative processes were mostly used in the 2016 manifesto and this shows that the lack of adequate infrastructure and human resource development make the candidate and the NDC government most critical responsibility to implement such recovery plans to advance the nation's educational system.

Finding out the participant roles used in the manifestos to solicit votes was the second study topic. Under the Material processes, the roles these players played in the various clauses were highlighted and categorized into Actors and Goals. In the 2012 manifesto's section on education, the explicit pronoun *We* was recurrently used. Thirty-six (36) times as Actor (s), representing 52.2 % of the material processes, *We* are used. Once more, the majority of the clauses are agentless transformative constructs. These clauses without agents were present 15 times, representing 21.7% of all clauses. Additionally, *the NDC Government* made an appearance 9 times, accounting for 13%. *We* was used 98 times, representing 77%, in the 2016 manifesto's section on education. It is followed by the agentless, which was used 12 times, or 9.4%. The presidential candidates frequently employ the pronoun *We* to encourage group cohesion and create a connection between the writer, readers, and listeners. In their manifestos' education sections, presidential candidates anaphorically refer to themselves and their administration by using the word

*We* which is generally connected with the inclusion concept (Halliday, 1994; Thompson, 2004). It is clear that the actors' roles and casting decisions are influenced by politics. As was already indicated, some of the clauses are used by the candidates for president to highlight actual initiatives that their governments carried out while distancing themselves from those initiatives. These provisions conceal the agency, leaving open positions for the agents. As a result, the manifestos' education-related sections include no reference of the organizations in charge of carrying out such projects.

In the 2012 education section of the manifesto, the pronouns *We* and *who* are used, and the nominal groups *the 1992 constitution, the NDC Government, the constitution, Resources and the provision, the NDC's education program, the tertiary level, kindergarten education delivery, eight thousand additional untrained teachers* are used as Actors. The pronouns *We, this, it,* and *who* are employed as entities that take on the roles of Actors in the sentences of the 2016 manifesto's section on education. The entities that perform the role of Actors include; *Parliament, these interventions, the NDC government, the number of education institutions, the number of students, 50,000 basic school teachers, enrolment, and the process.*

In relational processes, participants take on the roles of Token, Carrier and Value. The nominal categories used as subjects (Token) in the 2012 education section of the manifesto include *Resources, the provision, that basic education, who, We, 20% of Ghanaian pupils.* The personal pronoun *We* is used thrice and it mostly used Token. *The progressive introduction, the topmost priorities, admission, conscious, free, the early processing, improvements* are assigned the participant role as Value in the relational



clauses to persuade the electorate. In the education section of the 2016 manifesto, the entities assigned participant roles are token and carrier. The participants playing the subject roles are; *We, that, that, and it*. The nominal group *a capacity and pedagogy improvement programme* are entities playing the participant role of Value. Entities assigned participant role of Attribute are; *a component, attractive* and *on course to eliminating...* played the role circumstantial attribute. The Token is predominantly used in the relational clauses. These employed here are in the attributive mode, which is a wise decision for grabbing the audience's interest and convincing them to support the NDC presidential candidate.

In the mental processes, the participants once more assume the roles of Sensor and Phenomenon. In the 2012 manifesto, the nominal groups *the NDC government, the centre, the programme* and *We* were the entities used as Sensors in the Mental Clauses. *That a programme, that on a case-by-case, to address these challenges* are entities assigned participant roles of Phenomenon. In the 2016 manifesto, the personal pronoun *We* is predominantly used as the Sensor in the Mental Clauses and it appeared 10 times. The entities *to complete the construction, to review the Computer Selection, to renovate and expand the facilities, that countries* were assigned the participant role of Phenomenon. The mental techniques used in the manifestos facilitate the execution of some recovery programmes to strengthen the educational sector. Once again, the mental processes can aid in the seamless proposal of their policies, the unification of people's thoughts, and the striking of an emotional chord in the audience.

The last research question was solved by looking at the persuasive features and patterns in the education section of the manifestos. In view of Aristotle's three-fold classification, the identification of logos in most of the segment of the analyzed manifestos might indicate that logos equally upsurges the influence of ethos due to the fact that presentation of lucid argument makes the addresser look more dependable and trustworthy. The candidate also employed repetition of the word *continue* in both manifestos to the ideology of continuity. And the use of the modal *will* to persuade the electorate.

There is a systematic selection of the pronoun *We* across the education section of both manifestos. The pronoun *We* was also mostly used across the education section of the manifestos. The candidates used *We* to demonstrate their institutional or organisational identity. According to Bano and Shakir (2015), the pronoun *We* generates a sense of familiarity and camaraderie. This could apply to manifestos, in which candidates attempt to make the text appear approachable for the electorate. The candidate creates a feeling that they are team players and for that reason, they refer to themselves and the party they work for using *We* as reference. It demonstrates the candidate's desire to become closer to their supporters.

The research found a systematic co-selection pattern of material processes. The patterns are made known through the transitivity templates. Three transitivity templates are used across both manifestos to persuade the electorate for votes. First is Actor + Mat + Goal + Cir + Mat + Goal. Second is Goal + Mat + Cir and third is Actor + Mat + Goal + Cir. The choice of process is material to construe physical actions in the education sector. Time

is also shown by the choices made within the verbal group that make up the process of the clause. The tense system employed are the simple present, the future and the present participle. The passive construction is also selected in both manifestos to persuade the citizenry to cast their votes for the NDC party.

The education section of the NDC's manifestos of 2012 and 2016 was subjected to a transitivity analysis in the current study. It is obvious from the analysis that clauses of different process types thus make idiosyncratic contributions to the construal of experience in the manifestos and the use of Aristotelian appeals (logos, ethos and pathos) to persuade the electorate. The electorate may be motivated to choose a political party in accordance with information from other political manifestos.

Thus, Thompson's (2008) method was utilized to assess the transitivity decisions made in the manifestos, taking into account not just the process types but as well the entities represented by the various participant roles. Thompson's transitivity concordance and Transitivity templates were useful for analyzing the process types and identifying the patterns and this help the researcher identify the transitivity choices in the 2012/2016 education section of the manifestos that aided the candidate persuade the electorate.

### **Conclusions of the Study**

In conclusion, the transitivity analysis has shown that political actors can use language patterns to get people to vote a certain way so that a political party can get into power.

Also, the study supported the theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics, which says that a text's linguistic features reflect its ideas, and that the choice of linguistic items in any discourse is based on a number of

factors and helps language users express their experiences, beliefs, ideologies, or represent their perceptions of reality (Bloor and Bloor 1995: 107-109; Halliday and Matthiessen 2014). Because of this, speakers either choose consciously or unconsciously from the infinite number of linguistic items certain linguistic resources over others to present their message they deem appropriate for the consumption of their audience.

Finally, the transitivity system has proved very useful in identifying the major process types, and the participants involved, and how the candidate positioned himself in relation to his audience. The study also revealed the ideology of continuity, inclusivity among others is embedded in the texts and his propensity for action through the predominance of the human actor/carrier/token and senser.

### **Implications of the Study**

The conclusions of this research have many implications. First, this study makes a substantial contribution to systemic functional linguistics research on how clauses of different process types make distinctive contributions to the construal of experience in the manifestos. It enhances our comprehension of how political actors make calculated decisions based on the linguistic structure designed to influence voters.

This study has implications for using transitivity in campaign discourse, particularly in persuasion-based language. This study expands our understanding of how presidential candidates employ different process types and persuasion strategies to their advantage.

In addition, the researcher believes that this research will contribute to knowledge on how transitivity analysis is applied to a text, specifically

manifestos, which can be used to explain its characteristics and meanings, in revealing transitivity processes and participant roles in the manifestos. Both literary works (such as personal narratives or diaries) and non-literary texts can be properly interpreted using the analytical method (including newspaper reports or articles or advertisements).

The research has offered a fresh perspective to the study of manifestos as a whole. In order to comprehend the experiential meanings, this study examined the manifestos' text clause by clause. This has added a fresh perspective on how to research manifesto language. This method could be utilized by academics interested in political discourse to investigate various features of manifestos.

The knowledge of transitivity influences the academic discipline. The daily interactions in the classroom rely significantly on the usage of language including process types as specified in each clause. The research will have a positive impact on clause instruction and study at all academic levels.

#### **Delimitations and Suggestions for Further Study**

The following suggestions were made in reference to the research findings. The study only used the transitivity model under the System Functional Linguistics (SFL). Additional research on manifestos can be done using additional SFL frameworks, like appraisal framework, to provide understanding in addition insights in the discourse of campaigns and to show how political players interact with voters for votes.

Additionally, the study's data was restricted to the education sections of the NDC manifestos from 2012 and 2016. This was done because of time

and space constraints. The study's conclusions can be used as the foundation for a more thorough investigation using a wider corpus of manifestos.

The findings will aid academics in this field who are examining manifesto language to spot the political suppositions concealed inside the vocabulary of campaign speech. To analyze the linguistic imports of various political parties in terms of political manifestos and other political discourses, researchers might conduct a comparative study of transitivity analysis. To provide a thorough examination of campaign discourses, additional studies into the interpersonal metafunction analysis can be carried out.

In the future, other Systemic Functional Linguistics concepts can be utilized to examine manifestos. Appraisal and Theme are two concepts that reveal how candidates assess and arrange their arguments respectively. The data could also be used to analyze the textual metafunction to indicate how the manifestos' statements are structured.

### **Chapter Summary**

The goals, procedures, and results of the study have been summarized in this last chapter. Conclusions on the research topic and implications have been pinched based on the findings. The chapter closed with suggestions for further investigation, most of which are based on the study's shortcomings.

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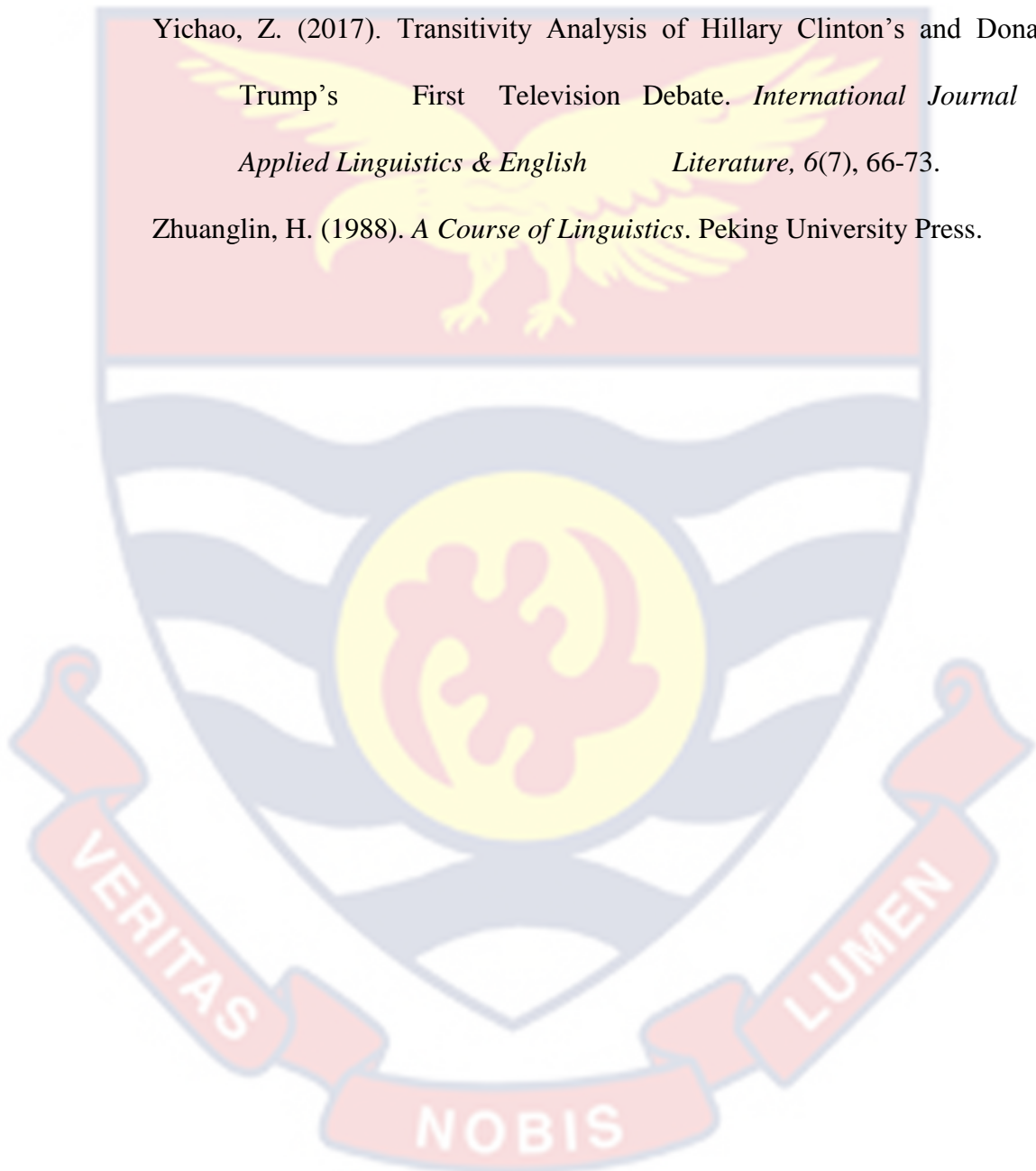


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## APPENDIX A

M12CI1//The 1992 Constitution of the Fourth Republic of Ghana categorizes **(Pr: Mat)** education into basic, secondary, tertiary education and functional literacy//

M12CI2. //The Government of the NDC is committed **(Pr: Rel)** to ensuring **(Pr: Rel)** the fulfillment of the constitutional obligation to provide **(Pr: Mat)** Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education under Article 25 (1) (a) and Article 38 (2)//

M12CI3. //It is equally committed **(Pr: Rel)** to the progressive introduction of free secondary education under Article 25 (1) (b)//

M12CI4. //A programme for the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education exists **(Pr: Rel)** and is being implemented **(Pr: Mat)**//

M12CI5. //The NDC government recognizes **(Pr: Ment)** that a programme for the progressive introduction of free Secondary Education will require **(Pr: Mat)** an implementation strategy//

M12CI6. //All NDC administrations, conscious of this constitutional obligation, have worked **(Pr: Mat)** and recorded **(Pr: Mat)** significant strides in these two areas//

M12CI7. //The NDC in the next administration beginning January 2013 will accelerate **(Pr: Mat)** the process of providing **(Pr: Mat)** equal access to education by constructing **(Pr: Mat)** additional Senior High Schools, Vocational and Technical Schools and Teacher Training Colleges as well as expanding **(Pr: Mat)** existing ones//

M12C18. //While the Constitution requires **(Pr: Mat)** basic education to be **(Pr: Rel)** free, compulsory and universal, 20% of Ghanaian children of school going age presently are not able to go **(Pr: Mat)** to school //because there is **(Pr: Exist)** no space or there are **(Pr: Exist)** no teachers//

M12C19. //At the secondary level only about 46% of those who qualify **(Pr: Mat)** to enter **(Pr: Mat)** Senior High School, Vocational or Technical Schools are able to gain **(Pr: Mat)** admission either //because there is **(Pr: Exist)** no space or there are **(Pr: Exist)** no teachers//

M12C110. //Resources for the creation of space and the provision of teachers at both the basic and second cycle levels therefore are **(Pr: Rel)** the topmost priorities of the education system//

M12C111. //The NDC's education programme seeks **(Pr: Mat)** to address **(Pr: Mat)** these challenges of the FCUBE and continue **(Pr: Mat)** the programme for the progressive introduction of free secondary education//

M12C112. //The tertiary level will also engage **(Pr: Mat)** our attention //because we are **(Pr: Rel)** conscious of the obvious linkages between education including tertiary and socioeconomic development//

M12C113. //A National Strategic Plan to ensure **(Pr: Ment)** that Kindergarten Education delivery in Ghana has been initiated **(Pr: Mat)**//

M12C114. //Three million school uniforms have been provided **(Pr: Mat)** to children in needy and deprived communities across the country//

M12C115. //Over 40 million exercise books per year have been distributed (**Pr: Mat**) to about 4.8 million pupils in basic schools nationwide as part of our commitment to investing (**Pr: Mat**) in our people//

M12C116. //In the Greater Accra Region in particular, we are (**Pr: Rel**) on track to completing the construction of 48 three-storey 18-unit classroom blocks to end the shift system//

M12C117. //Over 10,000 laptop and desktop computers have been supplied (**Pr: Mat**) to various institutions and students across the country through the Ministries of Education and Environment, Science & Technology, and GIFEC//

M12C118. //Under the school feeding programme, we have more than doubled (**Pr: Mat**) the number of beneficiary school children from about 600,000 pupils in 2008/2009 to over 1.4 million in 2011/2012//

M12C119. //We have increased (**Pr: Mat**) the Capitation Grant by 50%//

M12C120. //We have provided (**Pr: Mat**) additional facilities for schools in deprived communities with a \$75 million Schools and Districts Grant Facility//

M12C121. //Fifty-nine (59) out of the one hundred and ten (110) Science Resources Centres nationwide have been rehabilitated (**Pr: Mat**)//

M12C122. //Five Thousand (5,000) scholarships have been provided (**Pr: Mat**) to Mathematics and Science students from Second Cycle and Tertiary institutions under the Mathematics, Science and Technology Scholarship Scheme//

M12CI23. //Three Hundred (300) emergency classroom blocks were constructed (**Pr: Mat**) to cater for the unplanned infrastructure and logistics for 4<sup>th</sup> year SHS students//

M12CI24. //A National Apprenticeship Programme has been introduced (**Pr: Mat**) to enroll over 13,000 apprentices annually in 25 different skills areas for JHS students ///who are unable to access (**Pr: Mat**) Senior High Schools//

M12CI25. //We have introduced (**Pr: Mat**) social interventions in the education sector including (**Pr: Mat**) the implementation of the progressively free SHS programme, scholarships for over 10,000 Senior High (SHS) students, free school uniforms, free exercise books and free sandals for school children//

M12CI26. //With the introduction of the Local Enterprises and Skills Development Programme (LESDEP), provision has been made (**Pr: Mat**) for short-term training and employment programmes for the youth as part of the out-of-school Technical & Vocational Education & Training activities//

M12CI27. //Study leave has been granted (**Pr: Mat**) to over 9,000 teachers as part of our commitment to quality human capital development and for improving the quality of teaching and learning in our schools//

M12CI28. //To enhance (**Pr: Mat**) the quality of teachers and provide (**Pr: Mat**) incentives for their career progression, the College of Education Act has been passed (**Pr: Mat**), marking (**Pr: Mat**) a successful transition of the 38 Training Colleges to the tertiary level of education//

M12CI29. //Twenty-four thousand (24,000) trained and untrained teachers were recruited (**Pr: Mat**) as a stop-gap measure for the shortage of teachers in mostly deprived areas and these have been trained (**Pr: Mat**) to enhance (**Pr: Mat**) their pedagogical skills//

M12CI30. //Eight thousand (8,000) additional untrained teachers out of an intended 16,000 are currently enrolled (**Pr: Mat**) in selected Colleges of Education for the Untrained Teachers Diploma in Basic education (UTDBE)//

M12CI31. //Two new Public Universities have been (**Pr: Mat**) in the Brong-Ahafo and Volta Regions//

M12CI32. //The University of Energy and Natural Resources and the University of Health and Allied Sciences have commenced (**Pr: Mat**) enrolment and admitting students for the 2012/2013 academic year//

M12CI33. //As part of the promise to improve (**Pr: Mat**) academic work at the University for Development Studies (UDS), a housing facility for House Officers at the Tamale Teaching Hospital has been constructed (**Pr: Mat**)//

M12CI34. //A four-storey Lecture Theatre has also been completed (**Pr: Mat**) at the Wa campus//

M12CI35. //GETFund resources have been used (**Pr: Mat**) to provide (**Pr: Mat**) residential facilities, classrooms, laboratories, libraries and administration blocks in every region and at every level of education towards the improvement of education delivery//

M12C136. //We will encourage **(Pr: Mat)** the establishment of conventional and non-conventional facilities that promote **(Pr: Mat)** the survival, growth and protection of all children//

M12C137. //We will review **(Pr: Mat)** and implement **(Pr: Mat)** the National Policy on 'Early Childhood Care and Development' and broaden parental participation in the implementation of the policy//

M12C138. //We will promote **(Pr: Mat)** and strengthen **(Pr: Mat)** collaboration between the Ministry of Education and the Department of Social Welfare in the provision of pre-school and kindergarten education including **(Pr: Mat)** the training of teachers for that level of education//

M12C139. //We will allocate **(Pr: Mat)** more resources for the rehabilitation of kindergarten facilities throughout the country to provide **(Pr: Mat)** the essential resources necessary for the training of children at that level of education//

M12C140. //We will introduce **(Pr: Mat)** a one-year specialized skills training programme in the various Colleges of Education for the training of teachers for the kindergarten and day care classes//

M12C141. //In the long term, we will establish **(Pr: Mat)** special schools in designated Colleges of Education to train **(Pr: Mat)** graduate teachers solely on early childhood care and development//

M12C142. //We will eliminate **(Pr: Mat)** the remaining 60% of identified 'Schools-Under-Trees'//

M12C143. //We will progressively expand (**Pr: Mat**) coverage of the School Feeding Programme to all public basic schools in rural and needy communities//

M12C144. //We will continue (**Pr: Mat**) the construction programme to eliminate (**Pr: Mat**) the “Shift System” from the public-school system//

M12C145. //We will review (**Pr: Mat**) the Capitation Grant periodically to keep (**Pr: Mat**) pace with cost levels//

M12C146. //We will ensure (**Pr: Ment**) improvements in Special Needs Education//

M12C147. //We will accelerate (**Pr: Mat**) ICT education by training more teachers in the subject area and continue (**Pr: Mat**) the free supply of computers to Primary and JHS as well as establishing (**Pr: Mat**) ICT laboratories for cluster of schools//

M12C148. //In this administration, we have provided (**Pr: Mat**) free uniforms and free textbooks//

M12C149. //In the next administration, we will review (**Pr: Mat**) all costs currently burdening parents, and ensure that basic education is (**Pr: Rel**) free ///as the constitution mandates (**Pr: Mat**)//

M12C150. //The NDC government will expand(**Pr: Mat**) and upgrade (**Pr: Mat**) the facilities in all Colleges of Education to benefit (**Pr: Mat**) their new status as tertiary institutions//



M12C151. //We will increase (**Pr: Mat**) the admissions of teacher trainees in the existing Colleges of Education by over 30% from 9,000 to 12,000//

M12C152. //The NDC government will establish (**Pr: Mat**) at least 10 new Colleges of Education in the medium term to be located (**Pr: Mat**) in areas not well served currently in anticipation of the increase in student numbers on account of our increased access to education programme//

M12C153. //The NDC government will upgrade (**Pr: Mat**) all Polytechnics into degree awarding institutions that will award (**Pr: Mat**) both HND and Degrees//

M12C154. //We recognize (**Pr: Ment**) that on a case-by-case basis, the polytechnics may have to upgrade (**Pr: Mat**) their facilities and qualification of faculty/// in order to become (**Pr: Rel**) degree awarding institutions///

M12C155. //Continue (**Pr: Mat**) the provision of infrastructure for the Universities of Health and Allied Sciences and Energy and Natural Resources//

M12C156. //Establish (**Pr: Mat**) a new public University in the Eastern Region to complete (**Pr: Mat**) the NDC's vision of providing a public University campus in every Region of the country//

M12C157. //Continue (**Pr: Mat**) to upgrade (**Pr: Mat**) both residential and academic facilities in the other existing public Universities, particularly the University for Development Studies, to address (**Pr: Mat**) the current deficit//

M12Cl58. //Provide (**Pr: Mat**) facilities to augment (**Pr: Mat**) the operations of the Medical Schools of the University for Development Studies and the University of Cape Coast//

M12Cl59. //Continue (**Pr: Mat**) the on-going new campus development programmes of the Ghana Institute of Journalism, the School of Translators and the National Film and Television Institute (NAFTI)//

M12Cl60. //Continue (**Pr: Mat**) to make (**Pr: Mat**) allocations from the GETFund for the training of faculty members of tertiary institutions and provide (**Pr: Mat**) scholarships for the training of critical manpower needed to drive (**Pr: Mat**) Ghana's transformation agenda//

M12Cl61. //Review (**Pr: Mat**) the number of private University and encourage (**Pr: Mat**) existing institutions to expand (**Pr: Mat**) and consolidate (**Pr: Mat**)//

M12Cl62. //Examine (**Pr: Mat**) mechanisms for extending the Student Loan Trust to students in private tertiary institutions//

M12Cl63. //Engage (**Pr: Mat**) private tertiary institutions to identify (**Pr: Mat**) the relevant Government support required to ensure (**Pr: Mat**) that their products are aligned (**Pr: Mat**) with the manpower requirements for critical national development//

M12Cl64. //The NDC government will support (**Pr: Mat**) the centre for National Distance Learning and Open Schooling (CENDLOS) to harmonize (**Pr: Mat**) open and distance learning activities in the country//

M12Cl65. //The centre will concentrate (**Pr: Ment**) on expanding what has been attained (**Pr: Mat**) at the tertiary level and replicate (**Pr: Mat**) it at the pre-tertiary level through the use of appropriate technologies and approaches//

M12Cl66. //The next NDC government will actively support (**Pr: Mat**) the Non-Formal Education Division (NFED) and its programmes and carry (**Pr: Mat**) out the National Literacy Programme with greater urgency and expanded coverage//

M12Cl67. //We will convert (**Pr: Mat**) the Division into an agency and empower (**Pr: Mat**) it to make (**Pr: Mat**) the necessary interventions for life-long education//

M12Cl68. //The NDC Government considers (**Pr: Mat**) teachers as partners in a national development and will continue (**Pr: Mat**) to implement (**Pr: Mat**) a policy mix that will elicit (**Pr: Mat**) maximum co-operation from teachers in the attainment of its education policy objectives//

M12Cl69. //We will expand (**Pr: Mat**) the Untrained Teachers Diploma in Education (UTDBE) Programme to reduce (**Pr: Mat**) the number of untrained teachers by at least 50%//

M12Cl70. //We will institutionalize (**Pr: Mat**) the in-service Education and Training (INSET) Programme//

M12Cl71. //We will implement (**Pr: Mat**) a diversified mix of incentives including housing, training and professional development//

M12Cl72. //We will continue (**Pr: Mat**) to pay (**Pr: Mat**) a special allowance to teachers in deprived communities//

M12CI73. //We will ensure (**Pr: Ment**) the early processing of salaries of newly posted teachers as well as placement of newly promoted teachers on their correct salary levels//

M12CI74. //Distribute (**Pr: Mat**) 400,000 laptops and desktop computers to schools, teachers, students and pupils with an additional focus on software programmes//

M16CI11. //The next NDC government will create (**Pr: Mat**) opportunities for work and study//

M16CI12. //We have introduced (**Pr: Mat**) social interventions in the education sector including (**Pr: Mat**) the implementation of the progressively free SHS programme//

M16CI13. //We have also expanded (**Pr: Mat**) the school feeding programme thus reducing (**Pr: Mat**) the direct and indirect cost barriers to parents, and that has allowed (**Pr: Mat**) for improved attendance rates in our education system//

M16CI14. //These interventions have allowed (**Pr: Mat**) the NDC Government to significantly expand (**Pr: Mat**) access to education at all levels.//

M16CI15. //The number of educational institutions at all levels of basic education increased (**Pr: Mat**) from 45447 in the 2008/2009 academic year to over 57270 in the 2014/2015 academic year//

M16CI16. //This represents (**Pr: Mat**) an increase of 26%//

M16Cl7. //School enrolment increased (**Pr: Mat**) from 7,038,738 students in the 2008/2009 academic year to 8891892, in the 2014/2015 academic year, representing (**Pr: Mat**) an increase of more than 26%//

M16Cl8. //A total of 1614 out of 2578 basic school projects have been completed (**Pr: Mat**) under the removal of school under trees programme, providing (**Pr: Mat**) brick and mortar shelter for 484200 pupils//

M16Cl9. //The process to eliminate (**Pr: Mat**) the school shift system has been (**Pr: Mat**) highly successful//

M16Cl10. //One hundred million free exercise books have been distributed (**Pr: Mat**), with free school uniforms also provided (**Pr: Mat**) to over two million school pupils//

M16Cl11. //Twelve million five hundred thousand English, Mathematics and Science textbooks were distributed (**Pr: Mat**) to public basic schools between 2013 and 2015//

M16Cl12. //This enabled (**Pr: Mat**) Ghana to exceed (**Pr: Mat**) the universal textbook pupil ratio of three textbooks to one pupil//

M16Cl13. //The number of pupils benefiting (**Pr: Mat**) from the school feeding programme quadrupled (**Pr: Mat**) from about 440,000 in 2008 to 1.7 million in 2014//

M16Cl14. //Over 90000 laptops have been distributed (**Pr: Mat**) to basic schools in all 10 regions under the Basic School Computerization Programme//

M16Cl15. //Under the same Basic School Computerization Programme, 50000 basic schoolteachers across the country benefited (**Pr: Mat**) from ICT training and supply of free computers//

M16Cl16. //Over 40,000 locally produced (**Pr: Mat**) school sandals have been distributed (**Pr: Mat**) to pupils in some deprived districts//

M16Cl17. //The cost of BECE examination fees has been subsidized (**Pr: Mat**) for all registered candidates in both public and private schools//

M16Cl18. //Under the Complementary Basic Education Programme, 125,000 out-of-school pupils have been enrolled (**Pr: Mat**)//

M16Cl19. //Career development training for over 60000 teachers at the basic level has been provided (**Pr: Mat**) for, while 1000 teachers have under-gone (**Pr: Mat**) in service training for skills in the teaching of Science and Mathematics//

M16Cl20. //Existing Colleges of Education have been equipped (**Pr: Mat**) with requisite Science Laboratories to train (**Pr: Mat**) 20,000 teachers to improve (**Pr: Mat**) the teaching of Science and Mathematics in basic schools//

M16Cl21. //A gender parity ratio of 1:1 has been attained (**Pr: Mat**) at the Primary level//

M16Cl22//Over 92000 girls have benefitted (**Pr: Mat**) from the Take Home Ration Programme in the three Northern Regions//

M16Cl23. //Scholarships for about 55,000 girls in the JHS have been offered (**Pr: Mat**) under the Global Partnership for Education Programme//

M16CI24. //The Ghana Reading Action Plan has been implemented (**Pr: Mat**) and more than 2.8 million pupils at the primary level have benefitted (**Pr: Mat**)//

M16CI25. //We have commenced (**Pr: Mat**) construction of 123 out of the planned 200 Community Senior High Schools with ongoing commissioning of completed//

M16CI26. //We have implemented (**Pr: Mat**) the Progressively Free Senior High School Programme in line with Article 25 of the 1992 constitution//

M16CI27. //We have initiated (**Pr: Mat**) a Secondary Education Improvement Programme under which 125 existing Senior High Schools are undergoing (**Pr: Mat**) facility and quality upgrade//

M16CI28. //We have constructed (**Pr: Mat**) one thousand six-unit classroom blocks and over 180 two-storey dormitories in selected 2<sup>nd</sup> cycle institutions//

M16CI29. //We have rehabilitated and equipped (**Pr: Mat**) five hundred Science Resource Centres in the Senior High Schools across the country//

M16CI30. //We have resourced (**Pr: Mat**) one hundred and seventy existing Senior High Schools across the country with modern facilities//

M16CI31. //We have built (**Pr: Mat**) the capacity of 6500 Mathematics, Science and ICT teachers from some selected Senior High Schools and provided (**Pr: Mat**) leadership training for heads of Senior High Schools//

M16CI32. //We have expanded (**Pr: Mat**) special subsidies to cover (**Pr: Mat**) more students in Senior High Schools//

M16Cl33. //We have provided (**Pr: Mat**) fifty-eight thousand bunk beds, fifty thousand pieces of furniture [...]

M16Cl34. //We have over the last several years invested (**Pr: Mat**) heavily in Technical and Vocational Education and Training//

M16Cl35. //We believe (**Pr: Ment**) we can do (**Pr: Mat**) even better by streamlining our efforts and creating (**Pr: Mat**) a stronger linkage between our TVET training and industry//

M16Cl36. //We must make (**Pr: Mat**) it a focal point to promote (**Pr: Mat**) TVET as a means to brighter prospects and employability//

M16Cl37. //We recognize (**Pr: Ment**) that countries that have well developed (**Pr: Mat**) technical and vocational education *are attracting* (**Pr: Mat**) more global production and thereby generating (**Pr: Mat**) more employment for their people//

M16Cl38. //With TVET, we seek (**Pr: Ment**) to empower (**Pr: Mat**) our youth with the skills needed to enter (**Pr: Mat**) the world of work and create (**Pr: Mat**) prosperity for themselves and their families//

M16Cl39. //We have established (**Pr: Mat**) a broad-based governance structure including (**Pr: Mat**) Statutory National Technical Committees with wide stakeholder//

M16Cl40. //We have established (**Pr: Mat**) National TVET Qualifications Framework//



M16Cl41. //We have adopted (**Pr: Mat**) Competency-Based Training model with emphasis on linkage with industry for TVET institutions//

M16Cl42. //We have established (**Pr: Mat**) a National Apprenticeship Programme to cater (**Pr:Mat**) for the large informal sector//

M16Cl43. //We awarded (**Pr: Mat**) bursaries to 1520 students who are pursuing(**Pr: Mat**) science related courses in Polytechnics and Technical Institutes//

M16Cl44. //We awarded (**Pr: Mat**) bursaries to 2000 apprentices in the informal sector//

M16Cl45. //We trained (**Pr: Mat**) over 800 Master Craftspersons in Competency-Based Training methods of instruction//

M16Cl46. //We commenced (**Pr: Mat**) construction of modern school infrastructure in 13 Technical and Vocational Institutes//

M16Cl47. //We sponsored(**Pr: Mat**) the training of 148 instructors at Diploma level, 20 instructors at the Masters level and 5 faculty members at the PhD level//

M16Cl48. //We trained (**Pr: Mat**) over 5000 Junior High School leavers in garment making, [...]//

M16Cl49. //We trained (**Pr: Mat**) over 3500 master craftspersons in capacity building in current industry trends//

M16Cl50. //We awarded (**Pr: Mat**) a total of US\$45.4million to 617 formal and informal businesses [...]//

M16Cl51. //We provided (**Pr: Mat**) innovative skills training to over 93,446 workers in the formal and informal sector//

M16Cl52. //We increased(**Pr: Mat**) the capacities of the tertiary institutions across the country leading to increased enrolments of 7.1% in the universities and 3.4% in the polytechnics//

M16Cl53. //Enrolment went (**Pr: Mat**) up by 63.8% in the 38 public Colleges of Education with the substitution of trainee allowances with the student's loan scheme//

M16Cl54. //We commenced (**Pr: Mat**) the construction of a 617 bed Teaching Hospital at the university of Ghana, Legon, to support (**Pr: Mat**) the university of Ghana Medical School//

M16Cl55. //We commissioned (**Pr: Mat**) ICT facilities in the 10 Regional Distance Education Centresto aid (**Pr: Mat**) Distance Education//

M16Cl56. //We established (**Pr: Mat**) the University of Energy and Natural Resources in the Brong Ahafo Region [...]//

M16Cl57. //We submitted (**Pr: Mat**) a Bill for the establishment of the National Research Fund to Parliament//

M16Cl58. //Parliament passed (**Pr: Mat**) the Technical Universities Bill to convert (**Pr: Mat**) Polytechnics into Technical Universities//

M16Cl59. //Parliament passed (**Pr: Mat**) the University of Environment and Sustainable Development Act//

M16Cl60. //We initiated (**Pr: Mat**) the process to convert (**Pr: Mat**) GRATIS institutions into Technical Colleges//

M16Cl61. //We provided (**Pr: Mat**) 150 million Ghana Cedis grant to 654 institutions, Vocational Education and Training//

M16Cl62. //We extended (**Pr: Mat**) the Students Loans Scheme to cover (**Pr: Mat**) students in all tertiary institutions and increased (**Pr: Mat**) the amount//

M16Cl63. //We absorbed (**Pr: Mat**) five private Colleges of Education into Government Colleges of Education in the Northern, Ashanti, Western and Brong Ahafo Regions//

M16Cl64. //We offered (**Pr: Mat**) 1,130 scholarships to students pursuing graduate studies including Medicine and Allied Health Specializations abroad//

M16Cl65. //We granted (**Pr: Mat**) a Presidential Charter to the Central University college//

M16Cl66. //We have passed (**Pr: Mat**) the Colleges of Education Act, 2012 to upgrade (**Pr: Mat**) Teacher Training Colleges to Tertiary institutions//

M16Cl67. //We have abolished (**Pr: Mat**) the quota system in the colleges of Education allowing for all 38 public Colleges of Education to admit (**Pr: Mat**) at full capacity//

M16Cl68. //This has led (**Pr: Mat**) to an increased in enrollment by 63.8%//

M16CI69. //Consequently, we are(**Pr: Rel**) on course to eliminating (**Pr: Mat**) the trained teacher deficit in schools thereby improving (**Pr: Mat**) the quality of basic education//

M16CI70. //We have reviewed (**Pr: Mat**) the operations of the Student loans Trust Fund to allow (**Pr: Mat**) for teacher trainees *to access* (**Pr: Mat**) the fund like their counterparts in the universities and other tertiary institutions//

M16CI71. //Over 7100 teacher trainees have so far *accessed* (**Pr: Mat**) the fund//

M16CI72. //We have launched (**Pr: Mat**) the Secondary Education Improvement Programme that has(**Pr: Rel**)a component for leadership support for Heads of Senior High [...]//

M16CI73. //We have provided (**Pr: Mat**) free laptop computers to over 50,000 teachers since 2013//

M16CI74. //We have implemented (**Pr: Mat**) the T-tel initiative that *is* (**Pr: Rel**) a capacity and pedagogy improvement programme for Colleges of Education//

M16CI75. //We have successfully worked (**Pr: Mat**) with the teacher unions to reduce (**Pr: Mat**) teacher absenteeism from 27% in 2012 to 9.3% in 2015 [...]//

M16CI76. //We will strengthen (**Pr: Mat**) regulation on the establishment of pre-schools to meet(**Pr: Mat**) the required standards and best practices in early childhood care and development//

M16C177. //We will review and implement (**Pr: Mat**) the national policy on ‘Early Childhood Care and Development’ and broaden (**Pr: Mat**) parental participation in the implementation of the policy//

M16C178. //We will strengthen (**Pr: Mat**) collaboration between the Ministry of Education and the Department of Social Welfare [...]//

M16C179. //We will continue (**Pr: Mat**) to allocate (**Pr: Mat**) more resources for the rehabilitation and construction of kindergarten facilities throughout the country//

M16C180. //We will establish (**Pr: Mat**) special schools in designated Colleges of Education to train (**Pr: Mat**) teachers solely for Early Childhood Care and Development//

M16C181. //We will complete (**Pr: Mat**) the process of eliminating the remaining public schools under trees and abolish (**Pr: Mat**) the shift system countrywide//

M16C182. //We will continue (**Pr: Mat**) the provision of free school uniforms, free exercise books, and free footwear for needy pupils//

M16C183. //We will expand (**Pr: Mat**) the school feeding programme to all public basic schools in rural and peri-urban communities//

M16C184. //We will review (**Pr: Mat**) the capitation grant//

M16C185. //We will continue (**Pr: Mat**) to ensure (**Pr: Ment**) improvement in special Needs Education//

M16Cl86. //We will continue (**Pr: Mat**) to facilitate (**Pr: Mat**) the acceleration of ICT education by *training* (**Pr: Mat**) more teachers in the subject area//

M16Cl87. //We will continue (**Pr: Mat**) the supply of computers to basic schools and establish (**Pr: Mat**) ICT laboratories for selected schools//

M16Cl88. //We will work (**Pr: Mat**) with the Ghana Education Service to re-introduce (**Pr: Mat**) civic education into the basic school curricula//

M16Cl89. //We will pilot (**Pr: Mat**) the use of electronic textbooks using tablets//

M16Cl90. //We intend (**Pr: Ment**) to complete (**Pr: Mat**) the construction of the 200 Community Day Senior Schools//

M16Cl91. //We intend (**Pr: Ment**) to expand (**Pr: Mat**) the progressively free SHS programme *to cover* (**Pr: Mat**) boarding students with emphasis on needy students//

M16Cl92. //We intend (**Pr: Ment**) to review (**Pr: Mat**) the Computer Selection for schools Programme to make (**Pr: Mat**) it more effective and equitable//

M16Cl93. //We intend (**Pr: Ment**) to renovate and expand (**Pr: Mat**) the facilities in existing Senior High Schools to increase (**Pr: Mat**) capacity for admitting more qualified JHS graduates//

M16C194. //We intend (**Pr: Ment**) to continue (**Pr: Mat**) to provide (**Pr: Mat**) facilities for students with learning disability to pursue (**Pr: Mat**) their educational programmes effectively//

M16C195. //We will implement (**Pr: Mat**) the 2<sup>nd</sup> phase of the skills Development Fund *to provide* (**Pr: Mat**) grants to over 120 private sector businesses to upgrade (**Pr: Mat**) skills and acquire (**Pr: Mat**) innovative modern technology to enhance (**Pr: Mat**) their productivity//

M16C196. //We will encourage (**Pr: Mat**) more girls to select (**Pr: Mat**) TVET as a career option//

M16C197. //We will improve (**Pr: Mat**) linkage between TVET and industry//

M16C198. //We will increase (**Pr: Mat**) capacity for technical training, 30% of the new community senior high schools will be fitted (**Pr: Mat**) with technical workshops and facilities to offer (**Pr: Mat**) technical and vocational programmes//

M16C199. //We will appoint (**Pr: Mat**) a deputy minister with primary responsibility for TVET and technical education at all levels//

M16C1100. //We will align (**Pr: Mat**) vocational training properly under the Ministry of Education to enable better supervision//

M16C1101. //We will ensure (**Pr: Ment**) that the new technical Universities maintain(**Pr: Mat**) their core mandate of science and technology training//

M16Cl102. //We will accelerate (**Pr: Mat**) the agenda to make (**Pr: Mat**) technical and vocational Education and Training ///so that it becomes (**Pr: Rel**) attractive to high- performing students///

M16Cl103. //We will rebrand and strengthen(**Pr: Mat**) Technical and Vocational Education and Training so that it becomes(**Pr: Rel**) attractive to high-performing students//

M16Cl104. //We will continue (**Pr: Mat**) to equip and retool (**Pr: Mat**) the TVET institutions with requisite facilities//

M16Cl105. //We will establish (**Pr: Mat**) 50 Community Centres for Integrated Skills Development//

M16Cl106. //We will introduce (**Pr: Mat**) special incentives at the basic and second cycle levels for all pupils and students with special needs//

M16Cl107. //We plan (**Pr: Ment**) to establish (**Pr: Mat**) a new College of Education as an Instructor Training College for TVET at Agona Swedru in the Central Region//

M16Cl108. //We plan (**Pr: Ment**) to complete (**Pr: Mat**) the University of Environment and Sustainable Development at Somanya and its satellite campus at Donkorkrom in the Eastern Region//

M16Cl109. //We will complete (**Pr: Mat**) the establishment of three additional Colleges of Education in the underserved regions of Greater Accra, Central and the Northern Regions//



M16Cl110. //We plan (**Pr: Ment**) to continue (**Pr: Mat**) to implement (**Pr: Mat**) the Transforming Teacher Education and Learning Programme (T-tel) to cover (**Pr: Mat**) professional training for 35,000 teachers in all the Colleges of Education//

M16Cl111. //We plan (**Pr: Ment**) to complete (**Pr: Mat**) the conversion of the ten Polytechnics into Technical Universities and adequately resource (**Pr: Mat**) them to ensure (**Pr: Ment**) the provision of advanced technical, vocational and technological training//

M16Cl112. //We plan (**Pr: Ment**) to support (**Pr: Mat**) capacity building for Faculty of Technical Universities and the tertiarized Colleges of Education//

M16Cl113. //We plan (**Pr: Ment**) to continue (**Pr: Mat**) to resource (**Pr: Mat**) the public tertiary institutions to improve (**Pr: Mat**) quality and expand (**Pr: Mat**) the intake of qualified applicants//

M16Cl114. //We plan (**Pr: Ment**) to provide (**Pr: Mat**) additional facilities to augment (**Pr: Mat**) the operations of the new Medical Schools of the University of Cape Coast, University for Development Studies and the University of Health and Allied Sciences//

M16Cl115. //We plan (**Pr: Ment**) to initiate (**Pr: Mat**) a review of medical training in Ghana with the objective of increasing the number of doctors to address (**Pr: Mat**) the health needs of unserved and under-served parts of Ghana//

M16Cl116. //We plan (**Pr: Ment**) to create (**Pr: Mat**) an enabling environment for the increased establishment of high-standard private sector

Medical Schools, which are well regulated (**Pr: Mat**) and properly maintained (**Pr: Mat**)//

M16Cl117. //We *plan* (**Pr: Ment**) to continue (**Pr: Mat**) to make (**Pr: Mat**) allocations from the GETFUND for the training of Faculty members of tertiary institutions and *provide* (**Pr: Mat**) scholarships for the training of critical manpower needed to drive (**Pr: Mat**) Ghana's transformation agenda//

M16Cl118. //We plan (**Pr: Ment**) to continue (**Pr: Mat**) to engage (**Pr: Mat**) and deepen (**Pr: Mat**) support to private tertiary institutions to deliver (**Pr: Mat**) on their mandate//

M16Cl119. //We plan(**Pr: Ment**) to continue (**Pr: Mat**) to extend (**Pr: Mat**) the Student Loan Scheme to students in all accredited Tertiary Institutions//

M16Cl120. //We plan (**Pr: Ment**) to continue (**Pr: Mat**) to engage (**Pr: Mat**) private tertiary institutions to focus (**Pr: Ment**) training on the human resource requirements of the nation//

M16Cl121. //We plan (**Pr: Ment**) to amend (**Pr: Mat**) the GETFUND Act to extend (**Pr: Mat**) support to private tertiary institutions engaged (**Pr: Mat**) in science and engineering training//

M16Cl122. //We intend (**Pr: Ment**) to increase (**Pr: Mat**) support to and empower (**Pr: Mat**) the Non-Formal Education Division (NFED) of the Ministry of Education to enable (**Pr: Mat**) it make (**Pr: Mat**) the necessary interventions for life-long education in line with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal Number Four//

M16Cl123. //We intend (**Pr: Ment**) to continue (**Pr: Mat**) to support (**Pr: Mat**) the implementation of the National Literacy Programme//

M16Cl124. //We will encourage (**Pr: Ment**) the learning of sign language at various levels of the education system//

M16Cl125. //We will strengthen (**Pr: Mat**) the National Teaching Council, National Council for Curriculum and Assessment, and the National Inspectorate Board to perform (**Pr: Mat**) their assigned roles under the Education Act 2008 (Act 778)//

M16Cl126. //We will provide (**Pr: Mat**) accommodation for teachers who accept (**Pr: Mat**) postings to deprived rural schools//

M16Cl127. //We will re-introduce (**Pr: Mat**) incremental credit for Science, Mathematics, Technical and Vocational Teachers//

M16Cl128. //We will continue (**Pr: Mat**) to issue (**Pr: Mat**) financial clearance to employ (**Pr: Mat**) more graduate teachers as and when appropriate//

M16Cl129. //We will support (**Pr: Mat**) teachers in Science, Mathematics and TVET to upgrade (**Pr: Mat**) their skills//

M16Cl130. //We will work (**Pr: Mat**) with GNAT, NAGRAT & CCT on exchange programmes for teachers//

M16Cl131. //We will continue (**Pr: Mat**) the expansion of the Untrained Teachers Diploma in Basic Education (UTDBE) Programme to further reduce (**Pr: Mat**) the number of untrained teachers in the school system//

M16Cl132. //We will continue (**Pr: Mat**) to strengthen the teaching and learning of Mathematics and Science and provide (**Pr: Mat**) special support to motivate (**Pr: Mat**) teachers and pupils//

M16Cl133. //We will enhance (**Pr: Mat**) the Mathematics, Science and Technology Scholarship Scheme to support (**Pr: Mat**) needy students to opt (**Pr: Mat**) for Mathematics and Science based programmes at both secondary and tertiary levels of education//

M16Cl134. //We will continue (**Pr: Mat**) to upgrade (**Pr: Mat**) equipment for the teaching and learning of Science, technical and Vocational subjects//

M16Cl135. //We will continue (**Pr: Mat**) to provide (**Pr: Mat**) consumables for effective and efficient use of the Science Resource Centres//

M16Cl136. //We will introduce (**Pr: Mat**) new strategies for attaining the national objective of 60:40 admission ratio in tertiary institutions in favour of the Sciences//

M16Cl137. //We will establish (**Pr: Mat**) a unit under the National Council for Tertiary Education to co-ordinate (**Pr: Mat**) interventions for linking tertiary education to industry//

M16Cl138. //We will continue (**Pr: Mat**) to promote (**Pr: Mat**) collaborative programmes between industry and tertiary institutions to increase (**Pr: Mat**) opportunities for practical training and internship//

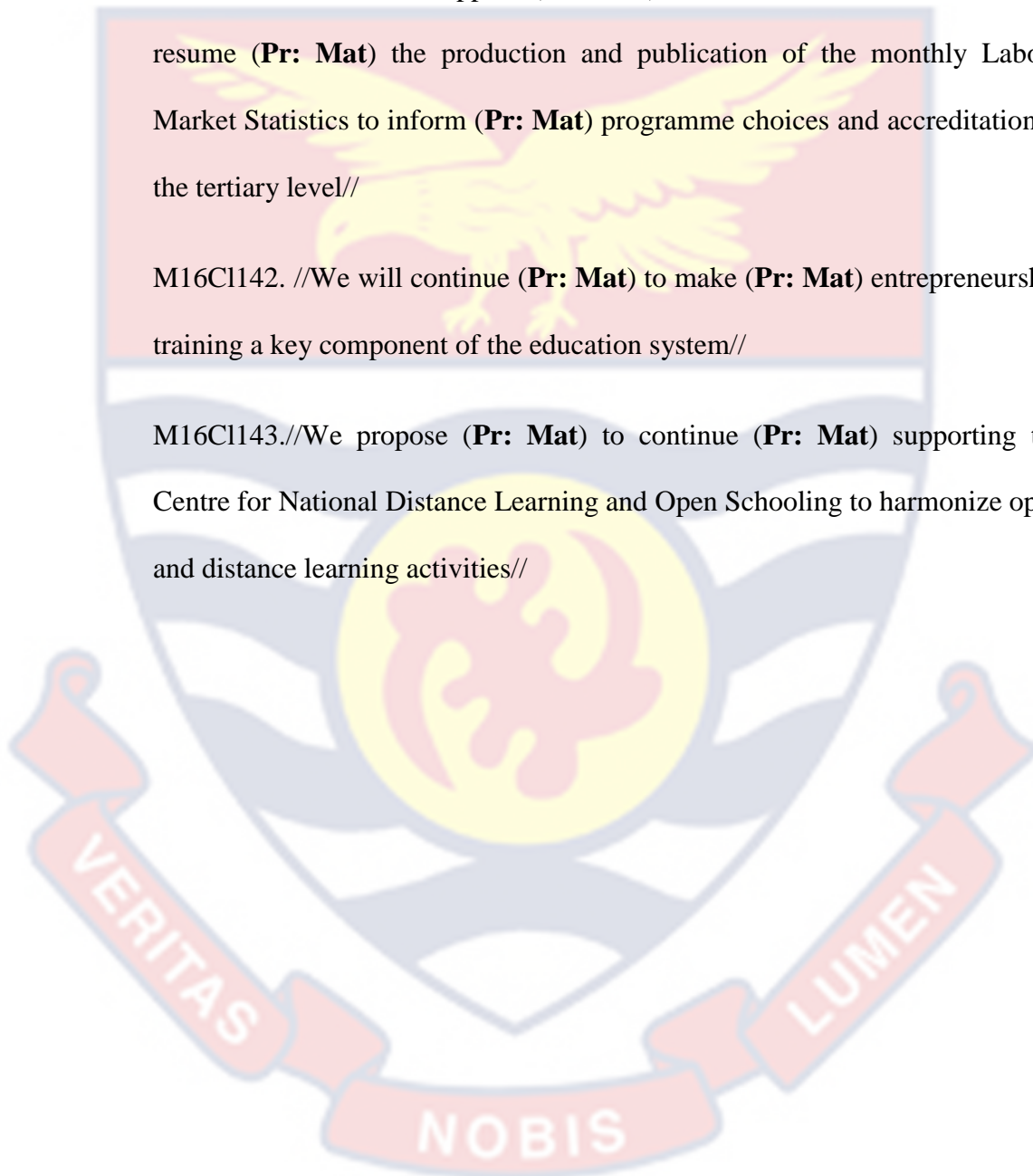
M16Cl139. //Incentives will be provided (**Pr: Mat**) to industries and businesses that provide (**Pr: Mat**) more room for internships//

M16Cl140. //We will continue **(Pr: Mat)** to review **(Pr: Mat)** curriculum development of tertiary institutions to meet **(Pr: Mat)** the skills and human capital needs of industry//

M16Cl141. //We will support **(Pr: Mat)** the Ghana Statistical Service to resume **(Pr: Mat)** the production and publication of the monthly Labour Market Statistics to inform **(Pr: Mat)** programme choices and accreditation at the tertiary level//

M16Cl142. //We will continue **(Pr: Mat)** to make **(Pr: Mat)** entrepreneurship training a key component of the education system//

M16Cl143.//We propose **(Pr: Mat)** to continue **(Pr: Mat)** supporting the Centre for National Distance Learning and Open Schooling to harmonize open and distance learning activities//



## APPENDIX B

### THE EDUCATION SECTION OF THE NDC 2012 MANIFESTO

The 1992 Constitution of the Fourth Republic of Ghana categorizes education into basic, secondary, tertiary education and functional literacy. The Government of the NDC is committed to ensuring the fulfillment of the constitutional obligation to provide Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education under Article 25 (1) (a) and Article 38 (2). It is equally committed to the progressive introduction of free secondary education under Article 25 (1) (b). A programme for the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education exists and is being implemented. The NDC government recognizes that a programme for the progressive introduction of free Secondary Education will require an implementation strategy. All NDC administrations, conscious of this constitutional obligation, have worked and recorded significant strides in these two areas. The NDC in the next administration beginning January 2013 will accelerate the process of providing equal access to education by constructing additional Senior High Schools, Vocational and Technical Schools and Teacher Training Colleges as well as expanding existing ones. While the Constitution requires basic education to be free, compulsory and universal, 20% of Ghanaian children of school going age presently are not able to go to school because there is no space or there are no teachers. At the secondary level only about 46% of those who qualify to enter Senior High School, Vocational or Technical Schools are able to gain admission either because there is no space or there are no teachers. Resources for the creation of space and the provision of teachers at both the basic and second cycle levels therefore are the topmost priorities of the education system.

The NDC's education programme seeks to address these challenges of the FCUBE and continue the programme for the progressive introduction of free secondary education. The tertiary level will also engage our attention because we are conscious of the obvious linkages between education including tertiary and socioeconomic development. A National Strategic Plan to ensure that Kindergarten Education delivery in Ghana has been initiated

Three million school uniforms have been provided to children in needy and deprived communities across the country. Over 40 million exercise books per year have been distributed to about 4.8 million pupils in basic schools nationwide as part of our commitment to investing in our people.

In the Greater Accra Region in particular, we are on track to completing the construction of 48 three-storey 18-unit classroom blocks to end the shift system. Over 10,000 laptop and desktop computers have been supplied to various institutions and students across the country through the Ministries of Education and Environment, Science & Technology, and GIFEC. Under the school feeding programme, we have more than doubled the number of beneficiary school children from about 600,000 pupils in 2008/2009 to over 1.4 million in 2011/2012. We have increased the Capitation Grant by 50%. We have provided additional facilities for schools in deprived communities with a \$75 million Schools and Districts Grant Facility. Fifty-nine (59) out of the one hundred and ten (110) Science Resources Centres nationwide have been rehabilitated. Five Thousand (5,000) scholarships have been provided to Mathematics and Science students from Second Cycle and Tertiary institutions under the Mathematics, Science and Technology Scholarship Scheme. Three Hundred (300) emergency classroom blocks were

constructed to cater for the unplanned infrastructure and logistics for 4<sup>th</sup> year SHS students.

A National Apprenticeship Programme has been introduced to enroll over 13,000 apprentices annually in 25 different skills areas for JHS students who are unable to access Senior High Schools.

We have introduced social interventions in the education sector including the implementation of the progressively free SHS programme, scholarships for over 10,000 Senior High (SHS) students, free school uniforms, free exercise books and free sandals for school children.

With the introduction of the Local Enterprises and Skills Development Programme (LESDEP), provision has been made for short-term training and employment programmes for the youth as part of the out-of-school Technical & Vocational Education & Training activities.

Study leave has been granted to over 9,000 teachers as part of our commitment to quality human capital development and for improving the quality of teaching and learning in our schools. To enhance the quality of teachers and provide incentives for their career progression, the College of Education Act has been passed, marking a successful transition of the 38 Training Colleges to the tertiary level of education.

Twenty-four thousand (24,000) trained and untrained teachers were recruited as a stop-gap measure for the shortage of teachers in mostly deprived areas and these have been trained to enhance their pedagogical skills. Eight thousand (8,000) additional untrained teachers out of an intended 16,000 are



currently enrolled in selected Colleges of Education for the Untrained Teachers Diploma in Basic education (UTDBE). Two new Public Universities have been in the Brong-Ahafo and Volta Regions. The University of Energy and Natural Resources and the University of Health and Allied Sciences have commenced enrolment and admitting students for the 2012/2013 academic year.

As part of the promise to improve academic work at the University for Development Studies (UDS), a housing facility for House Officers at the Tamale Teaching Hospital has been constructed. A four-storey Lecture Theatre has also been completed at the Wa campus. GETFund resources have been used to provide residential facilities, classrooms, laboratories, libraries and administration blocks in every region and at every level of education towards the improvement of education delivery. We will encourage the establishment of conventional and non-conventional facilities that promote the survival, growth and protection of all children. We will review and implement the National Policy on 'Early Childhood Care and Development' and broaden parental participation in the implementation of the policy. We will promote and strengthen collaboration between the Ministry of Education and the Department of Social Welfare in the provision of pre-school and kindergarten education including the training of teachers for that level of education.

We will allocate more resources for the rehabilitation of kindergarten facilities throughout the country to provide the essential resources necessary for the training of children at that level of education. We will introduce a one-year specialized skills training programme in the various Colleges of Education for the training of teachers for the kindergarten and day care

classes. In the long term, we will establish special schools in designated Colleges of Education to train graduate teachers solely on early childhood care and development. We will eliminate the remaining 60% of identified ‘Schools-Under-Trees’. We will progressively expand coverage of the School Feeding Programme to all public basic schools in rural and needy communities. We will continue the construction programme to eliminate the “Shift System” from the public school system. We will review the Capitation Grant periodically to keep pace with cost levels. We will ensure improvements in Special Needs Education. We will accelerate ICT education by training more teachers in the subject area and continue the free supply of computers to Primary and JHS as well as establishing ICT laboratories for cluster of schools. In this administration, we have provided free uniforms and free textbooks.

In the next administration, we will review all costs currently burdening parents, and ensure that basic education is free as the constitution mandates. The NDC government will expand and upgrade the facilities in all Colleges of Education to benefit their new status as tertiary institutions. We will increase the admissions of teacher trainees in the existing Colleges of Education by over 30% from 9,000 to 12,000. The NDC government will establish at least 10 new Colleges of Education in the medium term to be located in areas not well served currently in anticipation of the increase in student numbers on account of our increased access to education programme.

The NDC government will upgrade all Polytechnics into degree awarding institutions that will award both HND and Degrees. We recognize that on a case-by-case basis, the polytechnics may have to upgrade their facilities and

qualification of faculty in order to become degree awarding institutions. We will continue the provision of infrastructure for the Universities of Health and Allied Sciences and Energy and Natural Resources. Establish a new public University in the Eastern Region to complete the NDC's vision of providing a public University campus in every Region of the country. Continue to upgrade both residential and academic facilities in the other existing public Universities, particularly the University for Development Studies, to address the current deficit.

Provide facilities to augment the operations of the Medical Schools of the University for Development Studies and the University of Cape Coast. Continue the on-going new campus development programmes of the Ghana Institute of Journalism, the School of Translators and the National Film and Television Institute (NAFTI). Continue to make allocations from the GETFund for the training of faculty members of tertiary institutions and provide scholarships for the training of critical manpower needed to drive Ghana's transformation agenda. Review the number of private University and encourage existing institutions to expand and consolidate.

Examine mechanisms for extending the Student Loan Trust to students in private tertiary institutions. Engage private tertiary institutions to identify the relevant Government support required to ensure that their products are aligned with the manpower requirements for critical national development. The NDC government will support the centre for National Distance Learning and Open Schooling (CENDLOS) to harmonize open and distance learning activities in the country. The centre will concentrate on expanding what has been attained

at the tertiary level and replicate it at the pre-tertiary level through the use of appropriate technologies and approaches.



## APPENDIX C

### THE EDUCATION SECTION OF THE NDC 2016 MANIFESTO

The next NDC government will actively support the Non-Formal Education Division (NFED) and its programmes and carry out the National Literacy Programme with greater urgency and expanded coverage. We will convert the Division into an agency and empower it to make the necessary interventions for life-long education.

The NDC Government considers teachers as partners in a national development and will continue to implement a policy mix that will elicit maximum co-operation from teachers in the attainment of its education policy objectives. We will expand the Untrained Teachers Diploma in Education (UTDBE) Programme to reduce the number of untrained teachers by at least 50%. We will institutionalize the in-service Education and Training (INSET) Programme. We will implement a diversified mix of incentives including housing, training and professional development. We will continue to pay a special allowance to teachers in deprived communities. We will ensure the early processing of salaries of newly posted teachers as well as placement of newly promoted teachers on their correct salary levels. Distribute 400,000 laptops and desktop computers to schools, teachers, students and pupils with an additional focus on software programmes.

The next NDC government will create opportunities for work and study. We have introduced social interventions in the education sector including the implementation of the progressively free SHS programme. We have also expanded the school feeding programme thus reducing the direct

and indirect cost barriers to parents, and that has allowed for improved attendance rates in our education system. These interventions have allowed the NDC Government to significantly expand access to education at all levels. The number of educational institutions at all levels of basic education increased from 45,447 in the 2008/2009 academic year to over 57,270 in the 2014/2015 academic year. This represents an increase of 26%. School enrolment increased from 7,038,738 students in the 2008/2009 academic year to 8,891,892, in the 2014/2015 academic year, representing an increase of more than 26%. A total of 1,614 out of 2,578 basic school projects have been completed under the removal of school under trees programme, providing brick and mortar shelter for 484,200 pupils. The process to eliminate the school shift system has been highly successful.

One hundred million free exercise books have been distributed, with free school uniforms also provided to over two million school pupils. Twelve million five hundred thousand English, Mathematics and Science textbooks were distributed to public basic schools between 2013 and 2015. This enabled Ghana to exceed the universal textbook pupil ratio of three textbooks to one pupil. The number of pupils benefiting from the school feeding programme quadrupled from about 440,000 in 2008 to 1.7 million in 2014. Over 90,000 laptops have been distributed to basic schools in all 10 regions under the Basic School Computerization Programme. Under the same Basic School Computerization Programme, 50,000 basic school teachers across the country benefited from ICT training and supply of free computers. Over 40,000 locally produced school sandals have been distributed to pupils in some deprived districts. The cost of BECE examination fees has been subsidized for

all registered candidates in both public and private schools. Under the Complementary Basic Education Programme, 125,000 out-of-school pupils have been enrolled. Career development training for over 60000 teachers at the basic level has been provided for, while 1000 teachers have under-gone in service training for skills in the teaching of Science and Mathematics. Existing Colleges of Education with requisite Science Laboratories 20,000 teachers the teaching of Science and Mathematics in basic schools. A gender parity ratio of 1:1 *has been attained* at the Primary level. Over 92000 girls have benefitted from the Take Home Ration Programme in the three Northern Regions. Scholarships for about 55,000 girls in the JHS have been offered under the Global Partnership for Education Programme. The Ghana Reading Action Plan has been implemented and more than 2.8 million pupils at the primary level have benefitted. We have commenced construction of 123 out of the planned 200 Community Senior High Schools with ongoing commissioning of completed. We have implemented the Progressively Free Senior High School Programme in line with Article 25 of the 1992 constitution.

We have initiated a Secondary Education Improvement Programme under which 125 existing Senior High Schools are undergoing facility and quality upgrade. We have constructed one thousand six-unit classroom blocks and over 180 two-storey dormitories in selected 2<sup>nd</sup> cycle institutions.

We have rehabilitated and equipped five hundred Science Resource Centres in the Senior High Schools across the country. We have resourced one hundred and seventy existing Senior High Schools across the country with modern facilities. We have built the capacity of 6500 Mathematics, Science and ICT teachers from some selected Senior High Schools and provided leadership

training for heads of Senior High Schools. We have expanded special subsidies to cover more students in Senior High Schools. We have provided fifty-eight thousand bunk beds, fifty thousand pieces of furniture. We have over the last several years invested heavily in Technical and Vocational Education and Training. We believe we can do even better by streamlining our efforts and creating a stronger linkage between our TVET training and industry. We must make it a focal point to promote TVET as a means to brighter prospects and employability. We recognize that countries that have well developed technical and vocational education are attracting more global production and thereby generating more employment for their people. With TVET, we seek to empower our youth with the skills needed to enter the world of work and create prosperity for themselves and their families. We have established a broad-based governance structure including Statutory National Technical Committees with wide stakeholder. We have established National TVET Qualifications Framework. We have adopted Competency-Based Training model with emphasis on linkage with industry for TVET institutions. We have established a National Apprenticeship Programme to cater for the large informal sector. We awarded bursaries to 1520 students who are pursuing science related courses in Polytechnics and Technical Institutes. We awarded bursaries to 2000 apprentices in the informal sector.

We trained over 800 Master Craftspersons in Competency-Based Training methods of instruction. We commenced construction of modern school infrastructure in 13 Technical and Vocational Institutes. We sponsored the training of 148 instructors at Diploma level, 20 instructors at the Masters level and 5 faculty members at the PhD level. We trained over 5000 Junior



High School leavers in garment making. We trained over 3500 master craftsmen in capacity building in current industry trends. We awarded a total of US\$45.4million to 617 formal and informal businesses. We provided innovative skills training to over 93,446 workers in the formal and informal sector. We increased the capacities of the tertiary institutions across the country leading to increased enrolments of 7.1% in the universities and 3.4% in the polytechnics. Enrolment went up by 63.8% in the 38 public Colleges of Education with the substitution of trainee allowances with the student's loan scheme.

We commenced the construction of a 617 bed Teaching Hospital at the university of Ghana, Legon, to support the university of Ghana Medical School. We commissioned ICT facilities in the 10 Regional Distance Education Centres to aid Distance Education. We established the University of Energy and Natural Resources in the Brong Ahafo Region. We submitted a Bill for the establishment of the National Research Fund to Parliament. Parliament passed the Technical Universities Bill to convert Polytechnics into Technical Universities. Parliament passed the University of Environment and Sustainable Development Act. We initiated the process to convert GRATIS institutions into Technical Colleges. We provided 150 million Ghana Cedis grant to 654 institutions, Vocational Education and Training. We extended the Students Loans Scheme to cover students in all tertiary institutions and increased the amount. We absorbed five private Colleges of Education into Government Colleges of Education in the Northern, Ashanti, Western and Brong Ahafo Regions. We offered 1,130 scholarships to students pursuing

graduate studies including Medicine and Allied Health Specializations abroad. We granted a Presidential Charter to the Central University college.

We have passed the Colleges of Education Act, 2012 to upgrade Teacher Training Colleges to Tertiary institutions. We have abolished the quota system in the colleges of Education allowing for all 38 public Colleges of Education to admit at full capacity. This has led to an increased in enrollment by 63.8%. Consequently, we are on course to eliminating the trained teacher deficit in schools thereby improving the quality of basic education. We have reviewed the operations of the Student loans Trust Fund to allow for teacher trainees to access the fund like their counterparts in the universities and other tertiary institutions. Over 7100 teacher trainees have so far accessed the fund. We have launched the Secondary Education Improvement Programme that has a component for leadership support for Heads of Senior High. We have provided free laptop computers to over 50,000 teachers since 2013. We have implemented the T-tel initiative that is a capacity and pedagogy improvement programme for Colleges of Education. We have successfully worked with the teacher unions to reduce teacher absenteeism from 27% in 2012 to 9.3% in 2015. We will strengthen regulation on the establishment of pre-schools to meet the required standards and best practices in early childhood care and development.

We will review and implement the national policy on 'Early Childhood Care and Development' and broaden parental participation in the implementation of the policy. We will strengthen collaboration between the Ministry of Education and the Department of Social Welfare. We will continue to allocate more resources for the rehabilitation and construction of

kindergarten facilities throughout the country. We will establish special schools in designated Colleges of Education to train teachers solely for Early Childhood Care and Development. We will complete the process of eliminating the remaining public schools under trees and abolish the shift system countrywide. We will continue the provision of free school uniforms, free exercise books, and free footwear for needy pupils. We will expand the school feeding programme to all public basic schools in rural and peri-urban communities. We will review the capitation grant. We will continue to ensure improvement in special Needs Education.

We will continue to facilitate the acceleration of ICT education by training more teachers in the subject area. We will continue the supply of computers to basic schools and establish ICT laboratories for selected schools. We will work with the Ghana Education Service to re-introduce civic education into the basic school curricula. We will pilot the use of electronic textbooks using tablets. We intend to complete the construction of the 200 Community Day Senior Schools. We intend to expand the progressively free SHS programme to cover boarding students with emphasis on needy students. We intend to review the Computer Selection for schools Programme to make it more effective and equitable.

We intend to renovate and expand the facilities in existing Senior High Schools to increase capacity for admitting more qualified JHS graduates. We intend to continue to provide facilities for students with learning disability to pursue their educational programmes effectively. We will implement the 2<sup>nd</sup> phase of the skills Development Fund to provide grants to over 120 private sector businesses to upgrade skills and acquire innovative modern technology

to enhance their productivity. We will encourage more girls to select TVET as a career option. We will improve linkage between TVET and industry. We will increase capacity for technical training, 30% of the new community senior high schools will be fitted with technical workshops and facilities to offer technical and vocational programmes. We will appoint a deputy minister with primary responsibility for TVET and technical education at all levels. We will align vocational training properly under the Ministry of Education to enable better supervision. We will ensure that the new technical Universities maintain their core mandate of science and technology training. We will accelerate the agenda to make technical and vocational Education and Training so that it becomes attractive to high- performing students. We will rebrand and strengthen Technical and Vocational Education and Training so that it becomes attractive to high-performing students. We will continue to equip and retool the TVET institutions with requisite facilities. We will establish 50 Community Centres for Integrated Skills Development. We will introduce special incentives at the basic and second cycle levels for all pupils and students with special needs. We plan to establish a new College of Education as an Instructor Training College for TVET at Agona Swedru in the Central Region. We plan to complete the University of Environment and Sustainable Development at Somanya and its satellite campus at Donkorkrom in the Eastern Region. We will complete the establishment of three additional Colleges of Education in the underserved regions of Greater Accra, Central and the Northern Regions. We plan to continue to implement the Transforming Teacher Education and Learning Programme (T-tel) to

cover professional training for 35,000 teachers in all the Colleges of Education.

We plan to complete the conversion of the ten Polytechnics into Technical Universities and adequately resource them to ensure the provision of advanced technical, vocational and technological training. We plan to support capacity building for Faculty of Technical Universities and the tertiarized Colleges of Education. We plan to continue to resource the public tertiary institutions to improve quality and expand the intake of qualified applicants. We plan to provide additional facilities to augment the operations of the new Medical Schools of the University of Cape Coast, University for Development Studies and the University of Health and Allied Sciences. We plan to initiate a review of medical training in Ghana with the objective of increasing the number of doctors to address the health needs of unserved and under-served parts of Ghana. We plan to create an enabling environment for the increased establishment of high-standard private sector Medical Schools, which are well regulated and properly maintained. We plan to continue to make allocations from the GETFUND for the training of Faculty members of tertiary institutions and provide scholarships for the training of critical manpower needed to drive Ghana's transformation agenda. We plan to continue to engage and deepen support to private tertiary institutions to deliver on their mandate. We plan to continue to extend the Student Loan Scheme to students in all accredited Tertiary Institutions. We plan to continue to engage private tertiary institutions to focus training on the human resource requirements of the nation. We plan to amend the GETFUND Act to extend

support to private tertiary institutions engaged in science and engineering training.

We intend to increase support to and empower the Non-Formal Education Division (NFED) of the Ministry of Education to enable it make the necessary interventions for life-long education in line with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal Number Four. We intend to continue to support the implementation of the National Literacy Programme. We will encourage the learning of sign language at various levels of the education system. We will strengthen the National Teaching Council, National Council for Curriculum and Assessment, and the National Inspectorate Board to perform their assigned roles under the Education Act 2008 (Act 778). We will provide accommodation for teachers who accept postings to deprived rural schools. We will re-introduce incremental credit for Science, Mathematics, Technical and Vocational Teachers. We will continue to issue financial clearance to employ more graduate teachers as and when appropriate. We will support teachers in Science, Mathematics and TVET to upgrade their skills. We will work with GNAT, NAGRAT & CCT on exchange programmes for teachers. We will continue the expansion of the Untrained Teachers Diploma in Basic Education (UTDBE) Programme to further reduce the number of untrained teachers in the school system. We will continue to strengthen the teaching and learning of Mathematics and Science and provide special support to motivate teachers and pupils.

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We will support the Ghana Statistical Service to resume the production and publication of the monthly Labour Market Statistics to inform programme choices and accreditation at the tertiary level. We will continue to make entrepreneurship training a key component of the education system. We propose to continue supporting the Centre for National Distance Learning and Open Schooling to harmonize open and distance learning activities.