

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

ON THE ROAD TO THE PRESIDENCY: A PRAGMA-RHETORICAL
ANALYSIS OF THE CAMPAIGN SPEECHES OF JOHN AGYEKUM KUFUOR

BY

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Thesis submitted to the Department of English, Faculty of Arts, College of
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the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in English Language

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DECLARATION

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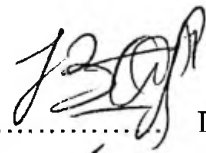
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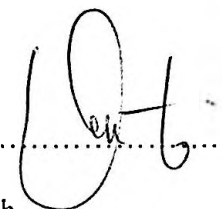
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We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

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ABSTRACT

The thesis explored and compared the deployment of rhetorical and pragmatic strategies in the campaign discourse of President John Agyekum Kufuor (JAK) as a challenger and as an incumbent respectively in Ghana's 2000 and 2004 presidential elections. Nine of his campaign speeches were selected for the study, using largely qualitative research design supported by the *Pragma-Rhetorical Theory* (Ilie, 2006) and *Functional Theory of Political Campaign Discourse* (Benoit, 1999). The rhetorical analysis revealed that as a challenger JAK employed negative campaigning rooted in bellicose rhetoric. He also resorted to can-do optimism and marketed himself as an agent of change and the quintessence of the cure-all for Ghana's problems. Conversely, as an incumbent the study showed that JAK appealed for continuity using temperate rhetoric. He flaunted his achievements and appropriated the ethos of traditional rulers to create a viable image of himself as a performing president. The pragmatic analysis, based on Searle's (1979) classification of speech acts showed a preponderance of assertives. However, as a challenger, JAK performed more assertive acts (52.8%) than as an incumbent (47.2%). This result suggests that as a challenger JAK's campaign discourse was more informative and descriptive in terms of the socio-economic conditions in the country. These findings underscore JAK's adroitness in the tactical selection of varied rhetorical and pragmatic strategies to reflect his challenger-incumbent status for the achievement of his persuasive and communicative intentions. The findings of the study have implications for challengers eager to win power and incumbents keen to maintain power.

KEY WORDS

Campaign discourse

Challenger

Incumbent

Persuasion

Rhetoric

Speech Act

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DEDICATION

To my children Angela, Jemima, Joyce, and Kofi, who provide me with fatherly feelings.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DECLARATION.....	ii
ABSTRACT.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
DEDICATION.....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xvi
DEFINITION OF TERMS.....	xviii
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.0 Background to the Study.....	2
1.1 Historical Background of Ghana’s Presidential Elections: 1992-2012.....	3
1.2 Profile of JAK.....	6
1.3 Motivation for the Study.....	9
1.4 Statement of the Problem.....	10
1.5 Research Questions.....	11
1.6 Significance of the Study.....	12

1.7 Delimitations of the Study.....	13
1.8 Limitations of the Study.....	15
1.9 Organization of the Thesis	17
1.10 Chapter Summary.....	18
CHAPTER TWO.....	19
LITERATURE REVIEW I: SETTING THE CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUNDS.....	19
2.0 Introduction	19
2.1 Conceptual Framework	19
2.1.1 Rhetoric.....	20
2.1.2 Applying Rhetoric to Campaign Discourse	26
2.1.3 Campaign Discourse as a Subcategory of Presidential Rhetoric	27
2.1.4. Challenger and Incumbent Strategies	30
2.1.5 Speech Acts.....	33
2.1.6 Syntax and Sentence Types in Speech Acts.....	39
2.2 Theoretical Framework	43
2.2.1 Pragma-Rhetorical Theory.....	43
2.2.2 Functional Theory of Political Campaign Discourse	47
2.3 Chapter Summary.....	49

CHAPTER THREE	51
LITERATURE REVIEW II.....	51
PREVIOUS STUDIES ON CAMPAIGN COMMUNICATION.....	51
3. 0 Introduction	51
3.1 Campaign Rhetoric Strategies.....	51
3.1.1 Nationalism Appeals.....	51
3.1.2 Negative Campaigning.....	55
3.1.3 Emotional Appeals.....	59
3.1.4 Sloganeering	64
3.1.5 Propaganda	67
3. 2 Speech Acts as a Persuasive Tool in Campaign Discourse.....	72
3. 3 Chapter Summary.....	75
CHAPTER FOUR.....	77
RESEARCH METHODS	77
4.0 Introduction	77
4.1 Research Design.....	77
4.2 Data Collection Procedures	79
4.2.1 Preliminary Activities	79
4.2.2 Ethical Considerations	80
4.2.3 Field Work	81

4.3 Treatment of Data.....	82
4.4 Training of Research Assistants.....	84
4.5 Coding Procedure.....	85
4.6 Challenges Encountered During Data Collection and Treatment of Data .	90
4.7 Chapter Summary.....	93
CHAPTER FIVE	95
THE RHETORIC OF JAK’S CAMPAIGN DISCOURSE	95
5.0 Introduction	95
5.1. Persuading the Voter	95
5.1.1 Self-Presentation.....	96
5.1.2 Attacking the Opponent.....	104
5.1.3 Inclusiveness.....	112
5.1.4 Soft-Soaping	117
5.1.5 Argumentation	122
5.2 Chapter Summary.....	134
CHAPTER SIX.....	135
THE PRAGMATICS OF JAK’S CAMPAIGN DISCOURSE.....	135
6.0 Introduction	135
6.1. Distribution of Speech Acts	136
6.2 Not Just Speech Acts, But Persuasive Acts	137

6.2.1 Assertives	138
6.2.2 Directives	143
6.2.3 Expressives	146
6.2.4 Commissives	150
6.3 Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices (IFIDs)	153
6.4 Chapter Summary	160
CHAPTER SEVEN	162
JAK THE CHALLENGER VS. JAK THE INCUMBENT	162
7.0 Introduction	162
7.1 JAK as a Challenger	162
7.1.1. Agenda for Positive Change	163
7.1.2 Victor-in-Waiting	166
7.1.3 Emphasizing Optimism	172
7.2 JAK as an Incumbent	175
7.2.1 A Performing President: so far so good	175
7.2.2 Self-glorification and goodwill	178
7.2.3 Appropriating the Ethos of Chieftaincy	183
7.3 Comparing Distribution of Speech Acts	187
7.3.1 Assertive Acts	190
7.3.2 Directive Acts	195

7.3.3 Expressive Acts.....	200
7.3.4 Commissive Acts	204
7.4 Chapter Summary.....	208
CHAPTER EIGHT	209
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	209
8.0 Introduction	209
8.1 Summary of Findings	209
8.2 Conclusions	217
8.3 Recommendations	220
8. 4 Suggestions for Further Research	222
REFERENCES	225
APPENDICES	253
Appendix A: The Selected Speeches of JAK.....	253
Appendix A1: Speech at Tefle, Volta Region, 2000.....	253
Appendix A2: Speech at Sokpe (1), 2000	254
Appendix A3: Speech at Sokpe (2) 2000	257
Appendix A4: Speech at Ho (1) 2000	258
Appendix A5: Speech at Ho (2), 2000	267
Appendix A6: Speech at Abokobi (1st December 2004).....	269
Appendix A7: Speech at Jirapa, 2004	275

Appendix A8: Speech at Nadowli (2004)	279
Appendix A9: Speech at Mamprobi, Accra (Saturday, December 4, 2004	287
Appendix B: Letter of Introduction to Research Sites	290
Appendix C: Publication.....	290

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. JAK's Votes in the 2000 and 2004 Presidential Elections	8
2. Setting and Year of JAK's Campaign Speeches	83
3. Inter-Coder Reliability Score in Identification of Speech Acts	89
4. Frequency Distribution of Speech Acts in JAK's Campaign Discourse	136
5. Frequency Distribution of Speech Acts Performed by JAK as a Challenger and as an Incumbent	188
6. Paired Sample Test on Speech Acts Performed by JAK as a Challenger and as an Incumbent	189
7. Comparison of Frequency Distribution of Assertive Acts	190
8. Paired Sample Test on Assertive Acts	191
9. Comparison of Frequency Distribution of Directive Acts	195
10. Paired Sample Test on Directive Acts	196
11. Comparison of Frequency Distribution of Expressive Acts	200
12. Paired Sample Test on Expressive Acts	201
13. Comparison of Frequency Distribution of Commissive Acts	204
14. Paired Sample Test on Commissive Acts	205

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Aristotelian Triad/Rhetorical Triangle	22
2. Comparing the Speech Acts of Austin and Searle	36
3. Labelling and Categorization of Utterances Signalling Speech Acts	90

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CD	Compact Disc
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CDOs	Civil Defence Organizations
DCE	District Chief Executive
EC	Electoral Commission
GBC	Ghana Broadcasting Corporation
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Country
ICC	International Criminal Court
IFID	Illocutionary Force Device
IEA	Institute of Economic Affairs
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
IPAC	Inter-party Advisory Committee
JAK	John Agyekum Kufuor
JDM	John Dramani Mahama
JEAM	John Evans Atta Mills
JJ	Jerry John (Rawlings)
NAD	Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NP	Noun Phrase
NPP	New Patriotic Party

NRC	National Redemption Council
PC	Parliamentary Candidate
PPF	Popular Front Party
PIAs	Presidential Inaugural Addresses
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council
PP	Progress Party
RQ	Research Question
SAT	Speech Act Theory
SONAs	State of the Nation Addresses
UCC	University of Cape Coast
VIW	Victor-in-Waiting
VP	Verb Phrase

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Campaign discourse: Any speech made before an audience with the view to canvassing for their votes

Challenger: A presidential candidate who is aspiring to win power from the incumbent President/party

Cash and Carry: A policy in health delivery system where patients seeking medical attention at hospitals pay their bills upfront

Dumso: An Akan word which literally means “switch off and switch on”. The word was used to refer to the load shedding by the Electricity Company of Ghana as a form of power ration during the period when Ghana experienced serious energy crisis.

Fourth Republic: The period from 1992 to date when Ghana returned to democratic rule after series of military rule since 1966

Incumbent: A sitting President seeking re-election or the candidate of a ruling party.

One Touch: A first round presidential victory for a candidate without a second round or a run-off

Politics of Insult: Intemperate or abusive language in political discourse

Presidential Candidate: A presidential aspirant whose name appears on the ballot paper

Pragma-Rhetoric: A theory that combines pragmatic and rhetorical tools in the analysis of discourse.

Rhetor: A public speaker or writer

Serial Caller: A person, usually a member or supporter of a political party, who frequently calls into radio talk programmes to espouse or defend his/her party's policy, programmes or activities

Skirt and Blouse Voting: A pattern of voting where voters in a polling station or constituency vote for a presidential candidate from a different party and the parliamentary candidate from another party or vice-versa

Twooboi: A buzzword in warfare, agitation speeches, political rallies and other communal activities for the mobilization of groups of people for a course of action.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In recent years there has been an increasing interest in presidential campaign. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that presidential campaigns have been studied from various perspectives, including campaign communication (Andrews, 2011; Akintowu, 2013; Asah-Asante, 2010; Ash, 2010; Goldman, 2011); approval (Druckman & Holmes, 2014); media coverage (Amponsah, 2013) political marketing, (Kobby Mensah, 2013). These studies do not only engender debate about political matters (Carpini, 1996), but they also provide deeper insights into the power of political persuasion during presidential campaigns. As Post (2009) points, out political discourse affords us the opportunity to investigate the sociosemantic choices of an orator to detail how political actors utilize representations beyond grammatical level to convey meaning that is recontextualized for purposes of domination. But the strategies used by political actors who are presidential aspirants vary, depending on whether the candidate is a challenger or an incumbent seeking re-election (Anekjumnongporn, 2004). In this introductory chapter I describe the background and context of the study, present the problem and significance of the study as well as my motivation for the study and the organization of the thesis.

1.0 Background to the Study

Studies in electioneering campaigns (see Ayi, 2010; Djabatcy, 2013, Hillygus, & Shields 2008; Michira, 2014) show that it is during the run-up to general elections in representative democracies that interactions between political office seekers and the electorate intensify. For instance, Hillygus and Shields find that as high as 25% of voters are persuaded during elections. This observation by Hillygus, & Shields underscores the importance of electioneering campaigns.

In Ghana, during presidential elections, candidates, especially presidential aspirants, in conjunction with their various parties, organize major and mini rallies including town hall meetings all over the country to canvass for votes. These campaigns allow the electorate to assess and evaluate candidates and their messages. The presidential candidates face the daunting task of marketing themselves, their programmes, and policies in a language that is persuasive, appealing and effective to be able to persuade voters. However, candidates have their own way of crafting their campaign messages according to their status as challengers or as incumbents.

Trent, Friedenber, and Denton (2012) argue that incumbent campaign discourse resonates with the electorate, essentially because having been in office as presidents and enjoying all the trappings of the office, they are capable of deploying a varied range of rhetorical and pragmatic strategies to hype their achievements. Challengers, on the other hand, have nothing to show in terms of presidential experience. Indeed, theirs is a penchant for discussing more character related issues than emphasizing their future plans. However, in Ghana, the dichotomy between

challenger- incumbent strategies remains unclear owing to little or no scholarship in the phenomenon. Given this paucity of research in the challenger versus incumbent communication strategies, there is the need for an in-depth study to investigate how a candidate's status as a challenger or as an incumbent impacts on his/her campaign communication.

The primary purpose of this study is to explore how a candidate who won a previous presidential election as a challenger rebranded himself as an incumbent to win a second term of office. In doing so I select John Agyekum Kufuor (JAK), the second President in the Fourth Republic of Ghana as the focal candidate. The main thrust of the study is a comparison of the pragma-rhetorical strategies employed by JAK as a challenger and as an incumbent in the presidential elections of 2000 and 2004 respectively to persuade voters. It is hoped that the study will not only add to the scholarship on campaigns in Ghana, but it will also proffer illuminating insights into JAK's persuasive and communicative strategies that enabled him to achieve his presidential ambition in two successive elections.

1.1 Historical Background of Ghana's Presidential Elections: 1992 - 2012

Ghana's political history has had a chequered past with its attendant coup d'états: 1966-69, 1972-79, 1981-92 (Smith, 2002). During these military regimes, political activities were banned. During the era of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) headed by Jerry John Rawlings (JJ), both internal and external pressures compelled the PNDC to revert to democratic rule (Ninson, 2006). Accordingly, the ban on party politics was lifted in 1992 (Smith, 2002); and

following the general elections of December 1992, the country returned to democratic rule. Since then, six general elections have been held. Thus, the 1992 elections ushered in what is known as the Fourth Republic, by reason of the first, second and third republics under Kwame Nkrumah, Kofi Abrefa Busia, and Hilla Limann respectively. All these regimes were truncated by military takeovers.

Between May 1992 and November 1992, thirteen political parties had been duly registered (Ninson (2006). Ninson further argues that owing to organizational and financial encumbrances, some of the parties did not survive the pressures of electoral politics. Three of the parties went into alliance with the National Democratic Congress (NDC), with JJ as its presidential candidate, emerging victorious in the 1992 presidential elections. The New Patriotic Party (NPP), led by Prof. Albert Adu Boahen as the presidential candidate, boycotted the subsequent parliamentary elections, resulting in a low voter turn-out of 29% (Smith, 2002). The NPP cited massive electoral fraud in the presidential elections held earlier. Consequently, they rejected the presidential election results and wrote *The Stolen Verdict* to chronicle the series of the alleged vote rigging.

Following the acrimonious disturbances that characterized the 1992 elections, certain electoral reforms were introduced. The major ones which were reported by Frimpong (2008) included the formation of the Electoral Commission (EC) to replace the mistrusted Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the involvement of political parties in the electoral process through the establishment of an Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC). The IPAC, among other things, agreed on a single day for both presidential and parliamentary

elections, photo ID cards, and transparent ballot boxes. Other reforms also included the involvement of civil society organizations such as Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), Centre for Democratic Governance (CDD) and the use of election monitoring groups like Commonwealth Observer Groups, African-American Institute, and Jimmy Carter Centre. Strategies for peaceful elections were adopted. These led to the formation of the National Peace Council and the use of traditional authorities and religious groups. With the proliferation of both the print and the electronic media, “information unflattering to government or not sanctioned by the state authorities reached the public and therefore created a balance in media coverage” (Gyimah Boadi, 1999, p.414, cited. in Frempong 2008). With some form of reforms in the electoral process, the 1996 elections saw a significant improvement over the 1992 elections; and the NDC with JJ as the sitting president, won again.

In 2000, there was the introduction of live radio and television broadcast of public debates. In these debates each presidential candidate was given five minutes to make an opening statement, followed by questions from the audience, and five minutes of closing remarks (Aryee, 2001). The purpose of the debate was to enable the electorate to assess the qualities and suitability of the presidential aspirants. The live broadcasts were replicated in the 2004 elections but with a modification which allowed the competing political parties to engage in weekly televised debates on their policies, programmes, and other issues of national concern (Aryee, 2001). The NPP, under the leadership of JAK, won the 2000 elections after a run-off which saw six opposition parties forming an alliance with the NPP to wrestle power from

the NDC and its allies (Ninson, 2006). The 2000 presidential election marked the first time in the annals of Ghanaian politics that one democratically elected government handed over power peacefully to another democratically elected government. As Bratton and van de Walle (1997) put it, it is too rare in sub-Saharan Africa to witness a peaceful electoral process in a multiparty election and subsequent transfer of power. In 2004, JAK, as the incumbent won the elections again for a second and last term in office. Thus he left office in 2008 after serving for eight years.

1.2 Profile of JAK

In so far as JAK is the rhetor whose campaign discourse is the object of study in this thesis, a brief profile of his political career is deemed pertinent. JAK was born in Kumasi on December 8, 1938. He had his secondary education at Prempeh College, Kumasi and enrolled at the Lincoln Inn, London. He was called to the Bar in 1961 at the age of 22. He obtained a Bachelor of Arts (BA) Degree in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics at Exeter College, Oxford (1961-1964) and pursued a Master's Degree in Economics at the same university. In 1967, he was appointed City Manager of Kumasi, Ghana's second capital. He was also a member of the Constituent Assemblies of 1968-69 and 1979 that drafted Ghana's Constitutions for the Second and Third Republic respectively. He was a founding member of the Progress Party (PP) in 1969, Popular Front Party (PFP) and New Patriotic Party (NPP) 1992. He was elected Member of Parliament for Atwima Nwabiagya from 1969-1972 under the PP and was appointed Deputy Minister of

Foreign Affairs. When the Progress Party government was toppled by the National Redemption Council (NRC), he was thrown into political detention. During the Third Republic he was re-elected Member of Parliament for his constituency, Atwima Nwabiagya, from 1979-1981. Again, there was a military takeover by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) and he was once more thrown into political detention. However, in 1982 he accepted appointment as Secretary for Local Government under the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC); but resigned after seven months (www.ghanaweb.com)

In 1996, he won the presidential candidacy of the NPP to contest the general elections, but lost to Flt. Lt. J.J. Rawlings (JJ). In 2000, he again won the mandate of the NPP as the presidential candidate and won the presidency. The 2000 presidential victory of JAK was historic as it marked the first time in the annals of Ghanaian politics that one democratically elected government had to hand over power peacefully to another democratically elected government. Accordingly, JAK went down in history as the first and only opposition leader in the Fourth Republic of Ghana whose campaign message was convincing enough to get voters to vote out the formidable National Democratic Congress (NDC). Together with its antecedent, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), a military regime, which metamorphosed into NDC (Agyekum, 2013) ruled the country for 19 years, all under JJ. It is not surprising that most political analysts refer to the two regimes as P(NDC). JAK's victory was considered pivotal to the nation's transition to democracy.

JAK, as a sitting president, sought re-election in 2004 and won with a repackaged campaign message labeled as “Positive Change Part II”, and dubbed “So far so good”. These two electoral successes elevated JAK to political eminence, as political connoisseurs perceived him as possessing what it took to influence voters to get them to end the political dominance of the P(NDC) regime(s). He left office on January 7, 2009 having served two terms; that is, four years in each term. As a staunch capitalist, JAK believed in property-owning democracy and free market. He was affectionately called the “Gentle Giant” by his admirers (Sakyi Addo, 2001) arguably because of his temperate disposition and also his physique. Table 1 below shows how JAK fared in the 2000 and the 2004 presidential elections.

Table 1. JAK's votes in the 2000 & 2004 Presidential Elections

Year	Candidate	Party	(%)
2000 (1 st Round)	JAK	NPP	48.40
	JEAM	NDC	44.80
2000(Run-off)	JAK	NPP	57.4
	JEAM	NDC	42.6
2004	JAK	NPP	52.45
	JEAM	NDC	44.64

Source: Electoral Commission of Ghana (2005)

As shown in Table 1, JAK did not secure an outright victory during the first round of the 2000 elections, following his inability to obtain 50%+1 of the total votes cast, as stipulated in Ghana’s Constitution. It was during the run-off that he won by 57.4%. However, as an incumbent he won the 2004 election by 52.4% by

“one touch” (Ghanaian election parlance, meaning outright victory). The Table further indicates that there were three campaign periods within the 2000 and 2004 elections, and it implies how JAK strategically redefined himself and reinforced his arguments to influence voters.

1.3 Motivation for the Study

My first motivation for studying campaign speeches was informed by my intellectual curiosity about how public speakers such as political leaders and human rights activists use language to influence people to support their views. Studying some of the speeches of leaders like Abraham Lincoln, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Barack Obama, and Kwame Nkrumah, I was moved by their skills of persuasion and argumentation that enabled them to hold their audiences spellbound. This intellectual curiosity provides the impetus for the study of the oratorical styles in the campaign speeches of one of Ghana’s former presidents.

The second factor that fuelled my passion for the study is the desire to make a modest contribution to the literature on presidential rhetoric. As long as Ghana’s democracy is relatively young, its presidency has not attracted much intellectual study. The present study will, therefore, help expand the frontiers of intellectual studies in presidential rhetoric, no matter how fragmentary the discipline is currently in Ghana.

A third and final motivation for the study is personal development. My career as a language teacher and my position as an opinion leader both in my community and church obligate me to sharpen my argumentation and advocacy

skills. It is widely expected of a language teacher to use language with finesse while an opinion leader also is expected to have skills of persuasion and argumentation to identify with his/her people and win their support. Embarking on the study, therefore, offers me the opportunity to learn how different rhetors employ different rhetorical and pragmatic tools in their public speeches for persuasive and communicative intents.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

It is now well established that there is a growing body of literature in presidential campaign communication in Ghana (see Agyekum, 2013; Ayi, 2013; Djabatey, 2013; Marfo & Aminu, 2014). Taken together, these studies provide helpful insights into how presidential candidates couch their campaign messages to win the support of the electorate and garner votes. So far, however, in the Ghanaian context no vigorous intellectual investigation has been done in the challenger-incumbent campaign communication strategies either involving one incumbent versus one or more challengers; or the same candidate versus himself/herself as a challenger and as an incumbent in different elections. As a consequence not much is known about the strategies favoured by incumbent candidates and those associated with challengers as well as how a candidate's status impacts on his/her campaign discourse and strategies. What is more, little or no scholarly attention has been paid to the political discourse of John Agyekum Kufuor (JAK). In contrast, some amount of intellectual attention has been paid to the political discourse of

other former presidents of Ghana: Nkrumah (Opoku Mensah, 2014); Rawlings (Ampong, 2016); Mills (Anderson, 2014); and Mahama (Mwinwelle, 2017)

This seeming intellectual quiet on the political discourse of JAK arguably feeds into the perception of some political analysts and commentators that he is not an enchanting orator (Sakyi Addo, 2001). In so far as JAK is the only President of Ghana (to date) to have won two successive presidential elections first, as a challenger and second, as an incumbent, there is the need to explore how he combined rhetorical and pragmatic strategies to market himself and his programmes differently to influence voters for the two successful presidential victories. By pitting the rhetoric and pragmatics of JAK as a challenger against his communication as an incumbent, the study will serve as a starting point for discussions on his political discourse to reveal his persuasive adroitness while at the same time enhance our knowledge and understanding of challenger versus incumbent strategies, especially involving the same candidate.

1.5 Research Questions

The specific research questions that the study addresses are the following:

1. What rhetorical strategies did JAK employ in his campaign discourse to influence voters during the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections?
2. What was the distribution of the various speech acts performed by JAK in his campaign discourse during the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections?

3. What differences can be drawn between the rhetorical and pragmatic strategies of JAK's campaign discourse as a challenger in 2000 and as an incumbent in 2004?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study is significant for several reasons. First, as earlier noted, relatively little is known about JAK's political discourse, especially the rhetoric and pragmatics of his campaign communication. The study will, therefore, provide a basis for political analysts to build a dossier on the political discourse of JAK.

Second, most comparative studies on campaign discourse involve two or more candidates. The present study, as far as I know, plays a pioneering role in its comparative analysis of the campaign discourse of the same candidate from two perspectives: as a challenger and as an incumbent in two different election periods. The study will, therefore, afford the general public, particularly voters, the opportunity to assess a challenger's campaign discourse against his/her utterances when he/she seeks re-election as an incumbent.

Again, the study will serve as a source of reference for future research in campaign discourse. In this sense it will contribute to the body of studies on the marginally researched area of the rhetoric and pragmatics of campaign discourse in Ghana and Africa.

Further, since studies (see Mbaku, 2016; Mayhew, 2008; Weisburg & Chistenson, 2007) have shown that some incumbent presidents seeking re-election lose the election, the study will help incumbent presidents to appreciate the fact that in presidential campaigns, certain styles of speech and language are needed to win

and maintain power. Challengers as well stand to benefit from the study in that they will be exposed to strategies that they can employ to counteract the acclaims of incumbent presidents.

Additionally, the study creates an awareness for the media, politicians, political analysts, social commentators and language users that their utterances do not only communicate meaning but they also perform verbal actions. Such knowledge will help improve their public discourse in their contribution to issues on social cohesion and national development.

1.7 Delimitations of the Study

The study is set within the Ghanaian political context by reason of the need to contribute to the under researched area of presidential campaign communication. Ghana, having held seven successful presidential elections, and having elected five different presidents since the Fourth Republic, deserves better in terms of intellectual attention to the campaign communication of its presidents. The study must, therefore, be seen as a modest attempt to place Ghana among the comity of nations whose campaigns have attracted the attention of the research community.

Again among the numerous presidential candidates and presidents in Ghana's presidential elections JAK is selected for the study because, to date, he is the only candidate and President whose status provides a basis for an investigation into the challenger versus incumbent campaign discourse. JAK won the presidency as a challenger in 2000 and won again as an incumbent 2004. This unique dual

status of JAK offers an opportunity for an investigation into how he marketed himself differently to win two successive elections.

Further, among the sub-categories of presidential rhetoric such as presidential inaugural addresses (PIAs), state of the nation addresses (SONAs), campaign speeches, victory speeches and others, campaign speeches have been chosen for the study. A compelling reason for focusing on campaign discourse against the other genres enumerated above is that in so far as campaign communication is essentially persuasive, it affords me the opportunity to explore the rhetorical strategies JAK employed to achieve his persuasive intent.

Regarding the type of speeches, the study focuses on unscripted speeches. These are chosen over scripted speeches because unscripted speeches are arguably true reflections of a person's oratory skills in comparison with scripted speeches, which are usually written by a speech writer other than the rhetor. It is per the unscripted speech that the rhetor gets enough room to manipulate language, with its accompanying non-verbal cues like volume, gestures and facial expression, all to influence listeners. Thus unscripted speeches provide the rhetor the opportunity to draw upon his/her linguistic repertoire his oratory and persuasive skills, which to many voters are the hallmark of a good speaker; for a "successful orator merges ethos, pathos and logos" (Floyd-Lapp, 2014, p. 3). Besides, the infectious enthusiasm of the listeners propels a candidate into making certain linguistic choices to establish solidarity with them. Thus the candidate studies the swinging moods of the listeners and takes advantage of it. Scripted speeches rarely offer the candidate such an opportunity.

The study also limits itself to the 2000 and 2004 general elections for the reason that it was during the two general elections that the selected speeches were made. Even though JAK campaigned for the first time as a challenger in the 1996 presidential elections, the fact that he did not win the elections precludes inclusion of any of his 1996 campaign speeches. This is so because considering the dichotomy between challenger and incumbent communication, it could be argued that challenger strategies that achieved their persuasive intent are more worthy of investigations than those that did not, as in the case of the 1996 campaign.

Aside from the above, the study limits itself to rhetorical strategies and speech acts manifestations of JAK's campaign communication. Other variables such as discursive features, rhetorical tropes, politeness, implicatures, deixis are not considered because arguably they do not fit well into the *Pragma-Rhetorical Theory*, one of the theoretical frameworks underpinning the study. On the contrary, rhetorical strategies and speech acts converge effectively under the theory. The pragmatics aspect of the theory caters for speech acts while the rhetoric aspect deals with the rhetorical aspect, for the achievement of a persuasive and communicative intent, which is the goal of campaign communication.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

A study of this nature is not without limitations. First, out of the many speeches JAK made during his 2000 and 2004 campaign tours, the study covered nine speeches delivered in only three out of the ten regions in Ghana: Upper West (2), Greater Accra (2) and Volta (5).) This could be a limitation with regard to the generalizability of the findings (see Section 4.4 for challenges encountered during

the data collection). At least, one speech from one region could have been more encompassing to reflect the generalizability of the findings. In addition, considering the differing socio-economic and infrastructural needs of each region and their voting patterns in previous elections, it could be surmised that such variables could have engendered certain rhetorical and pragmatic strategies from JAK which could have enriched the discussion. This is so if we should consider the view that setting (Bitzer, 1968) and audience (Bitzer, 1968; Hymes, 1964; Perelman, 1969) influence the choice of words. That samples of JAK's campaign discourse in the other regions were not captured in the data, in one way or another, deprives the study of utterances and statements that could have reinforced the conclusions made about JAK's campaign discourse strategies.

The second limitation has to do with truncated speeches. Some of the tapes had portions corrupted, rendering some of the speeches without either the beginning, ending or both. As a result, some utterances and statements were lost. This state of affairs was due to the poor quality of the tapes, which had been stored haphazardly in steel trunks for more than a decade. This, in one way or another, affected the overall relative frequencies of speech acts performed by JAK. Again, save for a couple of tapes, the rest did not have specific dates on which the speeches were delivered, denying readers of the exact dates JAK made those speeches.

1.9 Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter One provides an introduction comprising the background to the study, a brief profile of the focal candidate, JAK, as well as a short historical background of Ghana's political landscape with respect to presidential elections from 1992 to 2012. The chapter also includes statement of the problem, research questions, significance of the study, and delimitations of the study. Chapter Two focuses on the first section of the literature review where the conceptual and the theoretical frameworks are discussed. Chapter Three is devoted to section two of the literature review. It examines empirical studies in campaign speeches to demonstrate the intellectual traditions that surround and support the research, and establish the gap in the literature that the research seeks to fill. Chapter Four discusses the research methodology including data selection, mode of analysis, and ethical considerations. Chapters Five, Six, and Seven are devoted to the findings and discussions of the research questions (RQs). Specifically, Chapter Five addresses RQ1, which concerns itself with the types of rhetorical strategies used by JAK to influence voters while Chapter Six reports on RQ2, which seeks to examine the distribution and communicative functions of the speech acts performed by JAK. Chapter Seven provides a comparative analysis regarding how JAK's status as a challenger in 2000 and as an incumbent in 2004 influenced his choice of rhetorical strategies and distribution of speech acts. The final chapter, Chapter Eight, presents a summary of the findings of the study, implications of the findings, and recommendation for

further research in campaign discourse, particularly, on Ghanaian presidential candidates.

1.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter set the scene and direction of the thesis by first giving the background to the study and placing the subject of study, campaign discourse, within the broader field of presidential rhetoric, and contextualizing it within the Ghanaian political scene and the need for such a study. The chapter also introduced the rhetor, JAK, as well as a brief political history of Ghana, from 1992-2012. The research problem and subsequent research questions were stated and followed by significance were also given. The next chapter discusses the analytical and the theoretical frameworks which form section one of the literature review.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW I: SETTING THE CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUNDS

2.0 Introduction

Chapter One set out to delineate the study with regard to the background, the problem, research questions, significance and scope of the study. Chapter Two is devoted to the first part of the literature review. It is divided into two sections. The first section discusses the conceptual framework which has to do with the specific ideas that define the research and evaluate the data, while the second section deliberates on the theoretical framework which establishes and delineates the focus and goal of the research problem. The purpose is to provide an overview of the various concepts and contextualize the study in existing theories to support an in-depth rhetorical and pragmatic analysis of JAK's campaign discourse.

2.1 Conceptual Framework

This section discusses the various concepts underlying the study to provide a basis for the ensuing analysis as well as a context for interpreting the findings of the study. The concepts include rhetoric, challenger and incumbent strategies and speech acts. I begin with rhetoric.

2.1.1 Rhetoric

Rhetoric has been described as the art of speaking or writing, which is concerned with using language to inform, persuade or motivate an audience (Anderson, 2008). In Chilton's (2004) view, rhetoric involves the study of the forms of verbal persuasion and expression while King and Kuypers (2004) describe rhetoric as the strategic use of communication, oral or written, to achieve specific goals. To Jackson and Krebs (2003), rhetoric is the use of long, exaggerated, flowery language that is intended to impress an audience in order to persuade them. They contend that persuasion is "theoretically and methodologically problematic" in the sense that it "rests on subjective motivations of individuals" (p.6). The authors further argue that elites with well-developed views and complex cognitive schemata rarely use persuasion, and that we can make off-the-cuff claims without wandering into the "murky waters of subjective motivation and without relying on problematic mechanisms like persuasion" (p.6). They aver that rhetoric is indeed a linguistic weapon used by the weak. Similarly, Foss (2004) suggests that the word "rhetoric" evokes negative connotations to mean language which is both empty and bombastic and without substance. Hence, according to Foss, political actors call for "action not rhetoric" from their opponents or from world leaders.

The above negative view about rhetoric takes its roots from the ancient Greek philosopher, Plato, who discredited rhetoric, contending that it is a subtle and clever way to persuade someone to change his/her mind and support the opinion of the speaker. Plato stressed that any lengthy speech with the intention to flatter people was within the scope of rhetoric and that "rhetoric is just a knack for creating

persuasive speeches that lack foundation in justice and truth” (*The Gorgias*). His main concern was the truth, justice, virtue, and the good, not the mere ability to persuade. Plato may be right in his view of rhetoric. What he failed to realize was that what he considered as the truth, justice, virtue or the good could be interpreted differently by different people. Thus by his position, Plato was pontificating about what rhetoric should entail and not the role it played in Athenian democratic life. As Foss (2009) puts it, for the Romans rhetoric “was a practical art that demanded natural ability, engagement in the life of the state, instruction, and practice to fully realize the rhetorical ideal.” Foss observation underscores the primacy of persuasion and eloquence in Roman democratic culture.

It was Aristotle, Plato’s student, whose influential work, *Rhetoric* (Roberts, 2008) gave a positive view on the subject by defining rhetoric as the faculty of discovering in any particular case all of the available means of persuasion. Aristotle’s definition marks the starting point for understanding how rhetoric is defined, and it portrayed rhetoric in a positive light, giving it a new lease of life (Foss, 2009). Foss maintains that Aristotle’s writings on rhetoric during the classical time were so profound. Even in these contemporary times his writings are considered as seminal in so far as they continue to influence rhetorical thinking.

Aristotle defined the rhetor as one who is always able to see what is persuasive. He placed a premium on discovering the best means of persuasion, not the effect of persuasion. Aristotle postulated three possible technical means of persuasion. The first is ethos (the character and credibility of the speaker). Aristotle maintains that persuasion is best achieved through the personal character of the

speaker, when the speech is delivered in a way that makes the audience think of the speaker as credible. This is because good people are often trusted more than others. That is Aristotle felt that a speech by a trustworthy individual was more likely to be accepted by a speech given by an individual whose trustworthiness is suspect. The second is pathos (the emotional state of the hearer) when the speaker stirs the emotions of the audience. Aristotle argues, and rightly so, that our sense of judgment varies according as whether we are excited and friendly or hurt and hostile. Thus, listeners react differently when their emotions are tickled by fear, hatred, pain, joy or optimism. The last, logos (the argument itself) is how persuasion is achieved through the speech itself when the speaker is able to substantiate his/her claims with arguments suitable to the issue at stake. These means of persuasion are usually referred to as the “Aristotelian Triad” or “Rhetorical Triangle” and graphically represented below in Figure 1.

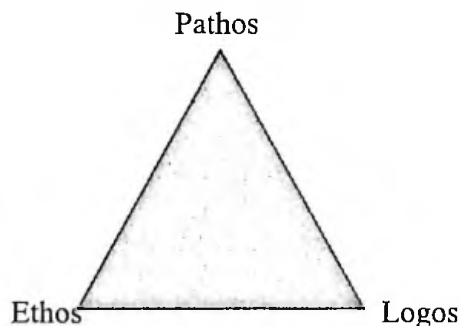


Figure. 1: The Aristotelian Triad/Rhetorical Triangle

The Aristotelian Triad places premium on the rhetor in so far as he/she combines the three concepts to achieve the persuasive effect. It maintains that any persuasive speech that fails to combine these persuasive tools is not likely to

achieve its goal. Aristotle's main preoccupation was to codify rhetorical instruction and develop a pragmatic approach to the subject as opposed to the moral perspective Plato imposed on the subject.

Aristotle further postulates that rhetoric falls into three divisions determined by three types of listeners to speeches. He identifies three elements in speech-making: speaker, subject and the addressee, and of these it is the addressee who determines the object and goal of the speech. The addressee could be either a judge who intends to make decisions about things past or future, or an observer. Someone who is a member of the assembly decides about events in the future, a jurymen about past events while mere observers decide on the skill of the orator. Aristotle argues that as a consequence, there are three types of rhetoric: forensic rhetoric, concerned with the past and is intended to establish the guilt or innocence of a person; epideictic rhetoric, concerned with the present and it involves ceremonial speeches; and deliberative rhetoric, concerned with the future and it deals with political discourse. Aristotle contends that the political orator's main concern is about the future where he advises against or for what should be done. In effect, since campaign discourse is subsumed under political discourse, campaign discourse could be conveniently placed under deliberative rhetoric which has been used by political actors to shape and influence public opinion to promote their agenda. In this vein the present study fits well into Aristotelian deliberative rhetoric.

Two other prominent figures who contributed to rhetorical theory are Cicero and Quintilian who merged Greek and Roman theoretical traditions into more complete theoretical systems and concepts, some of which are still relevant in

contemporary times (Hahn et al, 2011). For instance, Quintilian described rhetoric as the art of speaking well or a good man speaking well while Cicero who symbolized Roman rhetoric contended that rhetoric is one great art comprising five lesser arts: invention, disposition, elucutio, memoria, and pronuntiatio. He was an orator who also wrote extensively about rhetoric. Notable among the treatise he wrote were “De Inventione” (On Invention), “De Oratore” (On Oratory) and “Orator” (Orator) and “he developed the canon of style more than any of his predecessors” (Foss, 2004, p.2).

Rhetoric has, however, attracted bashing from some scholars for its emphasis on the rhetor and the methods of achieving persuasion. For instance, Burke (2008, as cited in Floyd-Lapp, 2014) describes *Rhetoric* as a “messy, redundant compilation of lecture notes, a poorly written manual considering its own emphasis on methods” (p. 2). In simple terms, the work is a haphazardly written coalition of teaching notes seeking to pontificate about methods of persuasion. However, regardless of criticisms of such height, *Rhetoric* demonstrates the power of words and continues to serve as a benchmark from which writers and speakers can build their arguments (Floyd-Lapp, 2014). The present study unites with Floyd-Lapp in her approbation of *Rhetoric*; hence it draws on the Aristotelian Triad for the description and analysis of the persuasive strategies in JAK’s campaign rhetoric.

In contemporary times, however, there appears to be a shift from Aristotelian rhetoric (classical rhetoric) towards a new view of rhetoric (see Burke, 1969; Foss, 2004; Perelman, 1969) While classical rhetoric is concerned with the

examination of the techniques of persuasion, contemporary rhetoric extends rhetoric to encompass a variety of philosophical, theoretical, and procedural standpoints used for the study of the persuasive influence of different types of discourse. For instance, Burke (1969) places identification at the centre of the new rhetoric, arguing that in a case where an audience perceives strongly that a certain kind of conduct is commendable, “the orator can commend a person by using signs that identify with his conduct” (p.54). The implication, therefore, is that a speaker draws on identifications to persuade his audience. Undoubtedly, Burke’s view offers a paradigm shift in rhetorical thinking; however, it seems that his notion of “identification” continues to be a persuasive strategy, in so far as identifying with the opinions and beliefs of a given audience is one strategy that a speaker can adopt to reach the audience.

For Foss (2004), emphasis is now gravitating towards the investigation of why and how humans create rhetoric, attributing this to the fact that all human symbol use is inherently persuasive. Considering rhetoric as symbol use from the perspectives of Burke (1969) and Foss (2004), we could consider campaign discourse, which is a rhetorical act, as a symbol, for its persuasive intent in so far as symbol use is meant to bring change in humans.

Extending the debate further, Bitzer (1968) asserts that every rhetorical act is a response to a situation, postulating that there are three constituents: *exigence*, *audience* and *constraints* of any rhetorical situation, and these must exist before the creation and presentation of a discourse. Perelman (1969) similarly perceives rhetoric as argumentation, with particular emphasis on audience, cautioning that

any orator “who builds his discourse on premises not accepted by the audience commits a classical fallacy in argumentation – *a petition principitii*” (p.1393).

The present study unites with Perelman (1969) and Bitzer (1968) in that campaign discourse is engendered by a situation. The 2000 and the 2004 election periods and JAK’s presidential ambition define the *exigence* while *audience* constitutes the electorate who are capable of effecting a change in JAK’s presidential ambition. Again, without audience, argumentation is incapable of achieving its aim of persuasion: hence, the present study borrows from Perelman and Bitzer for rhetorical insights into JAK’s campaign discourse.

Nonetheless, considering the fact that classical rhetoric essentially focuses on the techniques of persuasion more than contemporary rhetoric, classical rhetoric is considered more appropriate to the ensuing analysis of campaign discourse, as it is capable of unearthing the rhetorical inventions and persuasive intent of JAK in his bid to influence voters.

2.1.2 Applying Rhetoric to Campaign Discourse

Bauer, Suerdem and Biquelet (2014) submit that rhetorical analysis is the application of the principles of rhetoric to the investigation of the relationship between “a text, an author and an audience.” In other words, rhetorical analysis involves the description, analysis, interpretation, and evaluation of the persuasive effects of messages embedded within texts. A rhetorical analysis, therefore, provides a platform for probing the persuasive intentions of a rhetor and the strategies used to achieve these intentions. As Aristotle observes, the rhetor must

endeavor to discover in any particular case all of the available means of persuasion. In as much as JAK is the rhetor of the campaign speeches under study, a rhetorical analysis offers a dais to launch an investigation into how he combined ethos, pathos, and logos for persuasive effect.

Further, a rhetorical analysis provides a basis for the explanation of the feelings and responses of the audience whom the speech is intended to persuade. In a campaign discourse, the electorate constitute the audience. As already observed, both Perelman (1969) and Bitzer (1968) emphasize the primacy of the audience. The realization of JAK's political goal was, therefore, contingent upon the voting decisions of the audience. Given the face-to-face and spontaneous nature of campaign speeches such as JAK's, it is assumed that the mood and responses of the audience influenced his employment of certain persuasive strategies. In addition, applying the principles of rhetoric to campaign discourse offers me the opportunity to draw conclusions about JAK's campaign discourse, particularly considering the assumption that the differing exigencies of the campaign periods; i.e., 2000 and 2004 might have influenced his rhetorical choices.

2.1.3 Campaign Discourse as a Subcategory of Presidential Rhetoric

Presidents do not come to power out of the blue. They must pass voters' litmus test of their suitability to be president, through vigorous political campaigning. According to Windt (1986) one of the sources of power of every president is power derived from the electorate. It is the electorate who give power to the presidential candidate to become president, depending on how he is able to

market himself and his policies during the campaign period. It is for this reason that every presidential candidate is a potential president; hence, his campaign discourse is considered as presidential rhetoric. Medhurst (2006) recognizes challengers as presidents in waiting when he observes that would-be presidents must “make choices about what to say, how to say it, where and whom to say it” (p.6) because such statements become grit for someone’s interpretive mill, even after the candidate wins power.

The object of study of presidential rhetoric is the public statements made by presidents and presidential candidates. These include campaign speech, nomination speech, inaugural address, concession speech, state of the nation/union address, and victory speech (Windt, 1986). These public statements made by the president transcend any speech made by any other political actor because the president is perceived as the captain and pilot navigating the nation through the turbulent waters of economic and political instability as well as national cohesion and integration.

Interestingly, presidential rhetoric has received both disapproval and approbation. It is regarded as a farrago of arguments clothed and decorated in “fine” language ostensibly to cajole people, (Jacobs & Shapiro, 2000; Tulis, 1987; Waterman, 1999). Jacobs and Shapiro suggest that politicians have increasingly dabbled in a “strategy of simulating responsiveness to public opinion through a strategy labeled ‘crafted speech’ (p.5). However, Cohen (2014), Andrews (2011), Cavari (2009), and Druckman and Holmes (2004) endorse presidential rhetoric as a communication tool for presidential leadership. Whichever side the argument is

tilted, there is no gainsaying that presidential rhetoric continues and will continue to attract intellectual attention because:

Linguistically, their words shape ideas and stimulate action. Intellectually, their words provide rationales for action and justification for decisions. Socially, their words connect us as a social entity, providing the feeling of a human relationship with our leader. Ethically, their words can do good or evil, encourage justice or injustice, selfishness or selflessness. Aesthetically, their words have encompassed our grief...given us hope ... and challenged us to address the task ahead (Denton & Hahn 1986, p.4)

Denton and Hahn's observation arguably holds true for all presidential speeches in the sense that presidents are very powerful public figures whose public utterances and actions carry weight. These utterances and action are interpreted differently by people with varied opinions. One such power is evident in their ability to declare emergencies, either in a part or whole of a country, as a Commander-in-Chief of the army of a country, as dictated by a country's constitution.

Campaigns afford the electorate the opportunity to subject the discourse of presidential aspirants and their personality to critical scrutiny (Mshvenieradze, 2013; Brady et al. 2009)). To be able to win power the candidates must invoke all that they have in their linguistic repertoire to penetrate the minds and feelings of prospective voters to garner votes. Day (2010) notes that campaigns change the decision calculus of voters to vote for the candidate who is tipped to win but not the candidate with whom they have the same or similar political ideology.

. In so far as campaign discourse is essentially about influencing the judgment and feelings of voters, they will interpret the message according to how the candidate uses words. JAK's campaign discourse should therefore be seen as presidential rhetoric, lending itself to scrutiny and interpretation, which the present study has sought to do.

JAK spoke "presidentially" on his campaign trails to legitimize himself as a would-be president. Through the power of words he demonstrated his credibility and ability to lead the nation, by presenting cogent arguments to create a good mood of excitement, hope and optimism in the majority of Ghanaians to win the presidency in two highly contested elections.

2.1.4. Challenger and Incumbent Strategies

Two major types of presidential candidates have been identified: the challenger and the incumbent (Benoit, 1999; Druckman, Kifer, & Parkin, 2009; Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1991; Proctert, & Scherick – Hamlin., 1996; Smith, 2010; Trent et al., 2012). The incumbent is the sitting president seeking re-election or the candidate of the ruling party while the challenger is the candidate trying to win power from the sitting president. Each one of these has their own style of discourse as they face different rhetorical states (Smith, 2010). Trent et al. (2012) contend that challengers attack the record of the incumbent, take an aggressive position on issues, call for a change, emphasize optimism for the future and speak to traditional values instead of calling for changes in values. Incumbents, on the other hand, attract and control media attention. For instance, investigations into

newspaper coverage of campaigns involving the NDC and the NPP (the two most formidable parties in Ghana's Fourth Republic) from 1992-2004 revealed that ruling parties receive more media coverage than the opposition (Amponsah, 2014). This finding is a confirmation of incumbency advantage in Ghanaian politics. As part of the incumbency strategy Trent et al. (2012) further observe that ruling governments use state-owned media to tout their achievements by creating pseudo-events, emphasizing accomplishments, depending on surrogates for the campaign trail, among others.

Commenting further on the challenger-incumbent dichotomous style, Agyekum (2013, p.44) suggests that incumbents persuade the masses to resist change and "stick to their existing allegiance, and continue with an established voting pattern." Druckman et al., (2009) also argue that challengers are prone to emphasizing issues, personal features and party while incumbents highlight factors that relate to incumbency. The authors further maintain that in response to competition challengers take risks but incumbents will only take risks when the competition gets tougher.

In an earlier study, Proctert, and Scherick – Hamlin (1996) also found that in terms of attacks while challengers will deliver them on their own, incumbents rely on surrogates, and rightly so because the incumbent, being the President, is expected to use decorous language in his/her public speech. This runs counter to the observation by Trent et al. (2012) that challengers rely on surrogates, usually their running mates, for attacks. This contrast may result from a change in trends in campaign styles over the years. A further interesting observation made by Trent et

al. (2012) is that incumbents usually perform better in elections than challengers, adding that in the US, election results indicate that in the twentieth century only five presidents lost their re-election, showing that 75% of incumbent presidents have been re-elected. This presupposes that in the US incumbents stand a better chance of winning the presidency while, for challengers, winning the presidency becomes an uphill task.

The Ghanaian context mirrors the incumbent-challenger dichotomy on two levels: candidate chances and candidate rhetorical choices. In Ghana since the Fourth Republic three incumbents (J. J. Rawlings and JAK, and John Mahama) have won their re-election bids, in 1996, 2004 and 2012 respectively. Three challengers, including JAK, 2000; Atta Mills, 2008; and Nana Akufo Addo, 2016 have won their election bids. This state of affairs in the presidential race in Ghana runs counter to the US presidency which has seen forty-five (45) presidents by 2016, as against five (5) of Ghana (Fourth Republic). Thus, the Ghanaian political context may not be favourably compared with the US context because the two democracies are poles apart in terms of age: while that of the US spans over two centuries, Ghana's is less than three decades old.

The different rhetorical strategies of incumbents and challengers underscore the fact that the strategies adopted by candidates are predicated upon the status with which they enter the presidential race. Thus, the status of a candidate, whether a challenger or an incumbent, significantly impacts on the campaign plan (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1991).

The present study draws on the challenger-incumbent dichotomy concept as it provides a helpful guide for a comparative analysis of the campaign discourse of JAK, as a challenger in the 2000 election and as an incumbent in the 2004 election. The point of departure, however, lies in the present study's focus on the same candidate as against previous studies' concentration on multiplicity of candidates. In this sense, the study could be considered as a pioneering work, especially in the Ghanaian context, regarding the challenger-incumbent dichotomy involving one presidential candidate. Having established the foundation, and for that matter, the framework for the rhetorical analysis aspect of the research, I now discuss Speech Act Theory (SAT), which is the framework for the speech act analysis aspect of the study.

2.1.5 Speech Acts

Speech acts are utterances used to perform language functions such as informing, complimenting, thanking, complaining, apologizing, requesting, stating, and refusing (Schiffrin 2005; Dijk, 1998; Yule 1996). Speech Act Theory (SAT) was first propounded by Austin (1962) and Searle (1962, 1979) and it emerged as a result of the attempt to place contextual meaning at the centre of pragmatics.

Indeed, it was Austin (1962) who first postulated speech act in his ground-breaking work, *How to do things with words*. Austin went beyond the referential theory of meaning which assumes that the linguistic system connects the signifier with the signified (Masaki, 2004). Instead, Austin placed "the argument on 'meaning' into the use perspective" (ibid, p.31). The thrust of Austin's philosophy

is that statements are not only used to describe situations or state of affairs, but they are also used to perform certain kinds of acts. Austin suggests, among other things, that whenever a sentence is uttered, three acts – a locutionary act, an illocutionary act and a perlocutionary act – are simultaneously produced. In other words, any utterance we make constitutes a locutionary act. The purpose behind an utterance or what an utterance is used for is referred to as the illocutionary act while the perlocutionary act has to do with the effect that the utterance has on the listener. For example, if someone rains insults on another and the person bursts out laughing, it presupposes that the perlocutionary effect has backfired.

Based on the illocutionary force of an utterance, Austin further proposes five more general classes of speech acts: verdictives, exercitives, commissives, behavitives and expositives (p.150). A rough idea of each of the classes as given by Austin is as follows:

- i. Verdictives: giving of verdicts by a jury, arbitrator, or umpire e.g. estimating, reckoning or appraisal
- ii. Exercitives: exercising of powers, rights or influence; e.g. appointing, ordering, urging, warning or advising
- iii. Commissives: committing the speaker to do something. e.g. promising, undertaking, announcing intentions
- iv. Behavitives: concerning attitudes and social behavior; e.g. apologizing, congratulating, commending, condoning, cursing and challenging

- v. Expositives: exposing how our utterances fit into the course of an argument or conversation e.g. replying, arguing, conceding, illustrating

Searle (1969), Austin's student, further developed SAT by classifying speech acts into three primary directions which include the illocutionary point, the direction of fit and the sincerity condition. The illocutionary point of a speech act could be explained best when we define the point of some speech acts. The point of a request is an indication that the speaker (S) wants the hearer (H) to do something. The point of an assertion is that it represents an actual state of affairs. The point of a promise is an undertaking on the part of S to do something (Dietz & Widdiershoven, 1991).

The direction of fit of a speech act considers the interface between the propositional content and the world to which it is referred. Some illocutionary points such as assertions are meant to get the contents (the words) to reflect the world while others such as promises, commands and requests are meant to get the world to match the words. The sincerity condition of a speech act concerns the psychological attitude of S to the propositional contents. In an assertion, for instance, S expresses commitment to the truth of the contents. In a request S expresses the desire that H perform the action, while in a promise S expresses an intention to perform an action.

Based on the aforesaid three dimensions, Searle further proposes the following classes of speech acts.

- i. Assertives: commit S to the truth of the proposition expressed; e.g. “It is raining.”
- ii. Directives: S attempts to get H to do something, expressed by the propositional content. e.g. commands, questions, requests
- iii. Commissive: commit S to some future course of action e.g. promise, offers, threats, vows
- iv. Expressives: express the psychological attitude of S to the state of affairs specified in the propositional content; e.g. apologizing, congratulating, condolences, greetings, expressing gratitude
- v. Declaratives: express a declaration in the sense that the state of affairs expressed by the propositional content is brought into existence by merely declaring it to exist. e.g. blessings, christenings, weddings, and firing

Figure 2 below shows speech acts and their underlying illocutionary force(s), as classified by Austin and Searle.

Austin (1962)	Searle (1969, 1979)
Verdictives: judging, estimating, reckoning	Assertives: making a statement of fact
Exercitives: appoint, order, advise	Directives: commands, requests, questions
Commissives: promise, undertaking	Commissives: promise, threats, offer, vows
Behavitives: apologizing, commending	Expressives: apology, greetings, condolences
Expositives: arguing, conceding	Declaratives: blessings, firing, pronouncements

Figure 2: Comparing the Speech Acts of Austin and Searle

As can be seen from Figure. 2, *commissives* are common to both Austin and Searle. Again, Austin's *behavities* is synonymous with Searle's *expressives* because both speech acts are concerned with S's attitude and social behavior. The differences, include *verdictives, executives, expositives* (Austin) and *assertives, directives, declaratives* (Searle) and are indicative of the fact that there are varied forms of speech acts available to interlocutors to select, depending on the illocutionary force behind the utterance. It is also worth pointing out that the differences in the categories portray Austin and Searle's attempt to classify and postulate a framework for the description and analysis of what humans do with words, and through a pragmatic analysis it is possible to investigate the illocutionary force and perlocutionary effect of speech acts in JAK's campaign discourse.

Contributing to SAT, Schiffrin (2005) suggests three considerations for the identification of a speech act in a discourse: the content or the proposition expressed by the utterance, the force or the mood of the utterance manifested through "descriptive, prescriptive and requestive markers" corresponding to the conventional "mood types descriptive, imperative and interrogative" (p.6). The third is the position of the utterance within a conversation. This is so because the same utterance occurring at different positions within a discourse can engender different speech acts relative to the linguistic or situational context. The third point seems to be applicable only to a dyad since in a larger discourse it becomes laborious and tedious to assign an ordinal position to an utterance. Besides, in a

dyad, there is the likelihood for each participant to use the same utterance once. In that case assigning an ordinal position to the utterance becomes problematic.

Again, Schiffrin (2005) stresses the importance of the recognition of speech acts in a discourse since the intention of the speaker and the expected response are revealed through the propositional content of an utterance. In addition, the recognition of a speech act “provides appropriateness constraints for our responses” (p.5). Schiffrin could not have said it better, in that, in a conversation, the response given by a hearer serves as a monitoring device for the speaker regarding the relevance, appropriateness or otherwise of the response.

The study, however, adopts Searle’s classification of speech acts, for two major reasons. First, in comparison with Austin’s classification of speech acts, Searle’s is more reader friendly. Austin’s terminologies such as *verdictives*, *exercitives* and *behabitives* may put off beginning students of speech act theory. Conversely, Searle’s terms like *assertives*, *directives*, *expressives* and *declarations* are everyday expressions that may not pose problems of understanding. Second, there appear to be some overlaps in Austin’s classification. For instance, the speech act of “describing” comes under both *verdictives* and *expositives* (Kaburise, 2005). Austin himself admits the overlap in some of the categories. He observes:

The last two classes are those which I find most troublesome, and it could be that they are not clear or are cross-classified, or even some fresh classification is altogether needed. I am not putting any of this forward as in the very least definitive. Behabitives are troublesome because they seem too miscellaneous altogether; and expositives...because both seem to be

included in the other classes and at the same time to be unique in a way that I have not succeeded in making clear even to myself. It could well be said that all aspects are present in all my classes (Austin 1962, p. 151).

In the wake of such overlaps, any analysis and discussion based on Austin's categories will pose serious challenges to the results of the study, since there are bound to be repetitions emanating from the overlaps as opposed to Searle's which are well-defined.

2.1.6 Syntax and Sentence Types in Speech Acts

According to Searle and Vanderveken (1985) every sentence uttered by a speaker contains a particular syntactical feature which determines the illocutionary force, if we consider the rest of the sentence and a certain context of utterance. This syntactical feature is any linguistic element that indicates or delimits the illocutionary force of an utterance. Searle and Vanderveken further argue that "every complete sentence, even a one-word sentence, has some indicator of illocutionary force" (p.115), which is technically known as illocutionary force indicating device (IFID). The IFID manifests in "word order, stress, intonation contour, punctuation, the mood of the verbs and a set of so called performative verbs" (p.115). In word order, for example, the position of the Subject (S) and Finite Verb (F) in the illocutionary clause as well as the propositional clause is considered. The S and F are further analysed to find out the kinds of grammatical elements that constitute each of these.

In terms of sentence types in speech acts, there are three types, described by Levinson (2016) as the “big three”. These include declarative, interrogative (classified into *Yes/No* and *Wh* interrogatives) and imperative which help determine the illocutionary force in an utterance. These types of sentences define the various moods. The indicative mood is associated with assertives or commissives as it is used to make statements or give information, asks for information as in some directives. The imperative mood, on the other hand, is used to give orders or commands. It is also used to make requests like an invitation, an entreaty or condition. The last, which is the subjunctive mood, is used to make hypothetical statements contrary to fact.

Then there is a “special” class of simple sentences of the form $F(P)$ where F represents the illocutionary force, and P represents the propositional content, which expresses elementary illocutionary acts (Searle & Vanderveken 1985). A subclass of these elementary sentences are performative sentences which consist of a performative verb whose subject is in the first person singular, *I*, and in the present simple tense of the indicative mood to make a bet, throw a challenge, make a promise, a vow, a pronouncement, a nomination, or a declaration. The verb is the name of the kind of illocutionary act a speaker performs in the utterance of sentences (Bach & Harnish, 1979). Examples include *I nominate you*, *I warn you*, *I congratulate you*, *I promise you*, *I declare you husband and wife*. It is also noted that performative sentences are grammatically declarative (Austin, 1962).

Searle and Vanderveken (1985) in addition, posit that it is not all illocutionary acts that are of the simple $F(P)$ form. There are also complex

illocutionary acts, which are expressed by complex sentences, which may consist of two parts conjoined by illocutionary connectives such as *and*, *but*, etc. These connectives afford speakers the opportunity to join different illocutionary acts in one utterance. Generally, such sentences have the form (F₁ (P₁) & F₂ (P₂)). Thus, they are made of two parts, though not necessarily distinct as in a complex sentence like *I promise you that I will transform the economy*, which contains a main clause (*I promise you*) and a subordinate clause. (*that I will transform the economy*). In such a sentence there is the propositional clause and the illocutionary clause, and each clause has a function indicating device.

Bach & Harnish, (1979) postulate that in speech act theory, there is also a class of adverbials known as illocutionary adverbials which are used to comment on the illocutionary intent behind the sentences in which they occur. Consider the following examples:

Actually, the lecture is boring.

By the way, I can tell you what happened.

The prefatory adverbials, *actually* and *by the way* do not necessarily modify the main clauses in the sentences. On the contrary, they are used to characterize the main clauses. *Actually*, describes *S*'s act of informing *H* that the lecture is boring. *By the way*, on the other hand, indicates the digressive nature of the utterance that follows. Similarly, Levinson (2016) observes that on the surface structure of some sentences there are cues that can determine an illocutionary force of the propositional content. For instance, adverbs like *please*, mark requests or pleadings

while adverbs like *obviously* or *frankly* mark statements and interjections like *wow* mark exclamations.

From the foregoing, it is noted that the syntax, sentence types and the grammar of speech acts could be interpreted with recourse to IFIDs, which define the kind of illocutionary act behind a sentence. Thus the concept of IDIFs has become a helpful guide in the theory of speech acts in the determination of how a proposition should be taken.

Notwithstanding the contribution of SAT to the analysis of discourse, it has been criticized for overly being a speaker-centred model without taking cognizance of other non-verbal communicative acts (Masaki, 2004; Allwood, 1997). Again, Allwood (1977) rejects the term “act” on grounds that it creates the impression that Austin limits statements to fleeting distinct activities instead of concurrent aspects of one and the same action. . Furthermore, the model seems to suggest that the various categories of speech acts are discrete and independent of one another, overlooking the fact that a speaker may use one sentence to perform more than one speech act.

Regardless of the above and some other concerns, SAT has probably attracted extensive intellectual attention in all issues in the general theory of language usage (Olaniyi & Bamigbola, 2012). SAT is a helpful model for the analysis of discourse, since it enables us not only to understand the intentions of a speaker, but it also helps in our appreciation of how humans use words. Accordingly, a speech act analysis creates an avenue for the interpretation and appreciation of the numerous and varied ways in which JAK put campaign

language to use. Therefore the classification of speech acts into different categories such as assertions, promise, commands, requests, threats and the like would support the present study by revealing the communication intentions of JAK as he mounted political platforms to campaign for votes. The next section of the discussion focuses on the theoretical framework that supports the study.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

The study draws on two theoretical standpoints: *Pragma-Rhetorical Theory* and *Functional Theory of Political Campaign Discourse*. The choice of the two theories over others such as *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) is informed by their ability to provide direction in addressing the research problem and answer the research questions. While the *Pragma-Rhetorical Theory* will address the concerns of RQ1 & RQ2, the *Functional Theory* will speak to RQ3.

2.2.1 Pragma-Rhetorical Theory

The Pragma-Rhetorical Theory, as its name implies, is a cross-fertilization of pragmatics and rhetoric for the analysis of political discourse. A number of studies have applied pragmatic and rhetorical tools in analyzing political discourse; (Abuya, 2012; Babatunde & Odepidan, 2009; Ilie, 2009, 2006b). These studies have demonstrated that pragmatics and rhetoric offer complementary perspectives on language use, especially by politicians.

According to Ilie (2006b), the proponent of the pragma-rhetoric theory, there are two components to the theory. First, the rhetorical analysis is a macro-level analysis whose primary focus is on the overall properties of discourse in

relation to whether or not institutional rules are complied with. The macro-level analysis is also concerned with constraints, confrontations or consensus, discourse used in transactions or between/among persons, reasoning bordering on ethos or pathos, types of arguments and argumentative strategies. In other words, the macro-level analysis looks at language use from a much broader perspective including power, dominance, and inequality between social groups (Dijk, 1998) and major changes in language from outside forces. Thus, what is said and when it is said are measured by the social order.

Second, the pragmatic level analysis is a micro-level analysis which concerns itself with textual and co-textual features of interactions such as types of speech acts, techniques of controlling discourse, and metadiscursive devices. Others include modality, connectives, (im)politeness strategies like address forms, and parenthetical statements. In simple terms, the micro-level occurs at the level of the word and sentence where word choice and sentence structure such as grammatical constructions are considered.

The Pragma-Rhetorical Theory has stimulated intellectual thinking, leading to a further extension of the theory. While Ilie (2006b) considers micro-level and macro-level analyses as belonging to the pragmatic and rhetorical analyses respectively, Babatunde and Odepidan (2009) propose a pragma-rhetoric model which is composed of the following elements: *context*, *intention*, *world knowledge*, *speech acts*, and *affective elements*.

Context involves the linguistic, situational, psychological and sociological background of the utterance or speech while intention concerns with the speaker's

purpose which is based on the context of interaction and the speaker's interpretation. Again, world knowledge refers to the interlocutors' acquired experience and perception of the world which influences how the interaction is interpreted. Thus, background knowledge goes a long way to affect the smooth running of a communicative event. If the world knowledge shared by interlocutors is stronger, it becomes easier for the message to be encoded and decoded. Next is speech acts (already discussed in 2.1.4.1) followed by affective elements where language is used to hypnotize hearers. The hearer is carried away by the "musical phrases of the verbal hypnotist" who may use "fine-sounding speeches, impressively worded sermons, speeches" (p.300) to captivate the hearer. The verbal hypnotist usually uses tools such as repetition, direct address, parallelism, metaphor rhetoric (pathos, ethos, and logos).

A close examination of the *Pragma-Rhetorical Theory* from the point of view of Ilie (2006b) and Babatunde and Odepidan (2009) reveals more commonalities than differences. Ilie's micro-level of analysis is under pragmatic aspect of the theory just as Babatunde and Odepidan's context, speech acts, world knowledge and intentions are subsumed within the pragmatic elements of the theory. Similarly, Ilie's macro-level analysis which is placed under the rhetorical aspect of the theory matches with Babatunde and Odepidan's affective elements which are rhetorical. The differences, however, lie in the description of what go(es) into the rhetorical aspect of the theory. While Ilie seems to consider rhetoric from a modern perspective (based on macro-level analysis) Babatunde and Odepidan

seem to look at rhetoric from the persuasive perspective and for that matter classical rhetoric (based on Aristotelian prescriptions).

Given the fact that both pragmatics and rhetoric focus on the use and functions of language and the role of language in different communicative events, Wei Wei (2013) argues, and rightly so, that locutionary act, illocutionary act and perlocutionary act correspond to rhetorical act, rhetorical purpose or rhetorical effect. Similarly, Larrazabal and Korta (2002) observe that persuasive and other kinds of perlocutionary intentions seem to form the basis of rhetorical studies of linguistic use. The authors argue that the intention to persuade connects “rhetoric with pragmatics distinguishing and combining at the same time communicative intention with persuasive intention” (p.7). The fusion of pragmatics and rhetoric is echoed by Larsson (1998) who contends that speech act theory takes into account certain functions of rhetoric under the label of perlocutionary act such as judging, convincing, and defending. For this reason, Larsson proposes what he calls ‘rhetorical speech acts’ based on the three Aristotelian means of persuasion: *ethos*, *logos* and *ethos*, from which it is possible to have *ethos-acts*, *logos-acts* and *pathos acts*. Considering the interconnection between pragmatics and rhetoric in the analysis of discourse, we are inclined to embrace Larsson’s analogy as useful linguistic tools that extend our knowledge and understanding of the pragmatics and rhetoric of discourse.

In the present study, the use of a combined pragma-rhetorical approach provides the opportunity for identifying and examining the pragmatics and rhetorical strategies in a campaign discourse. The combined approach will also

make it possible to identify and analyse linguistic structures that may inherently have both pragmatic and rhetoric effects. This is where Larsson's (1998) *ethos-acts*, *logos-acts* and *pathos acts* could be of much help in the analysis. All this culminates into a major reason for using pragma-rhetoric approach, and that is while the rhetorical aspect will address RQ1, the pragmatic aspect will respond to RQ2.

2.2.2 Functional Theory of Political Campaign Discourse

The Functional Theory was developed by Benoit and associates, following a number of studies based primarily on presidential campaign discourse. (See Benoit 1999, 2007; Benoit & Hinson 2007; Benoit & Rul, 2013; Dudek &Partacz 2009.) The Functional Theory was initially applied to the analysis of political campaign messages in the United States. In recent times, however, the theory has been applied to elections in countries such as France, Germany, Italy, Britain, Israel, Korea, Poland, Turkey, Greece, Russia, Taiwan and Ukraine (Benoit, 1999).

The Functional Theory, which is used to analyse campaign messages of rival political actors, maintains that the functions of political campaign messages are three-fold: acclaims, attacks, and defence. A candidate seeking political office may enhance his/her own credentials and desirability as a capable office-holder through *acclaims*. Acclaims involve statements extolling candidate virtues, achievements, and benefits that accompany his/her election (Dudek & Partacz, 2009). Simply put, acclaims refer to qualities that voters prefer. Candidates may also resort to *attacks* to undermine and downgrade their opponents as incapable

office-holders. In other words, attacks are directed at the negative traits of the opponent (s), highlighting those that voters frown on. Again, when candidates are attacked by their opponents, they *defend* themselves through refutations. Benoit (1999) posits that defence that is timely and appropriate has the potential to thwart and obviate further attacks and it may help in the restoration of a candidate's image. Again, the theory submits that challengers attack more than incumbent, and each of these three functions (*acclaims*, *attacks* and *defence*) manifests itself in two issues: *policy* and *character*. Utterances regarding policy are divided into sub-categories: past deeds, future plans and general goals. Character utterances, on the other hand, are classified into personal qualities, leadership ability and ideals.

The Functional Theory further argues that, in principle, acclaims do not have any drawbacks while attacks have one as against three of defenses (Benoit, Brazeal, & Airne, 2007). The only potential "danger" of acclaims is that if they are not well thought out and are poorly conceived, there is the possibility of damaging the candidate with regard to modesty, ethics and bragging. Attacks could put off voters, as studies (see Dudek & Partacz 2009; Lau, Sigelman & Rouvner, 2007; Utych, 2012) have shown that voters dislike mudslinging and hate speech. Accordingly, the attacker will suffer a backlash from the voters. Defences have the following implications for the candidate. First, they create in the minds of the voters a candidate's potential weakness. Second, defences create the impression that a candidate who is always on the defensive is reactive instead of being proactive. Third, defences have the potential to divert a candidate's attention from the campaign message and he will be engaging in more image restoration rather than

discussing his strengths. The present study draws on the *Functional Theory* as an analytical tool in discussing how acclaims, attacks and defence manifested themselves in the campaign discourse of JAK as a challenger and incumbent.

The significance of the aforesaid conceptual and theoretical frameworks to the present study lies both in their collective and individual support to the phenomenon under investigation: presidential campaign discourse. Collectively, they prop up the study by providing a basis for the interpretation and analysis of the rhetoric and the pragmatics of JAK's campaign communication. Individually, they dilate upon the various conceptual and theoretical underpinnings of the study. *Rhetoric* will provide a basis for the rhetorical analysis which is the concern of RQ1, *pragmatics/speech acts* will focus on RQ2 while the *Functional Theory* will help address RQ3 which seeks to make a comparative analysis of the rhetorical and pragmatic manifestations in the campaign messages of JAK, the challenger and JAK, the incumbent. Further, the *Functional Theory* is adopted to demonstrate its applicability to Ghana's presidential elections as applied to other democratic dispensations.

2.3 Chapter Summary

What this chapter sought to do was to provide an overview of the first part of the literature review where the significant theories underpinning the study were discussed. Rhetoric was seen as a helpful approach to the analysis of campaign discourse to reveal the rhetorical inventions of JAK while pragmatics was also seen as basis for the analysis of the speech act types to reveal the communicative

intentions of JAK. Finally, the two-pronged theoretical framework, the *Pragmatic-Rhetorical Theory* and the *Functional Theory of Political Discourse*, that provide theoretical basis for the study, were discussed. The next chapter discusses the second part of the literature review.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW II

PREVIOUS STUDIES ON CAMPAIGN COMMUNICATION

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the conceptual and theoretical frameworks that bolster the study. Chapter Three is a continuation of the literature review, as it examines empirical studies that support the subject of investigation: campaign discourse. The chapter is arranged in two sections. The first section explores studies on rhetorical strategies adopted in political campaign, while the second section focuses on studies on the pragmatics of campaign discourse, with particular reference to speech acts.

3.1 Campaign Rhetoric Strategies

This section of the literature review explores campaign rhetoric strategies. The review is organized thematically to demonstrate the various perspectives from which campaigns have been studied in the last two decades.

3.1.1 Nationalism Appeals

In political campaigning, appeal to voters' sense of nationalism is a rhetorical tool exploited by candidates to inspire nationhood and nation building in the electorate. Ayi (2013), borrowing from van Dijk (2004), maintains that showering of praises on one's country in a campaign discourse "can be termed as nationalist ideology" (p.71). A similar position is held by Palsrud (2009), who observes that in a presidential election, candidates evoke national identity of their

country. Palsrud maintains that as part of the campaign strategy, candidates must explore the aspects of the national identity which resonate with the audience. Palsrud's position needs to be viewed with circumspection in the sense that his "national identity" could be abused by some political actors who in the name of national identity could indirectly "preach" xenophobic, racist, or chauvinistic messages to create disaffection for minority groups.

In US political campaigning, for example, nationalism comes under the guise "American Dream" or the "American Creed" manifested in "*freedom for self-ambition, achievement/excellence, social and political order, and independence/self-reliance*" (Renshon, 2000 as cited in Palsrud, 2009). In the US, presidential candidates make sure that these are unequivocally reflected in their campaign speeches (ibid). Studies such as Cheung (2013), Andrews (2011), Post (2009), and Lim (2002) suggest the exploitation of the American Creed by US presidential candidates in diverse ways to get the citizenry to connect with their message. For instance, in the 2012 US presidential election, Obama's speeches were laced with nationalist sentiments more than Romney's, to connect with Americans by uniting them through a mutual sense of nationalism (Cheung, 2013).

Nationalist sentiments can equally be driven by culture, religion, ethnicity or language. Price (2004) posits that in India, the existence of "identity politics" has given rise to the formation of political movements such as the Hindu nationalist of northern and western parts of India, "*the Dravidian nationalism of the Tamil parties and the Telegu nationalism of the Telegu Desam*" (p.16). However, Helbling (2015) cautions about the likelihood of political campaigns using a

divisive rhetoric of nationalistic positions. Such positions have the potential to intensify the perceived tension between those who are citizens and immigrants. Helbling further observes that the rhetoric of populist right wing parties cautions against the threat of cultural diversity which could create immigration crisis, citing presidential candidates Geert Wilders (Netherlands) and Le Pen, (France) as having voiced concerns about “the dangers that especially Muslim immigration causes for the functioning of liberal nation states” (p. 102). Helbling’s concern cannot be taken lightly in that if nationalism in politics is abused, it could be more divisive than unifying. Schrock-Jacobson (2012) argues more forcefully that nationalist persuasion campaigns are harmful owing to their potential to provoke sentiments that encourage conflict.

Whereas ethnicity or freeborn versus immigrant, for example, could be a potential divisive force and a threat to national peaceful co-existence (Helbling, 2015), religion, on the other hand, can be a potential uniting force. In Kenya, Michira (2014) finds that presidential candidates organize “national repentance prayers” at Uhuru Park (a park that symbolizes Kenya’s Independence) to seek national forgiveness and to pledge commitment to national peace. The Kenyan experience is a clear manifestation of how politicians employ religion as a strategy for the promotion of national integration and national identity (e.g. Brubaker, 2012; Crines & Theakson, 2015). Brubaker maintains that religion has played a pivotal role in the origin and growth of nationalism through the appropriation of religious symbols and accounts.

The history, struggles and ideological inclinations of nations have as well formed the basis of nationalism appeals in political campaigning. For instance, in the Kenyan 2013 presidential election, Uhuru Kenyatta employed nationalist rhetoric to address neo-colonialism, sovereignty, ethnic polarization and national reconciliation to elicit domestic and regional support (Hodgins, 2015). Similarly, Fuller (2015) reports that Nkrumah's rhetoric of nationalism manifested in his frequent use of the expression, "We face neither East nor West. We face forward", at political rallies in his attempt to place "newly-independent Ghana as a non-aligned African nation-state" during the heat of the Cold War (p.1). In the same way, a study by Tendi (2013) indicates that in the 2013 Zimbabwe presidential election, Zimbabwe liberation history was a recurring theme in the speeches of Mugabe, in order that the voting public would perceive him as an embodiment of the forces of national liberation.

As demonstrated by the aforementioned studies, nationalism appeals converge on the notion of nationhood, or statehood. Every presidential candidate, therefore, tends to use discourse that portrays him/her as a patriot or an embodiment of national unity. There is the likelihood that JAK's campaign discourse had its fair share of nationalism appeals or patriotism overtures, because as a would-be president he needed the majority of the electorate to identify with him.

3.1.2 Negative Campaigning

Negative campaigning has been described variously as “persuasive attack”, (Benoit, 2017; DiSanza & Legge, 2016); “hate speech”, (Osewe-Akubor, 2015); and “attack” (Benoit, 1999; Dudek & Partacz, 2009). The strategy of negative campaigning demonstrates the fluidity of language in the hands of a political campaigner. Negative campaigning involves an attack on one’s opponent (Lau & Rouvner, 2009) during electioneering campaigns. Generally, it concentrates on the weaknesses and mistakes of one’s opponent, the flaws in their character or performance, the bad policies and programmes they are likely to pursue (Mayer, 1996). In the words of Agyekum (2004, p.110), politicians employ negative campaigning to “throw psychological bombs at the hearts of their opponents and damage their emotions and reputation.” According to Lau and Rouvner (2009), “the decision to attack is a political calculation, based on the presumption that its execution will damage the intended target more than it will jeopardize the status of the candidate sponsoring the attack” (p.292). In other words, attacks are premeditated and the attacker assumes that the attack has the potential to damage the reputation of the target. Lau and Rouvner (2009) back their claim by arguing that in the US, the electoral defeats of candidates John Kerry – 2004, Michael Dukakis – 1988 and Bary Goldwater – 1964 were largely due to negative campaigning against them.

Bernhardt and Ghosh (2012), sharing a similar position, note that in the 2012 US elections, 85 percent of President Obama’s campaign advertisements were negative in nature while his main challenger, Mitt Romney, allocated 91 percent of

his campaign advertisement to negative campaigning. The figures are indicative of the extent of negative campaigning even in US politics, regarded by many as a benchmark for issues-based campaigning. Utych (2012) cautions that when individuals are exposed to language that makes them feel generally negative, they are also likely to feel negatively towards the political objects attacked verbally.

It is not all scholars who condemn negative campaigning. Benoit (2017) and Mayer (1996), for example, contend that negative campaigning has its positive side. Benoit opines that negative campaigning is welcome if it exposes wrong doing. Again, it provides an avenue for offenders to mend their ways. Positioning himself as an apologist of negative campaigning, Mayer (1996) argues that the more the weaknesses of a candidate are brought to the fore, the more it becomes clearer that “negative campaigning is not the plain and unmitigated evil that it is frequently portrayed to be” (p.443). Mayer further contends that, on the contrary, negative campaigning offers valuable information to voters to enable them to take voting decisions. Mayer again asserts that but for negative campaigning, candidates would turn campaigns into “a procession of lies, exaggerations and unrealistic promises” (ibid). Both Benoit and Mayer may be right in their somehow positive rating of negative campaigning. What they seem to overlook is the adverse effects of negative campaigning on the target and the entire democratic system, especially when negative campaigning is driven by propaganda, mischief, half-truths, mudslinging and invectives.

It is also argued that negative campaigning sometimes does not work in the interest of the attacker. Contrariwise, negative campaigning can be potentially

counterproductive. A case in point is the 1988 US presidential elections, when George H. W. Bush “came from 10 points behind in the polls to a comfortable victory after the (in)famous Willie Horton, Boston Harbour and Dukakis- in –a tankads began airing” (Lau et al.2007, p. 1176).

There is also evidence that campaign discourse in some democracies is more negative than in other democracies. For example, the campaign discourse of Polish leaders is considerably more aggressive than their counterparts in the United States and Israel (Dudek & Partacz, 2009). This state of affairs, the study observes, partly emanated from candidates themselves who used the attacks as an effective way to create their own domination against their opponents, and partly from journalists who attempted to make their reportage attractive. Similarly, Vasvari (2013) posits that political discourse in US elections and post socialist Hungary is replete with racist and feminizing stereo-typed invectives. Vasvari (2013) reports that in the 2008 US presidential election campaign, Barack Obama was a target of racism while Hillary Clinton and other female political figures were portrayed in the most traditionally misogynist terms. In a similar manner, the paper submits, in Hungary, there is deep-seated gender stereo-type which works against women in what the paper describes as “macho democracy” that rekindles unequal power relations and repressive ideology.

A study by Tendi (2013) also reveals that President Robert Mugabe, in his 2013 campaign, continually referred to his main opponent, Tsvangirai, as a “puppet of the West”, while Hodgins (2015) reports that in his 2013 campaign, Uhuru Kenyatta vilified, pilloried and derided the legitimacy of the International Criminal

Court (ICC) trying him for crimes against humanity. He described the trial as “a neo-colonial and ethnically biased process” which interfered in the sovereignty of Kenyans and stalled efforts towards peace and national reconciliation. Kenyatta’s diatribe against the ICC is comparable to Ash’s (2010) concept of “attacking the corporate enemy.” It indicates that it is not only individuals that are the target of attacks; institutions, whether local or international, could also be attacked. A presidential candidate under the impression that an institution is a threat to his presidential ambition, will describe it in the most pejorative terms to create hatred and disaffection for that institution.

Also Nigerian campaign platforms are reported to be avenues for hate speech (Osewe-Akubor, 2015). Osewe-Akubor reports that the language of campaigns and election in the run-up to the Nigeria 2015 general election was characterized by mudslinging and hate speech, leading to violence. For example, “Fayose took his smear campaign a notch higher when he implied that Buhari, who was around the same age with his mother, wears baby pampers as he no longer has control of his body system” (p.8). Another study by Nigerian Civil Society Situation (Room 15) offers corroborative evidence to negative campaigning in Nigeria elections. Katsina State Governor, Shema, is on record to have referred to his opponents as “cockroaches” and urged his supporters to kill them as they kill cockroaches, while Governor Ayodele of Ekiti State cautioned voters against voting for the APC presidential candidate, Muhamadu Buhari, in the 2015 elections because he was likely to die in office like the late President Yaradua, if elected. Such invectives, apart from creating hostility for the target, also has the potential to

undermine peaceful election campaign. As Lau and Rouvner (2009, p.292) observe, negative campaigning is “corrosive on the political system” in that the target may also respond in equal measure, if not more.

Political campaigning in Ghana is equally replete with intemperate language, known in Ghanaian parlance as “politics of insults”. (Asamoah, Yebaoah-Asiamah, & Osei-Kojo, 2014; Ayi, 2013). Asamoah et al. observe that the constant use of intemperate language in Ghana does not only affect the quality of political discourse, but it also creates tension during every election year, resulting in calls for peace from sections of Ghanaians. The observation by Asamoah et al. raises concern about the use of intemperate language which has affected all facets of political discourse, including campaign discourse. Other scholars who have raised concerns about politics of insults include Ofori (2014) and Agyekum (2008). Together, these studies provide evidence of intemperate language in political campaigning across cultures, and given the pervasiveness of politics of insults in campaign discourse in Ghana, the current study will reveal whether or not JAK engaged in negative campaigning.

3.1.3 Emotional Appeals

The use of emotional appeals in campaigns has similarly been studied from various perspectives such as hope, enthusiasm, fear, anger, anxiety, and pride. Goldman (2011, p.6) describes emotional appeal as “persuasive message stimuli that evoke emotion”. Emotional appeals are categorized into positive and negative. Positive emotional appeals are those that have positive implications, including

hope, enthusiasm, happiness, relief, compassion and pride (ibid) whereas negative emotional appeals are those with negative implication, including fear, despair, hatred, anger and threat, among others.

Whether or not emotion plays a role in politics has been a subject of debate. For instance, it has been argued that emotional appeals in political campaigning deprive voters of taking rational voting decisions on “which democratic processes rest” (Brader, 2005). In the same vein, Idiagbon (2010) intimates that rather than aspirants basing their arguments on the “established socio-political theoretical perspectives” they allow their arguments to be driven by emotions. Likewise, emotions in campaigning have been condemned for serving no useful purpose, and impeding common sense and rational thinking (Keltner & Gross, 1999). Conversely, there is also the notion that the achievement of campaign goals is partly contingent upon emotional appeals which have the potential to bring about behaviour that is democratically desirable (Brader, 2005).

Regardless of the ambivalence towards the use of emotional appeals in political campaigning, politicians habitually employ it as a rhetorical strategy. Scholars are, therefore, keenly interested in examining how emotions such as fear, hope, anger, enthusiasm and others impact voter behaviour. For instance, Barack Obama, 2008; Bill Clinton, 1992; Ronald Reagan, 1980; and J.F. Kennedy, 1960 ran hope-based campaigns to win the presidency (Goldman, 2011). Kobby Mensah (2011) also reports that having been in opposition for over three decades, the NPP in Ghana’s 2000 election campaign resorted to advertisement and segmentation, targeting, market intelligence and market research to address the perception that it

was elitist and tribal. In so far as advertisements play on the emotions of its target audience, it became an effective campaign strategy for the NPP to deflate their opponents' arguments. The strength of Mensah's study manifests in its successful contextualization of NPP's campaign strategy in political marketing. The study is an eye-opener to campaign strategists that going into an election and winning demands knowledge and application of political marketing strategies for the propagation of a party's manifesto or campaign message.

On the use of fear, Melaine and Hepler (2015) contend that fear appeals are goal-oriented in that they are conscious efforts made by candidates to emphasize the potential calamity that will befall voters should they accept or fail to accept the message of one candidate or the other. For example, in the 2004 US presidential race, portentous imagery such as wolves was used to provoke voters' apprehension about the Iraqi war as a national security threat while in 2008, presidential candidates employed fear appeals in relation to an imminent economic crunch (Ridout & Searles, 2011).

Studies such as Ash (2010), Finn (2010), Bista (2009) and Letts (2009) confirm Obama's use of his "Yes, We Can" refrain to inspire hope in the American people. Letts (2009) further submits that Obama's discourse of hope in the US 2008 general election campaign engendered an unprecedented level of optimism and created a popular imaginary democratic revolution which has been described as a triumph of hope over fear. Describing Obama's campaign discourse as a smashing success of his inspirational and elevated rhetoric, Letts argues that this eloquent rhetoric of inspiration reaffirmed a nation's faith in its most cherished myths.

Similarly, in the 2016 US election campaign, Hillary Clinton's emotional appeals portrayed her as the ethical sanguine and progressive leader in comparison with Donald Trump's framing of fear, anger, bellicose statements and sadness which could be a palpable threat to the security and unity of America (Bhat 2016).

Tenuche (2009) also discovered that President Obasanjo's public statements and speeches in his re-election campaign invoked fear and anger as the pronouncements were derogatory, intimidating, and menacing, portraying his perception of politics as warfare. The 2016 presidential election in Philippines was no different. There was an effective combination of hope and fear by Duterte to stir voters' emotions (Curato, 2016). While Duterte employed hope to inspire voters of better times ahead, he used fear appeals to draw attention to the threat of illicit drugs and the need for penalizing steps to crush drug trafficking. Further, reinforcing the employment of emotion as a rhetorical tool in politics, Girke and Kemp (2011) report that, in the Uganda 2011 election, Museveni campaigned on the wings of his key message "prosperity for all" to elicit hope responses, in term of votes, from Ugandans.

In Ghana, one campaign platform that offers candidates an opportunity for the deployment of emotional appeals is the presidential debates known as the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) Debate, modelled on US presidential debates. As in the US, the debates offer presidential candidates a forum to present their programmes and policies to the electorate. In these debates, candidates employ emotional appeals as strategies to win the support of the audience (Djabatey 2013; Marfo & Aminu, 2014). In the run-up to Ghana's 2008 presidential election, Marfo

and Aminu found that during the presidential debate while Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo appealed to the audience's love for Ghana with his refrain, "I believe in Ghana", Atta Mills appealed for peace and unity to reflect his accolade, "Asomdweihene" (Chief of Peace). In the same way, Djabatay analysed the manifestation of power and ideological manipulations in the speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo and John Dramani Mahama in the presidential debate in Ghana's 2012 presidential elections and identified self-projection, hope appeals, accusations, and argumentation as strategies used to persuade listeners. An underlying assumption in these studies is that during the debates there is a departure from the usual politics of mudslinging and personality attacks in Ghanaian campaigning to a more temperate, restrained and issues-based discourse. This could be attributed to the audience who are from varied professional backgrounds such as academics, politicians, media practitioners, and entrepreneurs.

Again in Ghana, a strategy used by most politicians for emotional effect in political rallies is call and response. In so far as a political rally speech is typically face-to-face communication, politicians employ the local expression, "twooboi" as a face-to-face communicative strategy to stir the emotions of their audience. The word "twooboi", does not have any specific referent or meaning. It can best be described as a buzzword in warfare, agitation speeches, and other communal activities for the mobilization of groups of people for a course of action. It is normally placed at utterance initial. It can, however, be placed at utterance final. The response to "twooboi" is "yee". The achievement of the desired response depends on the degree of articulation and enunciation of the word by the speaker.

A shout of “two, two twoooooooboi!” will yield a prolonged response “yeeeeeeee!” from the audience, and it is a manifestation of their readiness to embark on a particular course of action. For instance, at the launch of the NDC manifesto at Ho, for the 2012 election, President John Mahama used the expression forty-five (45) times to stir the emotions of his audience (Sarfo-Adu, 2015, PhD. Proposal, UCC). Similarly, Papa Kwesi Nduom frequently used the expression in the 2008 election campaign, to excite emotions of his audience (Ayi 2013). The call and response is an audience involvement strategy, thereby making the campaign language interactional. Besides, the degree of response serves as a feedback for the campaigner for his/her evaluation of how the audience are receiving the message.

Collectively, these studies recognize the role of emotion in campaign communication. However, most of them tend to favour written speeches, against spoken texts in which the campaigner can use non-verbal cues to communicate almost every subtle nuance of emotion. So long as JAK extemporized during his campaign, there is no doubt that he resorted to emotional appeals as a strategy to reach the inner feelings of his audience. But as to whether he employed negative or positive emotional appeals can only be known from the ensuing analysis.

3.1.4 Sloganeering

Sloganeering in campaign speeches has likewise attracted some level of intellectual attention since they are central to campaigning. A slogan could be a word, a phrase, a clause or a sentence. The user of the slogan could be a political party as in NPP’s “Positive Change”; NDC’s “Better Ghana Agenda” (Ghana) (Asah-Asante, 2015); the Republican Party’s (US) “Had enough” (1946) because

they had not been in power since 1930 (elections.cdn.sos.ca.gov/mock-election/teachers-guide/2012/pdfs/slogans-in-presidential-elections). The campaigner could also be a presidential candidate; George W. Bush, “Yes America Can”; Barack Obama, “Hope”, “Yes, we can”, “Forward” (ibid). Similarly, a group of people wanting to send a message to a particular candidate may also use a slogan. For instance in the 1960s, “Hey, Hey, LBJ, how many kids you kill today?” became an anti-Vietnam War and an anti-Lyndon B. Johnson slogan (ibid). Thus the repetitive nature facilitates “voter recall of the candidate” (Ash, 2010).

Hodges (2014) opines that no matter how artful a slogan is, it cannot achieve its desired political goal unless it is first placed within “some kind of speech chain that allows it to diffuse across multiple contexts” (p.363). Thus the success of a political slogan in spreading a campaign’s message is predicated upon the potency of the “intertextual web into which it enters” (ibid, p.363).

For example, the *yes, we can* mantra of Obama’s campaign message in the 2008 US elections resonated with Americans, (Hodges, 2014), just as the NPP’s *positive change*, (JAK, 2000) *so far so good* (JAK, 2004), *we are moving forward* (Nana Akufo Addo, 2008) and the NDC’s *change and better Ghana* (Mills, 2008; Mahama, 2012) contributed immensely in getting the campaign messages imprinted on the minds of the electorate (Asah-Asante, 2015). In fact, all the presidential candidates but Nana Akufo Addo won the presidency arguably on the wings of such slogans in the election years mentioned above.

Similarly, Young (2006) observes that in Australian politics, for example, slogans indicate an increasing personalization of politics, attention on party leaders

and a downplaying or de-emphasis of political parties which is a manifestation that there are no significant differences between the rhetoric and ideas espoused by the political parties. In a related study, Bartlett and Rayner (2014) investigated campaign narratives employed by leading political parties in Australia for a period of ten years. Their findings revealed that slogans serve as the strategic fulcrum of campaign narratives. Michira (2014) also found that in the 2013 Kenyan presidential election political parties employed Kiswahili slogans to marshal their supporters and also to offer myriads of promises to the electorate.

Interestingly, couching slogans in the indigenous language as reported in the Kenyan election is consistent with the use of local language slogans in election campaigns in Ghana (Asah-Asante, 2015). Slogans couched in the indigenous language enable the illiterate among the electorate to get emotionally attached to political parties and their campaign messages. Asah-Asante further posits that in Ghana's 2000 presidential elections the NPP strategically employed the "aseg ho" (an Akan expression meaning "down there") slogan as a refrain to help about 40 percent of their illiterate supporters to identify the position of the NPP presidential candidate on the ballot paper. Even though Asah-Asante does not provide evidence in his study to support his 40 percent, his assertion underscores how slogans help in the propagation of the idea or concept expressed by the words or phrases in the slogan.

In addition, local slogans reveal and reflect the socio-cultural, religious, political and regional identities of the electorate (Al-Azaam 2014). Slogans have also been used to heighten racial tension during political campaigns. Lomas (1960,

as cited in Ash 2010) reports of a pro-labour politician, who in the 19th century used the slogan *the Chinese must go* to protest against the large number of Chinese immigrants in San Francisco.

As noted earlier, every campaigner, be it a political party or a candidate, employs a slogan in an election as a political mnemonic for purposes of reaching the electorate without ceremony, regardless of time and space. In the current study, it is envisaged that JAK's slogans, "Positive Change" and "So far so Good" as challenger and as an incumbent respectively, will provide insights into how slogans played a complementary role in reaching to his audience for their support.

3.1.5 Propaganda

The use of propaganda in campaign discourse and how it is employed for the achievement of political goals has equally been studied. "Propaganda" in Latin means "to propagate", or "to sow". In the seventeenth century the Vatican founded the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* meaning the sacred congregation for propagating the Roman Catholic faith (Jowett & O'Donnell 2012, p.31). In this sense, "propaganda" somehow had a positive connotation or at worst was neutral, but with time the central meaning of "propaganda" deteriorated and now it is pejoratively labelled.

Propaganda now means "the intentional manipulation and shaping of what people think, see and believe in an effort to get the targeted audience to respond in ways that satisfy the interest and goals of the propagandist" (Brunello 2014, p. 169). That is, the sole aim of propaganda is to get the target to toe the line of the propagandist. As a consequence, any message or discourse that is labelled as

propaganda is considered dishonest. It is, therefore, not surprising that “propaganda” is associated with “lies, distortion, deceit, manipulation, mind control, psychological warfare, brainwashing and palaver” (Jowett & O’Donnell 2012, p.31). This negative view about propaganda suggests that on the surface propaganda discourse comes under the guise of something else (Walton 1997).

Contrary to the commonly held opinion that propaganda discourse is deceitful and manipulative, Walton (1997) contends that such censure is naïve and fallacious. Walton further argues that propaganda is neither inherently bad nor illogical. Rather it has a goal as a well-thought out and meticulous discourse type that is identifiable as such. Walton’s dissenting voice makes him an apologist of propaganda, indicating that it is not all scholars who view propaganda in negative light. Ngoa (2006) also talks about “effective propaganda” (p.241) which presupposes that propaganda could be used for a good cause. The main challenge is to know the extent to which the propagandist has “crossed the line into immoral and ethical behaviour, even if the conduct is lawful” (Brunello 2014, p.170). It is, however, intriguing to note that elsewhere in his paper, Brunello suggests that any form of propaganda that undermines self-determination is morally and ethically unacceptable. This makes Brunello’s position ambivalent in that in one breadth he cautions against a total condemnation of propaganda whereas in another breadth he denounces it.

Contributing to the discourse on propaganda, Ngoa (2006) identifies three major types of propaganda: wartime propaganda, political propaganda, and social/educational propaganda.

Political propaganda, the chief interest of this section of the literature review, is the attempt to convince a target group about the capability of a candidate or the viability of a concept, policy, party, project or a cause (Ngoa, 2006). Thus, in political propaganda, politicians employ propaganda in their bid to influence public opinion sometimes in language that tends to deify a cause and demonize opponents in an exaggerated manner (Jowett & O'Donnell 2012). A case in point is how during the presidential primaries of the Democratic Party prior to the 2008 US elections, Barack Obama was labelled as a Muslim whose presidency would pose a security threat to the US, bearing in mind the infamous 9/11 attack on the US (Ngoa, 2006). Ngoa reiterates that propaganda is used to create disaffection for opponents as well as sustain friendship of allies and, where possible, extend cooperation overtures to neutrals. This suggests that propaganda is a two-sided linguistic tool (Ayi, 2013; Brunello, 2014; Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012) that can damage reputation and also build relationships.

Sharing a similar view about the negatives of propaganda, Omozura and Ezejideaku (2009) observe that in Nigerian election campaign, propaganda is used for exaggeration, where the propagandist employs it to underestimate and discredit the achievements of his/her opponents while at the same time exaggerates the wrongs of the opponents with the intention of swaying the emotions of voters. In a similar study, Ezejideaku and Ugwu (2007) claim that if propaganda were the only strategy to win elections in Nigeria, then some politicians would outclass the others when it came to the persuasive use of language. This is based on the authors' assessment of the 2007 presidential election, which they claim, was rigged. The

argument by the authors reveals their negative appraisal and denunciation of the use of propaganda to win an election. But there appears to be a contradiction in their view of propaganda when they opine that, “the power of rhetoric and propaganda as persuasive techniques in political campaigns have suffered a serious decline as the deciding factor in elections” (p.25). The quotation does not only run counter to the authors’ initial negative assessment of propaganda, but it also indicates their endorsement of propaganda as complementing rhetoric as an effective strategy to win an election. Again, in Nigeria, Ngoa (2006) claims that President Olusengo Obasanjo failed in his attempt to use his propaganda machinery to push for a constitutional amendment that could have paved the way for an extension of his tenure of office.

In a similar study Ayi (2013) notes that in the 2008 presidential election in Ghana, Prof. Atta Mills, Nana Akufo Addo and Dr. Paa Kwesi Nduom adopted propaganda rooted in audience-driven and actor-driven strategies to denigrate their opponents. For example, while both Nana Akufo Addo and Prof. Atta Mills employed innuendos to cast aspersions on their opponents, Dr. Nduom used actor-driven description to brand the NDC and NPP as nation wreckers, who under the guise of divestiture, have sold, destroyed and given away state properties to others. Even though Ayi ‘s (2013) extensive discussion on propaganda discourse is insightful, it would have been more elegant if he had provided enough evidence in the data analysis to shed light on the various types of propaganda.

A major conclusion that can be drawn from the studies on propaganda is scholars’ seeming ambivalence about its use in political campaigning. Thus,

whether or not propaganda should be stigmatized is inconclusive. It is hoped that any manifestations of propaganda in JAK's campaign communication will add to the ongoing debate by revealing the use to which he put propaganda.

All in all, the studies reviewed above have demonstrated that presidential candidates across various cultures adopt varied rhetorical strategies. However, it emerged from the review that while the persuasive intent behind the use of these strategies is the same (to influence voters during a campaign period) the profundity varies from candidate to candidate. Again, the review has shown that there seems to be no consensus among scholars regarding whether or not particular rhetorical strategies are the most appropriate to use to influence voters.

The affinity which the current study has with the studies reviewed lies in its object of investigation: rhetorical strategies in campaign discourse. Just as the previous studies reviewed have shed light on the rhetorical strategies employed by various presidential candidates from varied and many cultures, the current study seeks to explore and analyse the types of rhetorical strategies employed by a former Ghanaian presidential candidate, JAK. However, while these studies discussed the rhetorical strategies of two or more presidential candidates in the same election, or one presidential candidate in the same election, the current study makes a comparative discussion of the rhetorical strategies of the same candidate in two elections. In this sense, in terms of scope, the current study connects with and departs from the studies reviewed above.

3. 2 Speech Acts as a Persuasive Tool in Campaign Discourse

Campaign discourse has as well been studied from the perspective of speech acts. Most of these studies show that in campaign discourse speech acts are used by politicians to perform persuasive functions (Agyekum, 2015; Altikriti, 2016; Olaniyi & Bamigbola 2012). From quite a number of studies it has been established that there is a preponderance of assertive speech acts in campaign discourse (Okafor & Olanrewaju 2017; Nkechirinyere, 2016). For instance, in their study of hate speech prior to the 2016 general elections in Nigeria, Okafor and Olanrewaju find a predominance of assertive acts (42%) in campaign speeches during the campaign period. The researchers note that in Nigeria, campaign speeches are dominated by assertive acts, as a tool for intimidation, blackmail, incitement and coercion to create fear and anxiety among the electorate. Similarly, Nkechirinyere (2016) investigated selected campaign speeches of President Buhari in the run-up to the 2015 Nigeria presidential elections and found a dominance of assertive acts, (60%). The study indicates that President Buhari used the various speech acts as mobilization strategies for persuasive effects. Akinwotu's (2013) study of the nomination speeches of Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Chief Abiola also revealed a similar trend where there was a predominance of assertive acts (27.3%) followed by expressives and commissives accounting for (22.7%) each. The study further indicates that Chief Abiola was more explicit in encoding the speech acts than Chief Awolowo. This finding is suggestive of a comparative study. If so, then it would have been more helpful if Akinwotu had supported the finding with a table, figure, or graph showing a comparative distribution of the speech acts performed by each

candidate. As it stands, there is some difficulty in identifying the basis for the finding that Chief Abiola performed more speech acts than Chief Awolowo.

Other studies have also identified commissive acts as an effective persuasive tool to influence voters. Political office seekers resort to commissive acts to outline their intended programmes and policies through promises, pledges and assurances. Dylgjeri (2017) studied the 2013 victory speech of President Edi Rama of Albania and reports of a prevalence of commissive acts to assure Albanians of a brighter future under his presidency. In a similar study, Olaniyi and Bamigbola (2012) examined contextual acts in President Goodluck Johnathan's declaration of presidential candidacy and finds commissive acts as representing 50% followed by assertive acts, constituting 30% of all the speech acts. These acts, according to the authors, were used to inform, persuade and assure Nigerians of good governance and commitment in the face of the crisis situation in Nigeria. Hashim's (2015) study likewise finds that in the 2004 US presidential campaign, John Kerry relied more commissive acts (50%) to commit himself to rebuilding the nation. Similarly, in an earlier study Al-Bantany (2013) investigated the use of commissive acts and their realization in politeness in the Bantan gubernatorial candidate debate. The study found that the candidates exhibited politeness in the performance of commissive acts which were realized through guarantees (53.7%), promises (38.9%) and refusals (7.4%). Even though the findings provide insights into how politeness is reflected in commissive acts, it is rather disappointing that he fails to provide sample utterances in his discussion section to shed more light on how the candidates used commissive acts to achieve politeness.

Promises made by Ghanaian presidential candidates on campaign platforms have similarly been investigated (Agyekum, 2013; Ayi, 2013). Agyekum found that Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo and Allan Kyerematen employed indirection and commissives to articulate their campaign promises in the NPP presidential primaries in 2007 while Ayi noted that in the 2008 election, both Nana Akufo-Addo and Dr. Paa Kwesi Nduom promised free secondary education, with Prof. Mills pledging to combat corruption. These promises afford voters the opportunity to form beliefs and opinions about the policies and programmes that candidates intend to pursue if they are voted into power.

These studies jointly provide important insights into the communicative functions of speech acts, and how they reveal the intentions of the various political actors in their bid to get voters to support their presidential ambitions. However, the evidence suggest that political office seekers are prone to resorting to assertive and commissive acts more than other speech acts in their campaign discourse. They use assertive acts to express the truth of the propositional content condition of what they say while they also use commissive acts to commit themselves to undertake a future course of action to inspire voters.

The studies reviewed above, no doubt, have provided elucidating insights into campaign communication regarding the rhetorical and pragmatic strategies that presidential candidates employ to persuade voters. Nonetheless, the review has revealed that research on presidential campaign discourse is skewed in favour of US presidential campaigns, giving the impression that other presidential campaigns, including Ghana, are less attractive for scholarly attention. Moreover,

the review has shown that previous studies in presidential campaign have not dealt extensively with challenger versus incumbent strategies, particularly that which involves the same candidate. It also came to light that the campaign discourse of JAK, has not attracted intellectual attention. Surprisingly, not a single study on his campaign discourse was found in the literature even though other Ghanaian presidential candidates have attracted some amount of scholarly attention (see Agyekum, 2015; Ayi 2013; Djabatay 2013; Marfo & Aminu, 2014). This deprives us of an appreciation and knowledge of how JAK used rhetorical and pragmatic strategies for the construction of his identity as the only presidential candidate and President of Ghana who has so far been a challenger and an incumbent. Given the aforementioned inadequacies in the literature, the present study is undertaken as a modest attempt to bridge the gap and expand the frontiers of scholarship in political discourse, and in particular stimulate intellectual discussion on how presidential candidates construct their identities through their campaign discourse.

3. 3 Chapter Summary

The chapter sought to review studies that support the object of investigation, campaign discourse. The review has underscored the centrality of campaigning in democratic cultures, showing that presidential candidates adopt different rhetorical and pragmatic strategies to influence voters. An interesting observation from the review, however, is that from the pragmatics perspective, two major speech acts, assertives and commissives, seem to be favoured as persuasive tools in campaign discourse. In contrast, there is a plethora of rhetorical strategies that are used as

strategies of persuasion in campaign discourse. Arguably, this may be due to the fact that rhetoric is concerned more with persuasion than speech acts which are concerned more with the speaker's communicative intention. Nonetheless, the two play complementary roles in exploring the pragmatic and rhetorical strategies employed by JAK as a challenger and as an incumbent. In the next chapter, I outline and discuss the research methods.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODS

4.0 Introduction

The study explores the rhetorical and pragmatic manifestations in John Agyekum Kufuor's (JAK) campaign communication, focusing on the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections. In 2000, JAK campaigned as a challenger while in 2004 he campaigned as an incumbent. To explore the rhetoric and pragmatics of JAK's campaign discourse, nine of his campaign speeches in the two elections were selected for the present study. Chapter Four discusses the methodology, which includes the research design, methods of data collection, treatment of data, and the coding procedure.

4.1 Research Design

The study employs the qualitative descriptive approach. This is because the object of study is naturally occurring data: campaign speeches, where the informational contents of the data will be categorized, described and interpreted to establish the "what", the "why" and the "how" of the rhetorical and pragmatic strategies in JAK's campaign discourse. According to Lambert and Lambert (2012), qualitative descriptive approach is data-driven where codes are generated from the data for a straightforward description of the phenomenon under study. Thus the qualitative descriptive approach will enable me to discover themes or generalizations from evidence to organize the data to present a coherent reliable picture about JAK's campaign discourse, in terms of the deployment of rhetorical and pragmatic strategies.

However, a weakness of qualitative research is the difficulty to connect concepts and principles across varied settings, as it may depict “the development of concepts that build toward creating general abstract knowledge” (Neuman, 2007 p.177). Another shortcoming of qualitative approach is the element of subjectivity and bias where there is the likelihood of the researcher imposing his/her subjective interpretation on the analysis or. This has the tendency to affect or compromise conclusions drawn from the findings of the study.

Notwithstanding these weaknesses of the qualitative approach, it was considered a better option for the analysis of the speeches than the quantitative or mixed approach. This is because the qualitative research created an opportunity for me to adopt an inductive approach to extract themes and concepts to make generalizations from spoken data to present a clear picture about the rhetoric and pragmatics of JAK’s campaign discourse. Again, the social context of the speeches allowed for a socio-semantic interpretation to advance arguments regarding how and why certain utterances were made. These cannot be realized through variables or statistical coefficients which are the hallmark of quantitative research design. As Neuman (2007, p.195) puts it, “the qualitative researcher balks at turning humanity into cold numbers”. Another strength of qualitative research is its ability to let the researcher build arguments from specific observations or examples to general concepts and proceed to derive principles or themes that link the concepts, thereby creating strong data-theory relationships (Neuman, 2007).

However, in the analysis of the speech acts, the qualitative analysis was supported by statistical interpretation in the overall relative frequency distribution

of the various speech acts performed by JAK. The descriptive statistics were not only needed to find out the density and distribution but also to establish whether or not there were any significant statistical differences among the various speech acts.

4.2 Data Collection Procedures

This section discusses the data collection activities which include preliminary activities, ethical consideration, field work and treatment of data. Also discussed in this section are the coding procedure and the challenges that were encountered during the data collection.

4.2.1 Preliminary Activities

The data collection started with preliminary activities. First, I put down the names of informants or cites that had the potential to assist me in the data collection. Possible sites for data collection I considered included Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC), Accra, the headquarters of the New Patriotic Party, (NPP) in Accra, official website of the NPP, media houses, offices of the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), and offices of the JAK Foundation. The IEA, for example, was included in the list, following the presidential debates it has been organizing since 2000. These debates are telecast live so it was considered a potential source of data. With regard to JAK Foundation, even though it was founded after JAK left office as President, it was envisaged that it might have either an audio or video library containing a considerable amount of JAK's political activities on his way to winning the presidency and during his tenure of office.

Second, I obtained a letter of introduction from my supervisor and Head of Department of English, University of Cape Coast (UCC) to enable me to gain access to the sites or informants.

4.2.2 Ethical Considerations

Issues of ethics in research are an obvious imperative for every researcher. This is because research cannot be conducted independent of other collaborators. It involves considerable cooperation and assistance of these collaborators who are from different persuasions and backgrounds. It is against this background that in the present study, the informed consent of informants was sought since a major ethical issue in any research is informed consent (Fouka & Mantzorou, 2011).

After explaining the nature and purpose of the study to the informants, they gave their consent. The informants were then assured of their privacy and anonymity. As a measure of confidentiality, they were also assured that any information given by them would not be divulged to anyone else and that it would be used only for the research. Having established rapport with the informants, I was careful not to be intrusive on their time, privacy or space. To this end, I scheduled to meet them at their own convenience, but not unmindful of the period I had devoted to the data collection. Again, all but one of the informants were given token sums of money as a gesture of my gratitude for their assistance and willingness to participate in the research. Thus, having remained committed to the ethics of research as discussed above, I was able to obtain the needed cooperation and assistance from the informants.

4.2.3 Field Work

The field work began with preliminary visits to the research sites to negotiate entry, seek consent, build rapport and explain the nature and purpose of the study to gatekeepers and would-be informants. The first research site was Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC). After showing my letter of introduction to a GBC official, I was directed to see another official and after a brief interaction, I booked an appointment with him. The next site was the NPP headquarters in Accra, where a party official directed me to see a spokesperson (F.A., to conceal subject's identity) of JAK at the offices of the JAK Foundation. After explaining the purpose of the study to the spokesperson, in a telephone conversation, I booked an appointment with him. At the offices of the JAK Foundation on the appointed date, it came to light that there was no documentation: either manuscripts or electronic versions of the campaign speeches of JAK. The spokesperson, however, made contacts with a former acolyte of JAK (YM, to conceal subject's identity) who, according to him might be of help. The spokesperson assisted me in booking an appointment with the acolyte.

The actual data collection took place between November 2015 and February 2016. It was found at GBC that neither their video nor audio library had the full campaign speeches of JAK, except for excerpts they used in their major news bulletin during the periods under study. As these tapes could not be used for the study, I went to the residence of the said acolyte of JAK, who assisted me with the data. Being the personal photojournalist of JAK, he had quite a number of audio and video tapes of JAK's political activities including his previous campaign

activities. These tapes, some of which were more than a decade old, had been stored haphazardly in steel trunks. Most of the tapes did not have dates or labels to indicate the type of political activity; therefore, with the assistance of the informant, I played the tapes one after the other to find out those that were relevant to the study. This took a couple of months. (The problems encountered during the data collection are discussed in Section 4.6). The data were then downloaded on an 8GB pen drive and stored in Word Document on a lap top computer and an Ipad. The video tapes which were on compact disks (CDs) were also downloaded unto the laptop computer and on an 8GB pen drive. Storing the data on various storage devices was a precautionary measure to prevent loss of data.

4.3 Treatment of Data

Having obtained the data, purposive sampling was used to select the speeches for analysis because the focus of the study was on campaign speeches, and not any other political speeches made by JAK. Four criteria guided the purposive sampling: (1) The speech should be a campaign speech. (2) The speech must fall within the elections of 2000 and 2004. (3) The speech must be unscripted or extempore. (4) The speech must be in English. Regarding the last criterion, in the literature, particularly on political discourse in Ghana, I did not come across any study at the post graduate level that used texts produced in the indigenous languages. Consequently, I reasoned that it was the norm for students of the English Department to consider only English-based texts

Next, I played back every single one of the tapes to ensure that it was truly a campaign speech. It was found out that some of the tapes contained campaign

speeches and other speeches such as acceptance speeches, inaugural addresses, and state of the nation addresses among others. Again, the playback of the tapes revealed that with the exception of the Volta, Northern, Upper East and parts of Greater Accra regions, the speeches were delivered in Akan. The Akan speeches were dropped for reasons stated above. In all ten speeches of varying lengths were selected for the study. But one was later dropped, following a consultation with my supervisor, as it was an interview JAK granted “GTV Breakfast Show” after the launch of the NPP Manifesto in 2000. The interview was not necessarily considered as a campaign speech. Thus nine speeches were selected for the study. A list of the nine speeches appears in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Setting and year of JAK's campaign speeches

Setting of Speech	Year
Ho 1.	2000
Ho 2.	2000
Sokpe 1.	2000
Sokpe 2.	2000
Tefle	2000
Abokobi	2004
Accra (Mamprobi)	2004
Nadowli	2004
Jirapa	2004

From the Table, the figures 1 and 2 mean that JAK made two speeches at different locations with different audiences in those towns. Thus 1 indicates the first speech while 2 indicates the second speech.

After the selection of the campaign speeches, they were manually transcribed in clean read, also known as smooth verbatim (Philipp, 2014). It involves a word for word transcription, but with fillers like *uhm, ah, yeah, you know, right* not included. The data were then typed, with the assistance of two national service personnel. After the typing I painstakingly read through all the typed texts to compare them with those written in long hand to correct any typographical errors. The typed texts served as the primary source of data for the content analysis. The manuscripts were then stored in two separate files in Word Document on a lap top computer, an 8GB pen drive and on an Ipad: one file contained speeches made during the 2000 election campaign while the other contained 2004 election campaign speeches.

4.4 Training of Research Assistants

Two research assistants were offered training on May 16 and 17, 2016. One had completed an MPhil in English at UCC while the other had a BA in Linguistics from University of Ghana. They were selected on account of their background as language students and their expressed interest. The purpose of the training was first to acquaint the research assistants with the background of the research and also to train them in the identification of rhetorical and pragmatic features and coding

procedure. Three campaign speeches, one from the 2000 elections and two from the 2004 elections were selected for the training session.

4.5 Coding Procedure

Since there was going to be a textual analysis of the data, a qualitative content analysis approach suggested by Zhang and Wildemuth (2009) was adopted. First the data were prepared, then the unit of analysis was defined. Next coding categories and a coding system were developed. This was followed by testing the coding scheme on a sample text, after which all the texts were coded and assessed for coding consistency. Then conclusions were drawn from the data, and findings were reported.

The three of us (the two research assistants and I) devoted the first day to preparation of the data by numbering all the sentences in the selected speeches and dividing them into segments for easy identification of the manifest content. i.e. rhetorical and pragmatic manifestations. In qualitative content analysis, the researcher should decide from the very beginning whether to analyse only the manifest content or the latent content as well (Elo & Kyngas, 2007). Latent content aims at taking notice of silence, sighs, laughter, posture among other extra-linguistic features.

The coding aspect of the data drew on Strauss and Corbin's (1998) coding principles which include marking up the text and assigning labels, names or notations to words, phrases and sentences. The next is axial coding, which comprises re-grouping and re-categorization of concepts along the axis of particular

themes; then selective coding which involves identifying concepts that are central or core to the analysis.

We then agreed on the unit of analysis which involves segmentation of the text into themes, sentences, paragraphs, whole texts or individual words for purposes of coding (Bengtsson, 2016; Elo & Kyngas, 2008; Hrushka, 2004). We agreed on *theme* as the unit of analysis (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009) for the rhetorical strategies. That is, the data were segmented and categorized into headings describing all facets of the content. This was followed by regrouping of the categories into higher order headings to minimize the number of categories by collapsing similar or dissimilar ones into wider higher order categories as recommended by Elo and Kyngas (2008). For instance, words and expressions like *tyrant*, *military dictatorship*, and *inhuman government* were first coded as name calling and regrouped under the sub-theme pejorative labelling and later regrouped into a wider higher category as negative campaigning.

For the identification and coding of the speech acts we adopted the sentence as the unit of analysis. We found the *sentence* to be more appropriate as the unit of analysis because it gave us the opportunity to code manifest content which would be later represented in quantitative terms. Then we set to discuss inclusion and exclusion criteria (Hrushka, 2004). For instance, where it was found that one sentence carried more than one speech act, only the one which had a more persuasive intent would be coded, in so far as persuasion is a form of speech act (Altikriti, 2016). Also utterances or sentences whose phraseology was different but carried the same message (e.g. figures or statistics) would not be coded separately,

so, it was decided that such utterances or sentences would be put under one label or code.

Coding for speech acts was informed by Searle's (1969) touchstone for the identification of speech acts, which includes the illocutionary point, the direction of fit, and the sincerity condition. In simple terms, any utterance or statement purported to commit the speaker to the truth of the proposition or make the world fit the word was labelled "assertive", while utterances that indicated attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something or make the world fit the word were classified as "directives". Commissives were identified by the propositional content condition of the utterance where the speaker commits himself to take a future course of action, while utterances whose social functions were meant to establish good relations with the hearer were tagged as "expressives". Thus, utterances relating to making a statement of fact, reporting, claiming, expressing gratitude, thanking, appealing, making a promise, asking or urging audience to take a specific course of action, or making a were considered.

Again, for purposes of ensuring balance in selecting speech acts for the comparative analysis regarding how JAK's status as challenger and incumbent influenced the choice and distribution of speech acts, 200 sentences from the selected speeches of each campaign year, totalling 400 were used for the analysis. The decision to use equal number of sentences was to ensure parity since the selected speeches were unequal in length, meaning that there was the possibility of a longer speech manifesting more speech acts than a shorter speech

Having reached a consensus on a coding list, we decided that each coder read the three selected speeches and propose a set of codes that emerged from the data. It was agreed that we work on the first speech at our own convenience in our homes and meet the next day for a comparison of the proposed codes. The first task on the second day was to make a comparison of the proposed set of codes. During the comparison, challenges relating to differences in identification, coding and overlapping were discussed and resolved. Being the “lead coder”, I distributed another set of the same speeches to the coders (including me) to be coded.

When the coding outcomes were again compared, there was significant improvement over the first round. In all, there were three iterative coding processes, each undergoing modification and recoding towards the achievement of inter-coder reliability. The final inter-coder reliability was then tested, using simple percentage agreement (Leclerc, 2010; Nili et al. 2017; Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Percentage agreement is by far the commonest method used in inter-coder reliability check (Leclerc, 2010), especially, where the analysis does not require a high degree of precision, as in finance or health (Nili et al., 2017). We, therefore, calculated the number of agreements between the individual coders and divided them by the number of possible agreements, and multiplied by 100. The result obtained (for each campaign speech) is indicated in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Inter-Coder Reliability Score in Identification of Speech Acts

Town/Speech	Percentage score
Ho 1.	84.3
Ho 2.	87.6
Sokpe 1.	84.5
Sokpe 2.	86.1
Tefle	85.3
Abokobi	88.8
Accra	95.5
Nadowli	80.9
Jirapa	82.2

As indicated in Table 3 values between 80% - 95% or 0.8 – 9.5 were obtained. This shows that an appreciable level of inter-coder reliability was achieved since there seems to be a consensus among several researchers that inter-coder agreements between 0.70 – 9.0 or above is acceptable (Burla, Knierin & Barth, 2008; Nili et al., 2017; Miles & Huberman, 1994). For instance, Nili et al. argue that in a qualitative study a scale between 1.000 to 100% shows a perfect inter-coder agreement whereas a scale of 0.000 indicates complete disagreement among coders. Figure 3 shows the labelling and categorization of utterances signalling speech acts.

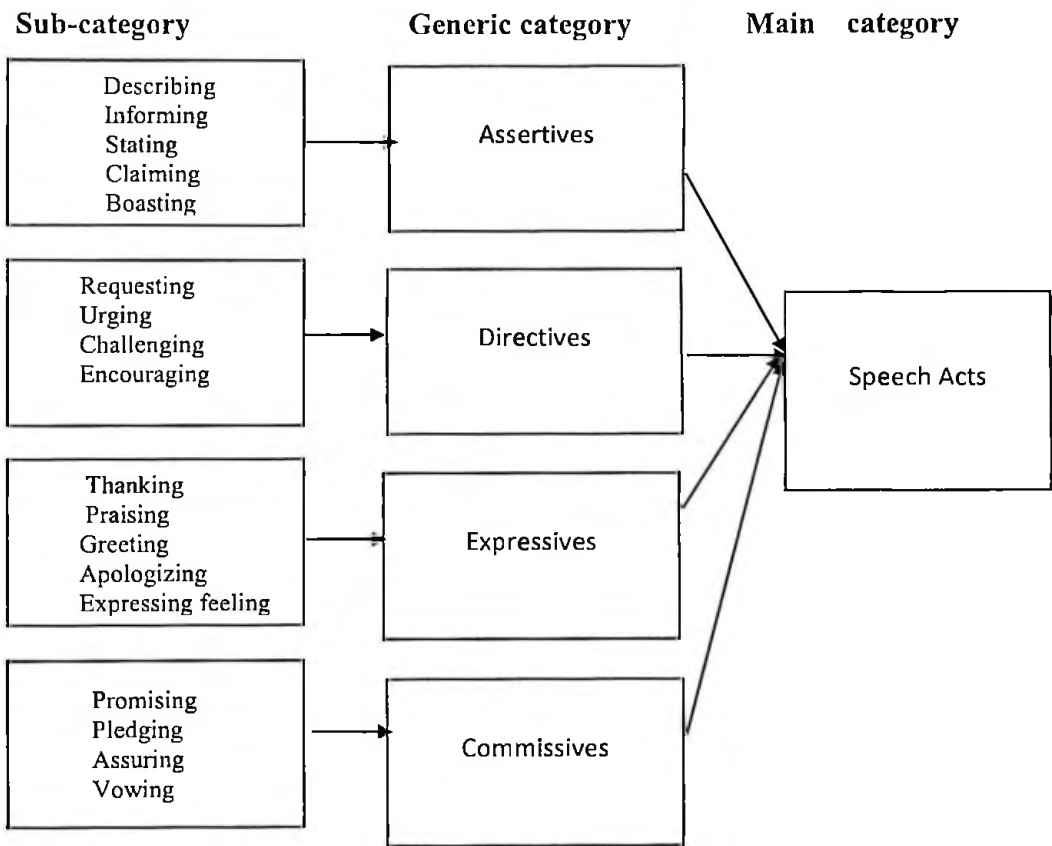


Figure 3: Labelling and Categorization of Utterances Signalling Speech Acts

4. 6 Challenges Encountered During Data Collection and Treatment of Data

The data collection and its treatment were not without challenges. The first challenge was the suspicion of the gatekeepers at the Headquarters of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), in Accra. Realizing that I was an “outsider”, the gatekeepers initially were suspicious of my mission as a researcher, especially when the research was about JAK. They wondered if I were not a spy for their arch political rivals, the NDC. They confronted me with a barrage of questions in a rather aggressive manner. It took a considerable amount of explanations and assurances

from me before they became convinced and allowed me entry into the premises to see some party officials. At the NPP headquarters I was told they had no audio or video footages of the campaign activities of JAK.

Desperate about my data collection mission, I visited sites such as the offices of *The Dispatch* and *The Crusading Guide* both Accra dailies and the offices of the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA), with the hope of getting some tapes or transcribed campaign speeches of JAK. When it came to light that with the exception of, perhaps, GBC, no media house might have archives of campaign speeches, I abandoned the idea of visiting other media houses in search of data. The IEA offices in Accra did not have any tapes on JAK either, as they said he did not take part in the 2000 and 2004 presidential debates.

Again, the busy schedule of one of the informants affected the timeline set for the data collection. Several scheduled appointments with him were postponed at his behest. Because I was in Kumasi and he in Accra, it was agreed that every appointment to meet with him was to be confirmed on phone. On several occasions the calls I made to him did not go through.

Selecting the campaign speeches from the many political speeches of JAK as a presidential candidate and subsequently a president became difficult for two reasons. First, the informant had moved into a new apartment in another suburb in Accra a few days earlier, so his belongings including the tapes were jammed haphazardly in his sitting room. Second, most of the tapes did not have labels to indicate the type of political activity or specific dates, venues or the language in

which the speeches were delivered. As a result, we had to play back several tapes by trial and error to find out which of them were campaign speeches and were in English and fell within the campaign periods of 2000 and 2004. During the playback of the video and audio tapes, it was found out that some of them had had portions damaged, perhaps owing to poor storage. However, with tapes that were not labeled, the informant who was JAK's personal photojournalist during the campaign periods and afterwards, was able to identify the venue of a speech and the occasion by merely watching the video or listening to the audio for a couple of minutes. Through that I got the years and venues for the selected tapes, though he could not remember the specific dates, except for a couple of them.

Compounding the problem was the erratic power supply, as the data collection was done during the era of the severe energy crises leading to load shedding which became known in Ghana as *dumso*. Power was needed to dub video recordings of the needed tapes as the informant could not give the tapes to me. Sometimes during a dubbing session, there would be a power outage for hours on end before it would be restored. Quite a number of the postponements were due to lack of power supply.

After several attempts were made on a number of days, I got the nine campaign speeches for the study. Several attempts I made to get a few more tapes were not successful as the informant gave excuses such as time constraints, power fluctuations and the need for him to "get settled" first. In fact, little did he know that most of the tapes had been corrupted, so the whole "business" of sorting out tapes by trial and error and dubbing them became laborious and time consuming

for him. For ethical reasons, I decided not to persist in getting additional tapes. I then expressed my appreciation for his efforts. He promised to sort out more tapes for me later, but unfortunately he travelled outside the country a couple of weeks after. Initially I became frustrated; however, I became convinced that the nine tapes were enough for the study, as evidence in the literature shows that a fewer number of /speeches have been analysed for doctoral theses (e.g. Opoku Mensah, 2014).

It was also realized that the nine tapes in English were delivered in only three regions (see section 4.2.4). No tapes from Upper East and Northern regions were found. In the other regions JAK interacted with his audiences in Akan, but because the focus was on campaign discourse in English, the Akan ones were not selected. JAK's campaign speeches in Ashanti Region, for example, could have offered interesting and varying strategies because he was speaking to audiences in a region considered to have strong political allegiance to the NPP. But being an Akan, and a native of the region, it was not culturally and politically prudent for JAK to have communicated in English to his own kinsmen. JAK would have been perceived by his audiences as too "bookish" and culturally alienated..

4.7 Chapter Summary

What Chapter Four sought to do was to delineate the methodology chosen for the present study. The selection of the qualitative research design as the suitable methodological framework was informed by its potential to reveal the persuasive and communicative intention of JAK as he campaigned. In consequence, the stages for data collection and treatment of data, grouped into pre-field and post-field

activities, were described alongside training of research assistants and coding procedure. Also elaborated were ethical considerations and practical problems encountered in the data collection. The next chapter discusses the rhetorical analysis.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE RHETORIC OF JAK'S CAMPAIGN DISCOURSE

5.0 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the methodology adopted for the study and discussed the procedure for the collection of data and related issues such as ethical considerations and challenges. This chapter presents a rhetorical analysis with a focus on the strategies adopted by John Agyekum Kufuor (JAK) to influence his audience. In doing so the chapter reports and discusses the findings of the first research question as stated below.

What rhetorical strategies did JAK employ in his campaign discourse to influence voters during the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections?

5.1. Persuading the Voter

The analysis and discussion of the rhetorical strategies JAK employed was guided by the Aristotelian triad: *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*. Aristotle (*Rhetoric*) contends that for any speech to achieve its persuasive intent the speaker must establish his/her credibility, appeal to the emotions of the audience and proffer sound arguments. Putting it more succinctly, Flyod-Lapp (2014) observes, “the art of persuasion ... proves the power of words” (p.8). For this reason it is important to analyse the power of JAK's campaign rhetoric on his way to winning the presidency in two consecutive elections.

5.1.1 Self-Presentation

During his campaign, JAK continually carved an image for himself as an astute politician and presidential material through self-presentation or impression management. According to Schelenker (2003), self-presentation is the activity or behaviour where people attempt to control impressions of themselves in contrast to other people or entities. Situating positive self-presentation appeals within the context of the *Aristotelian triad*, it is concluded that JAK used the appeals to build *ethos* for persuasive effects. At an NPP mini rally at Sokpe in the Volta Region in 2000, JAK professed to have a solution to the woes of Ghanaians, by declaring:

When Ghana votes for me this year in a space of four years the way the economy of Ghana will be restored, the hope that we will bring to the people of Ghana, the quality that we would put back into schools, the recognition of teachers in the system, the way will enable the people not only the teachers, all Ghanaians to have access to health and the hope young people will have because we are going to restore agriculture and industry. All of you will come to appreciate that by the end of four years by the time you go to vote again that Kufuor's four years far surpasses NDC'S twenty years in this country.

With these words JAK implicitly elevates himself to the high plane of an astute politician, branding himself as a possessor of the panacea to Ghana's economic problems. The transformation of the Ghanaian economy into an oasis of a buoyant economy, witnessing good education, good health care, improved agriculture and industrialization "in a space of four years" functions to articulate JAK's

determination to reverse the severe economic downturn. The bravado with which he outlines his policy positions is meant to rekindle the hope of the audience that within four years his achievements will be more stupendous than the NDC's achievements in their twenty years in office. The adverbial phrase, "in a space of four years" evokes a sense of immediacy and urgency to restore hope in the masses. The statements seek to portray JAK as visionary and forward-looking. The implicit comparison between a yet-to-materialize four-year rule and a twenty-year rule is that the NDC has woefully failed as a capable manager of the economy, and that a vote for him is a vote for economic liberation and national prosperity. JAK uses such ethos enhancing statements for the achievement of self- management to connect with his audience.

However, analytical minds among the audience may consider the statements as an exaggeration designed to play on the emotions of voters because it is somehow unconvincing for a four-year regime to surpass a twenty-year regime, using the same resources. JAK is deliberately stirring up the emotions of his audience is his claim that NDC had ruled Ghana for 20 years. This is a palpable twist of facts. The NDC as a political party ruled Ghana for eight years (1992-2000) and was seeking re-election. JAK is indirectly alluding to the NDC's antecedent, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), a military regime, which metamorphosed into NDC (Agyekum, 2013) and ruled the country for 19 years, all under Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings (JJ). This explains why political analysts refer to the two regimes as P(NDC). Thus for JAK to rope the PNDC regime into the

NDC regime and give it 20 years is a strategy to invoke voters' feeling of disappointment in the NDC government as a failed regime.

JAK persistently reiterated his ability to redeem the Ghanaian economy in four years, if he was voted into power. At Ho (2000) he noted again: "By the end of the fourth year of the NPP government, you will all bear witness that 4 years of Kufuor in his government far exceeds the twenty years of that (*sic*) people."

The constant refrain of his ability to solve Ghana's problem in four years is meant to imprint on the minds of the electorate that an NPP government will be a better substitute, and this must be communicated repeatedly to prospective voters. According to National Democratic Institute (2009), this is the "golden rule" of politics, arguing that in so far as a political campaign is a communicative process, the campaigner must "find the right message, target that message to the right group of voters, and repeat that message again and again" (*sic*) (p.8). Thus, the extract, while enhancing JAK's self-presentation, also puts the audience in a hopeful and expectant mood.

When seeking re-election, JAK touted and applauded his accomplishment as a President, all in a bid to boost his self-presentation as a capable and performing President. He said at Jirapa, "You gave us four years and NPP has used the four years so well, so efficiently. The achievements are monumental!"

The self-presentation technique JAK employs in the above extract is one of self-promotion, where individuals draw attention to their achievements in order for their audience to perceive them as capable (Lewis & Neighbors, 2005). While the adverb phrases like *so well* and *so efficiently*, are meant to emphasize that he has leadership

capabilities par excellence, the adjective *monumental* evokes distinction and remarkability; an indication that as an incumbent President he has performed his job with commendable diligence.

JAK's constant characterization of the NPP as possessing scruples as against the NDC as social actors with a collective condemnable demeanor, reflects the positive self and negative other in political campaigning. JAK asserted at Nadowli, "We have not thrown our weight about. We have not been consumed by power. We are not power drunk. We do not use abusive language. We do not threaten and intimidate the people of Ghana." In this representation, JAK casts the party he belongs to, the NPP, in a positive light for the sake of impression management. Such a positive presentation, as van Dijk (2006) argues, is basically ideological. But it should be noted that the reverse of the utterances constitutes name-calling, with the out-group, NDC as the target. NDC is everything that NPP is not. The contrast is to enable the audience to draw their own conclusions about the character of his political opponents. They are characterized as haughty, power drunk, foul mouthed, and terrifying. This moral bankruptcy is linguistically couched in parallel structures, where every sentence in the extract is imbued with a sense of scorn and slander. The parallel structures, the first three which are simple sentences, highlight the arrogance of power. Such collective character assassination of the NDC epitomizes the adversarial context of a smear campaign aimed at creating disaffection for the NDC in the eyes of the voting public. This representation of *us* versus *them* underscores the ideology that the NPP means well for the country while NDC means bad for the country.

On his campaign trail, JAK consistently presented himself subtly as a political messiah. A political messiah is a political leader who symbolically identifies himself religiously with a salvation mission (Hristova, 2011; Kamalu & Agangan, 2011). Kamalu and Agangan argue that one condition that necessitates the emergence of a political messiah is high level political disaffection. In the 2000 election JAK entered the presidential race on the wings of his positive change agenda following the almost two-decade rule of JJ as a military dictator and democrat. As the foremost opposition leader then, JAK's image perfectly answered the clarion call from some Ghanaians for a political messiah. It does not come as a surprise when he noted at Ho, "The moment in our nation has come, where like in ancient Jericho, the mere blowing of trumpets brought down thick walls; so please let's all join hands. We have a common opponent." With these statements, JAK sees himself and the NPP as the biblical Joshua who was used by God to lead the Israelites to defeat Jericho and occupy the land. By the same token JAK has a messianic mission to lead the NPP (symbolically, the Israelites) to defeat the NDC (symbolically Jericho) and take over the administration and governance of the country.

As a political messiah, his main preoccupation is to save the nation, and for that matter, the economy from further deterioration. The clause, "*the moment in our nation has come,*" depicts a nation going through economic throes, and needs a decisive leader to salvage it. He compares the political formidability of the NPP's opponents to the solid thick walls of Jericho, and it will only take the NPP a united front to bring down their opponents. Being fully aware of the role of religion in the

lives of Ghanaians, he selects a well-known religious event (recorded in Joshua 6: 1-20) to play on the religious sentiments of his audience. The religious imagery which is both apt and picturesque upholds O'Connell's (2012) suggestion that in persuasion, a religious reference must be explicit or well-known for persuasive effects.

JAK's redemptive mission as a political messiah is further demonstrated through his continuous reference to religion in his acknowledgement of the omnipotence and omniscience of God in the affairs of men. He used religion to appeal to social identity and further connect it to the Ghanaian cultural identity as a religious people, many of whom have a preference for a religious person to be president.

Boifio (2014) and Osei (2000) find extensive use of religion in political campaigning in Ghana. Osei notes that in the 1996 presidential election, with Rawlings as their candidate, the NDC chose "Onward Christian Soldiers" as their campaign song, with particular emphasis on the refrain "From victory unto victory his army he shall lead". This was done to portray Rawlings, the military leader turned democratic, metaphorically as a Christian soldier leading the NDC to victory. In Ghanaian politics, for example, Boifio (2014) observes that should any politician claim to be non-religious or without faith and belief in God, the chances of such a political actor to win an election are very slim. It is, therefore, not surprising that JAK invokes a divine entity in his campaign speech to accentuate the religious fervor of his audience.

At Sokpe he urged his audience, “Give Kufuor and NPP the chance and you’ll live to thank God for the vote you did (sic)”. This is a show of confidence in the success of his messianic mission, and the source of this success will not be from him but from God. JAK portrays himself as a political instrument chosen by God to lead the country, feeding into the perception by religious Ghanaians that God has ordained some people to be leaders (Boifio, 2014). Boifio reports that as a military leader and Head of State, Jerry John Rawlings was referred to as “Junior Jesus.” while religiosity accolades were conferred on JAK and Atta Mills as “Gentle Giant” and “Asomdweihene” (King of Peace), respectively. Nana Akufo Addo also adopted a scripture in 1 Samuel 17:47, “The battle is the Lord’s, as his campaign slogan in the 2012 elections. Therefore JAK’s use of religion to enhance his ethos is a recognition of the people’s religious orientation. Such religious appeals are strategically used by JAK to portray himself as a politician exuding holiness and a set of benign values. With this posturing, JAK uses religion to boost his credibility in order that the electorate will perceive him as a God-fearing political actor likely to govern with religious scruples.

Notwithstanding his belief in God, JAK realizes the limitation and frailty of human nature; hence, even when he thinks he has performed well as a President and deserves another term of office, he hedges by reiterating at Jirapa, “If it is the will of God for this government to continue next year...” (Jirapa). It is for the same reason that at Nadowli he averred, “What government has been able to do so far, I tell you is only the foundation works and God willing even better things are coming ahead.” The impression created by the statement is that his salvation mission in his

first term of office has been monumentally successful but this is just preparatory. Thus, a solid economic, social, educational and infrastructural foundation has been laid and the stage is now set for a smooth take-off. This take-off is the second term he is seeking. But as religious as JAK is, he ties his re-election bid to divine intervention in his second term in office. He has started on a sound note so the electorate should give him the chance to continue his good works. JAK seems to be telling his audience to make sense of the aphorism “a good beginning makes a good ending.”

JAK continued to bask in the success of his “rescue” mission, claiming at a 2004 rally in Accra, “Happiness is back in the land. As I look around here, I see it and I feel it. People are very happy, and I thank God for that.” This is an insinuation that under the NDC Ghanaians were living in poverty and squalor and had sunk into deep melancholia, but under his presidency, Ghanaians are excited. But he does not take credit for this; his avowed belief in God’s reign in the affairs of men makes him see his ability to bring smiles on the faces of Ghanaians as an act of providence; hence, the clause, “I thank God for that”. Thus, for JAK to rely on supernatural mediation for a successful political career is an eloquent testimony of how he draws on religion as a strategy. JAK’s religious appeals feed into the claim by Werber and Thornton (2012) that politicians have continually employed religious themes and symbols in their rhetoric. In this sense, JAK strategically uses religious appeals to establish affinity with the religious inclination of his audience. Overall, JAK’s presentation of himself as a viable presidential candidate was informed by his

message of hope and optimism, as a challenger and his accomplishments as a President.

5.1.2 Attacking the Opponent

While JAK engaged in positive self-presentation, he also adopted the negative other strategy to launch series of attacks on the NDC, creating the *us* and *them* dichotomy in political discourse. In political campaigning, an attack is a biting criticism on an opponent's character or policy. DiSanza and Legge (2016), in their article, *The Rhetoric of Persuasive Attacks* argue that our highly polarized politics and other factors have created an environment bursting with persuasive attacks, citing Donald Trump as representing "a new era of unrestrained persuasive attack" in American public communication. They argue that if we desire to have a solid understanding of current political discourse, there is the need for a thorough understanding of the rhetoric of attack.

Among the several issues that JAK attacked the NDC on was corruption in government, governance, the economy, health, education, and respect for human rights. In his campaign he persistently described the NDC and its appointees in pejorative terms for their corrupt practices. At a rally in Ho in 2000, he noted "Those people who went into power wearing *charle wote* are now all billionaires in hard currency." In this statement JAK exploits shared knowledge in that he and some Ghanaians, including his audience, are aware that politics has become a "gold mine" for most people who enter it. The main preoccupation of such people is to amass wealth but not to serve the people. JAK vilifies NDC appointees as looting

the nation's coffers to enrich themselves, implying that they are nation wreckers whose main intention of entering politics is to become "billionaires in hard currency" but who were hitherto wearing *charle wote*, (considered cheap bathroom slippers).

Charle wote is a striking imagery symbolizing poverty; and suggests that those politicians, came into politics as paupers, but became fabulously rich through corrupt means. Again, *charle wote* reminds the audience of the first entry of JJ as a military Head of State in 1979 when JJ's cadres wore sandals made of vehicle tyres as a symbol of simplicity and their aversion to wealth. The statement brings the credibility of the government and its appointees into disrepute, thereby upholding an argument by the *Functional Theory* (Benoit, 1999) that the character of a candidate is a topic in campaign discourse. The theory reduces the notion of character to a candidate's intelligence, sincerity, and credibility. Therefore, in the statement, JAK brings to question the credibility and sincerity of the NDC appointees. Having become "billionaires in hard currency" through politics, the credibility and sincerity of the appointees have been dented and tainted by ill-gotten wealth. They have stashed dollars, euros or pound sterling, probably in foreign countries while ordinary Ghanaians continue to wallow in poverty and squalor.

Bent on labelling the government as corrupt, JAK further vociferated, "These people, they dipped their hands into the public purse and just carry on with it." The underlying assumption is gross extravagance and plundering of state coffers while government looked on for its appointees to squander state funds. At Tefle JAK again accuses the NDC of corruption by noting: "NDC has ... introduced

a lot of corruption in government”. The phrase “a lot” is intended to let the audience visualize the magnitude of the act and perceive the NDC as callous. NDC’s corrupt practices include offering bribes and vote buying as “They go around especially in the night passing bribes around and fridges, coloured television, money and all that to our elders, mothers and people in our rural parts.” (Ho)

The fact that the bribery is done in the night portrays the NDC’s modus operandi as Machiavellian, bringing to the fore the deceit in their character. The statement is a subtle attempt to get the audience to feel that the government considers the rural folk gullible, fickle, and not politically discerning; hence they can buy their voting conscience. This is to create awareness to prick the conscience of the audience that should they accept any material or cash gifts from politicians in lieu of their voting decisions, then they are the most pitiable since they can be easily influenced.

JAK was relentless in portraying the NDC in negative terms. He established a correlation between despondency, lack of peace and poverty and the NDC leadership. At Ho, he observed:

When we talk of peace, the peace will be a hopeful one in that true peace should reflect prosperity of the people; should reflect the happiness of the people and should reflect the hope for the youth. The sort of peace Rawlings and NDC talk about is a hoax. It’s a fake peace because right now everybody is poor in Ghana. A lot of people are afraid in Ghana, so when they talk peace, it’s not genuine peace.

In the above extract, JAK expresses grave concern about the inability of the NDC under Rawlings to translate peace into “prosperity of the people”. Rather, Rawlings and NDC are masquerading as pacifists but the reality is that Ghanaians are living in poverty and fear. The negative other presentation is again bolstered by words and phrases of negative connotation like *hoax*, *fake*, *afraid* and *not genuine*, meant to link JAK’s opponents with the emasculation of peaceful coexistence in the country. JAK’s negative portrayal of his political rivals is geared towards legitimizing himself as the quintessence of peace and delegitimizing the NDC as perpetrators of fear. As he puts it, in Accra, “They are creating more and more nervousness.”

JAK intensified his attack through scapegoating, which sought to hold the NDC culpable for the mismanagement of the Ghanaian economy. He launched into a tirade against the inefficiencies of the NDC government, thus:

The cedi does not buy anything anymore. Agriculture, agriculture is failing and the factories in the desired times they are also closing down. Hospitals, people cannot afford to go to hospitals, a policy that is cash and carry which means if you do not have money and say you’re involved in an accident you must die. This government has failed and the government must go! (Sokpe)

JAK criticizes the ruling NDC government in four major areas of the economy: the depreciation of the Ghanaian currency, the cedi, agriculture, industries and health care. The cedi has lost its value, which means the purchasing power of the people has drastically gone down. As if this is not enough, while there is famine, factories are also collapsing; and worst of all the obnoxious policy of ‘cash and carry’ (a

health delivery system in Ghana where patients pay their bills upfront before accessing health care) has become a potential “killer”, especially for accident victims. By harping on the failures of the government, JAK impugns lack of policy direction of the NDC. They are bereft of policies and programmes that seek to address the aforementioned issues. As observed by the *Functional Theory*, apart from character (of the candidate), another area of concern in political campaigning is the kind of policies an incumbent President pursued or a challenger intends to pursue. JAK invokes the people’s sense of hopelessness, anger and fear in order to create disconnect between the audience and the ruling government. Any government that makes the people live under harsh economic and social conditions is not worthy of re-election. Therefore, voters should reject the NDC and vote for JAK and the NPP. The blame game is further reinforced in the following statement at Ho, “If government were working, if government were committed to those principles today, I tell you that Ghana will not be in the mess we find ourselves in today.”

JAK uses conditional clauses (Type II, if + were) to make a hypothesis which is contrary to the prevailing conditions in the country. Thus the parallel past subjunctives are used to chastise the NDC government for wilful dereliction of duty which is symptomatic of its incompetence and ineptitude. The government has, thus, become inept and politically incapacitated, thereby plunging Ghana into “the mess we find ourselves in today”. The attack paints an inhospitable portrait of a nation in a sorry state, culminating in despondency.

Desirous of denigrating the NDC, JAK told his audience at Sokpe, “We will ... not go taking money every time to waste on ... CDOs or that sort of thing; wasteful expenditures! No, we will discipline ourselves.” JAK’s comments connote profligacy, greed, and fiscal indiscipline on the part of the NDC. The CDOs (Civil Defence Organizations) are the remnants of JJ’s AFRC who have also become appendages on whom the NDC government spends the tax payer’s money. This characterization of the NDC is not only reprehensible but also avaricious and which, in JAK’s view, does not stand them in good stead to win an election.

Aside from attacking the NDC as a corporate opponent, JAK extended his rhetoric of pejorative labelling to specific individuals in the NDC. In an Accra rally in 2004, he resorted to name-calling thus, “His master ruled Ghana twenty years as a tyrant ... Is that the master we should go back for?” In this assertion, the targets of the possessive adjective *his* and the noun, *master*, are John Atta Mills and Jerry John Rawlings (JJ) respectively. In doing so, JAK appeals to the collective memory of his audience. Collective memory refers to “recollections that are instantiated beyond the individual by and for the collective” (Zelizer, 1995 as cited in Pary-Giles & Pary-Giles, 2000, p.418). Putting it in simple language, collective memory refers to memories of the past which linger in the minds of group members rather than an individual. i.e. there is a shared memory of events of the past.

Mills was on record to have said in his campaign in 2000 that he would consult JJ (who was exiting office as President) twenty-four hours a day if he became President, leading to conclusions from his detractors that Mills would not be his own man if voted into power. JAK uses the statement to provide his audience

with renewed elucidation of who Mills is and what he will become if he is voted President. The statement, on one hand, portrays Mills as lacking ideas to formulate his own policies and programmes to improve the economy; on the other hand, it reduces him to a stooge and figurehead who will pander to JJ who had “ruled Ghana 20 years as a tyrant.”

The reference to JJ as a tyrant is meant to demonize him and make him and his cohorts appear less likable as a group who had visited mayhem on Ghanaians. The description is another memory evocation of JJ’s reign as a military dictator during the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) and Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) eras. Yearning for electoral and political preeminence, JAK relies on collective memory as a powerful rhetorical device to evoke bitter memories of Rawlings’ military regime. Particularly, during the AFRC era the military meted out atrocities to many Ghanaians. These included public flogging of women, extra judicial killings of a number of Ghanaians, and above all the execution of eight senior military officers including three former Heads of State under what Rawlings and his cronies called “housecleaning exercise.” Rawlings himself was on record to have said, “there was the need for bloodshed to clean up the country and the exercise should start from within the Ghana Armed Forces” (*Daily Graphic*, 29 May 1979 and cited by Boafo Arthur (2006). Such a justification for bloodshed crumbles in the face of democratic minded people like JAK. Boafo Arthur argues that the executions stigmatized Rawlings’ reputation and arraigned him with others who stood accused of a catalogue of human rights violations under his military regimes.

The AFRC era is sometimes referred to as the DARK days of Ghana's political history when Ghanaians lived in fear. Thus, by referencing the past record of JJ, JAK invites the audience to criminalize JJ's reign. In this way JAK invokes Aristotelian forensic rhetoric. Aristotle (Roberts, 2008) posits that forensic rhetoric is used in a trial to establish the guilt or innocence of a person. The party in the case at law is concerned with the past where one man brings a case of wrongdoing against another man who defends himself with regard to things already done. Thus, JAK accuses Rawlings of crime against Ghanaians and therefore the electorate should punish his party by not voting for their presidential candidate.

JAK's representation of Rawlings is one of negative collective memory notwithstanding the fact that Rawlings turned democrat and won two consecutive presidential elections in 1992 and 1996. And when JAK puts the question, "Is that the master we should go back for?" it is a further intensification of the evocative tone he has set of JJ's regime. JAK's intention is to invoke the fear of a return to the AFRC. Mills' master Rawlings is a "psychopath" who would infect Mills with his draconian and obnoxious AFRC policies to the detriment of Ghanaians, should Mills be voted into power. JAK's rhetorical strategy in this sense is consistent with the observation by Pary-Giles and Pary-Giles (2000) that collective memory is an effective tool in the rhetorical gamut of leaders who are striving for electoral and political ascendancy.

Government appointees are also not spared in the blame game as exemplified in the following quote at Ho, "The District Chief Executives who should be impartial and neutral chairman of their districts are all agents of the

government party and they use public property to campaign. JAK censures government appointees for their complicity in abuse of incumbency, skewing the electoral processes in favour of the NDC. The purpose is to portray the government in negative light and appeal to the audience's sense of hatred. However, JAK's argument of the abuse of incumbency, is to say the least, weak. It may not come as a surprise to some of the audience since this has become a norm in political campaigning. Ruling governments use appointees as surrogates to campaign for them. For example, Trent et al. (2012) report of the use of surrogates in US presidential elections, citing among others, the 1982 US elections where it was mandatory that all Republican cabinet members were to use fifteen days to campaign for the party. The DCEs therefore served as surrogates for the President.

5.1.3 Inclusiveness

In canvassing for votes, JAK as well resorted to inclusiveness - a rhetorical strategy where the speaker creates the impression that he/she identifies with the audience. Marfo and Aminu (2014) argue that the inclusive technique makes the speaker assume a kind of "I am with you" position, and that the speaker employs it as a tool of assimilation into a group of common ties. One way by which inclusiveness manifests in political discourse is the deployment of pronominals which help in the construction of identities, associations, actors and ideological groupings (Alfaki, 2014). So long as pronominals and their antecedents vary a great deal depending on the context of the speech, in this analysis my chief interest lies

in the “inclusive we” and its variants “our” and “us” which establish a bond of relationship between the speaker and the addressee.

JAK’s use of inclusiveness as a rhetorical strategy was achieved mainly through the first person plurals *we, us and our*. These pronouns are used to create the impression in the minds of the audience that they are not the only ones bearing the brunt of the economic woes as a result of the NDC’s bad governance, neither are they alone in the struggle for a liberator, all in an attempt to enhance his status as a good man who identifies with the suffering masses. JAK noted:

We have a common opponent that is out there knocking us about like the cat and dog and mouse. Let’s rally together and I assure you, they are going to bear witness this year and after. We are going to finish it this year and after we finish with them, we will put them on the opposition benches to let them learn in humility. Learn in humility about governance. We’ve suffered long enough, so please let’s be charitable with each other, so we can move on. (NPP Conference, Ho, 2000)

In the above extract, JAK unites psychologically with party delegates in the struggle to defeat the “common enemy that is knocking us about”. He creates the impression that he is equally a victim of whatever hardship the enemy, i.e. the NDC, is unleashing on the people. Again, he is also part of the concerted effort needed to put the enemy “on the opposition benches”. This is a subtle way of manipulating delegates for them to believe that he is in the trenches with them as “we have suffered long enough”. In this way, JAK uses a sub-strategy of “preaching to the choir” where a political leader reaches out to his or her political base purposely to

whip up the interest of core supporters to enthusiastically support a policy as well as voting massively (Baum, 2011). Even though the setting of the conference is not an NPP stronghold, the audience are predominantly party faithful. Therefore, the *I am with you* tactic encoded in the numerous uses of the inclusive “we” is well placed and bestows on JAK qualities of a modest and an unassuming political actor who represents the interests and aspirations of voters. As Fairclough (2001) argues, when a leader uses “we” inclusively as part of the led, it assimilates the leader to the people as a humbling tactic.

In making references to those who had borne the brunt of NDC’s bad governance for two decades, JAK did not alienate himself. He observed at Ho, “The NDC has enjoyed monopoly of power for 20 years. What they have done to this country is to put deep fear in us and also to make us poor” (Ho). Obviously, JAK being a presidential candidate of the largest opposition party in the country might not be living under fear, whatsoever. There is no doubt that he has access to maximum security. Therefore, for him to suggest he is living in fear just like his audience is a subtle way to identify with the audience to get their support. More important, being a bourgeoisie, JAK does not lack the basic necessities of life such as food, clothing and shelter. However, he realizes the need to descend from his “ivory tower” to identify with the masses who form the majority of voters; not that he is indeed poor. It is to win the electorate to his side that he feigns poverty. The pronoun “us” is cleverly used to psychologically connect with the audience so as to create affinity and consanguinity with them. This sense of inclusiveness effectively

invokes in the audience a sense of fraternity for them to appreciate how JAK brings himself down to their level.

JAK's attempt to establish "oneness" or unity with the audience endorses Burkean theory of *identification*. Burke (1950/1969) postulates that rhetoric is identification. Burke notes, "A is not identical with his colleague B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is identified with B. Or he may identify with B even when their interests are not joined, if he assumes that they are, or is persuaded to believe so" (p.20). Thus, in effect, whether or not there is similarity between the speaker and the audience, as long as he uses language to negotiate identity with the audience, identification is at play. Burke calls the bond of relationship between the speaker and the audience *consusubstantiality*. Given the dissimilarity of power or social relations between JAK and the audience, insofar as his sole aim is to associate himself with the socio-economic problems and aspirations of the audience, we can conveniently say he is enacting identification in the Burkean sense.

In a similar manner JAK's main goal was to achieve some level of persuasion. At Abokobi, he noted: "We know that quite a sizable percentage of our parents are illiterate and coming from illiterate backgrounds." The knowledge that a lot of Ghanaian parents are illiterate is encoded in the *we*. It is an inclusive *we* referring to both speaker and the audience. Particularly interesting is *our* in the NP *our parents*. It places JAK among commoners with illiterate parental background. In this sense JAK employs a common man appeal to forge a relationship with his audience. It is a clever way of creating a feeling of commonality and togetherness in the audience as in "NPP, we agree. We speak with

the same voice. We tell you we are going to lead Ghana to achieve peace, to achieve unity, to achieve prosperity” (Accra). The antecedent of *we* includes JAK himself and the party faithful. It shows in-group camaraderie and esprit de corps that characterize the operations and activities of the party. JAK again relies on the same in-group solidarity through *us* and *we* for the task ahead as:

People are listening to us, people are looking to us, not because we have any money to give them, not because we drive around in our 4 wheel drives. They are not expecting that of us, but they expect us that we`ll bridge doors, speak to them and assure them, that when they support us, we will take them out of the slavery they find themselves. So this is the challenge to us, (Ho)

The pronominals in the extract seek to unite JAK and the audience into the shared responsibility of working extra hard to win the election. As observed by Burke (1950/69), “you persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by ... identifying your ways with his.” The inclusive strategy is therefore meant to get the audience to perceive JAK as a co-foot soldier in the struggle to get Ghanaians “out of the slavery they find themselves.”

All told, the sole purpose of JAK’s inclusive rhetoric is to worm his way into the hearts of the audience, by simulating the biblical Ruth who refused to sever relationships with her mother-in-law, Naomi, in the following words: “... where you go I will go, and where you stay I will stay. .. Your people will be my people. Your God will be my God. Where you will die I will die ... (Ruth 1:16, 17). Similarly, through inclusivity JAK demonstrates his allegiance to the audience that their concerns are his concerns, their problems are his problems, their aspirations are his

aspirations and where their interest lie that is where he will focus his attention, should they vote him as President.

5.1.4 Soft-Soaping

JAK also reached out to the electorate by soft-soaping them. Soft-soaping is a strategy where a rhetor flatters an audience or tells them what he/she thinks they want to hear in order to try and persuade them to do his/her bidding. The strategy might have emanated from the expression “Soft-Power” in international diplomacy. It means the “ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments” (Nye 1990, as cited in Lord 2008).

In political campaigning, political office seekers attempt to attract voters through persuasion rather than coercion. It is in this context that JAK’s use of flattery and sweet-talk is considered as a soft-soaping strategy. Flattery involves using insincere praise and complimentary remarks about someone or a people in order to win their admiration and support. Soft-soaping is an effective persuasive weapon employed by most politicians. Vonk (2012) argues that when people are flattered, it puts them in a good mood even before they start to question the motives of the flatterer. At Tefle (2000) JAK soft-soaped the audience:

Look, nobody can run Ghana well and effectively without taking good account of Volta because if you want to look at the civil service, if you want to look at security services and the forces, if you want to look at the financial sector, I tell you the Volta Region has such a heavy representation in all these. And not only that, not only that ... If you are looking for artisans, say

good carpenters, good builders, good mechanics and you go past the people from Volta Region, I tell you you're joking.

JAK makes the audience feel good by tickling their sense of identity, pride, and importance in Ghana's national development. The presence of people from the Volta Region is felt almost in all sectors of the economy. JAK singles out their expertise in craftsmanship and the artisanal industry for commendation. They are characterized as possessing trade skills par excellence, and it is only in the Volta Region that one gets such good services.

Such positive evaluation of the contribution of the Volta Region to nation building and overall national development increases the ego and self-esteem of the audience, and it confers on them a position of eminence among the regions in Ghana. The flattery which is clothed in approbation on one hand conjures intense feelings of self-satisfaction and self-belief in the audience. On the other hand, it provides JAK the opportunity to penetrate the collective feelings and minds of the audience to get them to regard him favourably and accept his message. As Aristotle (*Rhetoric*) maintains, "we feel friendly towards those who praise such good qualities as we possess, and especially if they praise the good qualities that we are not too sure we do possess" (Book II). Knowing very well that in previous elections the Volta Region had been voting almost en-block for the NDC, JAK has no option but to resort to blandishments to appeal to the audience's self-esteem which has the potential to translate into votes for him.

On his campaign tour, the Volta Region continued to be at the receiving end of JAK's soft-soaping strategy, ostensibly owing to its political allegiance with the

NDC. This time round JAK uses his wife, Theresa, to establish ties with the audience. He stated:

I have very special feelings towards this region. I beg your indulgence to let me introduce my wife to you, and quite a supreme part of her childhood occurred in this region. In fact she was educated at the primary level at the Keta convent and anytime I go places and somebody who knew the Ewe language, they will suspect I understand, I tell them as far as this language is concerned I am almost deaf and dumb. But the good Lord has given me an interpreter and is in the person of my wife, Theresa. I came here with her and I want to end my statement by asking her to address you, give my thanks to you in your beautiful language. (Ho, 2000)

The special feelings JAK has for the region emanates from the fact that his wife had her primary school education in Keta, one of the prominent towns in the region. The inherent soft-soaping strategy enables JAK to achieve three things. First, the sweet-talk is meant to put the audience under the assumption that in the event of JAK winning the election he will have a special place in his heart and probably in his government for the region, and that in itself is fulfilling. After all, it is the region that gave his wife her basic education. Second, the underlying purpose for calling his wife to pass the vote of thanks, on his behalf in Ewe, is a demonstration of how he appreciates and esteems the Ewe language. Finally, JAK's description of Ewe in the NP, "your beautiful language" is geared towards boosting the cultural and linguistic ego of the audience. Any group of people are proud of the beauty and importance of their language, and anyone who acknowledges this is welcome. In

this regard, JAK is perceived as an admirable political actor, but what is probably lost on the audience is the underlying adulation and sweet-talk with a persuasive intent.

The same device was applied to an Abokobi audience in 2004 when JAK remarked:

In context of our country, Abokobi evicts very high; the ...calm atmosphere, the well-laid out town obviously very clean the ...discipline. I could feel it, and I'm not surprised Rev. Zimmerman chose this town instead of much bigger places elsewhere in Ghana to come and reside to translate the Bible (Abokobi, 2004).

JAK uses three adjectives: *clean*, *calm* and *well-laid* to laud the audience for their welcoming environment. First, the reference to the *clean* environment portrays a people conscious of the health implications of a dirty environment while the reference to the *well-laid out* landscape is an appeal to the people's aesthetic sense in the planning of the town. Such flattery-laden approbation is intended to get the audience to perceive themselves as dignified, given the fact that problems of poor sanitation and haphazard building continue to plague most towns in the country. Second, JAK connects Abokobi with the Bible. By suggesting that it was owing to the *calm* environment of Abokobi that prompted the Rev. Zimmerman to select the place for the translation of the Bible into the Ga language, JAK invokes the people's sense of pride and importance. That their town is historically and religiously linked with the Bible is an enviable record that they should pride themselves with. JAK is aware that even though such association in contemporary times will yield no dividend for the town, he strategically brings it to the fore for his persuasive intent.

Similarly, at a 2004 rally at Jirapa JAK told the audience, “I want to remind the people of Jirapa ...and Lambushie that your towns here are very important because they are administrative centres; they are market centers; great educational centres.” The statement is to boost the self-image of the people that they are also playing a significant role in national development. However, regardless of how important JAK wants the people to feel, discerning minds among the audience will see through the rather excessive praise that he showers on Jirapa-Lambusie as “great educational centres”. This is because it is common knowledge in Ghana that it is Cape Coast that is touted as having great educational centres because of its numerous educational institutions, but not any place in the North.

Even though JAK’s soft-soaping was directed at communities as corporate entities, he found it also politically prudent to target the youth as he said at Ho, “As I look around I see so many young, strong, intelligent men and women.” Just by looking at the youth, who constituted a sizable number of the audience, and describing them as intelligent can best be described as a flattery gimmick aimed at appealing to their self-worth. It is a subjective assessment not based on any empirical evidence that portrays the youth as intelligent. What perhaps might have moved JAK to soft-soap the youth was the manner in which they responded to his statements with tumultuous applause. But being noisy and boisterous does not make one intelligent. Therefore, it could be reasoned that the soft-soaping strategy is a deliberate act designed purposely for the achievement of a persuasive intent.

An interesting observation from the analysis is the strong influence of geo-political matters on a rhetor’s rhetorical inventions. JAK resorted to soft-soaping

mainly in areas or constituencies that are traditional strongholds of his political rivals, the NDC. This is also in tune with Bitzer's (1968) *Rhetorical Situation*. Bitzer maintains that every rhetorical state constitutes a response to a particular situation; hence rhetoric is situational, and that exigence, audience and constraints are constituents of the rhetorical situation. These must exist before the creation and presentation of a discourse. For JAK the campaign period represented the rhetorical situation and its attendant exigence. His soft-soaping rhetoric was influenced by a special type of rhetorical audience that could be described as "opposition" and the constraints comprised the attempt by JAK to change the mindset of the audiences in the opposition strongholds. In doing so, JAK demonstrates what Baum (2011) calls "converting the flock" - a strategy where politicians reach outside their comfort zones for the poaching of additional supporters to augment their support base.

5.1.5 Argumentation

JAK presented a number of issues for his campaign argumentation in line with Aristotelian prescription of logos appeals where the orator presents arguments to prove or disprove a case. First, JAK argued that NDC had mismanaged the Ghanaian economy for the twenty years they had been in power. Second, he maintained that as a President he had transformed the Ghanaian economy and deserved another term of office. Third, he prevailed upon the electorate that the NPP was not ethnocentric. He sought to lend credence to these claims through inductive reasoning, logical reasoning, and refutation.

JAK relied mainly on inductive reasoning - a process of citing a sufficient number of specific examples to prove a generalization (Snider, 2005). In simple terms, it means drawing generalizations from specific examples. An element of inductive reasoning used to build an argument is statistics (Snider, 2005). Snider maintains that statistics represent evidence in that they are a summary of actual occurrences. Likewise, Dijk (2004) argues that numbers and statistics are used as persuasive strategies to demonstrate objectivity in discourse. JAK drew on statistics to make generalizations about the NDC's wanton profligacy and ineptitude. He noted at an NPP rally at Ho, "You have all noticed, the many, many brand new 4 wheel vehicles NDC has put on the road. They have imported over 300 vehicles each one of them costing about a 100 million cedis!"

These figures seek to portray the NDC as profligate and self-seeking. Using the tax payer's money in such gargantuan proportions: 300 vehicles, each costing 100 million cedis, (old currency by then) amount to a whopping 30 billion cedis to run their campaign, is a self-interest behaviour that smacks of exploitation and marginalization of the electorate. The statistics enable JAK to get voters to fathom out the extent of the government's spendthrift ways. In this sense, the staggering figures are not only meant to authenticate his claim but they are also meant to create a panicky reaction from the audience to move them to hatred and anger against the NDC. JAK strengthened his argumentation with further statistics, indicating the NDC's wasteful expenditure. He cited the Aveyime rice project (one of the ruling government's flagship agricultural projects set up to boost local rice production and reduce importation of rice) that had been a monumental failure. He claimed:

I drove by Aveyime. We heard of the rice project, rice project, that we have contributed towards saving the 100 million dollars or so every year we use to bring in rice. The fields are lying idle but meanwhile 180 billion cedis has been lost in this so-called project. (NPP Conference, Ho 2000)

The figures are used to highlight wasteful expenditure on an unsuccessful project, bringing to the fore the government's ineptitude and maladroitness. The modifier "so-called" in the NP "this so-called project" is meant to question the veracity of the 180 billion cedis spent on the project, which is "lying idle".

JAK bolstered his message that the NDC had been a failed government. Using further examples of statistics, he declared at a Ho rally, "after 43 years of independence we, if we look we see that about 27 of them have been monopolized and dominated by leadership I will describe as rot." JAK's own evaluation of NDC on the performance scale seeks to ascribe 27 years of governance out of 43 years of independence (by 2000) to his political opponents. JAK uses the figures to amplify his argumentation that if his political opponents had had the longest reign in government and had run down the country, there is no justification of entrusting the country in their hands again. However, given the statistics of Ghana's Independence vis-à-vis terms of office of ruling parties, the inexplicable ascription of 27 years to the NDC is rather disingenuous as no political party in Ghana had by 2000 had an aggregate rule for 27 years. Even the NDC as a political party by 2000 had ruled Ghana for 8 years. JAK's number game argumentation is therefore flawed, thereby conveying a notion of propaganda intended to exaggerate the shortcomings of his political opponents

Just as he relied on statistics to present his political opponents in bad light, JAK also used statistics to tout his achievements for a possible re-election. Drawing on the benefits of taking Ghana to HIPC (Heavily Indebted Poor Countries) in 2001, he proudly asserted:

2000, anyone who is objective will tell you; November, the debt, the external debt of Ghana stood at 6.7 billion when we came. When NPP government came, we decided to go HIPC. Because we planned well and decided well, this year July, our creditors have cancelled as much as 4 billion dollars! This achievement is historic! It is a fact. (Accra)

A major economic policy decision of JAK's government was the HIPC initiative which inured to the benefit of the government as it wiped off a chunk of Ghana's external debts. Not only did the debt relief have a positive impact on Ghana's external debt repayment, it also reduced domestic debt as well as allowed the government to increase expenditure on social services (Bank of Ghana, 2005). By quoting the figures, JAK demonstrates his ability to salvage an ailing economy. The figures are meant to demonstrate that joining HIPC yielded dividend for the Ghanaian economy where the 4 billion dollars that was written off had been ploughed back into the economy for the infrastructural development such as construction of schools, roads and places of convenience labelled "HIPIC Benefit", of which most of the audience are aware. JAK uses these figures to support his argumentation. As Palsrud (2009) observes, an important element of self-presentation is believability of the claim made by the speaker. JAK is sure that the audience are not doubtful of the verifiability and authenticity of his figures.

Undoubtedly, this is a credibility appeal, conforming to Aristotelian ethos. According to Aristotle, *Rhetoric* (Roberts, 2008) persuasion is achieved through the personal character of the speaker when he speaks in a way that will make the audience perceive him as credible, as “we believe good men more fully and more readily than others” (ibid, p.10). Thus JAK believes that the figures coupled with the benefits from his HIPC policy are credible enough to create an image of a good and capable President deserving another term of office. What may hold the audience spellbound is the fact that even though JAK is not the Minister of Finance, he is able to quote figures and dates of occurrences of certain events within the HIPC initiative. This demonstration of JAK’s cognitive processes has the ability to convince the audience that, as the President, he is on top of issues pertaining to the economy. JAK further drew on statistics to highlight the value of equipping the police in the maintenance of peace when he said at Nadowli

When we assumed office the whole of Ghana Police had only 100 vehicles. As I speak with you, now they have over 500 vehicles all within 4 years. So up and down the country everywhere you go, people are saying it’s peaceful.

From JAK’s point of view, 100 vehicles for the entire Police Service is a security threat as the police are incapable of maintaining peace. Thus augmenting the number of vehicles with additional 400 in a space of four years is a further boost for his government. With 500 vehicles, the police are now mobile and visible. By increasing the number of police vehicles, JAK underscores the value of peace as a commodity none would like to discard; for a peaceful country offers a safe haven

for its citizens. With this, he seeks to evoke the feelings of the fear of crime in the audience to project himself as concerned with the peace of the nation. With the figures, JAK intends to convince the audience that if he is given another term of office, he has the capacity to provide more vehicles to the police for the combat of crime and the maintenance of peace in the country. Once JAK centres his figures on the value of peace, he boosts his sense of relationship with the audience.

JAK intensified his message of rewarding good performance with another term of office as he declared:

You gave me four years to manage our country within four years. There are the achievements. I want you to see, and if you are pleased, then you renew the mandate to me to continue for our country (Nadowli)

JAK repeats *four years* to add emphasis, reinforcement, power and weight to imprint his message on the minds of the audience in order that they will appreciate the fact that within “4 years there are the achievements.” Much has been achieved within such a short period. The dependent (conditional) clause “if you are pleased” is worthy of note here. One would have expected JAK to add its antithesis, “if you are not pleased” for a balance to illicit varied responses from the audience. As it stands it could best be described as a subtle attempt to persuade the audience to agree with him.

In all, JAK used numbers to strengthen his campaign argumentation. On one hand, the number games (Dijk, 2004), taken individually, provide specific examples of his opponents’ wastefulness and ineptness while on the other hand, they recount instances of what he has been able to achieve as a capable political

leader. The aggregate of the numbers offers a lens through which the audience could make generalizations about JAK and his opponents from different perspectives.

JAK as well reached out to his audience by appealing to their sense of reasoning. He sought to explicate his call for a change in government by offering cogent reasons to set his audience cogitating. On a campaign trail at Sokpe, (2000) he observed:

Why Ghana must have a new government, I think is obvious or should be obvious. The economy has collapsed. I'm sure there are many teachers here. The quality in education has dropped out. People have no access to health care because it is too expensive. The youth have no hope of employment when they leave school

In these words, JAK relies on logical reasoning to convince the audience that times are really hard. He defines the ruling government in terms of its performance, imbuing it with calamitous conditions of collapse of the economy, fall in education, expensive health care and lack of employment for the youth. These paint a gloomy picture about the current state of affairs, and JAK intentionally draws the attention of the audience to such critical issues which are self-evident economic indicators that should provide voters with assessment tools for them to take voting decisions. The reference to the aforementioned sectors of the economy is an appeal to the basic wants of the audience. In the words of Snider (2005, p.180), "the great speaker is one who understands these basic wants and can then adapt them in her

speeches.” JAK does that in order that the audience will reason together with him and accept his message.

Again at Ho, JAK reinforced his logical reasoning by suggesting that owing to bad governance, “the country that used to be called Gold Coast has been reduced to poor coast”. The statement is meant to discredit the NDC’s governance of the country. The antithesis *Gold Coast/poor coast* is an appeal to the audience’s sense of “the good old days” which sharply contrasts with bad contemporary times under the ruling government. It must, however, be noted that JAK’s reference to Gold Coast and description of contemporary times under the NDC as “poor coast” is tantamount to anachronism as NDC did not exist during the Gold Coast era. Again, the period between Gold Coast and contemporary times has seen several governments ruling Ghana, and for JAK to attempt to get the electorate to reason that it is the NDC that has turned Gold Coast to a poor coast is rather misleading. Therefore, it could be surmised that his evaluation of the ruling government in this sense is born out of propaganda designed to cast his opponents in negative terms. JAK’s action reflects the view by Omozura and Ezejideaku (2009) that propaganda is used for exaggeration where the propagandist employs it to discredit his/her opponents while at the same time overstate the shortcomings of the opponents with the intent to stir the emotions of his audience.

JAK reinforced his logical reasoning by getting the audience on a soul-searching mission when he inveighed:

You judge people by their track record, their performance. We shouldn’t go and support people just because, say, they came from here. They may be

from here, but when you gave them the chance they did not use the chance to serve you (Jirapa, 2004).

Knowing very well that the electorate in the Jirapa constituency have been voting massively for the NDC in both presidential and parliamentary elections, JAK argues against voting decisions based on tribe or ethnicity. Contrariwise, he highlights the virtue of judging “people by their track record, their performance” implying that he has a track record as a sitting President, and this is what should inform their voting decisions, and not that he is not their kinsman. The effectiveness of the argument lies in its subtle appeal to their common sense that it is politically immature to vote on tribal lines.

JAK also built up his argumentation through refutation as well. Refutation involves using rhetorical and argumentative devices to counter an opponent’s argument or to reject the opponent’s counterargument (Ilie, 2009). On his campaign rounds, he knew very well that the NPP was perceived to be ethnocentric (Cobby Mensah, 2011). The perception was rife among the non-Akan speaking constituencies, particularly in the northern sector of the country and the Volta Region. The need to disabuse the minds of the audience of his opponents’ argument, therefore, became compelling. As *Functional Theory* (Benoit, 1999) stipulates, when candidates are attacked by their opponents, they defend themselves through refutations, and that a timely and appropriate defence has the likelihood of preventing and obviating further attacks, and it may help in the restoration of a candidate’s image. In the following rebuttal at Tefle (2000) JAK stated:

They talk tribalism. Now recently they've started talking even religion. If you listen to the radio, oh! NPP does not respect Muslims and that sort of thing. It's far from the truth and they talk NPP against Volta. No! No! No! How is it possible?

JAK debunks the accusation of tribalism and disrespect for Muslims being peddled on the air waves against the NPP. By saying "it's far from the truth", JAK is not only denying the accusation but also suggesting that the accusation is born out of prejudice. The vehemence with which he refutes the criticism is encoded in the repetition of the adverbial particle, *no* (3x). He does this in order to reduce the effectiveness and influence of the criticism on the electorate, since the perception if allowed to fester could affect the NPP's chances in the election. The major function of the rhetorical question, "how is it possible?" is to reject and challenge the validity of the allegation as well as provoke doubt among the audience, thereby setting them to think deeply about the malicious intent of the NPP's opponents. To clarify his position further, JAK declared at Tefle, "I'm from Kumasi ... I believe the richest Volta Region town in the country is in Kumasi, Anloga". This is to provide evidence to show that NPP, with Kumasi as its stronghold, is not ethnocentric. On the contrary, the party is well disposed towards people from the Volta Region living in Kumasi, and even one suburb, Anloga, bears the name of a town in the Volta Region. In this sense, JAK redefines the NPP through himself by exposing the falsity in the argument that his party is anti-"Voltarians".

A further type of refutation adopted by JAK is the one performed through evidence. Evidence manifests itself in various forms, such as actual examples

because they are actual occurrences (Snider, 2005). To call to question the argument that NPP is an Akan party, JAK provided examples of prominent citizens from the Volta Region and for that matter non-Akans who were staunch members of the NPP tradition. He stated:

When you look at the history of Ghana in the 50's, this region which used to be called Trans Volta was very instrumental in laying the foundation for the liberal and democratic traditions of our party. We have men like F.J. Andoh, Kweku Ayitteh, I think Rev. Ametorblah, Yaw Ohene and so and so forth. All of them contributed to build our party, Mordeshio Akpalo and others... So we are setting it as our responsibility to come, come here to Ho, stretch out our hands to the people of the Volta Region. Remind them of the happy history that used to be (NPP Conference, Ho, 2000)

By making references to prominent personalities of the region, JAK offers concrete evidence as counter-argument to refute the perception that NPP is inwardly Akan. In political discourse, the reference to physically identifiable persons or facts help create a flashback in the discourse to drive home the point being made (Ayodeji, 2015). JAK's refutation relies principally on historical allusion to provide the audience with a knowledge of the context of the historical information. Such knowledge has the potential to influence the thinking or behavior of the audience towards JAK. Having provided evidence to refute and weaken the argument of ethnocentrism, JAK asks Voltarians to "put aside their fears and suspicion of us". JAK's goal is to reassure the audience that NPP is all-embracing and national in character. With this, he establishes communion with the audience.

The same refutation strategy of using physically identifiable persons as examples was repeated in 2004 at Jirapa when JAK impressed upon the electorate that the ideals and visions of the NPP were tied to the North through prominent citizens who were the vanguard of the Northern People's Party that metamorphosed into the NPP. JAK told the audience:

The roots of our political tradition are here; the Northern People's Party of old in the 50s had its roots here. When I say this I'm sure the others know. We talk of Chief Dombo; we talk of Abayifa Kabo; we talk of Jato Kaleo, B.K Adama and a lot of others....They all came from this corner of Ghana. That's how we got our roots. It was that party converted (sic) to the United Party, which begat Progress Party, which begat PFP and PFP has changed into NPP, so this is our roots.

By tracing the roots of the NPP to the Northern People's Party, JAK refutes his opponents' argument of NPP being a tribal party. To support his claim, as he did in Ho, JAK provides names of stalwart NPP members from the North who were the vanguard of the party. Such familiar names connect emotionally with the audience for them to reason that the characterization of the NPP as tribal and ethnocentric crumbles in the face of logical reasoning. It will be politically damaging for a party with a history of such political titans from the North to marginalize them on tribal grounds. In this sense the refutation merges the NPP with the North and allays the fear and mistrust of the audience.

Generally, throughout his campaign, JAK strategically constructed for himself a persuasive persona with campaign discourse saturated with rhetorical

choices. As revealed in the analysis, his style and message inspired fervor among voters as he called for change in the 2000 presidential election, and continuity in the 2004 election. His electoral victory in both elections suggests that he succeeded in selecting the right strategies to convince Ghanaian voters that he was the answer to the multiplicity of problems plaguing the country. As Zaleska (2012) posits, politics is communicated through the right rhetorical strategies and persuasive words.

5.2 Chapter Summary

The chapter discussed the results of RQ1. The findings showed that JAK blended the Aristotelian triad: *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* through a combination of strategies including, self-presentation, soft-soaping, inclusiveness and argumentation. To achieve this, he adopted a two-pronged approach to his campaign rhetoric. First, JAK consistently created and maintained an impression that sought to portray him as a political titan with the capability of solving Ghana's problems. Much of his campaign discourse characterized him as altruistic, and being attuned to the aspirations of Ghanaians. Second, and in contrast, he resorted to name calling, scapegoating and pejorative labelling to vilify his political opponents for plunging the country into a quagmire of economic throes, thereby rendering them incapable of ruling the country. With these strategies JAK succeeded in convincing his audiences, and by extension voters, to accept his campaign messages for two successive presidential victories. In the chapter that follows, I report the findings of RQ2, which concerns the speech act analysis.

CHAPTER SIX

THE PRAGMATICS OF JAK'S CAMPAIGN DISCOURSE

6.0 Introduction

The previous chapter, which represented the first part of the data analysis, reported the results of RQ1. This chapter presents the report of the second research question (RQ2) which concerns the speech acts performed by JAK. The research question specifically seeks to identify and analyse the distribution and communicative functions of the various speech acts and how these collectively reveal JAK's communicative intentions in his campaign communication. To refresh the minds of readers, RQ2 is restated thus, *What was the distribution of the various speech acts performed by JAK in his campaign discourse during the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections?* Searle's (1969/79) Speech Act Taxonomy (see Chapter 2, 2.4.1) is adopted as the framework for the ensuing analysis to address the research question.

6.1. Distribution of Speech Acts

The analysis identified a total of 495 speech acts with varying frequencies of occurrence in the nine speeches. The details of the frequency distribution of the illocutionary acts and their sub-categories are presented in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Frequency Distribution of Speech Acts in JAK's Campaigns Speeches

No	Speech Act	Illocutionary Force	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Assertive	a. Informing b. Claiming c. Describing d. Stating e. Acknowledging f. Boasting	260	52.5%
2.	Directive	a. Requesting b. Urging c. Challenging d. Encouraging	92	18.5%
3.	Expressive	a. Thanking b. Greeting c. Praising d. Expressing Feeling e. Apologizing f. Well-wishing g. Congratulating	80	16%
4.	Commissive	a. Pledging b. Promising c. Assuring d. Vowing	63	13%
	TOTAL		495	100

Source: Fieldwork (2018)

From Table 4, assertives recorded more than half of all speech acts performed by JAK. This result is in consonance with studies by Okoro (2016), Akinwotu (2013) and Boakye (2013), who find a predominance of assertives in similar political discourse. No instances of declarative acts were found in the data. The preponderance of assertive acts might have emanated from the need for JAK to give

his audience background information about his programmes and other national issues which voters would rely on for their voting decisions. Then, that commissives recorded the lowest frequency comes as a surprise as they are used as persuasive tools by political office seekers (Agyekum, 2013; Boakye 2013). In this instance, however, JAK might have reasoned that considering the exigencies of the periods, it was politically more prudent and strategic to employ assertives rather than commissives, to acquaint the electorate with the country's past, present and future. This finding does not support Boakye's (2013) view that a popularly held opinion is that campaign speeches abound with commissive acts as a persuasive strategy.

6.2 Not Just Speech Acts, But Persuasive Acts

This part is devoted to the analysis and discussion of various illocutionary acts identified in the data. As stated earlier the analysis is guided by Searle's Taxonomy of speech acts. According to Searle (as cited in Fotion, 2000, p.28), speech acts are characterized by four major structural conditions as follows (1) the propositional content (the "what" of a speech act), (2) the preparatory condition (the background of a speech act), (3) the sincerity condition (the hearer's accompanying psychological feelings and thoughts), and (4) the essential condition (what the speaker wants to accomplish linguistically by issuing a speech act). These structural conditions, no doubt, will help provide stimulating insights into the understanding of how speech acts function in campaign discourse. In the analysis that follows, I argue that JAK's illocutionary acts did not only convey his

communicative intentions, but they also conveyed his persuasive intentions; hence, as Altikriti, (2016) observes, assertives, directives, expressives, and commissives could collectively be classified as persuasive speech acts.

6.2.1 Assertives

Assertives are utterances in which a speaker states, claims, informs or describes. Searle argues that the illocutionary point of assertives is to commit the speaker to the truth of the proposition expressed. In performing an assertive act, the words of the speaker reveal his belief about what he says, which could be true or false. Five major kinds of assertive acts were identified in JAK's campaign utterances. They include informing, describing, stating, reporting, acknowledging and boasting. The following extracts exemplify JAK's use of assertive illocutionary acts.

Extract 1

I want to state here and now that ... contractors are already working from Bamboi to Bole; and then to follow up we just came from Babile where the road is continuing, I believe with a 5km stretch (Jirapa, 2004).

Extract 2

Ghana has been independent for 43 years and not once have we changed government by the ballot box; this year Ghana must change government through the ballot box. (Sokpe, 2000).

In (1) the propositional content condition lies in JAK's expression of the proposition that the road is under construction. The preparatory condition is that the

basis upon which the audience believe the truth of the assertion consists in the fact that contractors are working on the road and that 5 kilometres have been done. The sincerity condition lies in JAK's belief that the audience are convinced that the assertion is true, while the essential condition indicates that by the utterance JAK's intention is to inform the audience about the current state of affairs regarding the road. The illocutionary act of informing is encoded in the performative verb *state*. These are indicative of a confident JAK who accentuates his status as an incumbent and makes claims that in his opinion are verifiable and provable. Thus, the illocutionary point of the assertive act is that it is a direct representation of the real state of affairs; hence, the direction of fit is that of word-to-world. In this sense, the utterances are meant to get the audience informed about what Government is doing for the district in terms of road construction. This is used as a bait to lure the audience into the belief that it is only when JAK is given a second term of office that the project would continue and be completed.

Similarly, the illocutionary act behind the assertive in Extract 2 is that of *informing*. The propositional content condition is that in uttering the sentence JAK expresses the proposition that the forty-three years of Ghana's Independence has not witnessed a democratic transfer of power from one government to the other, and that should be done this year. The sincerity condition is that JAK believes the truth of the proposition, and the essential condition makes the utterance an attempt by JAK to inform the audience and convince them of the truth of the utterance. By the utterance, JAK acquaints the audience with the political history of Ghana with respect to change of governments. The clause, "*not once have we changed*

government by the ballot box,” reminds the audience of the numerous coup d’états in Ghana. A vote for him to be the President would therefore mark a watershed in the governance of the country as it would mark the end of changing governments through military takeovers and at the same time mark the beginning of a democratically elected government handing over power to another democratically elected government.

Extract 3

Now when you leave school, you have no hope of a gainful employment. By the time you are 30, you are all exhausted and you will look like old people (Ho 2, 2000).

The preparatory condition in Extract 3 lies in the fact that the youth themselves are aware of the unemployment situation in the country, and the propositional content condition is the proposition expressed by JAK that there are no job opportunities for the youth, on completion of their courses. JAK extends the proposition that the telling effect of this hardship on the youth is pre-mature ageing. The underlying sincerity condition is JAK’s belief that he has confirmed the truth of the problems the youth are already going through while the essential condition has to do with JAK’s attempt to inform and persuade the audience that the proposition is true. JAK uses the assertive act to paint a gloomy picture about the future of the youth. The unemployment situation will lead to frustration and hopelessness which will, in turn, have psychological effects on the youth, resulting in premature ageing. The fear of ageing prematurely encoded in, “you will look like old people”, coupled

with frustration and hopelessness, is potentially inducing for the youth to reject any government that cannot offer them employment after school.

Extract 4

NDC has undermined Ghana. It has failed to run the economy well. It has introduced a lot of corruption in government. Now they failed; the government and all the members there. (Tefle, 2000)

Extract 4 is no different in its assessment of the economic woes and ills of the country. The propositional content condition is that in making the utterances JAK expresses a proposition that the NDC has run down the country. The preparatory condition is the fact that the audience have several reasons, including: (1) NDC undermining Ghana (2) NDC failing to run the country well, (3) NDC introducing corruption in government, to suppose the truth of the asserted proposition. The words “*undermined*”, “*corruption*” and “*failed*” which are all negative vividly depict the sorry state of the economy. Such portrayal of the NDC in bad light is intended to create the right emotional response of disaffection for the party, and this is where the essential condition comes in.

Extract 5

I want to repeat that I know that NDC has imported over 300- 400 hundred brand new 4 wheel drives, pickups. I know that they are parading all over the country. I know that when we have not been able to import even one, I know that when we move around the country we move with our own private vehicles and at our, our own personal expense. (Ho, 2000)

Extract 6

In fact, my tour this time, wasn't to campaign; it wasn't motivated to campaign. I came to inspect things myself because we see election time as time for accounting for the stewardship you gave us. (Accra, 2004)

The illocutionary act in extracts 5 and 6 above is *claiming*. The propositional content condition of (5) just like (4) above comprises a multiplicity of asserted propositions: (1) the NDC has imported between 300 – 400 expensive vehicles; (2) the NDC is parading the entire country in those vehicles (3) the NPP has not been able to import even one vehicle; and (4) the NPP campaign using their own vehicles at their own expense. JAK believes these propositions will be the basis for the audience to be convinced of the truth of the asserted propositions. In this sense, the preparatory condition of the truth of the propositions has been satisfied. Regarding the sincerity condition, JAK is sure that the audience are convinced that the propositions are true, considering the repetition of “I know that” (4x) which further strengthens the validity and veracity of his claim. The essential condition is also fulfilled in that JAK uses the utterances to let the audience themselves draw a contrast between the sources of funding for the two parties, which is, whereas the NPP relies on their own resources, the NDC finances their campaign out of the nation's coffers, making them despicable political actors.

Likewise, the propositional content condition in Extract 6, is the proposition expressed by JAK that he is embarking on an accounting to the people tour, but not to campaign. However, one wonders whether the preparatory condition is fulfilled. This is because the basis for the audience to assume that the asserted proposition is

true is lacking in the sense that discerning members of the audience are aware that in election years, incumbents seeking re-election indeed campaign under the guise of inspecting and/or inaugurating projects. This observation feeds into the view expressed by Trent et al (2012) that in campaign periods, incumbents create opportunities to appear on national television, inaugurate public facilities or break ground for the construction of public buildings, attend public functions or even make nationwide tours. Based on such a premise, there is the tendency to question the sincerity condition of the proposition expressed by JAK. But Searle (1969/1979) himself contends that the sincerity condition does not always have to be satisfied. Whether the speaker believes that the audience are convinced about the truth of his proposition is immaterial.

6.2.2 Directives

According to Searle (1969/1979), the illocutionary point of a directive act is an attempt by a speaker to get the hearer to perform certain acts that the propositional content expresses. The preparatory condition is revealed in the power relations between the speaker and the hearer. For example, in ordering/commanding the speaker must have authority over the hearer. The sincerity condition is that the hearer takes a course of action that establishes the truth of the proposition while the essential condition is that the utterance is an attempt by the speaker to get the hearer perform the action. The extracts that follow are manifestations of JAK's use of directive acts.

Extract 7

Walk and go from house to house, convince our elders wisely to vote against NDC this time and vote for NPP (Ho 1, 2000)

Extract 8

I'll urge the chief and people here next time around to be at least even-handed to translate the acknowledgement into positive support of government (Jirapa 2004)

In Extract 7 JAK performs the illocutionary act of commanding/ordering expressed by the VPs, "walk and go" and "convince". The preparatory condition is manifested through the power relations between JAK and the audience who are mainly party delegates. As the President and leader of the party, he outranks those he commands, so he can afford to issue an order to them. The sincerity condition lies in the fact that the audience undertake the action of going from house to house to campaign, while the essential condition includes the fact that JAK wants the party faithful to carry out the all-important activity of door-to-door campaigning rather than being armchair members of the party, to canvas for votes for the NPP. The propositional content condition in (8) is that by making the utterance, JAK makes a proposition that his hearers should be fair in their voting decisions and voting patterns and consider voting for him also, following their own acknowledgement of what his government has done for them. The illocutionary force is *urging*, encoded in the performative verb "urge". The essential condition has to do with JAK entreating his audience not to vote en-bloc for NDC as they had been doing in previous elections.

Extract 9

I want to appeal to our chiefs and all of you to ensure that all the people seeking whatever office, when they come here they all talk of peace. They do not come only to heap insults and intimidate. Anybody who comes to do that really hasn't got any message for you and you mustn't follow that type of person (Jirapa, 2004)

The directive act in (9) is a combination of request and command. The propositional content condition is contained in the proposition that the audience should make sure political office seekers canvassing for their votes conduct their campaign in decorous language, and without intimidation. The sincerity condition is that the audience should be wary of any politician who does the contrary and hence they “mustn't follow that type of person”. The command is expressed by the modal *must* combined with the contracted form of *not*. The essential condition is the prohibition to the electorate not to perform a specific act, and in this sense not to vote for a violent politician. An inference that could be drawn from the directive act is JAK's portrayal of himself as non-violent and personable, qualities that stand him in good stead to obtain the support of the audience.

Extract 10

And when you vote for the president you also need to vote for a very good Member of Parliament (Abokobi, 2004)

The propositional content condition in Extract 10 is that in the utterance JAK makes a proposition that the electorate should vote for him and his parliamentary candidate (PC) of the constituency. The sincerity condition here is the fact that JAK does not

want voters to vote for him as a presidential candidate only, and vote for a PC from a different party. This is what is referred to as “skirt and blouse voting” in Ghanaian politics. The essential condition is getting the audience to understand the dynamics of voting patterns. For instance, should JAK win the elections, he also needs more of his PCs in Parliament to form the Majority to push forward his policies and vision. This is to make the audience aware of the difficulty a President will encounter if his party does not form the Majority in Parliament.

6.2.3 Expressives

Expressive acts indicate a speaker’s psychological state of mind in relation to a particular situation at a particular time in terms of the state of affairs expressed by the illocution. Searle puts it succinctly thus: “the illocutionary point of this class is to express the psychological state specified in the propositional content” (1979a, p.15). That is, they indicate how the speaker feels about the situation. In the data, expressive acts used by JAK revolved around thanking, praising, expression of appreciation and apologizing. Let us consider the following examples.

Extract 11

This evening all I want to do here is to thank all of you, for giving us, for giving us a triumphant congress (Ho, 2000)

Extract 12

I thank all Ghanaians for giving me this opportunity to lead this potentially rich country for four years (Accra, 2004)

The illocutionary act in (11) and (12) is *thanking*. Expression of thanks is socially and culturally applauded. It is an indication that the speaker is a beneficiary of an act or acts of goodwill, an award, a position, a complimentary remark among others. In (11), JAK thanks the audience for a triumphant congress. The adjective *triumphant*, apart from connoting victory, also puts the audience in a joyous mood. To the audience, it foreshadows electoral success for the NPP. Similarly, in (12) JAK is thankful to “all Ghanaians” for giving him the mandate to rule the nation. It is a show of gratitude to the people; for without their votes he could not have been elected President in 2000. He also describes Ghana as a “potentially rich country”. The epithet, even though, does not refer to the audience in particular, nevertheless it elicits feel good emotional responses from them because they get the impression that they live in a country that has all the potentials to be rich. The communicative intention underlying the show of gratitude is to get the audience not to perceive him as ungrateful, so that they will support his candidature for a second term of office:

Extract 13

Elders, ladies and gentlemen, the youth and children I'm very happy to be among you this evening... today, I'm impressed first by the large gathering that I see here around me here. I sense an air of tolerance and welcome among all of us here. I thank you for meeting me with this spirit (Jirapa, 2004).

The illocutionary point in Extract 13 is that JAK expresses happiness for being with the people of Jirapa, and more important, for the people turning out in their numbers to meet him with such enthusiasm. It is a show of deference to the audience from

the highest to the least; as he acknowledges the various classes of people. While his psychological state of mind is vividly captured by the adjective *impressed*, the Noun Phrase (NP) *an air of tolerance and welcome* is shrouded in ambivalence. In one breadth, it conveys JAK's show of appreciation for a well-behaved crowd receiving him with a rousing welcome. In another breadth, it conveys the idea of a people who were intolerant and hostile to him in his previous campaign, but who are now disciplined and welcoming:

Extract 14

Government will want to thank the very efficient and responsible District Chief Executive, Dr. Winnie Diaka, daughter of the soil here. .. It isn't everywhere we go the chiefs and people commend the workings of the District Assembly system; but here, this evening, we've heard from our chiefs that the Assembly has been functioning well for the benefit of the people here in the district;, so I think it is right to commend this lady. The ladies are coming into their own. We are into the era of gender balance; so even if as the men take a step, we should all encourage the ladies to also take a step. We go side by side, and we have one in evidence here. I congratulate Winnie. (Jirapa, 2004)

In (14) JAK eulogizes the performance of the District Chief Executive (DCE) as conveyed by the illocutionary verbs *commend* and *congratulate* to express his psychological state of mind. Similarly, the adjectives *efficient* and *responsible* vividly depict an elated JAK pouring out from his heart his feeling of admiration for one of his appointees whose hard work has earned good reputation for the

government in the district. This may translate into votes for JAK. Not only has the DCE, a woman, distinguished herself politically, she has also made women proud through her outstanding performance, underscoring the fact that given the chance, women can prove their mettle in politics and in administration. Considering the fact that the political landscape in Ghana is dominated by men, JAK cannot help but express his sentiments; hence, he describes the DCE's efforts in superlative terms. This illocutionary act of congratulating and praising from the President makes the DCE feel good and important

Extract 15

I understand some of you gathered as early as 10:00 in the morning; you must have seen me drive through to Lawra stopping along the way to commission street lights in Babile and continuing to Jirapa and this is why I am late , so understand. I had to rush in myself to meet the aspiration of all our people. This is why I still thank you for your patience; thank you (Nadowli, 2004).

The illocutionary point in (15) is *apologizing*. Realizing the universal human need to express remorse over distasteful or unacceptable conduct, JAK offers an apology for his lateness to the function. Even though he does not use words/expressions such as "I apologize", "I'm sorry", "I regret" ... etc. generally used to offer apologies, the audience understand his explanation as an apology because explanations are also strategies for apology (Agyekum, 2015; Murphy, 2015; Valkova, 2013). One can offer an apology explicitly or implicitly through the use of words or expressions indicating regret, remorse or an explanation of the offence

(Agyekum, 2015). In the extract above, the offer of an apology from JAK as the President of the nation is an admission of a socially unacceptable conduct (by power brokers) of having kept the audience waiting for a considerable number of hours. Additionally, it is a sign of humility and respect for the audience. Besides the apology, he thanks them for their patience to wait for him. All humans strongly respond favourably to a high-profile person who exudes humility and amiability, and, in this instance, JAK becomes an admirable high profile politician for rendering an apology publicly.

6.2.4 Commissives

Commissives are speech acts whose illocutionary point commits the speaker to a future course of action. The sincerity condition in commissives is intention. That is, the speaker has an intention to perform a particular action in future. Commissives have a world-to-word direction of fit, indicating that there is an attempt to change the world to match the word. JAK used commissive acts to expressive his commitment towards transforming the economy, not to be corrupt, forming an inclusive government and ensuring a peaceful election. The following extracts typify JAK's performance of commissive acts.

Extract 16

We are not going in there for what we can get for ourselves. No! We are going in there for Ghana, for achieving for Ghana so our name can go into the archives of this country as the people who took power to put meaning to the national motto of freedom and justice (Ho Conference, 2000)

Extract 17

In a space of four years, the way the economy of Ghana will be restored, the hope that we will bring to the people of Ghana, the quality that we would put back into schools, the recognition of teachers in the system, the way will enable the people not only the teachers but all Ghanaians to have access to health and the hope young people will have because we are going to restore agriculture and industry. (Sokpe, 1 2000)

The illocutionary act of promising in Extract 16 reveals JAK's attitude of selflessness and sense of patriotism. The first person plural pronoun "we" indicates his membership of the NPP, but with him as the architect of this sense of patriotism. Also, the adverbial particle "no" suggests both prohibition and warning to the audience (party faithful) not to see government as a gold mine where they can amass wealth should they win power. On the contrary, the objective for their struggle to win power is the development of Ghana. The sincerity condition is that with the utterance of those words JAK shows his intention to put Ghana first, and he expects same from the party members. In the same vein, the propositional content condition in Extract 17, is JAK pledging to transform Ghana in a space of four years. The sincerity condition lies in JAK declaring his intention to make Ghana a beacon of stability, peace and harmony. His intentions are conveyed in the modal "will" which is repeated four times. Again, words like "restore(d)", "hope", "quality", and "recognition" reinforce his resolve to solve the country's problems. To transfer Ghana's economy within four years is rather an audacious pledge

intended to win the support of the audience. But as to whether JAK will be able to fulfil the pledge is for the audience to decide.

Extract 18

The government that is coming this year is going to be an all-inclusive government. (Ho 2, 2000)

Extract 19

My government is committed to giving Ghana a peaceful free and fair election. (Jirapa, 2004)

The illocutionary act of promising in (18) is contained in the VP “is going to be” indicating his future intention. The NP “all-inclusive government” shows that JAK’s government will include other competent Ghanaians who might not necessarily be members of his party. This is a strategy to create the impression of his recognition that there are non-NPP members also whose expertise he can tap for the governance of the country. In this way, JAK creates the image of a patriotic and nationalistic leader whose political outlook is not coloured by group or party partisanship. Such an image has the potential to make JAK win the trust and support of the audience, and thereby translate it into votes for him. Again, the propositional content condition in Extract 19, is contained in the proposition that JAK is committed to giving Ghana a free and fair election while the illocutionary act is *assuring*. The sincerity condition is JAK’s assurance to give the country a free and fair election. This assurance is to calm the nerves of voters that his government will not do anything untoward to compromise the outcome of the elections.

Generally, the analysis has revealed the functions to which JAK put the various speech acts. While he used assertive acts to articulate his view about the state of affairs in the country, he employed directive acts to get his audiences to act in a manner that would inure to his benefit. Also JAK revealed his inner feelings or psychological state of mind about events and certain personalities in the country through various expressive acts. Likewise, he used commissive acts to commit himself to policies and programmes he would put in place for the transformation of the country under his presidency.

6.3 Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices (IFIDs)

This section is devoted to an analysis of the IFIDs of the speech acts performed by JAK.

a) *Assertives*

i. *I believe // the richest Volta Region town in the country is in Kumasi Anloga.*

(Tefle)

The syntactic arrangement of the above assertive follows the S and F pattern for both the illocutionary clause and the propositional clause, where the illocutionary clause is *I believe* and the propositional clause is *(that) the richest Volta Region town in the country is in Kumasi Anloga*. The subject (S) of the illocutionary clause is *I* which is in the first person singular, and the finite verb (F) is *believe*, a transitive verb. The subject (S) of the propositional clause is *the richest Volta Region town in the country* which is made up of a complex NP with its head as *town* pre-modified

by *the richest Volta Region* and post modified by *in the country*. The F in the propositional clause is *is which is* intransitive and in the present tense.

ii. *The youth have no hope of employment // when they leave school* (Ho)

In (ii) the S of the illocutionary clause is an NP *the youth* made up of a collective noun and a determiner, which is a definite article, while the F is *have*, which is the main verb. The F is transitive with *no hope of employment* as its direct object. The propositional clause, on the other hand, has *they* as its subject which is in the 3rd person plural while the F is *leave*, also transitive with *school* as its direct object. Again, *leave* is in the present simple tense. And in the indicative. The illocutionary force in the two assertives (i and ii) is *stating*

It must be noted that some of the assertives performed by JAK do not have the two parts, i.e. the illocutionary clause and the propositional clause. In such instances the illocutionary force is determined by the constituent elements of the subjects and the verb phrases. The following are typical examples:

iii. *They have imported over 300 vehicles* (Ho)

iv. *His master ruled Ghana 20 years as a tyrant* (Mamprobi, Accra)

v. *We do not threaten and intimidate the people of Ghana* (Nadowli)

In (iii) the S is *they* (third person plural) referring to the NDC while F is *have*, which is in the present tense. The S in (iv) is the NP *his master* made up of a determiner and a Head (master). The determiner is a possessive adjective which refers to Mills who was JJ's Vice President while *master* is a reference to JJ himself. The tense of the F is *past*, indicating a past time. Similarly, (v) has the S-F syntactic pattern. The S is *we* (first person plural). In the context, it refers exclusively to JAK and the NPP

while the F is *do* combining with the main verbs *threaten* and *intimidate* to form the VP *do (not) threaten and intimidate*. The presence of the adverbial particle *not* makes the illocutionary force negative. It is an example of what Searle and Vanderveken (1985) call an act of illocutionary denegation in which the “aim is to make it explicit that the speaker does not perform a certain illocutionary act” (p.112). All the examples are statements, and for that matter declarative sentences,

b) Commissives

A number of JAK's commissive acts have two parts: illocutionary and propositional clauses, just as the assertives. Typical examples include the following:

i. If he will live within the laws of Ghana // we will respect him as a former, Head of State (Tefle)

ii. We will come in with a disciplined government // that will not go taking money every time to waste on ACDRs ... (Sokpe)

iii. We are going in there for Ghana ... // so our name can go into the archives (Ho)

iv. I assure you // by the end of the fourth year of the NPP government you will all bear witness ... (Ho)

As already noted above, the commissives have both the illocutionary and the propositional clauses, with each clause patterned along the S-F arrangement.

In (i) the illocutionary clause is *If he will live within the laws of Ghana ...* and its subject is *he* (third person singular), and it refers to JJ. The finite is *will*. The illocutionary clause is also couched in a conditional clause introduced by the

subordinating conjunction *if*. In speech act theory, and in this context, *if* is an illocutionary connective that enables JAK to conjoin the different illocutionary acts in the utterance. The whole sentence is an example of a conditional speech act, in so far as the propositional content expressed is conditional. According to Searle and Vanderveken (1985) “a conditional speech act is a speech act which is performed on a condition” (p.113). The propositional clause *we will respect him as a former Head of State*, has *we* as its subject and *will* (a modal) as its finite. In (ii) the subject of the illocutionary clause, *we will come in with a disciplined government ...* is *we* (first person plural) and the finite is the modal *will*. The propositional clause *that will not go taking money every time to waste on ACDRs ...* has *that* as its subject and *will* as its finite. The subject of the illocutionary clause in (iii) *We are going in there for Ghana* is *we* (first person plural) and the finite is *are*. Combined with the main verb, we have a VP *are going*, which is in the present continuous tense but expressing a future course of action. The subject of the propositional clause, *so (that) our name can go into the archives...* is *our name* while the finite is *can*, which functions as the auxiliary in the VP *can go*. Similarly, *I* (first person singular) is the subject of the illocutionary clause, *I assure you* in (iv) while *assure* is the finite. The subject of the propositional clause, (that) *by the end of the fourth year of the NPP government you will all bear witness* is *you* (second person plural) while the finite is the modal *will*. Again the finite *assure* in the illocutionary clause is a performative verb in the sense that it is in the present tense and has *I* as its subject to give an assurance. The performative function of *assure* is further evidenced by the fact that it is possible to have the form *I hereby assure you*. According to

Fromkin et al. (2011), in the theory of speech acts, only verbs that can be prefaced by the word *hereby* are regarded as performative verbs because they convey extra information to the propositional content of the sentence. Consider the oddity of the form *I hereby know you*.

It is instructive to know that in commissive acts if the function indicating device is parallel to the form *I predict* (Searle, 1979) then the propositional content has to be in the future tense.

c) Directives

The illocution point of a directive act is an attempt by the speaker to get the hearer to perform a certain action. These could be a command, a request, an order, an instruction or a question. Quite a number of the directive acts performed by JAK have the two parts: illocutionary clause and the propositional clause. Below are examples:

i. *We shouldn't go and support people // just because ... they came from here*
(Jirapa)

ii. *I ask you to vote for me ... // because we believe the vote is yours* (Sokpe)

iii. *I'm appealing to the chief // and all the voters here to vote for me //* (Abokobi)

iv. *Support this government // and the government will continue to serve you.*
(Nadowli)

v. *Don't sit back in your chair... //* (Ho)

vi. *We must come in to restore the economy...* (Sokpe)

vii. *You must represent ... Ghana ...* (Nadowli)

The utterances from (i- iv) have the S-F syntactic arrangement in both the illocutionary and the propositional clauses. The subjects of the illocutionary clauses from (i-iii) are either *we* (first person plural) or *I* (first person singular). The VP in (i) *shouldn't go and support* is a complex VP and it indicates a prohibition from the subject to the audience not to perform a specific action. The VP in the illocutionary clause of (ii) is *ask*, expressed in the present simple tense and that of (iii) is *am appealing* stated in the present continuous tense; but whereas the illocutionary force of (ii) is a request that of (iii) is an appeal. The subjects of the propositional clauses include *they* (third person plural (i)), *we* (first person plural (ii)) and *all the voters* NP (iii)). It could be observed that while (i) and (ii) respectively have *came* and *believe* as the finites (iii) has no finite; the verb is rather a “to infinitive”. The illocutionary clause in (iv) has an implied subject *you* (second person plural) with *support* as the finite, and is in the imperative mood to make an entreaty clothed as a request. The subject of the propositional clause is *the government* (NP) and *will continue* is the VP made up of a modal and a lexical verb, indicating a future course of action to be taken by the subject.

Unlike the utterances from (i) to (iii), the utterances from (iv) to (vi) do not have both the illocutionary and the propositional clauses. Instead they have only the propositional clauses, but structurally following the S-F arrangement. The subject in (v) is an implied *you* (second person plural) and the VP is *don't sit*. The mood of the verb is imperative, issuing an order from the subject to the audience, the party faithful. Similarly, *we* and *you* are the subjects of utterances (vi) and (vii) with *must come* and *must represent* as their respective VPs. The mood expressed

by the modal *must* is imperative while at the same time the VPs impose an obligation on the audience to perform certain actions.

d) Expressives

While some of the expressive acts performed by JAK have both the illocutionary and the propositional clause others do not. Consider the following examples:

- i. *I'm very proud and honoured // that you have come in your numbers in full pageantry* (Ho)
- ii. *I couldn't help admiring the projects // I saw around* (Jirapa)
- iii. *I congratulate Winnie* (Jirapa)
- iv. *Thank you very much for this meeting, kukurudu!* (Sokpe)
- v. *I'm very happy to be here today* (Abokobi)
- vi. *I'm very happy to be among you this evening* (Jirapa)
- vii. *I still thank you for your patience; thank you* (Nadowli).

Sentences (i) and (ii) have the first person singular, *I*, as the subjects of the illocutionary clauses with *am* and *couldn't help* as the VPs. It is be noted that the adverbial particle *not* is not supposed to negate the illocutionary force behind the utterance. The subject of the propositional clause in (i) is *you* while *have come* is the VP; and in (ii) the subject of the propositional clause is *I* and *saw* as the finite. On the other hand, the utterance acts from (iii) to (vii) have only the illocutionary clauses, but which also syntactically follow the S-F arrangement. The subjects in the clauses are predominantly *I*, (first person singular) while the finites

congratulate, *am*, and *thank* are in the present tense, and also in the indicative mood as they provide information about the attitude of the subject to the propositional content of admiring, congratulating and thanking.

The foregoing analysis has underscored the importance of IFIDs in the determination of the illocutionary force in a particular speech act. In the ensuing analysis, the IFIDs reveal the illocutionary force performed by JAK in the sample speech acts. The analysis show that subjects of both illocutionary and propositional clauses are either in the first person *I*, second person, *you* (plural) or third person *they*. The finites in both clauses are mostly in the present, past tense or future, and their moods, indicative; except for directives whose finites are predominantly in the imperative mood. The analysis has confirmed the position of Searle and Vanderveken (1985) that every sentence contains an indicator that determines its illocutionary force.

6.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter reported the findings of RQ2, which relates to the types of speech acts JAK performed in his 2000 and 2004 campaign speeches. Guided by Searle's (1969/79) classification of speech acts, the results showed that the speech acts performed by JAK included assertives, directives, expressives, and commissives, in varying proportions. Out of these, assertive utterances were found to be the most dominant, accounting for 52.5% of the total number of speech acts while commissives recorded the least, 13%. JAK used assertive acts to shed light on prevailing conditions in the country before his assumption of office as president

in 2001, the current state of affairs under his presidency, and his vision for the next four years. The IFIDs were also discussed to determine the illocutionary force behind the propositional content of some selected speech acts. Generally, it could be inferred from the analysis that the combined perlocutionary effect of the various speech acts was their ability to get the electorate to perform the act of voting for JAK in two successive presidential elections. The next chapter discusses the results of RQ3.

CHAPTER SEVEN

JAK THE CHALLENGER VS. JAK THE INCUMBENT

7.0 Introduction

This chapter reports results of RQ3 which presents a comparative analysis of strategies employed by JAK as a challenger in 2000 and as an incumbent in 2004. It is assumed that status differences influence a candidate's campaign communication. It must be noted that much of the discussion will be based on the results of RQ 1 and RQ2 which sought to explore JAK's rhetorical and illocutionary choices respectively. I begin with JAK as a challenger.

7.1 JAK as a Challenger

To begin with, it is noteworthy to refresh our memory of RQ3, which is, "*What comparison can be drawn between the rhetoric and pragmatics of JAK's campaign discourse as a challenger in 2000 and as an incumbent in 2004?*" The significance of the research question lies in the fact that in political campaigning a fundamental issue that confronts a candidate is the kinds of strategies to adopt to convince the electorate to accept his/her message. But the types of strategies adopted invariably depend largely on the status of the candidate as a challenger or as an incumbent seeking re-election (Anekjumnongporn, 2014; Trent et al. 2012). The study found that entering the 2000 presidential elections as a challenger, JAK's rhetoric reflected his status. He called for change, behaved as if he had already won the election, and expressed optimism for a new Ghana.

7.1.1. Agenda for Positive Change

The most striking rhetorical strategy to emerge from the analysis is JAK's constant call for change in line with the commonly held position that calling for change has become the trademark of challengers (Trent et al. 2012). Thus, regardless of exigencies of the times and whatever issues that are at stake, challengers will always call for change. JAK constantly called for change on the wings of the NPP's slogan, "Positive Change." In the *Foreword* to the NPP's 2000 Manifesto, Odoi-Skyes, the then Chairman of the party, among other things, wrote:

We commend this Manifesto to you and solicit your vote to enable us carry out a fundamental change in our society and the Ghanaian economy, a change that will be reflected in a lowering of the intolerably high cost of living and a reduction in the depressingly high rate of unemployment, a change that will bring jobs and a living wage for the majority of our people....Your future, your children's future and the destiny of Ghana are in your hands. Act now, join the NPP and be an instrument of change for a better and prosperous Ghana. (NPP 2000, Manifesto, p.iv)

JAK's call for change was, therefore, largely driven by problems enumerated in the quote above and which constituted the tenets of the *Agenda for Positive Change*. For this reason, *change* became the buzzword in JAK's campaign messages. On his campaign trail at Tefle (2000) JAK asserted:

NDC has undermined Ghana. It has failed to run the economy well. It has introduced a lot of corruption in government. Now they failed; the government and all the members there. They have failed; it's time for them to go!

JAK cites NDC's ineptitude in handling the economy and corruption as reasons why voters should reject them. The verb, "failed", is repeated three times to highlight NDC's lack of the requisite governance know-how to transform the economy. Again, JAK intentionally repeats "failed" to get it imprinted on the minds of the electorate to make his claim of NDC's failure believable and valid. He persistently incorporated talk of reform into his call for change when he told an audience at Sokpe, "This year Ghana must change government through the ballot box." In this extract JAK speaks from a position of authority commanding voters to vote out the NDC government. He equates his audience with the entire nation, knowing that even though the audience form a microcosm of all Ghanaian voters, he believes he is reaching out to all Ghanaians, owing to the extensive media coverage political rallies attract. He knows whatever messages he gives is likely to reach a lot of voters. Thus, bestowing on the audience the status of Ghana becomes appropriate. Again, by defining the method by which the change is going to happen, "through the ballot box," JAK alludes to change of governments that have taken place through military takeovers. With this he appeals to voters' sense of fear of coups d'etat. This allusion is repeated at a Ho rally when JAK observed, "I want us to change government through the ballot box this year."

The call for change became a catchphrase and painted a picture of a gloomy and run-down nation in which JAK presented himself as an agent of change. He called on the audience at Sokpe to “Vote to pick a government that will serve your best interest.” The call for change is encapsulated in the relative clause, “that will serve your interest.” By inference, JAK shows an adversarial characterization of the NDC government as callous and hard-hearted. As a consequence, the audience should “Give Kufuor and NPP the chance.” With these words JAK presents to the electorate an alternative government that is caring and sensitive to their interests and aspirations, confirming the observation that challengers offer an alternative discourse to counter the success stories that incumbents present (Bonikwoski & Gidron, 2016).

At Sokpe, JAK further stresses that the benefits that the change will bring will be so tremendous that they will “live to thank God for the vote you did.” The clause contains an implied negation in that JAK subtly draws voters’ attention that should they fail to vote for the NPP, they will live to regret their action. The impression created here is that it is only the NPP that has the political know-how to meet the aspirations of the audience. Such words of inspiration and hope resonate with the emotions of the audience and serve as a catalyst for the needed change because “Our country is at the crossroads, searching for a way and since we are in place and holding this vision we should let the nation know that we are ready here and now to assume the leadership role” (Ho). When something is at a crossroads, it means that it has got to a very important stage in its development where there is the tendency for it to go one way or another. JAK’s use of “crossroads”, however,

has an ominous connotation. It shows the nation's development has reached a critical stage where the economy is teetering on the brink of collapse, and unless the NPP assumes the leadership role of the country the consequence might be disastrous. JAK reiterates this shared vision of the party and urges the audience to embark on a vigorous campaign to inculcate the electorate with this vision as well, for the change they all hope for.

On the whole, JAK persistently harps on his vision of transforming Ghana. His statements are, therefore, imbued with images of a political messiah, a redeemer and a reformer. These qualities bestow on JAK the forte of a liberator intensely eager for transformation.

7.1.2 Victor-in-Waiting

As a challenger, JAK created the notion that he had already won the presidency and the candidate of the ruling party, Mills, who was also the Vice-President, had lost the election. This strategy assumed by JAK is referred to as victor-in-waiting (VIW). VIW strategy is where a candidate creates the impression that he/she has already won the election and the opponent has already lost (Corcoran, 1998). According to Corcoran, there are three indicators of the VIW strategy; namely, *loss of power*, *transfer of political legitimacy* and *closure of public division*. Applying these indicators to Frank D. Roosevelt's (FDR) campaign speeches, Stogsdill (2013) finds that FDR successfully utilized the VIW strategy in his first presidential campaign.

However, unlike Stogsdill's (2013) study that set out to test the applicability of all these components to FDR's campaign speeches, the present study did not set out to do same. Rather, the first indicator of the VIW strategy, *loss of power*, emerged from the analysis; hence I describe JAK's portrayal of his opponent as having lost power already and he having won the contest already as a representation of a VIW strategy.

As noted earlier, *loss of power* is a situation where a candidate assumes that he/she has already won the election and the opponent has already lost. JAK lived in what can be described as his own political imagination and fantasy where he perceived himself as the victor. During a rally at Ho, he enthusiastically told the teeming crowd, "We are starting our victory march here at Ho," creating the impression of a victorious NPP and a vanquished NDC, thereby putting the crowd in a jubilant mood as if the party had already won the elections. Again at Sokpe he claimed, "When we see the back of NDC, we see the front of NPP". The back of NDC and the front of NPP symbolically and metaphorically refer to a defeat for NDC and a win for NPP respectively. The "back of the NDC" again evokes images of a fight between two combatants where the stronger has floored the weaker and the latter is lying helplessly supine on the ground. Such is what JAK uses to dazzle his audience. In their minds' eyes, the audience see the NDC struggling and sprawling and consigned to the ground following a humiliating defeat from the NPP. A victory for the NPP is further reinforced at Sokpe "NPP will be giving Ghana a new government."

Similarly, at Ho JAK reiterated, “I’m telling you Ghana is seeking for (sic) a way forward, and the eyes of Ghanaians are on us”. Collectively, these acts of self-assurance paint a picture of JAK posturing himself as already having won the election, thereby adopting a victor –in –waiting posture.

Again, as part of the enactment, of *loss of power* challengers attack the opponent’s weaknesses and failures. As observed by Stogsdill (2013), when challengers attack the opponent’s record and emphasize optimism for the future, they are enacting a VIW strategy. For instance, Franklin Roosevelt, using the VIW strategy in his campaign in the 1932 US presidential election, attacked President Hoover as a failed President (Stogsdill, 2013).

In the same manner, as a challenger, JAK portrayed the NDC government as having woefully failed in areas such as fighting corruption in government, unemployment, education, health and agriculture among others. JAK defined the NDC in negative terms by calling on the audience at Ho to help free Ghana from the “shackles of this dictatorship, this inhuman government.” The depreciatory labelling captured by the words *shackles*, *dictatorship* and *inhuman* conjures images of slavery and suffering. While *shackles* metaphorically refers to a people who are fettered by the poor governance system of the ruling party, thereby preventing them from living better lives, *dictatorship* reminds the electorate of the strict and harsh governance system being meted out to them. Similarly, *inhuman* paints a portrait of a heartless government perpetuating hardship on the citizenry and cowing them into acceptance of the status quo. JAK’s negative campaign tactics confirm the assumption that most campaign discourse in Ghana is

characterized by intemperate language (see Asamoah et al., 2014; Ofori, 2014; and Agyekum, 2004).

JAK again took an offensive position against some of the policies of the ruling party. At Sokpe, he took on the NDC thus, “a policy that is cash and carry which means if you do not have money and say you’re involved in an accident you must die.” Here, JAK creates an image of an insufferable health care system in the country. JAK knows very well that in so far as no one can pretend not to be affected by health delivery system in the country, he seizes the opportunity to paint a picture of an obnoxious health policy which negatively affects most Ghanaians, some of whom have become victims of such a policy.

Not only NDC as a corporate entity was framed in negative terms, certain government appointees and key personalities of the party were as well described in terms of their conduct. Their conduct was imbued with distasteful attributes of corruption, arrogance of power, greed, complicity, and sadism. JAK accused the District Chief Executives of being complicit in the orchestration for rigging the elections in favour of the government.

Mills, who was the NDC’s flag bearer and represented the incumbent government, was cast as a mere figurehead and being used as a political pawn by JJ. Using negatively connoted lexical choice, JAK described Mills as a stooge of JJ. JAK’s scathing attack on his political opponent is in consonance with Agyekum’s (2010) assertion that politicians use negative campaigning to denigrate their opponents and damage their reputation. This characterization of Mills is meant to demean the character, intellect and self-image of Mills as weak and not fit to be

President. JAK's attack on Mills supports the view that a candidate indulging in negative campaign can attack the opponent on issues, personal features or both (Druckman et al. 2009). In JAK's case, the evidence shows that it is more of personality attack than issue attack.

Perhaps, one personality who continually attracted so much vilification was JJ. JAK characterized JJ in the most derogatory terms by constantly referring to him as a dictator and tyrant, regardless of the fact that JJ was exiting the Presidency in 2000. JAK incessantly made references to JJ's past as a military dictator from 1981-1992. At the Ho rally, JAK recalled a disparaging story about JJ:

The governance of the castle of Christianborg which were (*sic*) built about 200-300 years ago for slavery, the slave trade are (*sic*) still being used by this government putting Ghanaians in there, shaving their head completely, not as a due process of law.

In this excerpt, JAK intimates that the castles, relics of slavery, were being used by the government to incarcerate people unjustly. The statement strategically helps JAK to stoke up the wounds of slavery, which is regarded by many as a blot on the self-image and dignity of the black race, including Ghanaians. JAK equates the Castle, seat of Government, to a dungeon to conjure up images of atrocities, torture and death. In effect JJ made Ghanaians slaves in their own land. He was the slave master wielding an instrument of torture (military brutality) to crash any "rebellious act" from any "slave". JAK uses the story to create presence (Perelman, 1971). Perelman posits that the rhetor linguistically creates presence when he/she analyses the thoughts and behaviour of the audience and makes the information alive and

“attractive” to them, by recreating it and linking it with what the audience already know about the arguments presented.

During the PNDC era, it was alleged that JJ incarcerated one Selassie O’Sullivan-Djentu at the Osu Castle, the then seat of Government for having an amorous relationship with one of JJ’s daughters. The story had it that JJ caused Selassie’s head to be shaved with a broken bottle before putting him behind bars. (Ghanaweb, General News, Fri. 25 August 2000 as cited in *The Dispatch*) According to *The Dispatch* Selassie said, “I was shaved with a rusty blade and later a broken bottle. I was told the President had ordered my hair to be brought to him.” (ibid. para.13). This incident is used by JAK to insinuate abuse of power, sadism and to question JJ’s sense of compassion, respect for human rights and respect for human dignity. JAK capitalizes on these to expose JJ’s turpitude, implying that a vote for Mills is a vote for JJ. In effect, the portrayal of NDC and its appointees in deleterious terms is geared towards questioning their character as political actors. In this sense, the assumption by the *Functional Theory* that campaign discourse occurs on policy and character is again upheld. It also confirms the view held by Trent et al. (2012) that attacking the record of the incumbent is a major characteristic of challenger style.

All in all, the attacks epitomize JAK’s negative campaigning that sought to portray Mills, JJ and the NDC as undesirable political elements. Such a negative evaluation is in accord with the *Functional Theory* in its postulation that attacks have the potential to enhance the net preferability of a candidate by downgrading the opponent’s apparent desirability. But while it is clear that negative campaigning

increases negative opinions about the target, it is interesting to note, as pointed out by Utych (2012), that by doing so the accuser as well invites negative opinions about himself/herself. In the light of Utych's observation, it could be argued that given JAK's vilification of JJ and Mills, the tendency for public opinion to describe him as a foul-mouthed politician is high.

7.1.3 Emphasizing Optimism

As a challenger, JAK used most of his statements to paint a picture of a new Ghana under his presidency, creating the impression that the tattered economy under the NDC shall be revived. Such statements evoke images of a new Ghana with a robust economy that shall transform the lives of Ghanaians, thereby eliciting visceral feelings in his audience.

JAK hammered home his ability to restore the economy and transform Ghana within a spate of four years to give the electorate a glimpse of hope. Goldman (2011) suggests that hope is a positive emotion and aims at drawing "feel-good" responses; for when people are liable to feeling apprehensive of a situation, they fall prey to hope appeals. Such appeals to the audience's sense of optimism are used by JAK to create pathos: an element of the Aristotelian triad. By preaching a message of optimism, JAK is replicating one major challenger strategy, as noted by Trent et al, (2012) and Stogsdill (2013).

JAK assured voters that the end of their suffering is in sight saying, at Ho "to break out of the trap of poverty and misery then the way forward is here, the NPP." Here, JAK shows the audience how they will extricate themselves from

poverty and misery, and they can only do this by voting the NPP into power because “we must come in to restore the economy.” The use of the modal auxiliary “must” in the statement confers on JAK and the NPP a self-imposed obligation, compulsion and necessity to resuscitate the ailing economy. He presents this construction of the restoration of the economy by representing himself as an epitome of the hope of Ghanaians. And in pursuance of his avowed goal of building a new Ghana, he declares:

We want the private sector to have access to loans because it’s there that the interest rate will drop; the farmer will get access to loans to do proper agriculture; grow food plentifully for all of us to eat; leave some to be processed by industry and then even export. That’s how to enrich the economy (Sokpe).

In this extract, JAK draws on the image of a reformer that he creates for himself to reveal his vision for the private sector and agriculture. He does this expertly through logical reasoning, in Aristotelian terms, to enable his audience to appreciate the correlation between the private sector, agriculture and industry. Appeal to logic is a strong persuasive tool in so far as humans are rational beings. Being an astute politician JAK is aware that his audience need to be convinced about the kinds of measures he intends to put in place to revamp the private sector and agriculture, before they can accept his message. When he asserts, “that’s how to enrich the economy”, he expresses a strong belief in his notion of economic reforms through prudent measures, implying that turning the economy around is a crucial component of the new Ghana he envisages. When such a mission has been

accomplished under his presidency, Ghanaians, and for that matter the audience at Ho, “will come to look on our government as the best government your people have had since independence.” With these words, JAK is self-assured in the NPP’s ability to rebuild a shattered Ghana and restore it to its former glory. When he uses the NP, *your people*, he is being equivocal. It can mean the electorate at Ho, the setting of the speech or the entire Volta Region. But from the political context of the speech, the statement refers to the entire Volta Region for its electoral allegiance to the NDC. The fact that NDC enjoys massive support from the region could be attributed to the fact that the founder of the NDC, J.J. Rawlings hails from the region. There is no gainsaying, therefore, that most “Voltarians” perceive NDC as their kinsman’s property, and by extension theirs as well, so supporting the party is an ethnic obligation. Again, the phrase “your people” brings to the fore how setting or situation influences choice of words (see Bitzer, 1968). One wonders whether JAK would have used the phrase in Kumasi, a stronghold of the NPP.

The implication of the entire statement is that the contrast will be seen and felt when the NPP forms the new government as, “we are going in there for Ghana, for achieving for Ghana” (Ho). The statement highlights the inadequacy and failure of the NDC as non-achievers who allowed their self-interest to override national interest, characterizing them as self-seeking and non-patriotic. By contrast patriotism will be uppermost in the political thoughts of the NPP. The statement further suggests that when politicians place their self-interest first, the end result is avarice and plunder of state coffers leading to dire economic consequences. Granted that the health of the economy is among the crucial factors for Ghanaians

in choosing a president, the NPP's main preoccupation will be working for the national interest for the realization of their new Ghana agenda. JAK's goal is to lift the mood of the electorate from the abyss of gloom, despair and despondency to a state of expectancy and ecstasy.

7. 2 JAK as an Incumbent

Still responding to RQ3, in this section I discuss how JAK's status as an incumbent informed his choice of rhetorical strategies. It emerged from the analysis that generally JAK centred his campaign message on one major theme, continuity. Accordingly, he presented himself as having performed well in office as President.

7.2.1 A Performing President: so far so good

The *Functional Theory* posits that incumbents use their past deeds more for acclaims. In consonance with this view, JAK aggressively framed his campaign message on his record as against his pledge as a challenger in 2000 to bring about "positive change" in the lives of Ghanaians. He resorted to ethos appeals as his rhetoric suggested that he believed he had fulfilled such a campaign promise to a large extent. Based on his own conviction of the fulfillment of his campaign promises, he called on the electorate to look upon his accomplishments and give him another term of office. As Bonikowski and Gidron (2015) assert, incumbents set the terms of the public debate about their accomplishments. This view is supported by Trent et al. (2012) who observe that the incumbent party candidate emphasizes his/her or the party's accomplishments while in office.

Campaigning as an incumbent, JAK created the impression of a performing president deserving another term of office. Citing infrastructural development as the hallmark of his good performance. He stated at a Jirapa rally, “As we drove into town I couldn’t help admiring the projects I saw around. Positive change is in evidence here.” An elated JAK looks upon his own record and markets himself as a performing President. He draws on the numerous projects that have impacted positively on the lives of the audience at Nadowli, in a series of rhetorical questions, “Who doesn’t want positive change? Who can say he or she doesn’t like good schools or good drinking water or good roads or community at peace with itself?”

These questions are a further reinforcement of the rhetoric of a successful term that he creates. They are used as a self-promotion strategy to taut his own achievements as the president. Specifically, the second rhetorical question is an expatiation of the first one by citing concrete examples of the benefits of positive change: *good schools, good drinking water, good roads and community at peace with itself*. These examples not only strengthen JAK’s argumentation that *positive change is in evidence*, they also support his claim that he delivers on his campaign promises. Consequently, the electorate should give him a second chance to continue with the infrastructural development. In effect, the rhetorical questions are a subtle reminder to the audience that a vote for NDC means the end of infrastructural development, rule of law, stable economy, improved living conditions, respect for human rights, among others, and the electorate stand the risk of being victims of NDC’s bad governance. Obviously, no group of people will turn their back on anything that brings transformation in their lives.

JAK intensified his message of rewarding good performance with another term of office as he asserted at Nadowli:

You gave me four years to manage our country within four years. There are the achievements; I want you to see, and if you are pleased, then to renew the mandate to me to continue for our country.

JAK repeats *four years* to add emphasis, reinforcement, power and weight to imprint his message on the minds of the audience in order that they will appreciate the fact that within “four years there are the achievements.” Much has been achieved within such a short period. The dependent (conditional) clause “if you are pleased” is worthy of note here. One would have expected JAK to add its antithesis, “if you are not pleased” for a balance to elicit varied emotional responses from the audience.

At Abokobi, JAK assured the electorate, “I can lead the NPP to give Ghana the positive change chapter two that will enrich our country the more, better quality of life for our people.” By “positive change chapter two”, JAK implies that his first term of office, which has witnessed massive economic transformation marks positive change chapter one, and that positive change chapter two will witness “more, better quality of life for our people.” Such an assurance has the potential to evoke confidence and buoyancy in the audience

7.2.2 Self-glorification and goodwill

JAK's campaign language, as an incumbent, portrayed him as a president serving his people with selfless devotion and commitment. His statements abounded in expressions depicting self-glorification and goodwill to enhance his credibility. Aristotle (*Rhetoric*) enjoins the rhetor to get the audience to perceive him as possessing goodwill to boost his credibility. In consonance with this Aristotelian prescription, JAK averred at Jirapa:

But I want to remind you that it isn't every government that will operate on the basis that this government is operating; selfless service to the people ... After all what do we want? We just want an effective and efficient service from government and you are getting so just encourage the people who can do it to continue (Jirapa 2004)

In this extract JAK uses contrast to emphasize the able manner "this government is operating". The contrast embedded in "it isn't every government" distinguishes himself (and by extension his party) from the way other governments, without doubt the NDC, handled the affairs of the country, implying that under his presidency Ghanaians have witnessed marked improvement in governance. Just as President Obama repeated specific expressions for both national glorification and self-glorification in his Victory Speech (Unvar & Rahimi, 2013), likewise, in the above extract JAK uses three adjectives: *selfless*, *effective* and *efficient* as self-glorification epithets. *Selfless* means he is altruistic and working hard in the interest of Ghanaians while *effective* and *efficient* portray how he has served the people with

commendable diligence. These are meant to get the audience to appreciate his presidency and score him high on the performance continuum and support his re-election. The statements show how self-glorification is reflected in incumbent campaign communication.

In pursuance of strengthening his self-glorification and goodwill overtures, JAK impressed upon the audience how his governance style, in terms of unifying the country, has been evaluated positively by a cross section of Ghanaians. This positive evaluation reinforces his belief that he is a unifier. Basking in the perceived adulation of his unifying ability, he told the audience:

We are also strongly getting the impression that Kufuor and his government are the best agents to unite Ghana. And so on this basis the impression comes to me very strongly that Tuesday's election will show a result that will resound, resound greatly all over Ghana and beyond. I am not going to use the word "landslide" but I wouldn't be surprised that my government will be returned to power (Abokobi, 2004).

JAK considers it worthwhile to apprise the audience at Abokobi of the feeling among Ghanaians "that Kufuor and his government are the best agents to unite Ghana". He does this with the intent that his approval rating among the electorate will inspire the Abokobi audience. He believes that his likability emanates from his calm and cheerful demeanor that makes him a pacifist; qualities that have stood him in good stead in uniting the country. It is not surprising, therefore, that he launches into an exaggeration that he will win a landslide victory that will "resound greatly all over Ghana and beyond."

JAK also heightened his good heartedness by resorting to moralizing. He taps into behaviours that border on criminality and ascribes them to the out-group, the NDC, while he paints a picture of self-righteousness to distance himself from such turpitude. He moralized:

Some people, will kill, will rob, will insult, will do all the wrong things to try to lead the country. But I didn't have to do any of these things. The people just trusted me and voted for me (Accra).

JAK's moralistic posture is manifested in a neatly couched parallelism: "*will kill, will rob, will insult, will do*" to conjure up images of tyranny which are hallmarks of "*some people*". The target of this indirectness could be both the NDC as a corporate body and Rawlings as an individual. The verbs *kill* and *rob* are emotionally laden words, suggesting that the NDC physically or metaphorically collapse people's businesses. Rawlings is also roped in since as a military leader, the audience are aware that he superintended the execution of eight senior army officers including three former military heads of state. In this sense Rawlings is perceived as a killer in disguise.

In contrast, JAK has not visited such atrocities on Ghanaians during his reign, and that he won power in 2000 on account of his own virtuous disposition and credibility as a moralist radiating admirable personal qualities. Aristotle stresses that it is important for the rhetor to impress upon the audience that he /she has good sense and a morally acceptable character; for we tend to believe good men more fully and more readily than others. JAK's demeanor as a president earned him the accolade, "the Gentle Giant" (Sakyi Addo, 2001) from his admirers.

Being aware of such public approbation of his conduct, JAK brought to the fore the idea that the presidency needed to be occupied by a good man, a person of high moral repute, and his disposition already mirrored that image. As mentioned in the literature the *Functional Theory* maintains that *character* is one of the two topics on which campaign discourse subsists; the other is *policy*. Character, according to the theory, is three dimensional: personal qualities, leadership ability and values/ideals, and it is an assessment tool for a candidate's suitability to be President. For JAK to highlight his personal qualities confirmed the importance of character as a campaign issue as postulated by the *Functional Theory*. From JAK's point of view he had brought his personal credibility to bear on the presidency for a successful first term of office; therefore, he should be given another chance of office.

Here, JAK resorts to moral categories to enhance his self-glorification and create polarization based on the US and THEM dichotomy (Dijk, 1998). He frames the NDC and Rawlings as political actors whose moral values are at odds with core Ghanaian cultural tenets and, therefore, unfit to rule the country. JAK, thus, assumes a position of moral authority. Bonikowski and Gidron (2016) posit that appeals to moralism smacks of populism: "populism is predicated on moral distinctions" (p.1617). One cannot but agree with the authors that by mounting a moral high ground, JAK engages in populist rhetoric for the purpose of ingratiation.

JAK as well presented himself as well-intentioned and sought to advance arguments to buttress such an image. At Abokabi, he outlined a new policy proposal for the improvement and access to education.

I should draw your attention to the new educational policy of this government. Government's policy is that all Ghanaian children from age four should remain at school till they are age sixteen, and that the cost of keeping children in school will be borne by the state. This is the type of educational system that the government is bringing to Ghana... over a ten-year period because we first want to take time to ensure the quality education we ascribe to be established firmly, very well into the fabric of our society... so these are the things that government has planned for Ghana, and I need to sort of let all of you into the very good plans the government has for the people of our country so that's it.

JAK is explicit on the new educational policy. This is intended to get the audience to perceive him as visionary, which is important for boosting his self-presentation as a capable President. The pillars of this new educational policy are access, cost, and quality. Of all these, *cost* has the potential to resonate with the aspirations of the audience, given the low incomes of most Ghanaians. By hinting the audience of the package contained in the new educational policy, JAK is calling on them to reason that if there is a government that is going to make education free and relieve them of the financial burden, then that government means well for the vulnerable in society. Whoever spearheads such a pro-poor policy must, therefore, be a good person.

In the event of a candidate declaring his intention of what he will do as president, Palsrud (2009) argues that "people look for coherence and clarity"; they do not want to speculate about what the candidate means, and they want assurances

that the new policy will meet their aspirations. Therefore, as far as the audience are concerned they welcome “clear intentions”, regarding issues such as these, provided the issues point to a new policy direction. Palsrud could not have said it better because intentions can be fulfilled or not fulfilled. It is common knowledge that in political campaigning several candidates use promises to build their self-presentation, and JAK takes advantage of this strategy.

7.2.3 Appropriating the Ethos of Chieftaincy

A feature of Ghanaian presidential campaigning is the endorsement of presidential candidates by chiefs. Some of the reasons accounting for this phenomenon are that traditional leaders endorse presidential candidates in order that should the candidate win, the chiefs will stand a better chance of their traditional areas being considered for development projects. Also, the country has a history of chiefs demoted or promoted by political leaders, as such the chiefs have to play safe (Obiri Yeboah, Myjoyonline.com, Oct. 29, 2016). Amoatia Ofori Panyin (2010) observes that the strength of democratic governance in Ghana is boosted by the traditional governance structure, and that the achievement of some national tolerance is traceable to “the effective and impartial handling of the people by chiefs especially when one considers the stabilizing role they play during elections” (p.8). The observation by Amoatia Ofori Panyin holds true when one considers presidential candidates calling on chiefs during the formers’ campaign trail to seek their advice and support.

In the 2016 presidential elections, for example, 58 chiefs from the Atwima Kwanwoma Traditonal Area in the Ashanti Region and many others from different

parts of the country openly endorsed Nana Akufo Addo, the NPP presidential candidate. Likewise, John Mahama, the candidate of the ruling NDC had several endorsements from chiefs. Notable among them was the endorsement from the Chief of Sunyani, Nana Bosomara Asor Nkrawi, promising an eighty percentage win of the total votes of the Brong Ahafo Region. Similarly, the chief of Kukurantumi in the Eastern Region pledged a fifty percent win of the total votes from the region. ((Obiri Yeboah, Myjoyonline.com, Oct. 29, 2016). Overall, the endorsement by chiefs serves as a confidence booster for presidential candidates in their attempt to garner votes in a particular traditional area or constituency. JAK therefore does not hesitate in claiming:

What hit me among the many positive change our chiefs said was the fact that the chiefs and people appreciated the deepening of decentralization. We are democrats and we do not want to bottle up power in Accra. We want power to go into the districts of Ghana (Jirapa).

In this extract, JAK uses his endorsement of chiefs as a rhetorical tool to highlight the traditional notion that the chief speaks on behalf of his subjects and when the chief speaks he must be obeyed. With this, JAK elevates chieftaincy to the height of being “the most enduring socio-cultural institution in Ghana ...” (Amoatia Ofori Panyin, 2010, p.1). JAK is ecstatic about the acknowledgement by the chiefs and people of Jirapa that the NPP has strengthened decentralization.

The effects of positive change are not only manifested in infrastructural development, but they also reflect in the governance system, in the area of decentralization. JAK seizes the opportunity to project himself by highlighting how

he and his party have taken positive change to another level by disseminating democratic governance to Ghanaians at the grassroots. He proudly characterizes his party as democrats, and democratic as they are, it is unworthy of them “to bottle up power in Accra”, implying that the NPP government is not an oligarchy. In effect, the distribution of power to the districts is a manifestation of the government’s good governance system which cannot escape the watchful eyes of the chiefs and the audience of Jirapa. Such ethos enhancing statements, speak eloquently about JAK’s leadership qualities which are fundamental to his self-presentation as a performing President deserving re-election. Still bullish about getting the support of traditional rulers, JAK declared at Abokobi:

Everywhere I have been, the chiefs and people have been very, I’d say, hasty to recount the performances of my government to me. They rush to let me know that within the past four years our country has been at peace generally with itself.

Being the President and presidential candidate, JAK applauds himself for peace and stability in the country and a fair distribution of resources in the country. He begins the narrative with what seems an ambiguity, “Everywhere I have been”. One wonders whether the adverb “everywhere” is intended to mean every part of the country or only places he has been on his campaign trail. This notwithstanding, JAK uses the narrative for the establishment of his ethos, and thereby creating the impression among the audience that his good works as president is acknowledged “everywhere” by chiefs, and he expects same from the Abokobi audience.

JAK's rhetoric suggested that the chief of Nadowli joined the fray of traditional endorsements, which he quickly and deftly takes advantage of to promote his party, and by extension, himself. He said:

So when we hear good things being said about what we have been able to do, we want to believe it's not just the chiefs telling us; we want to believe the people of Nadowli, all join the chiefs in acknowledging the little we have been able to do so far. And if this is the appreciation among you, then I will say, show your appreciation in practical terms, support this government and the government will continue to serve you.

JAK strategically makes references to the chiefs' appreciation of government's efforts to create the awareness that he is not the one flaunting his achievements for self-promotion. This line of thinking provides an avenue for JAK to get the audience to reason that when such a recognition comes from the chiefs then there is no gainsaying that the NPP government has performed creditably to warrant a second term of office. Also, JAK's description of government's efforts as "the little we have been able to do so far" is on one hand a tacit admission of government's inability to meet all the expectations of the electorate. On the other hand, it is a gesture of humility and self-effacement, making light of his achievements. This demonstration of meekness boosts JAK's self-presentation and increases his chances of being a likeable candidate.

JAK's confidence that he has the support of traditional rulers is further boosted as indicated by his response to an earlier speech by the chief of Abokobi. "I want to thank Nii Abokobi for commending the government so gloriously for

performance.” JAK uses the intensifier “so” to express the extent of his inner feeling while the adverb, “gloriously,” signifies a positive evaluation of the manner in which the chief of Abokobi lauded government’s performance. Thus, generally the commendations from chiefs serve as morale booster for JAK in so far as his re-election campaign is concerned.

The analysis has shown that a candidate’s rhetoric is contingent on his/her status as a challenger or as an incumbent. Evidence from the data shows that running as a challenger, JAK presented himself as an agent of change, attacked the record of the NDC and its appointees in a rather belligerent language. In contrast, as an incumbent, JAK generally adopted temperate rhetoric as he called for another term of office amidst self-presentation including achievements as president, personal qualities and endorsement of traditional rulers to present a viable image for re-election. The next section focuses on illocutionary choices made by JAK as a challenger and as an incumbent.

7.3 Comparing Distribution of Speech Acts

This section provides a comparative analysis of speech acts performed by JAK. It is instructive to point out that unlike the rhetorical strategies that were analysed separately in terms of JAK’s status as a challenger and incumbent, the speech act analysis is done concurrently. The reason is that it is the same speech acts that JAK used in the two campaign periods. In the discussion, the focus shall be on the frequency distribution of the speech acts, and how JAK’s status influenced his choice of particular speech acts to reveal his communicative intentions.

Table 5 below shows the overall relative frequency distribution of the speech acts.

Table 5: Comparison of Frequency Distribution of Speech Acts Performed by JAK as a Challenger and as an Incumbent

JAK	Speech Acts								
	Assertives		Commissives		Directives		Expressives		Total
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Challenger	122	52.8	22	37	51	60	29	41.4	224(50.2%)
Incumbent	109	47.2	38	63	34	40	41	58.6	222(49.8%)
TOTAL	231	100	60	100	85	100	70	100	446(100%)

Source: Fieldwork (2018)

Table 5 shows that 50.2% of the total speech acts was performed by JAK as a challenger as against 49.8% as an incumbent. However, this result does not give an indication as to whether or not the difference is statistically significant. Accordingly, a paired sample test was conducted to establish the level of significance.

Table 6 shows the paired sample test on the speech acts performed by JAK as a challenger and as an incumbent.

Table 6: Paired Sample Test on Speech Acts Performed by JAK as a Challenger and as an Incumbent

	Paired Differences					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
	Mean	Std.Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
				Lower	Upper			
Pair 1 JAK as a challenger - JAK as an incumbent	.500	16.902	8.451	-26.394	27.394	.059	3	.957

Source: Fieldwork: (2018)

Table 6 indicates that the significant value (0.957) is greater than the margin of error (0.05) and since the significant value is greater than the margin of error, we can conclude that there is no significant difference in the speech acts of JAK as a challenger and as an incumbent, which means statistically, JAK’s speech acts as a challenger and an incumbent were the same.

Next is the frequency distribution and paired sample test on each of the various types of speech acts as presented in Table 5 above. I begin with assertive acts.

7.3.1 Assertive Acts

Table 7 below shows a comparative frequency distribution of sub-categories of assertive acts performed by JAK.

Table 7: Comparison of Frequency Distribution of Assertive Acts

JAK as Challenger		JAK as Incumbent		
Illocutionary Force	F	%	F	%
Informing	23	18.9	25	22.9
Claiming	36	29.5	17	15.6
Boasting	21	17.2	22	20.2
Reporting	14	11.4	15	13.8
Stating	20	16.4	23	21.1
Acknowledging	8	6.6	7	6.4
TOTAL	122	100	109	100

Source: Fieldwork (2018)

As seen in Table 7, JAK used six sub-categories of assertive acts in different proportions culminating in an overall percentage of 52.8% (n=122) as a challenger and 47.2 % (n=109) as an incumbent. On the face value this result indicates that JAK used more assertives, as a challenger than as an incumbent, but whether or not this difference is statistically significant is indicated in Table 8 below.

Table: 8 Paired Sample Test on Assertive Acts

	Paired Differences					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
				Lower	Upper			
Pair 1 JAK as a challenger in the Assertive Acts - JAK as an Incumbent in the Assertive Acts	2.167	8.353	3.410	-6.599	10.932	.635	5	.553

Source: Fieldwork (2018)

It could be seen from Table 8 that the significant value (0.553) is greater than the margin of error (0.05) and since the significant value is greater than the margin of error, we can conclude that there is no difference in the assertive acts performed by JAK as a challenger and as an incumbent. This means that JAK’s assertive acts as an incumbent and as a challenger were statistically the same.

The following extracts exemplify the use of assertive acts by JAK as a challenger.

Extract 1

Now they failed; the government and all the members there. They have failed; it’s time for them to go (Tefle)

Extract 2

This year Ghana is going to change its government. And it will be the first time that this historic change that is coming to come with the help and support of the people of Sokpe. (Sokpe)

Extract 3

We are going to finish it this year, and after we finish with them, we will put them on the opposition benches. (Ho)

In Extract 1, JAK performs the speech act of claiming; and by uttering those statements he expresses two propositions. First, is the claim that the government has performed abysmally, and second, the time has come for them to leave office. JAK is confident that his audience believe his assertion of the failure of the ruling government, which is a good reason for the electorate to vote them out. The assertive force inherent in the utterance can be understood from what JAK considers to be the state of affairs. In Extract 2, JAK performs the illocutionary act of informing by asserting his claim that Ghanaians are going to vote out the NDC government and he is confident that it is he JAK and his party, the NPP, that are going to be the agents and beneficiaries of this change. JAK's description of the supposed imminent change as "historic", is a foreshadowing of the heavy defeat of the ruling party at the polls. This defeat will be important owing to the almost two-decade rule of (P)NDC.

The basis upon which JAK indirectly calls on the audience to be part of the process of voting for change is the fact that the electorate at Sokpe, and the Volta Region as a whole, had been voting massively for the NDC in previous elections. It is against such a voting pattern that JAK establishes the truth condition of his proposition. JAK's obsession with his change mantra is further intensified in Extract 3 where he asserts the defeat of the NDC after which they shall be consigned to obscurity. JAK makes sure he does not leave an iota of doubt in the minds of his

audience by offering a basis for which they will believe the asserted proposition is true.

As an incumbent in 2004, JAK used the assertive acts for the advancement of the theme of continuity born out of his so far so good message. The assertive acts were meant to inform the electorate about his accomplishments during the past four years, and his intention to continue to reform the country. The following extracts are handy examples from his campaign discourse.

Extract 4

We just want an effective and efficient service from government and you are getting it so just encourage the people who can do it to continue (Jirapa)

Extract 5

Travel anywhere in Ghana now and you will see roads being made, being made to first class standards (Nadowli)

Extract 6

As candidate I have been travelling all over our country; and I can say that now I have toured all the ten regions of our country, as I am speaking, over the past two months. What I have learnt along the way is that all our people, regardless of tribe, religion, sex or age we are all committed. They want three things: first, they want national unity; second they want peace; third, they want prosperity. I believe the pattern of votes next week will show the perception of the people as a whole as to which of the contesting leaders and their parties will give the people these three things. (Abokobi,)

The common illocutionary force behind the assertive acts in Extracts 4 - 6 is that of boasting. JAK speaks proudly about his own accomplishments. He believes he has performed exceedingly well as a President. In effect JAK expresses the proposition of the magnitude to which governance has been carried out: effective and efficient (Extract 4) including massive road construction nationwide (Extract 5). Thus, the assertive acts are used by JAK to brand and market himself to bolster his message of continuity. In Extract 6, a number of propositions could be derived from the assertive act. JAK claims he has toured the whole country; he has learnt that national unity, peace and prosperity are uppermost in the minds of the electorate, and the voting pattern will demonstrate which of the contesting candidates is capable of providing the aforementioned things.

With these propositions JAK again performs the illocutionary force of boasting in the sense that he creates the impression that among the contesting candidates he is the one who transcends partisanship which is a prerequisite for the achievement of national unity, peace and prosperity that Ghanaians strongly desire. Being a sitting President JAK knows that his audience have a basis to believe the truth of the assertion that he knows every nook and cranny of the country and therefore is aware of the socio-economic problems facing the electorate. This knowledge is not only derived from his campaign tour but through other means such as invitations to functions, festivals, inauguration and inspection of projects, familiarization tours, among others (Trent et al. 2012)

7.3.2 Directive Acts

Table 9 below shows the comparison of the overall frequency distribution of directive acts performed by JAK.

Table 9: Comparison of Frequency Distribution of Directive Acts

Illocutionary Force	JAK as Challenger		JAK as Incumbent	
	F	%	F	%
Requesting	18	35.3	13	38.2
Urging	13	25.5	10	29.4
Challenging	8	15.7	3	8.8
Encouraging	7	13.7	8	23.5
Commanding	5	9.8	0	0.0
TOTAL	51	100	34	100

Source: Fieldwork (2018)

From Table 9, JAK used five types of directive acts to get his audiences to take certain courses of action. In descriptive terms the result indicates that JAK performed more directive acts, 60% (n=51) as a challenger than as an incumbent, 40% (n=34). The level of significance of this result is presented in Table 10 below.

Table 10: Paired Sample Test on Directive Acts

	Paired Differences					T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
				Lower	Upper			
Pair 1 JAK as a challenger in the Directive Acts - JAK as an incumbent in the Directive Acts	3.4000	2.60768	1.16619	.16214	6.63786	2.915	4	.043

Source: Fieldwork (2018)

As shown in Table 10, the significant value (0.043) is less than the margin of error (0.05), and since the significant value is less than the margin of error, we can conclude that there is significant difference in the directive acts of JAK as a challenger and as an incumbent, which means that JAK’s directive acts as an incumbent and as a challenger were statistically not the same.

The following are examples of directive speech acts performed by JAK.

Extract 7

We must tell this and tell it plainly to the world and position ourselves, work day and night, rally ourselves, accept this historic challenge that it is our duty to remove this government not by force of action but definitely by the power of the thumb so that we can free the people of Ghana for them to move on with their lives (Ho).

The directive in the extract above is encoded in the modal *must* and the verb *tell* which is repeated two times. While *must* indicates compulsion *tell* involves a command. In this sense the illocutionary force in the directive is one of *commanding*. The direction of fit in the illocutionary act is that of world-to-word. Thus, JAK's intention is to let the audience change the current state of affairs where the NDC is in power and vote in the NPP. The illocutionary force of commanding is also manifested in such VPs as "position ourselves", "work day and night", "rally ourselves", "accept this historic challenge", and the clause "it is our duty to remove". It is instructive to observe that JAK does not insulate himself from the directive, following his use of the pronominals *we*, *ourselves*, and *our*. This presupposes that he is part of every process and effort that is needed to vote out the NDC from power.

The illocutionary force behind the directives in Extracts 8-10 is requesting. By employing the phrase *let us* or *let's* JAK makes a request to his audience to put all their efforts together in their resolve to vote out the ruling NDC. These directives *to teach the NDC a lesson* (Ext. 8), *to sacrifice*, *to give a good government to Ghana* (Ext.9) and *to show the NDC* (Ext. 10) reflect the discontentment of JAK about the current state of affairs where NDC is perceived as visiting hardships on the electorate. He, therefore, makes a passionate request to the electorate, as the decision makers, to buy into his message of change. The directive in (Ext. 11), however, has the illocutionary force of commanding that enjoins the electorate to vote to change the status quo to bring in a government that will meet their aspirations.

Extract 8

Let us all combine, let us all combine to teach NDC a lesson. (Tefle)

Extract 9

Let's sacrifice our all to give a good government to Ghana this year. (Sokpe)

Extract 10

Let's show NDC, let's show NDC this year, Ghana is not for sale (Ho)

Extract 11

Vote to pick a government that will serve your best interest (Sokpe).

Extract 12

They've been in power for twenty years, what do you have to show for it?
(Ho)

The question act in Extract 12 is meant to set the audience to reflect on their lives as a people under NDC regime. The proposition behind the question act is that the citizenry had not benefited from the NDC's rule. Twenty years is long for any serious and performing government to bring massive transformation in the lives of the people; but this is not to be. JAK, therefore, poses the question to stoke up their sense of disappointment and disillusionment. He creates a sentimental tone in order to evoke a feeling of regret in the people who have given their unflinching support to the NDC.

Extract 13

And if this is the appreciation among you, then I will say show your appreciation in practical terms, support this government (Nadowli, 2004)

The extract above is JAK's reaction to an expression of appreciation by the Chief of Nadowli regarding development projects in the area carried out by the NPP government. In the ensuing directive, JAK performs an illocutionary act of *commanding*. The directive is issued in the wake of the Nadowli Constituency voting en masse for the NDC in previous presidential elections. Given this state of affairs, JAK commands his audience to translate their appreciation into votes. In this wise, a vote for him and the NPP will be a reciprocal gesture.

Extract 14

And I heard Professor Kansanga wanted to be a Member of Parliament too.
It's up to you to ensure that a good man like that finds his way to parliament
and perhaps will continue as a Minister for you (Nadowli)

In Extract 14, JAK performs the directive act on behalf of his Parliamentary Candidate (PC) for the constituency. The illocutionary force behind the directive is challenging. JAK challenges the audience to vote for the PC whom he describes as *a good man* and has the potential to be appointed as a minister. However, the clause *it's up to you* somehow smacks of indifference on the part of JAK. Thus, whether or not the PC wins the constituency is not a matter of serious consideration to JAK. This posturing of JAK is rather egoist since it suggests that voting for him as the president is what matters most; he is less concerned about efforts to get the PC win the constituency but this cannot be in that one seat lost or gained counts a lot in Parliament.

7.3.3 Expressive Acts

Table 11 below indicates the distribution of expressive acts performed by JAK.

Table 11: Comparison of Frequency Distribution of Expressive

Illocutionary Force	JAK as Challenger		JAK as Incumbent	
	F	%	F	%
Expressing inner feeling	8	27.6	13	31.7
Thanking	6	20.7	9	22
Praising	5	17.2	8	19.5
Greeting	5	17.2	4	9.8
Well-wishing	3	10.3	3	7.3
Congratulating	2	6.9	3	7.3
Apologizing	0	0.0	1	2.4
TOTAL	29	100	41	100

Source: Fieldwork (2018)

Table 11 shows that JAK used six subcategories of expressive acts in varying proportions. His expressive acts as a challenger constituted 41.4% (n=29) in contrast to 58.6% (n=41) as an incumbent. This indicates that as an incumbent, JAK felt it politically more strategic and prudent to reveal his psychological state of mind to express various feelings.

Table 12 below shows a paired sample test on the expressive acts of JAK as a challenger and as an incumbent.

Table: 12 Paired Sample Test on Expressive Acts

	Paired Differences					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
				Lower	Upper			
Pair 1 JAK as a challenger in the Expressive Acts - JAK as an incumbent in the Expressive Acts	-1.714	2.059	.778	-3.618	.190	-2.203	6	.070

Source: Fieldwork (2018)

As observed from Table 12, the significant value (0.070) is greater than the margin of error (0.05) and since the significant value is greater than the margin of error, we can conclude that there is no difference in the expressive acts of JAK as a challenger and incumbent., which means that statistically JAK’s expressive acts as an incumbent and as a challenger were the same.

The following extracts show the enactment of the types of expressive acts.

Extract 15

I’m very proud and honoured that you have come in your numbers in full pageantry (Ho)

Extract 16

We've suffered long enough. (Ho)

Both statements express the psychological state of JAK. In Extract 15, he reveals how he feels about the size of the gathering. This psychological state is encoded by the adjective phrase, *proud and honoured*. This inner satisfaction emanates from his realization that regardless of the fact that Ho is an NDC stronghold, the NPP rally has recorded high attendance. In stark contrast, Extract 16 reveals how JAK feels about the predicament of the audience including himself. The suffering is not just short-lived, but protracted, perhaps, owing to the bad governance of the NDC. Accordingly, the utterance is meant to motivate and spur on the audience to marshal all efforts to get the NPP win the election.

Extract 17

Thank you very much for this meeting, (Sokpe)

Extract 18

With this I want to thank you for a very warm reception (Sokpe)

Extract 19

Today my heart is warmed by the acknowledgement by our chiefs, all of you that this government has not discriminated on lines of party support (Jirapa).

Extract 20

I wish you all happy elections and positive change in the future. May God bless us all. Thank you (Nadowli).

In the extracts above, JAK performs the illocutionary acts of thanking and expression of inner feeling. The preparatory conditions that prompted the utterances are that JAK must have recognized that the audiences performed an act worthy of a show of gratitude from him. The act of constituency executive (Extract 17) and chiefs and elders (Extract 18) holding themselves together to listen to the presidential candidate and President of Ghana deserves acknowledgement. Therefore, the sincerity condition underlying the expressive act is that JAK wants to show appreciation to the audience. The condition for the expression of the excitement (Extract 19) is premised on the acknowledgement by the chiefs that his government has been fair to all regardless of party affiliation. The propositional content condition of the utterance in Extract 20 is that in uttering the sentences JAK makes a proposition that he wish the audience happy elections, positive change, and above all, God's blessing. The preparatory condition is that JAK realizes the presidential elections are a few weeks away, and he is convinced that the electorate will give him a second term of office. Similarly, JAK acknowledges God as the custodian and giver of blessing. Accordingly, he prays for God's blessing for the audience, including himself.

7.3.4 Commissive Acts

The overall frequency distribution of commissive acts performed by JAK are shown in Table 13 below.

Table 13: Comparison of Frequency Distribution of Commissive Acts

Illocutionary Force	JAK as Challenger		JAK as Incumbent	
	F	%	F	%
Promising	9	41	15	39.5
Assuring	6	27.2	11	28.9
Vowing	4	18.2	4	10.5
Pledging	3	13.6	8	21.1
TOTAL	22	100	38	100

Source: Fieldwork (2018)

As shown in Table 13, as an incumbent JAK's commissives acts amounted to 63.3% (n=38) as against 36.7% (n=22) as a challenger. This result implies that as an incumbent JAK expressed the intention that he was more committed than before in terms of completing ongoing projects and embarking on new ones. The result also suggests that as a challenger without any presidential experience, he did not have full knowledge of government revenue and expenditure, so he was more cautious not to perform too many commissive acts.

As with the other speech act types, a paired sample test was conducted to establish the level of significance. The result is displayed in Table 14 below.

Table 14: Paired Sample Test on Commissive Acts

	Paired Differences					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
				Lower	Upper			
Pair 1 JAK as a challenger in the Commissive Acts - JAK as an incumbent in the Commissive Acts	4.000	2.708	1.354	-8.309	.309	2.954	3	.060

Source: Fieldwork (2018)

Observation from the Table 14 indicates that the significant value (0.060) is greater than the margin of error (0.05) and since the significant value is greater than the margin of error, we can conclude that there is no significant difference in the commissive acts of JAK as a challenger and as an incumbent, which means that the commissive acts performed by JAK as a challenger and as an incumbent were statistically the same.

The extracts below are illustrative of commissive acts performed by JAK.

Extract 21

Please accept our word in good faith. We are promising. I don't swear, but can still promise that when you help put us in power you'll come to accept that we will not just post (sic). (Ho).

Extract 22

We will uphold the rule of law We will enshrine the position of citizen. (Sokpe)

Extract 23

If he will live within the laws of Ghana, we will respect him as a former Head of State, and we hope we will retire him lovely so we will have peace in the country (Tefle).

In Extract 21 before JAK performs the speech act of promising he makes two profound utterances that are touching. First, he pleads with the audience to accept "in good faith" his message, and before the promise comes, he says, "I don't swear". These two utterances are meant to reassure the audience of his honesty. In the context of Ghanaian culture, if a person of JAK's stature, in public communication, makes the aforementioned utterances, the audience are likely to judge him as truthful. In Extract 22 JAK promises to espouse the rule of law and preserve citizenship. The statement is an indirect indictment on the ruling NDC government in their failure to maintain and respect the rule of law and citizenship for peace, stability and equality. The promise, therefore, tends to confer on JAK a

sense of goodwill and concern for the citizenry because promises have the potential to whip up voters' desire for better times ahead particularly when policies announced by the campaigner revolve round problems that affect voters (Aduradola, Remi & Ojukwu, 2013).

The promise in Extract 23 focuses on Rawlings, the sitting President. The promise is prefaced with a condition which will be fulfilled if and only if Rawlings conducts himself well by not meddling in political affairs to pose problems of instability. The implication here is that Rawlings might flout the laws of Ghana after leaving office as President. The statement is another of the many instances of JAK's negative portrayal of Rawlings' military past.

Extract 24

The right belongs to the people to decide who should be their government and this government will not do anything to steal the right or subvert it from the people (Jirapa)

In Extract 24, JAK pledges not to undermine the electoral process to skew the results of the elections in his favour. Given JAK's position as the President, the pledge is momentous in that it is a public statement that commits him to protect and preserve the sanctity of the elections. It is also a call to the audience to disabuse their minds of the perception that governments in power benefit from incumbency advantage (Ansolabehere et al., 2007; Mayhew, 2008) to skew election results in their favour. The pledge is made based on JAK's own acknowledgement that it is the electorate who wield electoral power.

Taken together, the speech acts portray their communicative functions and also reveal JAK's communicative intentions as he seeks to mobilize support for his candidature in the two elections discussed. The analysis has demonstrated that the possible interpretation of speech acts is dependent on context and, to a large extent, on what both speaker and hearer already know about the issues presented.

7.4 Chapter Summary

The analysis has demonstrated that JAK's differing status in the two elections makes him fit well into the challenger-incumbent dichotomy. The rhetoric and pragmatics of his campaign communication as a challenger sought to discredit the ruling government and portray him as an agent of change with the panacea for the transformation of the economy within four years, amidst an optimistic can-do fervor. Conversely, in his re-election campaign JAK was driven by his message of continuity embedded in his 'so far so good' refrain to inspire the nation for a more buoyant economy during his second term of office. He relied on his achievements as a President to project himself. Having addressed the last of the three research questions of the study, I devote the next chapter to the conclusion.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.0 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore the campaign communication of JAK, on his way to winning two consecutive presidential elections in 2000 and 2004 as a challenger and as an incumbent respectively. Particularly, the study investigated the rhetorical and pragmatic strategies employed by JAK to influence voters, and the extent to which the strategies varied to reflect his challenger and incumbent status. Based on this, nine of JAK's speeches in the two campaign periods were selected and analysed, using qualitative research design complemented by some quantitative methods. This chapter reports the main findings, draws conclusions and offers recommendations for further research.

8.1 Summary of Findings

The summary of the findings is presented in accordance with the order of the RQs. The first RQ stated as follows: *What rhetorical strategies did JAK employ in his campaign discourse to influence voters during the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections?* The findings showed that in an effort to project and market himself, JAK resorted to self-presentation to strategically establish his ethos, from the Aristotelian point of view. He consistently presented himself as the quintessential political liberator and redeemer and built his narratives about himself as the epitome of the cure-all for Ghana's ailing economy. The strategic pivot of his self-presentation was his incessant and vociferous claim to transform the

economy within four years. This finding is consistent with Schelinker (2003), and Palsrud (2008) who also identified the use of self-presentation in campaign discourse. For instance, Palsrud reports that both President Obama and his opponent, McCain, employed self-presentation appeals in the 2008 presidential elections to enhance their self-image.

Again, the study found out that throughout his campaign, JAK identified himself with the audience through the strategy of common man appeal using inclusivity and simplicity of language. This finding upholds Ash's (2010) finding that candidates McCain and Obama employed common man appeal in the 2008 US elections to win the admiration and support their audiences. By the same token, JAK centred his speeches on the notion, "I am concerned about Ghana just like anyone of you." Using the common man appeal, JAK identified himself with his audiences by addressing issues dear to their hearts. The sole purpose of the strategy was to enable him to worm his way into the hearts of the audience. His inclusive technique could be seen as a mock-up of the biblical Ruth who refused to sever relationships with her mother-in-law, Naomi, in the following words: *where you go I will go, and where you stay I will stay Your people will be my people. Your God will be my God. Where you will die I will die ...* (Ruth 1:16, 17). Similarly, through inclusivity JAK demonstrated his allegiance to the audience that their concerns were his concerns, their problems were his problems, their aspirations were his aspirations and where their interest lay that was where he would focus his attention. The strategy afforded JAK the opportunity to create an atmosphere where

the electorate would not perceive him as living in an ivory tower, but rather being down-to-earth in solving the problems of Ghanaians

JAK as well employed soft-soaping by flattering and sweet-talking his audiences through positive evaluation of their sense of hard work, patriotism, environment, cultural orientation and demeanour. Even though some might suggest that such an approach smacked of fawning on the electorate, it could also be argued that it enabled JAK to connect emotionally with the electorate in that when people are commended it elicits feel-good responses from them (Goldman, 2011). Accordingly, they are inclined to do the bidding of the speaker.

As part of his *logos* appeals, JAK employed argumentation rooted in number games (Dijk, 2004), logical reasoning and refutation. He used statistics to achieve two purposes: (1) to demonstrate the profligacy of the NDC in terms of government expenditure and (2) to project himself in terms of using comparatively few years to turn the economy around, reducing external debt and equipping the police with vehicles. This numeric contrastive strategy provided JAK an opportunity to characterize the NDC as nation wreckers and he and his NPP as nation builders. JAK also intensified his argumentation through logical reasoning centered on the need for change and continuity in the 2000 and 2004 elections respectively. He further employed refutation to deflate arguments by the NPP's opponents that the party is ethnocentric. In JAK's view such a negative perception was born out of prejudice against the NPP, and if allowed to fester it could jeopardize his presidential ambition and by extension the chances of the NPP winning any election.

In response to RQ2 which stated *what was the distribution of the various speech acts performed by JAK in his campaign discourse during the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections?* the results showed a preponderance of assertive acts. In all, assertive acts constituted 52.5% of the speech acts performed by JAK. The rest are directives, 18.5%; expressives, 16%; and commissives, 13%. There was no evidence of declarative acts. That assertive acts dominated all other speech acts in JAK's campaign speeches is in consonance with previous studies (Okafor & Alabi, 2017; Okafor & Olanrewaju 2017; Okoro, 2016; Nkechirinyere, 2016) which find that politicians are prone to employing more assertive acts than any other speech act in their campaign language.

JAK used assertive acts to apprise voters of the state of affairs of the country relative to its past and present through a combination of messages of gloom, fear, despair and optimism to persuade voters. That commissive acts recorded the least frequency of occurrence among the speech acts was rather surprising because campaign speeches are noted to exhibit a high frequency of commissive acts (Al-Bantany, 2013; Boakye, 2013; Olaniyi & Bamigbola, 2012). JAK used the commissive acts, mostly promises, to commit himself to policies and programmes he intended to pursue. However, he might have exercised caution that shrewd voters would reason that promises had become the stock-in-trade of all politicians, to sway voters. Together, these findings do not only provide a lens through which the communicative functions of speech acts could be properly understood, but they also portray JAK as a political campaigner having a preference for assertive acts but circumspection for commissive acts.

Research question three was concerned with a comparative analysis of the rhetoric and pragmatics of JAK's campaign discourse as a challenger and as an incumbent. It stated as follows: *What differences can be drawn between the rhetorical and pragmatic strategies of JAK's campaign discourse as a challenger in 2000 and as an incumbent in 2004?* The study revealed that going into the 2000 presidential elections as a challenger, JAK built his argumentation around the notion of change. This finding upholds the observation by Trent et al. (2012) that calling for change is a dominant characteristic of challengers. JAK fashioned his campaign message on the theme, *agenda for positive change* which became a rallying cry for garnering votes. In his argumentation JAK decried various instances of the NDC's turpitude and poor management of the economy as grounds for change. This argumentation became pivotal to his characterization of NDC as a non-performing government, thereby lending credence to his call for change. By cataloguing the failures of the NDC, JAK employed inductive argumentation to create an opportunity for various audiences to draw general conclusions about the NDC as a failed government that needed to be changed.

In contrast to the *change* agenda in 2000, the study established that as an incumbent in 2004 JAK centred his argumentation on continuity. Having been President for four years, JAK recounted his achievements as the cornerstone of his argumentation for another term of office. This supports the *Functional Theory's* claim that incumbents tend to highlight their achievements in office and use these as a basis to convince voters. Like President Obama's 2008 campaign mantra of "Yes we can", (Goldman, 2011), JAK's arguments sought to create the impression,

“Yes, I said it in 2000 and I have done it”, born out of his ‘so far so good’ slogan.. This equally echoes the assumption by Trent et al. (2012) that incumbents must be able to demonstrate concrete accomplishments while in office; hence, they enumerate their achievements to influence voters.

Another striking finding was JAK’s aggressive rhetoric and vitriolic language resulting in negative campaigning. JAK embarked on a campaign of calumny, making disparaging statements about the NDC, confirming the position held by the *Functional Theory* that challengers attack more than incumbents. JAK’s denigration of the NDC was multifarious: scapegoating, name calling, sneering and malicious labelling which rendered his rhetoric belligerent. While JAK held the NDC culpable for the socio-economic problems of the country, he badmouthed Mills, characterizing him as an effete politician, and the entire NDC as maladroit, corrupt and self-seeking, making Ghanaians impoverished. JAK’s smear campaign is a reflection of the endemic nature of what is called “politics of insults” in Ghanaian political discourse (Asamoah et al., 2014). It is a calculated attempt by politicians to demonize their opponents for defeat and to rally their support base for victory. This finding confirms studies done by DiSanza and Legge, (2016), Hodgins (2015), Tendi (2013), and Bernhardt and Ghosh (2012) who report the extensive use of negative campaigning in the campaign speeches of Donald Trump, Uhuru Kenyatta, Robert Mugabe, Barrack Obama and Mitt Romney respectively. So long as JAK was yearning for change, it is no exaggeration to suggest that negative campaigning became an easier option for him

rather than building his own reputation, granting that he had not had a stint at the presidency to campaign on any past record.

Inversely, as an incumbent, JAK toned down his aggressive rhetoric and adopted, what I refer to as, temperate rhetoric, where he spoke with equanimity, neutrality and less condescending and deferential tone. In what Leff and Utley (2004) call verbal control, JAK carefully departed from incendiary language, name calling, pejorative labelling and blame game which characterized his 2000 campaign communication. This finding contrasts a study by Tenuche (2009) who discovered that President Obasanjo's public statements and speeches as an incumbent seeking re-election were derogatory, intimidating, and menacing, portraying his perception of politics as warfare.

Two factors may have accounted for JAK's less belligerent rhetoric. First as a President, JAK is enjoined to speak "presidentially," implying his rhetoric should inspire confidence, promote peace and unity for national development. Second, JAK was not oblivious of the reality that having been President for four years he had not been able to fulfil all his campaign promises. Therefore, attacking his political opponents was politically imprudent as it had the potential to open the floodgates for counter attacks from the opposition. It is common knowledge that challengers use the incumbent's record in office as a source of attack. JAK's rhetoric of temperance, derived from such awareness, upholds the *Functional Theory's* assumption that incumbents attack less as they have positive and negative accomplishments as a result of their public function.

The comparative analysis of the speech acts revealed that as a challenger JAK performed more assertive acts (54%) as opposed to 49% as an incumbent. This indicates that as a challenger driven by the need for change, JAK highlighted the appalling conditions in the country to stimulate the thoughts of the electorate on those issues. In 2000, JAK might have noticed the perceived dissatisfaction most Ghanaians had about the ruling party. It was, therefore, strategic, as the then most formidable opposition leader, to persistently highlight his change agenda. This could be done best through assertive acts, just as he also communicated his ability to transform the nation through assertives. JAK also performed more directive acts (51%) as a challenger than as an incumbent (34%). This suggests that as a challenger calling for change, JAK charged the electorate with the responsibility of voting for him to transform their lives and the economy as a whole. Such vehemence in calling for specific acts from the electorate was not very much felt in 2004 as JAK might have felt his accomplishments as a president were enough to prompt voters to give him another term of office.

Taken together, the strategies adopted by JAK served as a springboard to launch himself into the presidential race as the most capable and preferred candidate in the 2000 and 2004 elections. From both rhetorical and pragmatic perspectives, given that he won the presidency in the two elections, it is argued that JAK effectively and strategically combined the Aristotelian triad and illocutionary acts for the achievement of his persuasive and communicative intentions.

8.2 Conclusions

Several conclusions can be drawn from the findings. First, the findings enhance our knowledge and understanding of the complexities underlying the dichotomy between challenger and incumbent strategies for persuasive effect. In this direction, the study has confirmed findings by Trent et al. (2012); Anekjumnongporn, (2004); and Benoit (1999) that challengers and incumbents adopt different strategies to suit their contrasting rhetorical space(s). A key strength of the study lies in the new insights it provides into the same candidate's rhetoric as it is metamorphosed by differing campaign exigencies. Arguably as the first study to explore the campaign discourse of the same Ghanaian presidential candidate from two opposing campaign perspectives, the study brings to the fore how the same candidate can effectively adapt himself rhetorically to changing political exigencies to influence voters for two electoral victories.

Second, the study creates our awareness that in a situation where the challenger vs. incumbent dichotomy "resides" in the same candidate, as in the case of JAK, we can assess a candidate's campaign communication from two contrasting perspectives. When the candidate contests as a challenger he/she capitalizes on any available rhetorical space to paint a gloomy picture of the country's socio-economic situation and call for change. Attacking the incumbent's record on issues such as corruption, unemployment, infrastructure, exchange and interest rates, internal and external debts, size of government and many more, is high on the challenger's agenda; but in the event when the same candidate wins power and seeks re-election as an incumbent, the candidate paints a rosy picture about his/her record in office

and calls for continuity. Even when it is obvious that the candidate, as a president, has not been able to improve upon the very things he/she criticized as a challenger, he/she resorts to doublespeak to explain the problems. In such situations one wonders if it is the same candidate who was on campaign platforms in the previous elections raising hopes about a *land flowing with milk and honey*. Even though the present study did not set out to investigate whether or not JAK was able to improve upon what he criticized as a challenger when he became president, the findings suggest that his varying emotions and utterances as a challenger and an incumbent demonstrate the enactment of a candidate with a split disposition.

By using JAK as the focal candidate, the study also fills the gap on the seeming lack of rigorous intellectual attention on his political discourse, particularly campaign discourse. In this way the study will serve as a valuable reference material for any debate on the rhetorical and pragmatic strategies favoured by JAK as he campaigned for votes. Moving the debate forward, it could be concluded that the study serves as a starting point for building a data base on the political discourse of JAK.

An unexpected finding in the study is how JAK singled out Rawlings for vilification. This is strange because in the 2000 and 2004 elections Rawlings was not a candidate, yet he was the only individual from the NDC who received so much bashing from JAK. Even Mills, who was the NDC's presidential candidate, was not denigrated to such an extent. An interesting nuance of JAK's presentation of himself as a virtuous President is the contrast he subtly created between his personal character and that of Rawlings, whom he (JAK) described as a tyrant and dictator.

JAK's self-righteous attitude echoes Proverbs 29:2 which states, "When the righteous increase, the people rejoice, but when the wicked rule, the people groan." Thus, Rawlings was portrayed in the most deleterious term.

However, JAK's antagonistic attitude towards Rawlings could be explicable from his (JAK) apprehension that Rawlings, a former military dictator and founder of the NDC, was the embodiment of military dictatorship, and a win for Mills would pave way for Rawlings to influence the governance of the country. What might have heightened JAK's trepidation was how Rawlings was openly on the campaign platforms vigorously canvassing for votes for Mills. Thus JAK used such persuasive attacks (Benoit, 2017) to create voters' awareness of Rawlings' offensive actions as a military leader during the AFRC and the PNDC eras.

Furthermore, the study provides additional evidence with regard to negative campaigning. JAK's use of aggressive rhetoric and vitriolic attack on his political opponents, especially, when he campaigned as a challenger, raises concerns about political discourse in Ghana. It reflects the extent to which political discourse, particularly campaign discourse, has degenerated into "politics of insults", and mudslinging as reported in studies by Ayi, (2010) and Agyekum, (2013). As a consequence, it is hoped that political parties shall establish political discourse institutions or organize occasional training sessions for their spokespersons, communication teams, and *serial callers* (supporters of political parties who call into media talk-shows to make contributions) in argumentation skills and decorous language rather than hate speech or smear campaigning that brings about antagonism among political actors.

In addition, the findings have theoretical implications. The application of the *Pragma-Rhetorical Theory* to the analysis of JAK's campaign discourse to investigate JAK's communicative and persuasive intentions confirms studies by scholars such as Ilie (1998), Larsson (1998), Larrazabal and Korta (2002), Wei Wei (2013) and Altikriti (2016) who affirm the interface between pragmatics and rhetoric. For instance, Wei Wei equates locutionary act, illocutionary act and perlocutionary act with rhetorical act, rhetorical purpose or rhetorical effect, Altikriti (2016) claims that persuasion is a speech act since to persuade someone means to perform an act through language. Thus, underlying JAK's illocutionary acts are also persuasive gambits; hence, taken together, JAK's strategies constitute persuasive speech acts. Accordingly, the findings have demonstrated the practicality and applicability of the *Pragma-Rhetorical theory* in the analysis of campaign discourse.

8.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings and limitations of the present study, the following recommendations are made. To stimulate scholarship on campaign discourse, political parties should create an electronic database for the campaign speeches of their various presidential candidates for easy accessibility to researchers, as existing in Anglo-American democracies. In such a situation, researchers will have a corpus of campaign speeches on individual presidential candidates from which they can select to explore from different linguistic or rhetorical perspectives to add to the literature on campaign discourse in Ghana. The current state of affairs where

campaign speeches exist in arbitrary circumstances such as with private individuals makes researching campaign speeches daunting and less enticing. It is, therefore, not surprising that campaign discourse is under researched in Ghana.

Moreover, to gain a better understanding of the strategies used by a particular presidential aspirant, researchers should not focus on campaign speeches delivered in only English, to the neglect of others delivered by the candidate in the indigenous language(s). Certainly, campaign discourse in the indigenous languages provides interesting and equivalent rhetorical and pragmatic strategies that could be translated into English, for analysis (see Ayi, 2013). Again, there is no gainsaying that with regard to spontaneous campaign speeches in the indigenous languages of the speech community, most candidates in Ghana display a mastery of oratory skills which could be translated and analysed. The insistence on only English-based discourse constrains the researcher with regard to the kind of data to use in a study of this nature. Consequently, researchers on a topic like the present study should be encouraged to include non-English texts in their analysis for campaign strategies. In such a situation, definitive conclusions regarding strategies used by a candidate could be firmly drawn.

Political office seekers, whether challengers or incumbents, should master strategies for convincing voters to win their support. As Beard (2000) observes, the success of a political speech does not lie in its correctness or truth; rather it is a matter of presenting valid arguments. The study, therefore, provides valuable perceptions into the persuasive functions of campaign discourse, thereby helping

political campaigners to adopt the appropriate rhetorical and pragmatic strategies to advance arguments to persuade voters.

8. 4 Suggestions for Further Research

It would be interesting to conduct a comparative analysis of the types of rhetorical or pragmatic choices made by successful Ghanaian presidential candidates and their unsuccessful counterparts (preferably the closest rival candidates) in the Fourth Republic. Such a comparison will open up vistas for future presidential candidates to know the kinds of strategies favoured by winning candidates and those strategies that are associated with losing candidates. Unlike the present study where one candidate is involved in two elections, a diachronic study spanning the last two decades of presidential elections in Ghana will involve several candidates whose campaign discourse can be compared. Such a study will also reveal the major issues that inform campaign messages, and also whether or not campaign strategies have changed over time. Again, in the context of political discourse, such a study will be in sync with a study by Lim (2002) who finds that the rhetoric of Presidential Inaugural Addresses (PIAs) and annual messages of the American presidency (1789 – 2000) has become anti-intellectual, abstract, assertive, democratic and conversational. Knowledge of such strategies, in the Ghanaian context, will be a useful guide to future political office seekers in the selection of the kinds of strategies in their political discourse, including campaign discourse.

Another area of possible study lies in investigating the role of audience responses in spontaneous or unscripted campaign speeches. Since the present study focused on rhetorical and pragmatic analysis of spontaneous campaign speeches, the role of the audience in the speech situations was not studied. But the role of the audience cannot be overemphasized in campaign speeches, which are essentially persuasive (see Bitzer, 1968; Perelman, 1969). Researching the role of the audience in Ghanaian presidential election campaign will offer illuminating insights into when and how audiences react to certain messages or utterances. For example, researchers could explore what motivates an audience to applaud or yell, what messages trigger boos and catcalls from audience, the reaction of audience when opposing candidates are maligned by their (audience) preferred candidates and vice versa. An awareness of audience responses to campaign speeches will add value to campaign discourse as candidates shall be in a better position to know what issues are salient or trivial to particular audiences.

All in all, the present study has extended our understanding of the challenger versus incumbent strategies, particularly how the differing status of a candidate as a challenger or as an incumbent impact on his campaign discourse and overall rhetorical and pragmatic strategies. Findings emerging from the analysis showed that these strategies hovered around two major themes: change and continuity. When JAK ran as a challenger, he called for change using rhetoric of attack, and self-presentation as a political redeemer. Then, as an incumbent while calling for continuity, JAK toned down his aggressive rhetoric and resorted to equable and restrained rhetoric to highlight his accomplishments and re-emphasize self -

presentation as a performing president. These strategies were reinforced by a predominance of assertive acts to highlight the state of affairs in the country with respect to its past, present and future. Overall, JAK's campaign discourse was a mixed-bag of assertive rhetoric anchored on finger pointing and can-do optimism.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: The Selected Speeches of JAK

Appendix A1: Speech at Tefle, Volta Region, 2000

JAK: Kukrudu

Audience: Eische

JAK: ¹.... NDC has undermined Ghana. ²It has failed to run the economy well. ³It has introduced a lot of corruption in government. ⁴Now they failed; the government and all the members there. ⁵They have failed; it's time for them to go. ⁶But they won't trts people they are. ⁷They talk tribalism. ⁸Now recently they've started talking even religion. ⁹If you listen to the radio, oh! NPP does not respect Muslims and that sort of thing. ¹⁰It's far from the truth and they and they talk NPP against. Volta. No! No! No! ¹¹How is it possible? ¹²Look, nobody can run Ghana well and effectively without taking good account of Volta because if you want to look at the civil service, if you want to look at security services and the forces, if you want to look at the financial sector, I tell you the Volta Region has such a heavy representation in all these.

¹³And not only that, not only that, if you were to travel around Ghana, travel from the coast to the northern most part, the settlement from, people from the Volta Region, all over especially from the farming communities will impress anybody who will be objective and people from Volta Region are as much Ghanaian as people from anywhere else. ¹⁴I know that, so please...???... he is reminding me, I'm from Kumasi, with all due respect to you. ¹⁵I believe the richest Volta Region town in the country is in Kumasi Anloga. ¹⁶If you are talking of artisans, say good carpenters, good builders, good mechanics and you go past the people from Volta

Region, I tell you you're joking so please don't mind them. ¹⁷NDC has failed; it is kicking and biting like like a bad boy who won't attend school. ¹⁸So this year let us all combine, let us all combine to teach NDC a lesson. ¹⁹We combine to teach NDC a lesson. ²⁰Wewe are going to retire him as the former Head of State of Ghana. ²¹If he will live within the laws of Ghana, we will respect him as a former, Head of State, and we hope we will retire him lovely so we will have peace in the country. ²²Thank You

Appendix A2: Speech at Sokpe (1), 2000

¹...Ghana has been independent for 43 years and not once have we changed government by the ballot box. ²This year Ghana must change government through the ballot box and when we see the back of NDC, we see the front of NPP, the NPP will be ??? so God willing end of this year, all of us in NPP will be giving Ghana a new government.

³Why Ghana must have a new government, I think is obvious or should be obvious. ⁴The economy has collapsed. ⁵I'm sure there are many teachers here. ⁶The quality in education has dropped out. ⁷People have no access to health care because it is too expensive. ⁸The youth have no hope of employment when they leave school. ⁹We must come in to restore the economy; and we will do it first by disciplining government and ensuring that the Ministry of Finance and Bank of Ghana harmonize, ¹⁰When the two institutions harmonize well; you will see that government's over-expenditure and corruption in government and that sort of thing will abate; will go down so government will not continue borrowing heavy heavy monies from the Bank of Ghana because when government does that what happens

is that the private sector which should be investing to grow the economy can't get access to loans to do agriculture and to do industry. ¹¹And when agriculture is failing and industry is failing, it means unemployment for the people. ¹²So we will come in with a disciplined government that will not go taking money every time to waste on ACDRs, or that sort of thing; wasteful expenditures! ¹³No, we will discipline ourselves.

¹⁴Rather we want the private sector to have access to loans because it's there that the interest rate will drop; the farmer will get access to loans to do proper agriculture; grow food plentifully for all of us to eat; leave some to be processed by industry and then even export. ¹⁵That's how to enrich the economy. ¹⁶This is what we want to do. ¹⁷And of course the background for such an arrangement will be law and order.

¹⁸We will uphold the rule of law; Timo is here so, so that will make for happiness. ¹⁹We will enshrine the position of citizen. ²⁰The citizen of Ghana is the true royal of Ghana. ²¹We are all equal before the law, and anybody who is a citizen is should be as equal before the laws of Ghana as anybody else. ²²When we get that you'll see that there will be harmony.

²³When we talk of peace, the peace will be a hopeful one and that true peace should reflect prosperity of the people; should reflect the happiness of the people and should reflect the hope for the youth. ²⁴The sort of peace Rawlings and NDC talk about is a hoax. ²⁵It's a fake peace because right now everybody is poor in Ghana. ²⁶A lot of people are afraid in Ghana, so when they talk peace, it's not genuine peace. ²⁷Rather it is the eerie, quiet, silence, say of the cemetery. ²⁸There

in the cemetery it's very quiet. ²⁹Somebody may say it's peaceful, but who wants to go and live in the cemetery? ³⁰So that's not peace; we want to bring genuine peace. ²³So this is why Ghana must have eh a change of government. ³¹And those of us who have put it on ourselves NPP, we should know that the whole of Ghana is looking up to us this year to lead the nation to change the government through the ballot box. ³²So this is our short message and eh of course we are in it together; and I'm appealing to you to give us your fullest support. ³³Let's sacrifice our all to give a good government to Ghana this year.

³⁴It will mean our looking after the polling stations very well. ³⁵This time around the agents should be mature men and women. ³⁶People who can even sit there without asking for "where is the allowance for me?" ³⁷I didn't get food so I'm going to find food" and then you allow people to put bad ballot papers in the box. ³⁸We don't want that; so we want people who will sacrifice; sit at the polling stations and be watchful so that the presiding officers do not juggle the figures like they did before. ³⁹When we do that we get a good vote. ⁴⁰I assure you we are taking government this year. ⁴¹With this I want to thank you for a very warm reception, and as Timo said we all want to go and greet the chief and the elders. ⁴²We promise them that we are going to give them the best government they ever knew in Ghana since independence. ⁴³Thank you.

Appendix A3: Speech at Sokpe (2) 2000

¹I came this morning to introduce myself to you. ²I am the NPP Presidential candidate. ³This year Ghana is going to change its government. ⁴And it will be the first time that this historic change that is coming to come with the help and support of the people of Sokpe. ⁵So today I have to appeal to you that all of you, all of you anybody who is voting here should vote for Kufuor and NPP in the coming elections.

⁶The cedi does not buy anything anymore. ⁷Agriculture, agriculture is failing and the factories in the desired times they are also closing down. ⁸Hospitals, people cannot afford to go to hospitals, a policy that is cash and carry which means if you do not have money and say you're involved in an accident you must die. ⁹This government has failed and the government must go. ¹⁰We are not asking that they should go say violence do say with total disgrace. ¹¹They are our brothers; all we are asking is that, they should retire peacefully and lovely sit aside and allow Kufuor and NPP to come and also serve. ¹²And we want to assure you we have thought through the problems confronting our country and I am promising Ghana. ¹³My manifesto is out that when Ghana votes for me this year in a space of four years the way the economy of Ghana will be restored, the hope that we will bring to the people of Ghana, the quality that we would put back into schools, the recognition of teachers in the system, the way will enable the people not only the teachers all Ghanaians to have access to health and the hope young people will have because we are going to restore agriculture and industry. ¹⁴All of you will come to appreciate that by the end of 4yrs by the time you go to vote again that Kufuor's

4yrs far surpasses NDC'S twenty years in this country and so when I ask you to vote for me, I am asking because we believe the vote is yours. ¹⁵It is the evidence of your power. ¹⁶It is the evidence that you too you count in your own country Ghana. ¹⁷Vote to pick a government that will serve your best interest. ¹⁸This is why we have come to you so please this year people of Sokpe, change the way you vote. ¹⁹Give Kufuor and NPP the chance and you'll live to thank God for the vote you did.

²⁰Before I go, you, you see when you vote for the president you vote for the MP because the MP is link between you and the president. ²¹Then you know that whatever your problems are your problems will be sent to the president and your problems and the president will know. ²²Anything you want the president to know, this will, whether it is afternoon or morning or night. ²³Thank you very much for this meeting, kukurudu!

Appendix A4: Speech at Ho (1) 2000

¹Mr. Chairman, respected members of parliament, etew), papa oo, Nananom, Excellencies, Hon. members of parliament, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, the media fraternity ???... at Ho. ²I ask you to support me because ... democracy. ³Besides freedom and justice are the principles which the government ... in order specifically to enrich lives, property and liberty of each and every individual, every citizen. ⁴This principle is stated around 1950. ⁵I tell you, this indicates resolutions to our target problems.

⁶If government were working, if government were committed to those principles today, I tell you that Ghana will not be in the mess we find ourselves in today and this our party happens to be the direct descendants and successor to this vision. ⁷That is why I'm telling you Ghana is seeking for a way forward. ⁸And the eyes of Ghanaians are on us. ⁹So what we are doing today is not a coincidence. ¹⁰So I believe the hand of destiny is in this conference.

¹¹I believe we should accept the historic call to us to assume the ministry, work day and night to convince the Ghanaian that if truly he or she wants to break out of the trap of poverty and misery then the way forward is here, the NPP. ¹²And we are using this conference to send the whole message out to the Ghanaians. ¹³We are saying the bane of our political system is that we are going to handle and that of vain and short sighted leadership, leadership. ¹⁴We've written a beautiful manifesto now, and we've seen by way of talent, who have written the manifesto.

¹⁵Truly, practically the manifesto is correct. ¹⁶But if you heard Mr. J.H. Mensah, he talked of implementation, but implementation cannot take place without leadership, and it's the leadership, and it's the leadership we must offer to this country, so that, so that the manifesto will have to be implemented not only in the letter but also in spirit. ¹⁷And quoting the spirits, the vision with which our ancestors, the men of vision founded our liberal and democratic tradition. ¹⁸Indeed this vision and if you look at the manifesto again, right from the first page, this statement I read has been put there as the touchstone, the touchstone of the entire manifesto, liberate the energies of the citizens of this country so as to enable them build a property-owning-democracy with the principles to which government and

all laws should be dedicated to so that specifically each and every citizen will be enriched. ¹⁹This is our cornerstone and I believe now that our country is at the crossroads, searching for a way and since we are in place and holding this vision we should let the nation know that we are ready here and now to assume the leadership role.

²⁰After 43 years of independence we, if we look we see that about 37 of them have been monopolized and dominated by leadership, I will describe as rot.

²¹A leadership whose chief attributes especially in the 20 years has been self-centeredness, over centralized government, personality curativeness, divisiveness, divide and rule, a leadership that has tendered to believe and behave that it should be there to determine and lay down the law as to who should have rights. ²²This has been so for 27 of the 43 years of independence and this is where the nation that used to be called Gold Coast has been reduced to, the poor coast. ²³We must address that. Ghanaians are tired. I want to use this platform to tell Ghana that the power to free ourselves from the shackles of this dictatorship, this inhuman government, the power is in that hand. ²⁴The power is our vote. If the people do not vote for us, these ideas will remain on paper as it remained on paper for most of the 43 years of independence and if the Ghanaian should ... the freedom ...

²⁵Their leader said to them development is freedom and if you look and listen carefully, what he was telling the nation was that the nation must develop before it can talk of freedom. ²⁶But who has that right to tell us when we are developed so that you can then tell us we can have our freedom? ²⁷Obviously this leader thinks so, the leader who made that statement that development is freedom,

he was saying it in contradiction to our motto and I'm challenging him that, that is wrong, he has no power. ²⁸In fact, he does not know enough for him to arrogate unto himself the right to lay down when Ghana will be developed before Ghana will be free and when you look at his conduct, even within the past time you will see that this man and his government have incarcerated people without due process of the law.

²⁹In fact, as I speak to you now, the governance of the council of Christian fort, which were built about 2-300 years ago for slavery, the slave trade are still being used by this government putting Ghanaians in there, shaving their head completely, not as a due process of law, but just because this man can think so. ³⁰This is the state of affairs we are seeing. ³¹This is how our business has been killed. ³²This is how the private sector has been alienated and this is why Ghana which used to be Gold Coast is now a poor Coast. ³³This is the truth; this is the reality and we are the subjects of this liberal and democratic tradition. ³⁴We must tell this and tell it plainly to the world and position ourselves, work day and night rally ourselves; accept this historic challenge that it is our duty to remove this government not by force of action but definitely by the power of the thumb so that we can free the people of Ghana for them to move on with their lives ³⁵and if that is to be seen, all the beautiful things we have heard about our spokespeople will become reality, because I tell you, our government will govern as ???... we are not going in there for what we can get for ourselves. ³⁶No! We are going in there for Ghana, for achieving for Ghana so our name can go into the archives of this country as the people who took power to put meaning to the national motto of freedom and

justice. ³⁷That's what we want. ³⁸That's what motivates us and this is our challenge and I want to use this platform to rally up.

³⁸Mr. chairman, my running mate Alhaji Aliu Mahama, my colleagues, my colleagues all of us, every one of us is ... make sure, I was going to say kukurudo, until we all come together, because if we fail in this historic mission, history will not forgive us ... your Hon. ³⁹All of you have got your professions and your homes and your children are well educated and that sort of thing. ⁴⁰You are not going in there just for the material gain. ⁴¹We must move and act; we must work for Ghana. ⁴²So with this Mr. Chairman, I say that to address the leadership of the party and also calling on the membership of the party. ⁴³Please we are too grown to, in this to sit back and wait for logistics to come before we do what we must do, the logistics might not come. ⁴⁴Not too long ago I was criticized for saying that with or without money, this year we are going to win power.

⁴⁵I want to repeat that I know that NDC has imported over 300- 400 hundred brand new 4 wheel err drives, pickups. ⁴⁶I know that they are parading all over the country. ⁴⁷I know that when we have not been able to import even one. ⁴⁸I know that when we move around the country we move with our own private vehicles and at our, our own personal expense. ⁴⁹These people, they dipped their hands into the public purse and just carry on with it. ⁵⁰The district chief executives who should be impartial and neutral chairman of their districts are all agents of the government party and they use public property to campaign. ⁵¹I know that they go around especially in the night passing bribes around and fridges, coloured television,

money and all that to our elders, mothers and people in our rural parts; but I'm telling you, Ghanaians are awake.

⁵²I have been travelling all over the country and I want to tell you, people are listening to us, people are looking to us, not because we have any money to give them, not because we drive around in our 4 wheel drives. ⁵³They are not expecting that of us, but they expect us that we'll bridge doors, speak to them and assure them, that when they support us, we will take them out of the slavery they find themselves. ⁵⁴So the challenge to us, the challenge to us is to accept the, this hardship of what might come by and help. ⁵⁵And I was happy when I believe the minority leader address the private sector that, it's high time they put their hands in their pockets to support. ³⁴I was hoping he will add, to support NPP, because we're the party that will take power and progress the private sector and let these people to listen and give us the chance to use the help they will give us, faithfully, diligently and efficaciously so, that we move our people all around the country to go to polls to vote.

³⁵Already we have prepared ourselves as you have heard. ³⁶We've got the strategies, every polling station of all 20,000 polling stations in Ghana is being manned by a committee. ³⁷We have worked to ensure that all these people will throng at the polling station and additionally we've got the people to go with our message. ³⁸So please grab your file; don't sit back in your chair and talk about logistic any longer, we do not have the time. ³⁹It's only two months or so that, and if you truly value your freedom, especially the youth. ⁴⁰If you want to have any hope that after school we can grant you some gainful employment, then this is your

time to put in your energies. ⁴¹Walk and go from house to house, convince our elders wisely to vote against NDC this time and vote for NPP. Thank you. ⁴²If you do that, if we will do this, I assure you, a miracle will happen this year and it wouldn't be by one of magic, it will be with the blessing of providence.

⁴³The moment in our nation has come where like in ancient Jericho the mere blowing of trumpets brought down thick walls so please let's all join hands, let's stop finding fault in each other so much. ⁴⁴We have a common opponent that is out there knocking us about like the cat and dog and mouse. ⁴⁵Let's rally together and I assure you, they are going to bear witness this year and after. ⁴⁶We are going to finish it this year and after we finish with them, we will put them on the opposition benches to let them learn in humility; learn in humility about governance. ⁴⁷We've suffered long enough, so please let's be charitable with each other, so we can move on.

⁴⁸Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you and the elders of NPP and our friends for the patience you've given me. ⁴⁹Lately we have been treated to slogans of Ghana being the gateway to the sub region of West Africa. ⁵⁰I want to assure you it's mere slogan. ⁵¹Why ECOWAS haven't worked, the way it should have been because of the human factor in the works. ⁵²Where a president can't get on with neighbouring president, naturally it will not work. ⁵³When we get to the border, naturally the other side will suspect you and its security people won't let you go as you should to go about your business ⁵⁴It is when you get a president that will relate with mutual respect to other people, when you get a president that wouldn't suffer from Blind Joe's policy of world leadership, and friends of military

and that sort of thing. ⁵⁵A leader that is down on the ground, weighing the handicap of this society and sacrificing seeing the people from, from the debasing poverty that we are in. ⁵⁶It is then ECOWAS will work and we are offering that so ECOWAS will come about in our time and truly Ghana will become a gateway.

⁵⁷This congress at Ho was also not a coincidence. ⁵⁸When you look at the history of Ghana in the 50's, this region which used to be called trans Volta, the Transco, trans Volta was very instrumental in laying the foundation for the liberal and democratic traditions of our party. ⁵⁹We have men like F.J. Andoh, Kweku Ayitteh, I think Rev. Ametorblah, Yaw Ohene's and so and so forth. All of them contributed to build our party, Mordeshio Akpalo and others.

⁶⁰Unfortunately for us with time somehow, somehow the party drifted from this anchor that should have continued to remain. ⁶¹We cannot sit by and allow this bridge to continue. ⁶²So we are setting it as our responsibility to come, come here to Ho, stretch out our hands to the people of the Volta Region. ⁶³Remind them of the happy history that used to be and ask that they should kindly put aside their fears and suspicion of us and also stretch out their hands to join with us because it is when our party is government will they have the full representation of this region that Ghana will move and move well. ⁶⁴Otherwise there will be no happiness in this country and we must begin now.

⁶⁵So I'm calling on the chiefs who are here, Togbe oo, mama oo, I'm very proud and honoured that you have come in your numbers in full pageantry. ⁶⁶I see linguist lingering. ⁶⁷Please accept our word in good faith. ⁶⁸We are promising; I don't swear, but can still promise that when you help put us in power you'll come

to accept that we will not just post. ⁶⁹You'll come to look on our government as the best government your people have had since independence. ⁷⁰We are not going to be like those who stand on platforms and boldly describe the region as their world bank, meaning whether they develop or serve you well or not, you will continue to vote for them. ⁷¹They've been in power for 20 years, what do you have to show for it.

⁷²I was at Ajachisi two weeks ago. ⁷³I was asking to see the foundation works of the sea defence wall. ⁷⁴There was nothing to see, meanwhile, billions of cedis have gone down the drain. ⁷⁵I drove by Aveyime. ⁷⁸We heard of the rice project, rice project, that we have contributed towards saving the one hundred million dollars or so every year we use to bring in rice. ⁷⁹The fields are lying idle but meanwhile 180 billion cedis has been lost in this so-called project.

⁸⁰I have travelled through the length and breadth of this region. ⁸¹I know all routes from Tobra through Babile to Krachi and all those places. ⁸²From Krachi Nkwanta to Damonko, tells of a not too good case and when I drive and think, so this, the place this man could say, ancient World Bank and this is a region made up of very, very intelligent individuals, citizens of this country. ⁸³There, there is virtually dominating the public service of Ghana. ⁸⁴If it's the financial sector, if it's the police, if its academia, they are everywhere and I wonder what it is, what spell has this man cast on the region for them to continue to shut their eyes to the abuses. ⁸⁵We must put a stop to that and we have come today, to you, to appeal to you. ⁸⁶We've opened our hearts to you, please accept us and in the interest of Ghana, in the interest of the future.

Appendix A5: Speech at Ho (2), 2000

¹This evening all I want to do here is to thank all of you, for giving us, for giving us, a triumphant congress. ²We are starting our victory march here at Ho. ³Today we launched our campaign. ⁴We've launched our campaign finally today at Ho and I assure you, this campaign will be a non-stop campaign till we win victory on the 7th of December.

⁵Kukurudu, kukurudu! ⁶Today at this conference, we have made history, we have made history. ⁷In one stroke we have reunited the party with the Volta Region and the North is also here ... look at him , he is ... the government that is coming this year is going to be an all-inclusive government. ⁸All the sectors of government will be united... and all we are asking, all we are asking.

⁹You have all noticed, the many, many brand new 4 wheel vehicles NDC has put on the road. ¹⁰They have imported over 300 vehicles. ¹¹Each one of them costing about a 100 million cedis, while there is so much unemployment in our youth, while the government says that there is no money. ¹²Please let's show NDC, let's show NDC this year, Ghana is not for sale.

¹³Kukurudu, kukurudu! ¹⁴Let us show NDC, let us show NDC, that at long last, that at long last all the people of Ghana are awake and that the people are going to put meaning into our national motto of freedom and justice. ¹⁵The NDC has enjoyed monopoly of power for 20 years. ¹⁶What they have done to this country is to put deep fear in us and also to make us poor. ¹⁷They appoint themselves, having no ideas at all. ¹⁸Those people who went into power wearing 'chale wote' are now all billionaires in hard currency.

¹⁹Kukurudu kukurudu! ²⁰Thank you, thank you. ²¹So, so, please, please.
¹³As I look around I see so many young, young intelligent men and women. ¹⁴Please
it is your future that is at stake. ¹⁵It is your future that is at stake. ¹⁶Now when you
leave schools you have no hope of a gainful employment. ¹⁷By the time you are 30
you are all exhausted and you look like old people. ¹⁸We must put a stop to that and
the time will come, the time will come when this year, you use your vote wisely;
and not only that when you have to change government through the ballot box for
the first time since independence. ¹⁹When you vote this way, I assure you all this, I
assure you all the politicians in Ghana will let...

²⁰This is important listen, listen I want us to change government through the
ballot box this year to teach the politicians. ²¹And when I talk of politicians, I
include all, all of us here. ²²We must learn that Ghana our country, has come of age
and that when Ghana honours you by putting you in government, that Ghana
expects you to deliver, to make lives better for the citizens of this country. ²³So that
when the politicians get into government and they forget themselves and they
impoverish the country, they frighten the country, the politicians must know that
the Ghanaian will vote them out of power...

²⁴Kukurudu! ²⁵It is only kukurudu it is only this, it is only this that will put
quality back into the government of our country. ²⁶So this year, let us start, let us
begin, let us demand, that our votes count and give the NPP the chance to take
power this year and I assure you, and I assure you by the end of the 4th year of the
NPP government you will all bear witness that 4 years of Kufuor in this government
far exceeds the 20 years of that people ...

Appendix A6: Speech at Abokobi (1st December 2004)

¹ Nii Abokobi, Naamee, my friends of Abokobi, school children, I'm very happy to be here today. ² I have been given to understand I am an honorary citizen of this town I want to thank our chiefs and all the citizens here for doing me this great honour because I look on this town as a very historic place where, as history teaches it, the Bible was translated by the great Rev. Zimmerman and the Presbyterian mission some hundred and fifty years ago. ³ In context of our country Abokobi evicts very high and that I can call myself on honorary citizen here is much of great pridecalm atmosphere, the well-laid out town obviously very clean the ...discipline. I could feel it, and I'm not surprised Rev. Zimmerman chose this town instead of much bigger places elsewhere in Ghana to come and reside to translate the Bible.

⁴As you all know we have a national election coming exactly a week from today, and we are going to select or elect a President as well as parliament. ⁵And even you also know that I'm the NPP presidential candidate. ⁶As candidate I' have been travelling all over our country; and I can say that now I have toured all the ten regions of our country, as I am speaking, over the past two months. ⁷What I have learnt along the way is that all our people, regardless of tribe, religion, sex or age we are all committed. ⁸They want three things: first, they want national unity; second they want peace; third, they want prosperity. ⁹I believe the pattern of votes next week will show the perception of the people as a whole as to which of the contesting leaders and their parties will give the people these three things. ¹⁰ I have the honour and privilege to serve our country the past four years as a President.

¹¹Everywhere I have been, the chiefs and people have been very, I'd say, hasty to recount the performances of my government to me (applause). ¹²They rush to let me know that within the past four years our country has been at peace generally with itself. ¹³Secondly, that within the four years this government has been able to distribute or share the national cake without discrimination or prejudice even in spite of ... the 2000 election. ¹⁴Those who didn't vote for me and my party still got their fair share of the cake and this has been...

¹⁵And from these people we are also strongly getting the impression that Kufuor and his government are the best agents to unite Ghana. ¹⁶And so on this basis the impression comes to me very strongly that Tuesday's election will show a result that will resound, resound greatly all over Ghana and beyond. ¹⁷I am not going to use the word "landslide" but I wouldn't be surprised that my government will be returned with.....(applause). ¹⁸So I want to thank Nii Abokobi for commending the government so gloriously for performance.

¹⁹The district capital for this newly created district, the Ga East, that has been brought here has come because of the history of Abokobi and also because and obviously this should be a place to go and develop a new governmental community. ²⁰I sense if we should start a district here the district will prosper and I believe that informed government in its decision to **store** the capital here. We expect the membership of the district to be such as would be guided by the very strong vision to better the lot of all the citizens here. ²¹We expect the Assembly to be aware that this area is part of the very fast growing national capital. ²²Accra now has a population of about 4 million. ²³We anticipate within the next decade that

Accra may move to about 6 million, and this area will definitely become very much part of this fast growing national capital. ²⁴We want an Assembly here that would anticipate the development and plan this area so well and efficiently that by the time the capital stretch here we will have a very wholesome very sanitary area where citizens of our national capital will feel at home and live comfortably.

²⁵The tradition of education and learning that is firmly planted here by the Presbyterian Church, we want to continue. ²⁶The our chief is asking that government should support the area with secondary and technical school. ²⁷Chief shouldn't worry at all because it's government's policy that once a district is set up then the area becomes entitled, I stress entitled to at least one quality secondary (applause) school, a school we call model secondary school. ²⁸And so now that you are a District it should go without saying that the school will be established here for the entire District, of course with Abokobi as the centre, headquarters.

²⁹And on this perhaps I should draw your attention to the new educational policy of this government. ³⁰ The next thing I want to talk about will be the primary or the basic school plus secondary. ³¹Government's policy is that all Ghanaian children from age four should remain at school till they are age sixteen, and that the cost of keeping children in school will be borne by the state (applause). ³²This is a policy that will ensure there is no discrimination among our children. ³³We know that quite a sizable percentage of our parents are illiterate and coming from illiterate backgrounds. ³⁴So if we talk of equality of opportunity for the children of this country and government does not inform to ensure children coming from handicap backgrounds, illiterate honors are given an early introduction to education, this pre-

school, at age four, then by the time they are six to start primary these education will not be handicapped compared to those children who are coming from literate homes. ³⁵ So government says from age four all children will be exposed to pre-school education at the expense of the state so we are there to ensure equality of opportunity for the children. ³⁶When we start the...

³⁷Then into secondary that which we call senior high is not going to go for the JSS, SS thing which has failed. ³⁸There's something in a name as far as we are concerned. ³⁹So we are going to call secondary, senior high school. ⁴⁰From age sixteen on for about four years senior high will encompass four departments. ⁴¹The the grammar school type will be there as a department then there will be technical senior high which is still part of secondary and which is what I believe will coincide with the appeal being made by our chief. ⁴²And then there will be the agricultural department because we are largely an agricultural economy and we want to infuse our agricultural practices with science and technology so we need to be properly resourced at the secondary level; and then there will be vocational also at the secondary level so this is it. ⁴³At that level the state definitely will interact or will partner with the parents and private sector through...

⁴⁴These children after age sixteen that wouldn't show the capability to continue to the senior high, the state is coming out with a new concept which we want to describe as institutionalized apprenticeship where skills will be taught to these children who otherwise must be described as dropouts. ⁴⁵With that idea there should not be any dropouts. ⁴⁶So when after age sixteen selection is being made for children to go into the senior high schools, those who could not make it will all be

channelled into this institutional apprenticeship entities, and there life skills like who would want to go into wood work or mechanics or electrical whatever, hotel service, industries, they will be given a one-year formalized training to serve as the first step into apprenticeship after which we would expect the private sector to absorb them so they learn on the job. ⁴⁷This is the type of educational system that the government is bringing to Ghana. ⁴⁸These policies will be implemented over a ten-year period because we first want to take time to ensure the quality education we ascribe to be established firmly, very well into the fabric of our society.

⁴⁹Of course to succeed in all these, teacher training becomes the key. ⁵⁰We want to get the quality teachers in sort of required numbers. ⁵¹We want the children-teacher ratio to be correct. ⁵²We do not want to continue with the present system where you go into some classrooms one teacher is serving ninety to hundred children. ⁵³If we continue like this it won't work so even as we talk of teacher training so these are the things that government has planned for Ghana, and when I started my tour of Greater Accra, from here, Abokobi I need to sort of let all of you into the very good plans the government has for the people of our country so that's it.

⁵⁴And I want to thank Nii Abokobi and our chiefs for granting thirty acres for the development of this secondary school that is surely coming (applause). ⁵⁵Then I'd also want to remind you of some entitlements that come by as district capital. ⁵⁶This policy that all the district capitals in Ghana should have tarred, tarred roads so that Abokobi now, perhaps within the next year will be serviced with tarred

roads all over (applause). ⁵⁷You already have electricity here and I want to believe that telecommunications are also here otherwise you are entitled to be connected by Ghana Telecom; they will work on that. ⁵⁸And the clinic a district is entitled to a district hospital so this too government will work on. ⁵⁹I have to tell you all this to let you know the import of the elevation that has become yours. ⁶⁰As district capital you should expect all these things. ⁶¹And of course we believe, we believe, believe you would justify the confidence we have reposed in you.

⁶²Yea, but before I thank you and resume my seat I have to do a very political work. ⁶³As I said I'm the NPP Presidential candidate for next week's election. ⁶⁴And as such I'm appealing to the chief and all the voters here to vote for me so I can lead the NPP (applause). ⁶⁵I can lead the NPP to give Ghana the positive change chapter two that will enrich our country the more, better quality of life for our people. ⁶⁶And when you vote for the president you also need to vote for a very good Member of Parliament (applause). ⁶⁷And for this consistency the party has selected Peter Amoah here (applause) whom I'm introducing to you (applause). ⁶⁸This is a man who knows, has lived in the constituency for a very long time. ⁶⁹He knows the area very well. ⁷⁰He is very energetic; will be a very good advocate with access to the President and government to keep on reminding the President and government of all the needs of the area here so government would continue to give Ga East its fair share of the national cake. ⁷¹With this I want to thank our chiefs, elders and all our citizens here for according me this welcome and honour. ⁷²May God bless us, Amen.

Appendix A7: Speech at Jirapa, 2004

¹Elders, ladies and gentlemen, the youth and children, I'm very happy to be among you this evening. ²As the acting president of the Jirapa traditional area said, this is not the first time I'm coming here. ³I have been visiting over the years. ⁴I'm not a stranger here in Jirapa or Lambusie. ⁵But today I'm impressed first, by the large gathering that I see here around me here. ⁶I sense an air of tolerance and welcome among all of us here. ⁷I thank you for meeting me with this spirit. ⁸Second, I'm impressed by???? ⁹As we drove into town I couldn't help admiring the projects I saw around. ¹⁰Positive change is in evidence here. I thank chiefs and all here for appreciating what government has been trying to do within the past four years. ¹¹Government appreciates the acknowledgements Jirapa Lambuashie District is making of all the projects undertaken by our government so far. ¹²What hit me among the many positive change our chiefs said was the fact that the chiefs and people appreciated the deepening of decentralization. ¹³We are democrats and we do not want to bottle up power in Accra. ¹⁴We want power to go into the districts of Ghana. ¹⁵And here I think government will want to thank the very efficient and responsible District Chief Executive, Dr. Winnie Diaka, daughter of the soil here. ¹⁶We have set currently under the ten regions all over Ghana. ¹⁷It isn't everywhere we go the chiefs and people commend the workings of the district assembly system; but here this evening we've heard from our chiefs that the assembly has been functioning well for the benefit of the people here in the district. ¹⁸So I think it is right to commend this lady. ¹⁹The ladies are coming into their own. ²⁰We are into the era of gender balance so even if as the men take a step we should all encourage

the ladies to also take a step. ²¹We go side by side, and we have one in evidence here. ²²I congratulate Winnie.

²³Government came in promising Ghana this government will not discriminate on the basis of the support we got. ²⁴Last time around, our side of the political divide was pained in that we had hoped we would get real support from Upper West because the roots of our political tradition are here, the Northern People's Party of old in the 50s had its roots here. ²⁵When I say this I'm sure the others know. ²⁶We talk of Chief Dombo; we talk of Abayifa Kabo; we talk of Jato Kaleo, B.K Adama and a lot of others. ²⁷On the platform with me now is the Council of State member, Mr. Bin Sally; they all came from this corner of Ghana. ²⁸That's how we got our roots. ²⁹It was that party converted into the United Party, which begat Progress Party, which begat PFP and now PFP has changed into NPP. ³⁰So this is our roots and we were hoping we would get your help here to establish democracy throughout Ghana. ³¹Unfortunately we were disappointed. ³²But that did not discourage this government from doing its duty. ³³We take government as a mechanism to serve the people and so today my heart is warmed by the acknowledgement by our chiefs, all of you that this government has not discriminated on lines of party support; we will not do it. ³⁴But I want to remind you that it isn't every government that will operate on the basis that this government is operating; selfless service to the people, and since we all want a good life since we all want a positive change, I'll urge the chief and people here next time around to be at least even handed to translate the acknowledgement into positive support

of government that will really serve the people without selfishness, without intimidation and without bullying. ³⁵This is what I want to say.

³⁶The only plea our chiefs have made is that government should hasten the tarring of the road from Bamboi through Bole onto Hamile because it is an international road. ³⁷I want to state here and now that this work is going on. ³⁸Contractors are already working from Bamboi to Bole and then to follow up we just came from Babile where the road is continuing, I believe with a 5km tarred stretch. ³⁹What I told our friends there, and also at Lawra I told the chiefs and people that attended the Kobina Festival. ⁴⁰I told them that if it is the will of God for this government to continue next year, then the work will continue on that road non-stop to link Ghana with Burkina Faso. ⁴¹ And when that road is in progress, I assure you, Jirapa is a very very important centre for development. ⁴²The road linking you to Lawra will also be made. ⁴³All right I have first been reminded by the minister that Babile side of the road has also been awarded on contract already.

⁴⁴I want to remind the people of Jirapa, and with Jirapa I think I link Lambusie, that your towns here are very important because they are administrative centres. ⁴⁵They are market centers, great educational centres; you must always be mindful of this. ⁴⁶And as I said before, please let's be open minded. ⁴⁷You judge people by their track record, their performance. ⁴⁸We shouldn't go and support people just because, say, they came from here. ⁴⁹They may be from here, but when you give them the chance, they do not use the chance to serve you. ⁵⁰I believe we should all pluck courage and say it. ⁵¹Tell them to the face. ⁵²Let's call spade spade. ⁵³People got the opportunities; they didn't use the opportunity to serve. ⁵⁴Give

another person the chance and if the person is serving like it has been acknowledged here, then I say encourage this other person. ⁵⁵That is the way to compare and contrast. ⁵⁶After all what do we want? ⁵⁷We just want an effective and efficient service from government and you are getting it so just encourage the people who can do it to continue.

⁵⁸Jirapa Secondary School as I said because it is in a very vital educational centre, it is going to be upgraded. ⁵⁹It is the district secondary school we are upgrading for you here to bring the quality at par with those of some of the best schools in Ghana. ⁵²When I talk of the best schools, you all know them. ⁵³TAMASCO, Prempeh College, Achimota, Adisadel we want Jirapa sec.sch to attain that standard so the youth of this area can also benefit.

⁵⁴As we all know this year is election year. ⁵⁵In one and half months' time our country is going to go to the elections to choose a president and also a new parliament. ⁵⁶My government is committed to giving Ghana a peaceful free and fair election because we believe through the election the people exercise their sovereign right of choice. ⁵⁷The right belongs to the people to decide who should be their government and this government will not do anything to steal the right or subvert it from the people. ⁵⁸And the government that is in office is undertaking to guarantee free and fair election. ⁵⁹It should follow that all the other parties should also be committed. ⁶⁰We want free fair and peaceful elections. ⁶¹And here I want to appeal to our chiefs and all of you to ensure that all the people seeking whatever office, when they come here they all talk in peace; they do not come only to heap insults and intimidate. ⁶²Anybody who comes to do that really hasn't got any

message for you and you mustn't follow that type of person. ⁶³You should encourage all of us, the politicians to talk peace, to talk fairness, to be humble to show humility to the people of Ghana. ⁶⁴That is the way for our country to live on peace and also to make the positive change we all want. ⁶⁵So with this I want to thank our chiefs and all of you for waiting patiently for me and for giving me attentive ear. ⁶⁶May God bless all of us. Thank you.

Appendix A8: Speech at Nadowli (2004)

¹Kaleo Naa, our revered fathers, the chiefs of Nadoli District. ²The people of Nadoli District, I want to add my voice to that of the Regional Minister in expressing my gratitude for your patience. ³I understand some of you gathered as early as 10 in the morning. ⁴You must have seen me drive through to Lawra stopping along the way to commission street lights in Babile and continuing to Jirapa and this is why I am late, so understand. ⁵I had to rush in myself to meet the aspiration of all our people. ⁶This is why I still thank you for your patience; thank you.

⁷I think much of what I intend to say has been said by the Regional Minister, so I won't go over too much but I want to start my statements with some happy news to our chiefs and all of you on health. ⁸Monday, that's tomorrow, Government is dispatching 2 Cuban doctors to take over at the hospital to serve you. ⁸These 2 doctors are part of 20, a team of 20, 20 doctors that are being sent to Upper West to man our health institutions. ⁹It's a pity it's getting more and more difficult to get Ghanaian health personnel to come up here to serve our country. ¹⁰Government is

having to, I was going to use the word battle, but that is not the right word. ¹¹We are doing, running negotiations with our health personnel so as to engage their attention to continue to stay in our country. ¹²We've got some way to go, but I believe with your support Ghana will succeed so thank you.

¹³I just went to draw your attention to a reality. ¹⁴The reality is that your district which is a junction district is growing, ever growing in importance in the scheme of things in Upper West. ¹⁵You should be conscious of that and because you are developing into such a critical crossroads I believe you have to be extra responsible where you are. ¹⁶You must be conscious and you must open arms to all the people who have to cross here. ¹⁷You must be welcoming. ¹⁸You must be polite and civil. ¹⁹You must represent what Ghana is aspiring to be. ²⁰We say Ghana is the gateway to West Africa. ²¹If you are hostile, you think anyone will want to come through your portals? ²²And I believe Nadowli District is put in the same spot as Ghana.

²³As we drove in we saw the long chain of buses and trucks and so on and so on. I am sure all the people travelling will want to be well serviced here; and fortunately the roads are made, we have street lamps. ²⁴The hospital as I said is being attended to. There are other things government will want to do here. ²⁵Because you live on the high road or you live on the high way that is international, Ghana- Burkina, Ghana – Mali, these days all the heavy trucks coming through here and we want you to develop responsibly. ²⁶Government will support you and I want your district to be extra efficient. ²⁷Where we are coming from just now, we heard some praise of the decentralization and what is the meaning of decentralization?

Decentralization is the spread of state power, from the centre to the district so that the people feel the presence and effect of government; the people come to own government. ²⁸If that place can talk of effective decentralization, then I can say Nadowli, being the junction town should display more of decentralization.

²⁹Responsible governance of the people, by the people and for the people.

³⁰We want to say that here. ³¹Kaleo Naa has praised government for what we have been able to do within a short space of 4 years. ³²Naturally we take the credit for it and we are enjoying it but government is made of people. And when people serve and they are acknowledged and encouraged then they want to serve more. ³³So when we hear good things being said about what we have been able to do, we want to believe it's not just the chiefs telling us, we want to believe the people of Nadowli, good people of Nadowli will all join the chiefs in acknowledging the little we have been able to do so far. ³⁴And if this is the appreciation among you, then I will say, show your appreciation in practical terms, support this government and the government will continue to serve you.

³⁵All the things Kaleo Naa has said, they are on the heart of government.

³⁶If you are talking of agriculture, government is committed to modernizing agriculture, modernizing agriculture means mechanizing it, applying science and technology to agriculture using irrigation to ensure year round farming. ³⁷The chief complained of erratic rainfall endangering crops; government is very committed.

³⁸In Lawra this afternoon, I had the occasion to tell the gathering, big gathering, Nadom Naa, has now been made the chairman of the national irrigation board. ³⁹He's been out there and we know that the people in this corner of Ghana want to be

serviced by good irrigation. ⁴⁰I was reminded of the Kamba River and the proposal to dam it. ⁴¹If we have Nadom Naa as chairman of the irrigation board living so close to the river and also living around here and he can't see the problem confronting us as agricultural people, then how can anybody come from anywhere else in Ghana to tend to this problem? ⁴³This should convince you that government is concerned about the fate of rain-fed agriculture in this corner of the country.

⁴⁴The accidents on our highways, I want to believe that you are all aware that this government is building a legacy of good road making. ⁴⁵Travel anywhere in Ghana now and you will see roads being made, being made to first class standards. ⁴⁶The roads may be good, but if the drivers are careless the accidents will continue. ⁴⁷So I like the suggestion that the MTTU and the courts should be up and doing.

⁴⁸Government on its part will keep on reminding the authorities concerned to put in the discipline required. ⁴⁹So that our drivers should be careful and the passengers too must insist on their right. ⁵⁰If you see a driver drinking, don't go on his vehicle and you must report him to the police; it's important. ⁵¹If a driver is overloading don't go in the vehicle. If you are inside ask to step down and again report him. ⁵²These are the sort of things to do to ensure that we cut down on accidents.

⁵³Kaleo Naa reminded us of the government's offer to upgrade a secondary school in the district. ⁵⁴I sensed some objection in the crowd when the chief reminded us that it was the Kaleo Secondary School that was picked. ⁵⁵I heard somebody say "no, no!" You cannot have a big town like Nadowli here going without good schools. ⁵⁷So Nadowli by virtue of being a district capital will be seen

to somehow. ⁵⁸You will get your deserve all right in terms of good education. But let me add, you should be open minded. ⁵⁹We can't bring all the good things coming to your district to the capital alone. ⁶⁰So sometimes we deliberately put some of the good things outside the capital. ⁶¹After all we are talking of decentralization and dissolution. ⁶¹Sharing of power, so if today you hear Kaleo Secondary School don't object because you as capital you have been by-passed, no, no your capital with the district assembly here with the population exploding here will definitely get some, very ,very good schools that will compare with others elsewhere. ⁶²But it will be wrong for you to say that the capital must be served to the full before others are looked at. ⁶³So you shouldn't worry. ⁶⁴I am going to go back and advice the Ministry of Education to look at the situation here and to see how Kaleo and Nadowli, will be serviced by good schools.

⁶⁵I'm sure you heard how Professor Kansanga was introduced, Minster Science and Environment. Kaleo Naa said, two years ago, I came you requested you need a science resource center and so far you haven't heard anything. ⁶⁶You've got the whole Minister coming from here manning science. ⁶⁷Why you can't get Prof. Kansanga to come and look at this problem for you I can't understand. So this is not a problem at all. ⁶⁸And I heard Professor Kansanga wanted to be a Member of Parliament too. ⁶⁹It's up to you to ensure that a good man like that finds his way to parliament and perhaps will continue as a Minister for you. ⁷⁰I thank our chiefs and all of you for also appreciating what we've done by providing the Nadowli secondary with a bus. ⁷¹If government wouldn't, will not improve that school, it

would not give you the bus. ⁷²That the bus has come shows that government is concerned to make the school very good so that is one, then the preschool. ⁷³I'm sure you have heard of the new educational policy that is in the offing. Soon Ghana will have a new system. ⁷⁴The FCUBE will include the preschool because we believe that is the way to ensure equality of opportunity for all the children of Ghana. ⁷⁵Not all of us are coming from literate homes and we are starting formal education at the age of 4, to ensure that even those children whose parents are not literate will be exposed to some sort of formal education early so they are not handicapped against the 'dadamba' and so forth and so on. ⁷⁶The privileged children of Ghana, so this is what we are going to do and I thank the chiefs and people for appreciating the good sense of government in this respect.

⁷⁷Kaleo Naa talked of the impending elections. ⁷⁸Truly they are very important elections and I'm sure you have heard that this government is committed to free and fair elections. ⁷⁹I'm sure that you are all witnesses to the way the President and his ministers have conducted themselves so far. ⁸⁰We have not thrown our weight about. ⁸¹We have not been consumed by power. ⁸²We are not power drunk. ⁸³We do not use abusive language. ⁸⁴We do not threaten and intimidate the people of Ghana. ⁸⁵We believe our positions make us servants of our country we are citizens of Ghana and we want to lead by example.

⁸⁶And this is why I have taken it on myself to say it everywhere I have a chance to address the people, that we want a peaceful free and fair elections this year, we want this because we believe power belong to the people if Ghana and the you vote to give your power on terms, I stress on terms. ⁸⁷You give the power on

condition to the people you elect to go to the presidency and also to parliament.

⁸⁸When you vote you do not abandon your right your power to somebody to take it and run away with it. ⁸⁹You gave us power through the ballot paper to Kufuor to be President on instruction that Kufuor should go into the presidency and serve Ghana, make Ghana better to bring about positive change.

⁹⁰When you vote for people aspiring to go to parliament like professor Kansanga here or to Ambrose Derry or Dr. Dibaga. Is he around here? Please where are you hiding? Come forward, all these people are public servants. ⁹¹They are teaching in the universities and practicing law for government to promote the development of our country. ⁹²If you should vote for these people and I hope you will, what you are doing is sending them into government into parliament to go and render good services to you as individuals and to the community as a whole. ⁹³In fact, my tour this time wasn't to campaign it wasn't motivated to campaign. ⁹⁴I came to inspect things myself, because we see election time as time for accounting for the stewardship you gave us. ⁹⁵And if you are going to account, then you must be sure of your figures the work you've done. ⁹⁶So as I travel around, I ask the regional ministers, ask the district chief executive what have we done in your district, what have we done in your region. ⁹⁷So that when I mount the platform for campaign I will go check out and tell the people of Ghana. ⁹⁸You gave me four years to manage our country within 4 years. ⁹⁹There are the achievements, I want you to see and if you are pleased, then to renew the mandate to me to continue for our country. ¹⁰⁰This is what the whole thing is about. ¹⁰¹It's not about warfare or threat or insists or twisted facts, no. so I'm happy ar advising all of us to behave

properly in these elections and to cast our votes with a sense of responsibility.

¹⁰²Who doesn't want positive change? ¹⁰³Who can say he or she doesn't like good schools or good drinking water or good roads or community at peace with itself?

¹⁰⁴The police they must be mobile. ¹⁰⁵When we assumed office the whole of Ghana, police had only 100 vehicles as I speak with you, now they have over 500 vehicles all within 4 years. ¹⁰⁶So up and down in the country everywhere you go, people are saying it's peaceful. ¹⁰⁷It's when you have peace that you can hope for development. ¹⁰⁸You can have all the money in the world. ¹⁰⁹If you have no peace you cannot enjoy the money. ¹¹⁰It's that a fact or not? ¹¹¹So these elections are important.

In West Africa, everybody is looking up to Ghana now throughout Africa almost. ¹¹²In fact, I will say and it's up to us. ¹¹³To you and to me and to all of us as citizens of Ghana to be aware and to appreciate the way the world is seeing us, so we'll continue to do our things in an orderly way. ¹¹⁴Go to the polls vote no matter the part you want to support. ¹¹⁵Vote in peace. ¹¹⁶Vote by your conscience.

¹¹⁷Once you've done that and we count, wherever the majority will go that's where we all go and acknowledge our government; that's all it's not warfare. ¹¹⁸So I thank you for your patience, you've displayed today in waiting for so long for me. ¹¹⁹What government has been able to do so far, I tell you is only the foundation works and God willing even better things are coming ahead. ¹²⁰With this I wish you all happy elections and positive change in the future. ¹²¹May God bless us all.

¹²²Thank you.

Appendix A9: Speech at Mamprobi, Accra (Saturday, December 4, 2004

¹Ghana is a very beautiful country. ²Ghana has everything to make it grow into a beautiful big and rich country. ³ Happiness is back in the land. ⁴As I look around here, I see it and I feel it. ⁵People are very happy, and I thank God for that. ⁶I thank all Ghanaians for giving me this opportunity to lead this potentially rich country for four years; for giving me the chance.

⁷Some people, will kill, will rob, will insult, will do all the wrong things to try to lead the country. ⁸But I didn't have to do any of these things. ⁹The people just trusted me and voted for me. ¹⁰...All Ghanaians are the same people. ¹¹We share certain traits. ¹²I know Ghana well. ¹³I know Ghana so well... I believe I can tell you all the people in spite of tribe, in spite of religion, even sex and age. ¹⁴What they all said. was all Ghanaians want peace. ¹⁵All of them they want unity of the country, and of course all of us want prosperity.

¹⁶This year ... the people of Ghana are going to vote on the basis of which of the parties can provide, can lead the nation to achieve these three things. ¹⁷I told you that ... if that region didn't support NPP earlier, they all ...they agree that it is only NPP that can lead the nation to achieve these three things.

¹⁸Our brothers in the NDC, the truth is that they don't even have a message. ¹⁹They don't even have a message. ²⁰They are creating more and more nervousness. ²¹You see there is a proverb that says, "A drowning man catches even a straw". ... ²²That is what is happening to NDC (applause). ²³We know their leaders. ²⁴We know politically they are sinking and just like them. ²⁵You know them especially,

their main leader. ²⁶That is his nature. ...²⁷The question, question to ask them now is "Who is their candidate?" ²⁸Who is the NDC candidate?

²³NPP, we agree. ²⁴We speak with the same voice. ²⁶We tell you we are going to lead Ghana to achieve peace, to achieve unity, to achieve prosperity. ²⁷NDC has been talking at ... purposes. ²⁸We'll deal with these people. ²⁹What NDC has done to itself is that because they haven't been straight and they are not sincere with the people, they have given themselves a divided front. ³⁰What the people of Ghana are asking and they want to know is, who is the real candidate of NDC? ³¹Nobody knows. ³²Today the real leader will go and stand somewhere and say vote for the man on the poster because when you vote him, you are voting for his party. ³³He is the real leader. ³⁴Vote for him and vote for me. ³⁵What sort of life is that? ³⁶Ghanaians are too serious a people. ³⁷We want to stabilize our country. ³⁸We want Ghana to become truly a land of peace and harmony; so we won't vote for a picture, a mask when the person behind it is different from the mask. ³⁹We won't do that. ⁴⁰His master ruled Ghana 20 years as a tyrant; a man who ? the democratic constitution and yet stood on platform to say that democracy was no good. ⁴¹Is that the master we should go back for? ⁴²So they have no message; they are confused and the people of Ghana will reject them on Tuesday. ⁴³That will be a heavy defeat so they will know.

⁴⁴What I want to say is, you gave us four years and NPP has used the four years so well, so efficiently. ⁴⁵The achievements are monumental! ⁴⁶2000, anyone who is objective will tell you; November, the debt, the external debt of Ghana stood at 6.7 billion when we came. ⁴⁷When NPP government came, we decided to go

HIPC. ⁴⁸This government always moves according to plan. ⁴⁹We planned; we used strategy. ⁵⁰We intentionally decided to go HIPC in order to give Ghana the opportunity to move forward well. ⁵¹Because we planned well and decided well, this year July, our creditors have cancelled as much as 4 billion dollars! ⁵²This achievement is historic. ⁵³It is a fact.

Appendix B: Letter of Introduction to Research Sites
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES

FACULTY OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

12th June, 2015

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

The bearer of this letter, Mr. Kwasi Sarfo-Adu, is a PhD student at the Department of English, University of Cape Coast.

He is currently collecting data for his PhD thesis titled, "On the Road to the Presidency: A Pragma-Rhetorical Analysis of the Campaign Speeches of President John Agyekum Kufuor"

I would be grateful if you could give him any assistance in the collection of data for his thesis.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Prof. Joseph B.A. Afful

Head of Department

Appendix C: Publication

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**A Comparative Study of Challenger-Incumbent Strategies in Ghanaian
Presidential Campaign: The Case of John Agyekum Kufuor**

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Abstract

In recent years, growing research interest in challenger-incumbent campaign communication has provided illuminating insights into the kinds of strategies favoured by challengers and incumbents in presidential elections. However, most of these studies tend to focus on two or more presidential candidates. This has resulted in little knowledge about the rhetorical strategies of the same candidate who contested as a challenger in a previous election, became president and won again as an incumbent in the next election. In this paper, we explore and compare challenger-incumbent strategies as they manifest in the presidential campaign of John Agyekum Kufuor's (JAK) who won the 2000 presidential elections as a fresh candidate and, for a second term, won in 2004, as an incumbent. A qualitative analysis of four of his campaign speeches in both elections revealed that as a challenger, JAK presented

himself as an agent of change and resorted to negative campaigning rooted in bellicose rhetoric. He marketed himself with can-do optimism that portrayed him as the quintessence of the cure-all for Ghana's socio-economic problems. Conversely, as an incumbent, JAK adopted temperate rhetoric amidst self-promotion on the wings of his accomplishments and personal qualities. He appropriated the ethos of traditional rulers to present a viable image of himself as a performing president. The findings of the study have implications for presidential candidates, particularly, for challengers who are eager to win elections and incumbents keen to maintain power.

Key Words: challenger campaign, candidate, incumbent, presidential.

Introduction

In presidential campaigns every candidate adopts a certain style of campaign rhetoric to suit his status as a challenger or an incumbent (Anekjumnongporn, 2004). The incumbent is the sitting president seeking reelection while the challenger is the candidate trying to win power from the sitting president. Each one of these has their own style of discourse as they face different rhetorical states (Smith, 2010). Thus, the status of a candidate significantly impacts on the campaign plan (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1991). Therefore, an important factor in campaign communication is the dichotomy between the strategies employed by the incumbent to seek another term in office and the way in which the challenger strives to override the incumbent to win power.

Communication scholars have, however, not treated challenger versus incumbent strategies involving the same presidential candidate who won an election as a challenger and sought reelection as an incumbent to win a second term in office. Such an intellectual gap calls for a comparative study of the campaign communication of the same candidate from the challenger and incumbent perspectives. John Agyekum Kufuor (JAK), the second President in Ghana's Fourth Republic is the focal candidate for this study. The selection of JAK was informed by the fact that he is the only presidential candidate in Ghana who has ever won the presidency as a challenger and as an incumbent in two subsequent elections. JAK won the 2000 Ghana presidential election as a challenger and sought reelection in 2004 as the incumbent President and won a second term in office. Our aim in this paper is to embark on a comparative study of what became known as JAK's "positive change" and "so far so good" campaign slogans in the 2000 and 2004 Ghanaian presidential elections respectively. In particular, we examine how the contrasting status of JAK in the two different campaigns impacted on his rhetorical inventions. The main question that guides the study is, how did the strategies created by JAK as a challenger contrast with those he invented as an incumbent in his reelection campaign?

JAK'S Presidential Ambition

JAK entered presidential race for the first time in 1996 general elections as the presidential candidate of the New Patriotic Party (NPP). He, however, lost to Flt. Lt. J.J. Rawlings (JJ), the incumbent President. In 2000, he again won the mandate of the NPP as the presidential candidate and finally won the presidency, with his "Positive Change" campaign message. JAK's presidential victory in 2000 was historic as it marked the first time in the annals of Ghanaian politics that one democratically elected government handed over power peacefully to another democratically elected government. Accordingly, JAK went down in history as the first and only opposition leader in Ghana whose campaign message was convincing enough to get voters to vote out the formidable incumbent party, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and its antecedent, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), a military regime, which metamorphosed into NDC (Agyekum, 2013). Together, these regimes, under JJ, had ruled the country for 19 years. It is not surprising that most political analysts refer to the two regimes as P(NDC). JAK's victory was therefore considered pivotal to the nation's transition to democracy.

JAK, as a sitting president, sought re-election in 2004 with a repackaged campaign message labeled, "Positive Change Part II", dubbed "So far so good", and won a second and final term in office. These

two electoral successes elevated JAK to political eminence, as political commentators perceived him as possessing what it took to influence electorates to end the political dominance of the P(NDC) regime(s). He left office on January 7, 2009 after successfully completing two terms in office.

Related Literature

Theoretical Perspectives

This study is underpinned by two theoretical standpoints: The Functional Theory of Political Campaign Discourse (henceforth, the functional theory) developed by Benoit (1999) and the Aristotelian Triad (Aristotle, *Rhetoric*). The functional theory in its analyses of political campaign communication maintains that the functions of political campaign messages are three-fold: acclaims, attacks, and defense. A candidate seeking political office may enhance his/her own credentials and desirability as a capable office-holder through *acclaims*, which involve statements extolling candidate virtues, achievements, and benefits that accompany his/her election (Dudek & Partacz, 2009). Candidates may also resort to *attacks* to undermine and downgrade their opponents as incapable office-holders. These attacks are directed at the negative traits of the opponent(s) and highlight those that voters frown on, and it is challengers who attack more (Benoit, 1999). Again, when candidates are attacked by their opponents, they *defend* themselves through refutations. Each of these three functions: *acclaims*, *attacks* and *defence* manifests itself in two issues: *policy* and *character*. The theory postulates that utterances regarding policy are divided into sub-categories: past deeds, future plans and general goals. Character utterances, on the other hand, are classified into personal qualities, leadership ability and ideals. In general, the functional theory claims that in principle, acclaims are used more commonly than attacks, and the incumbent will attack less and acclaim more while the challenger will attack more. The functional theory will serve as a helpful framework in understanding the extent to which JAK's contrasting status as a challenger and incumbent influenced his persuasive strategies.

With regard to persuasive strategies Aristotle (*Rhetoric*) proposes three possible rhetorical proofs: ethos (the character and credibility of the speaker), pathos (the emotional state of the hearer) where the speaker puts the audience in a certain mindset; logos (the argument itself) referred to as the "Aristotelian Triad", these must be combined (though not in equal measure) in any speech for the achievement of the persuasive intent of the speech. Aristotle emphasises the rhetor and how he/she is able to discover in any particular case all the available means of persuasion (Aristotle, 2007); hence, he defined the rhetorician as one who is always able to see what is persuasive. Using the three rhetorical proofs in the analysis of the rhetoric of Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first President, Opoku Mensah (2014) found that while Nkrumah employed logical association in his argumentation, he also used symbolism to establish his ethos and the collective memory of his audience for pathos appeals. Similarly, in this paper the Aristotelian proofs, will provide a platform for the application of the principles of rhetoric to the investigation of how JAK combined pathos, ethos and logos for the achievement of persuasion in political campaigning.

Challenger and Incumbent Strategies

Trent, Friedenberga & Denton (2012), opined that incumbent campaign discourse arguably resonates with the electorate, essentially because having been in office as a president and enjoying all the trappings of the office, he/she is capable of deploying a varied range of rhetorical strategies to hype his/her achievements. A challenger on the other hand, has nothing to show in terms of presidential experience. Indeed, a challenger has a penchant for discussing character-related issues rather than emphasizing his or her future plans. Trent et al. (2012) further contended that challengers attack the record of the opponent, take aggressive positions on issues, call for change, emphasize optimism for the future and speak to traditional values instead of calling for changes in values. Incumbents on the other hand attract and control media attention by creating pseudo-events, emphasizing

accomplishments, depending on surrogates for the campaign trail, among others. A further interesting observation made by Trent et al. (2012) is that incumbents usually perform better in elections than challengers, adding that in the US, election results indicate that in the twentieth century only five presidents lost their reelection showing that 75% of incumbent presidents have been reelected. This presupposes that in the US incumbents stand a better chance of winning the presidency while for challengers winning the presidency becomes an uphill task.

Contributing to the challenger-incumbent dichotomous style, Agyekum (2013, p.44) opines that incumbents persuade the masses to resist change and “stick to their existing allegiance, and continue with an established voting pattern.” Druckman et al., (2009) also argue that challengers are prone to emphasizing issues, personal features and party while incumbents highlight factors that relate to incumbency. The authors again maintain that in response to competition, challengers take risks but incumbents will only take risks when the competition gets tougher.

In an earlier study, Procter, and Scherick – Hamlin (1996) also find that in terms of attacks while challengers will deliver them on their own, incumbents rely on surrogates, and rightly so because the incumbent being the President is expected to use decorous language in his/her public speech. This runs counter to the observation by Trent et al. (2012) that challengers rely on surrogates, usually their running mates, for attacks. This contrast may result from a change in trends in campaign styles over the years. Thus, the different rhetorical strategies of incumbents and challengers, underscore the fact that the strategies adopted by candidates are predicated upon the status with which they enter the presidential race. Together these studies provide deeper insights for our knowledge and understanding of the plethora of strategies employed by candidates.

Strategies in Campaign Communication

A considerable amount of literature has grown up around various strategies used by presidential candidates. Among the strategies include hate speech (Osewe-Akubor, 2015; Lau & Rouvner 2009); emotions (Melaine & Hepler, 2015; Goldman, 2011); slogans ((Asah-Asante, 2015; Bartlett & Rayner, 2014); and propaganda (Ayi, 2013; Ngoa, 2011; Omozura & Ezejideaku, 2009). For instance, Agyekum (2013, p.110), observes, and rightly so, that politicians employ negative campaigning to “throw psychological bombs at the hearts of their opponents and damage their emotions”, and reputation, making the targets less admirable candidates. This observation is supported by Lau and Rouvner (2009) who argue that in the US, the electoral defeats of candidates John Kerry – 2004, Michael Dukakis – 1988 and Bary Goldwater – 1964 were largely due to negative campaigning against them. Similarly, in the run up to the 2015 elections in Nigeria, Osewe-Akubor (2015) reports that campaign platforms were turned into a theatre of hate speech. In the same way Asamoah, Yebaoah-Asiamah, and Osei-Kojo (2014) contend that in Ghana the constant use of intemperate language does not only affect the quality of political discourse, but it also creates tension during every election year. In an earlier study, Mayer (1996), however, had contended that negative campaigning offered valuable information to voters to enable them to take voting decisions, arguing further that but for negative campaigning, candidates would turn campaigns into “a procession of lies, exaggerations and unrealistic promises” (p. 443). Mayer could be right in his view of negative campaigning, but the literature is replete with voices of disapproval about negative campaigning, making Mayer a lone voice in the wilderness.

Propaganda as a campaign strategy has equally attracted some attention. Ayi (2013) notes that in the 2008 presidential election in Ghana, Prof. Atta Mills, Nana Akufo Addo and Dr. Paa Kwesi Nduom adopted propaganda rooted in audience-driven and actor-driven strategies to denigrate their opponents. Ezejideaku and Ugwu (2007) also claim that if propaganda were the only strategy to win elections in Nigeria, then some politicians would outclass the others when it came to the persuasive use of language. Interestingly, propaganda as a rhetorical tool in campaigning is viewed as a two-sided linguistic tool (Brunello, 2014; Ayi, 2013; Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012) that can damage reputation and also build

relationships. This position is supported by Ngoa (2011) who argues that propaganda is used to create disaffection for opponents as well as sustain friendship of allies and, where possible, extend cooperation to neutrals. These positions confirm an earlier position held by Walton (1997) that propaganda is “not inherently bad or illogical. It has a purpose as an organized and methodical type of discourse that is recognizable as such” (p.386).

The use of emotional appeals in campaign has equally been a subject of debate. For instance, it has been argued that emotional appeals in political campaigning deprive voters of taking rational voting decisions on “which democratic processes rest” (Brader, 2005). Likewise, Keltner and Gross (1999) opine that the use of emotions in campaigning serves no useful purpose, as it impedes common sense and rational thinking. Regardless, emotional appeals continue to be a cardinal strategy in campaigns. Barack Obama’s “Yes, we can” refrain in the 2008 elections inspired hope in Americans to vote for him (see Finn, 2010; Ash, 2010). Earlier, J.F. Kennedy, 1960; Ronald Reagan, 1980; and Bill Clinton, 1992; had run hope-based campaigns to win the presidency (Goldman, 2011).

It has also been established that political parties and candidates employ slogans in election as a political mnemonic for purposes of reaching the electorate without ceremony regardless of time and space. A slogan could be a word, a phrase, a clause or a sentence. Slogans indicate an increasing personalization of politics and attention on party leaders (Young, 2006) as well as serving as the strategic fulcrum of campaign narratives (Rayner, 2014). For example, the “yes, we can” mantra of Obama’s campaign message in the 2008 US elections resonated with Americans, (Hodges, 2014). Similarly, in Ghana the 2000 elections NPP’s slogans: “asegho” (down there), and “positive change”, “we are moving forward” (Nana Akufo Addo, 2008) and the NDC’s “change” and “better Ghana agenda” (Mills, 2008; Mahama, 2012) contributed immensely in getting the campaign messages imprinted on the minds of the electorate (Asah-Asante, 2015). However, Hodges (2014) cautions that no matter how artful a slogan is, it cannot achieve its desired political goal unless it is first placed within “some kind of speech chain that allows it to diffuse across multiple contexts” (p.363). Thus, the success of a political slogan in spreading a campaign message is predicated upon the potency of the “intertextual web into which it enters” (ibid).

The studies reviewed above, no doubt, have provided elucidating insights into challenger and incumbent as well as campaign discourse strategies in general. Nonetheless, the review has shown that no study has compared the campaign communication strategies of the same candidate running as a challenger and an incumbent in separate elections. As a consequence, the present study is undertaken as an attempt to fill this gap on challenger versus incumbent campaign rhetoric, particularly, involving the same presidential candidate.

Methodology and Data

The study employed the qualitative research approach where themes or generalizations were extracted from evidence and organized to present a coherent reliable picture about JAK’s campaign discourse. The qualitative research design created an opportunity for an interpretative and descriptive analyses of the rhetorical features employed in the selected campaign speeches of JAK.

In all, four campaign speeches were used for the study: two from the 2000 elections when JAK ran as a challenger and two from the 2004 elections when JAK campaigned as an incumbent. The speeches which were stored in audio and video tapes were collected from NPP headquarters and the Kufuor Foundation, both in Accra. A list of the four speeches appears in Table 1 below

Table 1: Selected Campaign Speeches of JAK

Town	Year
Ho	2000
Sopke	2000
Jirapa	2004
Nadowli	2004

After the selection of the speeches, they were manually transcribed in clean read also referred to as smooth verbatim which involves a word for word transcription without the inclusion of fillers like *uhm*, *ah*, *yeah*, *you know*, *right* (Philipp, 2014). The data were then typed to serve as the primary source for the ensuing rhetorical analysis. This was followed by coding based on the guidelines set by Strauss and Corbin (1998) in coding texts. First, the speeches were marked up by assigning labels, names and notations to sentences for the open coding. Then, the axial coding was done by re-grouping and categorizing concepts along the axis of particular themes ranging from individual words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs to whole texts (Elo & Kyngas, 2008). Next was selective coding where themes central to the rhetorical strategies were identified and regrouped into higher order headings to minimize the number of categories by collapsing similar or dissimilar ones into wider higher order categories in line with suggestions by Elo & Kyngas (2008). Through these procedures the dominant rhetorical strategies were identified for the analyses.

Analyses and Discussion

The analyses and discussion section seek to address the research question: "How did the strategies created by JAK as a challenger contrast with those he invented as an incumbent in his reelection campaign?" We begin with JAK running as a challenger.

JAK as a Challenger

Agenda for Positive Change

As a challenger, JAK constantly called for change on the wings of the NPP's slogan, "Positive Change". *Change*, thus, became the buzzword in his campaign messages. On his campaign trail at Sopke he declared:

Why Ghana must have a new government, I think is obvious or should be obvious. The economy has collapsed. I'm sure there are many teachers here. The quality in education has dropped out. People have no access to health care because it is too expensive. The youth have no hope of employment when they leave school.

With these words, JAK catalogues examples of the government's failures, in a string of logos appeals. He gets the audience to reason that the negatives and incompetence of the ruling government cannot escape their (NPP) watchful eyes. The collapse of the economy, fall in education, expensive health care and lack of employment for the youth evoke a feeling of gloom and hopelessness in the audience. These are vital performance indicators that provide voters with assessment tools for them to make political decisions. The reference to the aforementioned sectors of the economy is also an appeal to the basic wants of the audience, to paint a picture of hard conditions. In the words of Snider (2005, p.180), "the great speaker is one who understands these basic wants and can then adapt them in her speeches from audience to audience." The thrust of JAK's argument is the need to change the government.

JAK persistently incorporated talk of reform into his call for change at Sopke. *This year Ghana must change government through the ballot box*. In this extract JAK speaks from a position of authority

commanding voters to vote out the NDC government. By defining the method by which the change is going to happen, "through the ballot box", JAK alludes to change of governments that have taken place through military takeovers. With this he appeals to voters' sense of fear of coup de tats. This allusion is repeated at Ho when he observed, *I want us to change government through the ballot box this year.*

The call for change became a catchphrase and painted a picture of a run-down nation in which JAK presented himself as the agent of this change. According to Trent et al. (2012), challengers are confronted with the problem of persuading voters to accept the need for change and persuading voters to accept the challenger as the likely candidate to bring the change. It is not surprising, therefore, that JAK called on the audience to *Vote to pick a government that will serve your best interest.* The call for change is encapsulated in the NP *that will serve your interest.* By inference JAK shows an adversarial should *Give Kufuor and NPP the chance.* JAK presents to the electorate an alternative government that is caring and sensitive to their interests and aspirations, confirming the observation that challengers offer an alternative discourse to counter the success stories that incumbents present (Bonikwoski & Gidron, 2016). JAK further stresses that the benefits that the change will bring will be so tremendous that they will *live to thank God for the vote you did.* The clause contains an implied negation in that JAK subtly draws voters' attention that should they fail to vote for the NPP, they will live to regret their action. The impression created here is that it is only the NPP that has the political savoir-faire to meet the aspirations of the audience. Such words of inspiration and hope resonate with the emotions of the audience and serve as a catalyst for the needed change because *Our country is at the crossroads, searching for a way and since we are in place and holding this vision, we should let the nation know that we are ready here and now to assume the leadership role (Ho).* Anything that is at a crossroads has got to a very important stage in its development where there is the tendency for it to go one way or another. JAK's use of "crossroads", however, has an ominous connotation. It depicts a nation at a critical stage where the economy is teetering on the brink of collapse. JAK's aim is to instil in the audience a feeling of a looming danger, and unless the NPP assumes the leadership role of the country the consequence might be disastrous. This is a pathos appeal designed to evoke voters' sense of fear. JAK reiterates this shared vision of the party and urges the audience to embark on a vigorous campaign to inculcate the electorate with this vision as well, for the change they all hope for.

JAK doggedly harps on his vision of transforming Ghana. His statements are, therefore, imbued with images of a political messiah, a redeemer and a reformer. These qualities bestow on JAK the forte of a liberator intensely eager for transformation. At Ho he reinforces his change agenda when he reasons, *the nation that used to be called Gold Coast has been reduced to the poor post. We must address that. Ghanaians are tired.* JAK deliberately plays with the country's former name, "Gold Coast, to contrast it with "poor post" to bemoan the current state of affairs. The name, "Gold Coast," was derived from the country's rich gold deposits during the colonial times. The antithesis *Gold Coast/poor coast* is an appeal to the audience's sense of "the good old days" which sharply contrasts with bad contemporary times under the ruling government. It must be noted, however, that the rosy picture painted about "Gold Coast" to contradict "poor post" under the NDC is a fallacy as well as an anachronism. The economy of the "Gold Coast" era was not as buoyant as JAK wants the audience to believe, just as the NDC did not exist as a political party by then. To hold only the NDC culpable for the nation's woes since colonial times smacks of a travesty of objective criticism of one's political opponent.

Victor-in-Waiting (VIW)

As a challenger, JAK created the notion of a victor-in-waiting, a strategy where a candidate creates the impression that he/she has already won the election and the opponent has already lost (Corcoran, 1998 as cited in Stogsdill, 2013). According to Corcoran (1998), there are three indicators of the VIW strategy; namely, *loss of power, transfer of political legitimacy and closure of public division.* The data

showed evidence of the first indicator of the VIW strategy, *loss of power*. JAK's statements suggested that he had already won the presidency and the candidate of the ruling party, Mills, who was also the Vice-President, had already lost the election.

During a rally at Ho he enthusiastically told the teeming crowd, *we are starting our victory march here at Ho*, creating the impression of a victorious NPP and a vanquished NDC, thereby putting the crowd in a jubilant mood as if the party had already won the elections. Again, JAK claimed at Sopke, *When we see the back of NDC, we see the front of NPP*. The statement foreshadows the loss of the NDC and to a defeat for NDC and a win for NPP respectively. The *back of NDC* and the *front of NPP* symbolically and metaphorically refer to a fight between two combatants where the stronger has floored the weaker and the latter is lying helplessly on the ground. Such is what JAK uses to dazzle his audience. In their minds' eyes the audience see the NDC struggling and sprawling and consigned to the ground following a humiliating defeat from NPP. A victory for the NPP is further reinforced at Sopke *NPP will be giving Ghana a new government*. Similarly, at Ho 1, JAK reiterated, *I'm telling you Ghana is seeking for a way forward, and the eyes of Ghanaians are on us*. Collectively, these acts of self-assurance, paint a picture of JAK posturing himself as already having won the election, thereby adopting a victor –in –waiting posture.

Again, as part of the enactment of *loss of power*, challengers attack the opponent's weaknesses and failures. As observed by Stogsdill (2013), when challengers attack the opponent's record and emphasize optimism for the future, they are enacting a VIW strategy. For instance, Franklin Roosevelt, using the VIW strategy in his campaign in the 1932 US presidential election, attacked President Hoover as a failed President (Stogsdill, 2013).

Among the several issues that JAK attacked the NDC on was corruption in government, governance, the economy, health, education, and respect for human rights. In his campaign he persistently described the NDC and its appointees in pejorative terms for their corrupt practices. At a rally in Ho in 2000, he noted *those people who went into power wearing "charle wote" are now all billionaires in hard currency*. In this statement JAK exploits shared knowledge in that he and some Ghanaians including his audience are aware that in Ghana politics has become a "gold mine" for most people who enter it. JAK vilifies NDC appointees as looting the nation's coffers to enrich themselves, implying that they are nation wreckers whose main intention of entering politics is to become *billionaires in hard currency* but who were hitherto wearing "charle wote", (considered cheap bathroom slippers). *Charle wote* is a striking imagery symbolizing poverty; and suggests that those politicians, came into politics as paupers, but became fabulously rich through corrupt means. The statement brings the credibility of the government and its appointees into disrepute, thereby upholding an argument by the *Functional Theory* (Benoit, 1999) that the character of a candidate is a topic in campaign discourse. The theory reduces the notion of character to a candidate's intelligence, sincerity and credibility. Therefore, in the statement, JAK question the credibility and sincerity of the NDC appointees. Having become "billionaires in hard currency" through politics, the credibility and sincerity of the appointees have been dented and tainted by ill-gotten wealth. Bent on labelling the government as corrupt JAK further opined, *these people, they dipped their hands into the public purse and just carry on with it*. The underlying assumption is gross extravagance and plundering of state coffers while government looked on for its appointees *to carry on with it*.

JAK persistently defined the NDC in negative terms. At Ho he called on the audience to help free Ghana from the *shackles of this dictatorship, this inhuman government*. The depreciatory labelling captured by *shackles, dictatorship* and *inhuman* conjures images of slavery and suffering. While *shackles*, *dictatorship* and *inhuman* metaphorically refer to people who are fettered by the poor governance system of the ruling party, thereby preventing them from living *better lives*, *dictatorship* reminds the electorate of the strict and harsh governance system being meted out to them. Similarly, *inhuman* paints a portrait of a heartless

government perpetuating hardship on the citizenry and cowing them into acceptance of the status quo. JAK's negative campaign tactics confirm the assumption that most campaign discourse in Ghana is characterized by intemperate language (see Asamoah et al., 2014; Ofori, 2014).

Not only NDC as a corporate entity was framed in negative terms. Certain key personalities of the party were as well described in terms of their conduct imbuing it with distasteful attributes of corruption, arrogance of power, greed, complicity, and sadism. The sitting President, Rawlings, was characterized in the most derogatory terms. JAK incessantly made references to Rawlings' past as a military dictator by claiming that he *ruled Ghana twenty years as a tyrant*. JAK intensified his resolve to hammer Rawlings' turpitude in the following extract.

This man and his government have incarcerated people without due process of the law. In fact, as I speak to you now, the governance of the council of Christian fort (sic) which were built about 2-300 years ago for slavery, the slave trade is still being used by this government putting Ghanaians in there, shaving their head completely, not as a due process of law (Ho)

The reference to Rawlings' reign as military dictatorship during the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC, June 1979-August 1979) and Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC, 1981-1992) is meant to evoke bitter memories of the Rawlings' regime. During the PNDC era there were newspaper reports that Rawlings incarcerated one Selassie O'Sullivan-Djentuh at the Osu Castle, the then seat of Government for having an amorous relationship with Rawlings' daughter, Zenator. The story had it that JJ caused Selassie's head to be shaved with a broken bottle and put him behind bars (Ghanaweb, General News, Fri. 25 August 2000 as cited in *The Dispatch*). According to *The Dispatch*, Selassie said, "I was shaved with a rusty blade and later a broken bottle. I was told the President had ordered my hair to be brought to him" (ibid, para 13). This incident is used by JAK to insinuate, abuse of power, sadism and to question Rawlings' sense of compassion, respect for human rights and respect for human dignity. JAK equates Rawlings regime with the era of slavery turning the seat of Government into slave dungeons as was done with the castles during the slave trade. The attack on Rawlings emanates from the fact that the NDC was formed on the ethos of Rawlings. Therefore

The strategy employed by JAK here is one of collective memory which refers to "recollections that are instantiated beyond the individual by and for the collective" (Zelizer, 1995 as cited in Pary-Giles & Pary-Giles, 2000, p.418). In simple language, collective memory refers to memories of the past which linger in the minds of group members rather than an individual. i.e. there is a shared memory of events of the past. The AFRC era is sometimes referred to as the DARK days of Ghana's political history. The adult members of JAK's audience recall Ghanaians living in fear as a result of atrocities meted out to them under Rawlings' military regime. These included public flogging of women, extra judicial killings of a number of Ghanaians, and above all the execution of eight senior military officers including three former Heads of State under what Rawlings and his cronies called "housecleaning exercise." Rawlings himself was on record to have said, "there was the need for bloodshed to clean up the country and the exercise should start from within the Ghana Armed Forces" (*Daily Graphic*, 29 May 1979 as cited in Boafo Arthur (2006). Such a justification for bloodshed crumbles in the face of democratic minded people like JAK. Boafo Arthur argues that the executions stigmatized Rawlings' reputation and arraigned him with others who stood accused of a catalogue of human rights violations under his military regimes. Thus, by referencing the past record of Rawlings, JAK invites the audience to criminalize his reign. In this way JAK invokes Aristotelian forensic rhetoric. Aristotle (*Rhetoric*) posits that forensic rhetoric is used in a trial to establish the guilt or innocence of a person. The party in the case at law is concerned with the past where one man brings a case of wrongdoing against another man who defends himself with regard to things already done. Thus, JAK brings a case of crime against Rawlings. He stands accused at the court of public opinion, and by inference he urges the audience to

punish Rawlings' party by not voting for their presidential candidate. Such evocation of the collective memory of the audience is laden with pathos and logos appeals as far as they induce bitter memories in the audience as well as build arguments to support JAK's claim that Rawlings and for that matter the NDC has visited mayhem on Ghanaians. Voters therefore should consign them to political oblivion by rejecting them at the polls.

With these attacks it could be argued that it is rather unscrupulous for JAK to visit his perceived "criminal" record of Rawlings on the entire NDC. However, it could be also contended that because the party was formed on the ideals and principles of Rawlings, the party is an embodiment of what he stands for. This is where one cannot but agree with Aristotelian thought that an institution is largely shaped by its founder (Aristotle, 2008).

All told, the attacks epitomize JAK's negative campaigning that sought to portray Rawlings and the NDC as undesirable political elements, confirming Agyekum's (2013) assertion that politicians use negative campaigning to denigrate their opponents and damage their reputation. Such a negative evaluation is also in accord with the *Functional Theory* in its postulation that attacks have the potential to enhance the net preferability of a candidate by downgrading the opponent's apparent desirability. Thus, JAK's posturing created the impression that having reminded the audience of the NDC's weaknesses and its "criminal" record, he was cruising to victory. But while it is clear that negative campaigning increases negative opinions about the target, it is interesting to note, as pointed out by Utych (2012), that by doing so the accuser as well invites negative opinions about himself/herself. In the light of Utych's observation, it could be argued that given JAK's vilification of Rawlings and the NDC, the tendency for public opinion to describe him (JAK) as a foul-mouthed politician is high.

Emphasizing Optimism

As a challenger, JAK highlighted his ability to restore the economy and transform Ghana within a spate of four years to elicit visceral feelings of hope in his audience. Goldman (2011) suggests that hope is a positive emotion and aims at drawing "feel-good" responses; for when people are liable to feeling apprehensive of a situation, they fall prey to hope appeals. Such appeals to the audience's sense of optimism are used by JAK to create pathos. By preaching a message of optimism, JAK is replicating one major challenger strategy, as noted by Trent et al, (2012) and Stogsdill (2013).

JAK assures voters that the end of their suffering is in sight saying, at Ho *to break out of the trap of poverty and misery then the way forward is here, the NPP.* Here JAK shows the audience how they will extricate themselves from *poverty and misery*, and they can only do this by voting the NPP into power because *we must come in to restore the economy*. The use of the modal auxiliary "must" in the statement confers on JAK and the NPP a self-imposed obligation, compulsion and necessity to resuscitate the ailing economy. He presents this construction of the restoration of the economy by representing himself as an epitome of the hope of Ghanaians. And in pursuance of his avowed goal of building a new Ghana, he declared:

We want the private sector to have access to loans because it's there that the interest rate will drop; the farmer will get access to loans to do proper agriculture; grow food plentifully for all of us to eat; leave some to be processed by industry and then even export. That's how to enrich the economy (Sopke, 2000).

In this extract, JAK draws on the image of a reformer that he creates for himself to reveal his vision for the private sector and agriculture. He does this expertly through logical reasoning, in Aristotelian terms. Appeal to logic is a strong persuasive tool in so far as humans are rational beings. This is to enable his audience to appreciate the correlation between the private sector, agriculture and industry. Being an astute politician JAK is aware that his audience need to be convinced about the kinds of measures he intends to put in place to revamp the private sector and agriculture, before they can accept his message.

When he asserts, *that's how to enrich the economy*, he expresses a strong belief in his notion of economic reforms through prudent measures, implying that turning the economy around is a crucial component of the new Ghana he envisages.

JAK again assures his audience at Ho, *We are going in there for Ghana, for achieving for Ghana*. The statement highlights the inadequacy and failure of the NDC as non-achievers who allowed their self-interest to override national interest, characterizing them as self-seeking and non-patriotic. By contrast, patriotism will be uppermost in the political thoughts of the NPP. The statement further suggests that when politicians place their self-interest first, the end result is avarice and plunder of state coffers leading to dire economic consequences. And granting that the health of the economy is among the crucial factors for Ghanaians in choosing a president the NPP's main preoccupation will be working for the national interest for the realization of their new Ghana agenda. JAK's goal is to lift the mood of the electorate from the abyss of gloom, despair and despondency to a state of expectancy and ecstasy.

Overall, as a challenger, JAK sought to realize his positive change agenda through a combination of negative campaigning and self-presentation rooted in pathos, ethos and logos appeals. He painted a picture of gloom and despondency under the NDC but balanced it with ecstasy and optimism under his presidency. His rhetoric sought to portray him as one who had already won the presidency and ushering the nation into a new birth of good governance and economic prosperity.

JAK as an Incumbent

JAK is a Performing President

JAK used his campaign communication, as an incumbent, to market himself as a performing president, thereby supporting the view by the Functional Theory that incumbents rely on their past deeds for acclaims. JAK persistently framed his reelection campaign message in tune with the refrain "so far so good" based on his accomplishments

At a Jirapa rally JAK noted, *as we drove into town I couldn't help admiring the projects I saw around. Positive change is in evidence here*. An elated JAK looks upon his own record and markets himself as a performing President. He matches his record against his pledge as a challenger in 2000 to bring about "positive change" in the lives of Ghanaians. It was on the basis of this that he dubbed his reelection campaign, "Positive Change Part II". He draws on the numerous projects that have impacted positively on the lives of the audience at Nadowli, in a series of rhetorical questions, *Who doesn't want positive change? Who can say he or she doesn't like good schools or good drinking water or good roads or community at peace with itself?* These questions are a further reinforcement of his so far so good mantra. They are used as a self-promotion strategy to taut his own achievements as the president. Specifically, the second rhetorical question is an expatiation of the first one by citing concrete examples of the benefits of positive change: *good schools, good drinking water, good roads and community at peace with itself*. JAK's intention behind these questions confirms an argument by Omozowa and Ezejideaku (2009) that in rhetorical questions, the speakers have the answers already but they sarcastically ask them to discredit their opponents. These examples not only strengthen JAK's argumentation that *positive change is in evidence*, they also support his claim that he delivers on his campaign promises. Consequently, the audience should look on his accomplishments and give him a second chance to continue with the infrastructural development. In effect, the rhetorical questions are a subtle reminder to the audience that a vote for NDC means the end of infrastructural development, rule of law, stable economy, improved living conditions, respect for human rights among others, and the electorate stand the risk of being victims of NDC's bad governance. Obviously, no group of people will turn their back on anything that brings transformation in their lives. As Bonikowski and Gidron (2015) opine, incumbents set the terms of the public debate about their accomplishments.

JAK intensified his message of rewarding good performance with another term of office as he asserted at Nadowli:

You gave me four years to manage our country within four years. There are the achievements; I want you to see, and if you are pleased, then renew the mandate for me to continue for our country.

JAK repeats *four years* to add emphasis, reinforcement, power and weight to imprint his *so far so good there are the achievements*. Much has been achieved within such a short period. The dependent anthesis, *if you are not pleased* is worthy of note here. One would have expected JAK to add its to continue for our country.

JAK's campaign language, as an incumbent, portrayed him as a president serving his people with selfless devotion and commitment. His statements abounded in expressions depicting self-glorification and goodwill to enhance his credibility. Aristotle (2007) enjoins the rhetor to get the audience to perceive him as possessing goodwill to boost his credibility. In line with this Aristotelian prescription, JAK averred at Jirapa:

But I want to remind you that it isn't every government that will operate on the basis that this government is operating; selfless service to the people ... After all what do we want? We just want an effective and efficient service from government and you are getting so just encourage the people who can do it to continue (Jirapa 2004).

JAK resorts to logos appeals to strengthen his argument for continuity. In the extract JAK uses contrast to emphasize the able manner *this government is operating*. The contrast embedded in "*it isn't every government*" distinguishes himself (and by extension his party) from the way other governments, without doubt the NDC, handled the affairs of the country, implying that under his presidency Ghanaians have witnessed marked improvement in governance. Just as President Obama repeated specific expressions for both national glorification and self-glorification in his Victory Speech (Rahimi, 2013), in the above extract JAK uses three adjectives: *selfless*, *effective* and *efficient* as self-glorification epithets. *Selfless* demonstrates he is altruistic and working hard in the interest of Ghanaians while *effective* and *efficient* portray how he has served the people with commendable diligence. These are meant to get the audience to appreciate his presidency and score him high on the performance continuum and support his re-election. Thus, as the incumbent party candidate and sitting President JAK emphasizes his party's accomplishments while in office (Trent, et al. 2012). JAK's statements show how self-glorification is reflected in incumbent campaign communication.

Appropriating Chieftaincy Ethos

A feature of Ghanaian political campaigning is the endorsement of presidential candidates by chiefs. Obiri Yeboah (2016) argues that traditional rulers endorse presidential candidates in order that should the candidate win, the chiefs stand a better chance of their traditional areas being considered for development projects. These endorsements are considered by presidential candidates as the chiefs' testimonies about their good performance. This underscores JAK's appropriation of chiefs' ethos as he knows what chieftaincy represents in traditional societies, particularly outside the major cities. JAK therefore does not hesitate in claiming at Jirapa:

What hit me among the many positive change our chiefs said was the fact that the chiefs and people appreciated the deepening of decentralization. We are democrats and we do not want to bottle up power in Accra. We want power to go into the districts of Ghana.

In this extract, JAK uses his endorsement of chiefs as a rhetorical tool to highlight the traditional notion that the chief speaks on behalf of his subjects and when the chief speaks, he must be obeyed. With this

JAK elevates chieftaincy to the height of being “the most enduring socio-cultural institution in Ghana ...” (Amoatia Ofori Panyin, 2010, p.1). JAK is ecstatic about the acknowledgement by the chiefs and people of Jirapa that the NPP has strengthened decentralization. The effects of positive change are not only manifested in infrastructural development, but they also reflect in the governance system, in the area of decentralization. JAK seizes the opportunity to project himself by highlighting how he and his party have taken positive change to another level by disseminating democratic governance to Ghanaians at the grassroots. He proudly characterizes his party as democrats, and democratic as they are, it is unworthy of them “to bottle up power in Accra”, implying that the NPP government is not an oligarchy.

In effect, the distribution of power to the districts is a manifestation of the government’s good governance system which cannot escape the watchful eyes of the chiefs and the audience of Jirapa. Such ethos enhancing statements, speak eloquently about JAK’s leadership qualities which are fundamental to his self-presentation as a performing President. He continued to reiterate how the chiefs, and by extension the people of Jirapa, perceived his governance system, saying, *This evening we’ve heard from our chiefs that the assembly has been functioning well for the benefit of the people here in the district.* Just as JAK uses the statement to build his self-confidence he also uses it to draw the attention of the audience to the chiefs’ open declaration of the beneficial influence of the work of the District Assembly on their district. For this reason, the audience should emulate the example set by their chiefs and support him. Every positive evaluation of JAK’s performance by chiefs was an opportunity for him to inculcate the audience with the impression that “JAK has already been endorsed by our chief (s)”. As a consequence, most voters shall toe the line of their chief (s), granting that in the traditional set up the public pronouncements of chiefs reflect the views of their subjects. At Nadowli, JAK quickly and deftly took advantage of this to promote his party, and by extension himself. He said:

So, when we hear good things being said about what we have been able to do, we want to believe it’s not just the chiefs telling us; we want to believe the people of Nadowli, all join the chiefs in acknowledging the little we have been able to do so far. And if this is the appreciation among you, then I will say, show your appreciation in practical terms, support this government and the government will continue to serve you.

JAK strategically makes references to the chiefs’ appreciation of government’s efforts to create the awareness that he is not the one flaunting his achievements for self-promotion. This line of thinking provides an avenue for JAK to get the audience to reason that when such recognition comes from the chiefs then there is no gainsaying that the NPP government has performed creditably to warrant a second term of office. Also, JAK’s description of government’s efforts as *the little we have been able to do so far* is on one hand a tacit admission of government’s inability to meet the maximum expectation of the electorate. On the other hand, it is a gesture of humility and self-effacement, making light of his achievements. This demonstration of meekness boosts JAK’s self-presentation and increases his chances of being a likeable candidate.

Conclusion

The paper compared the campaign communication strategies of JAK when he ran as a challenger and incumbent in the 2000 and 2004 elections respectively. Specifically, the study revealed that as a challenger, JAK built his argumentation around the notion of change amidst aggressive rhetoric and vitriolic language resulting in negative campaigning. Generally, he resorted to pathos appeals rooted in a campaign of calumny, name calling, sneering and malicious labelling and scapegoating. He badmouthed President Rawlings as a tyrant and dictator and the entire NDC as maladroit, corrupt and self-seeking JAK also relied on self-presentation to strategically market himself as the embodiment of the panacea for Ghana’s socio-economic problems. He as well presented himself as an agent of change, a liberator, redeemer and one who had already won the election. The pivot of this can-do optimism was his incessant and vociferous claim to transform the economy within four years. Conversely in 2004,

running as an incumbent JAK attacked less and acclaimed more as noted by Trent et al. (2012) and Benoit (1999). He jettisoned the rather belligerent rhetoric that characterized his 2000 campaign and discourse. Being a President seeking re-election, he spoke with equanimity, neutrality, a less condescending and deferential tone culminating in what Leff and Utley (2004) call 'verbal control'. This conclusion contrasts Tenuche's (2009) assertion that President Obasanjo's public statements and speeches as an incumbent seeking re-election were derogatory, intimidating, and menacing, portraying his perception of politics as warfare. As an incumbent, JAK centred his argumentation on his accomplishments, personal qualities and endorsement of traditional rulers to present a viable image for reelection. These enabled him to build his ethos as a successful president, thereby translating his 'so far, so good' performance assessment into the needed votes for a second presidential victory.

Arguably as the first study, from the Ghanaian perspective, to explore the campaign discourse of the same presidential candidate from two opposing campaign perspectives, the empirical findings provide new insights into our understanding of how the split personality (politically) possessed by a challenger turned incumbent is propelled by differing campaign exigencies.

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