

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

**CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT AKUFFO-ADDO'S
NEWS STORIES ON GALAMSEY IN THE DAILY GRAPHIC NEWSPAPER**



2022

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**A dissertation in the Department of Communication Instruction,
School of Communication and Media Studies, submitted to the
School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the award of the degree of
Master of Arts
(Communications Instruction)
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NOVEMBER, 2022

DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

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

Signature.....

Date.....

SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

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

Name: Ms. Abena Abokoma Asemanyi

Supervisor's Signature.....

Date.....



DEDICATION

To the Almighty God, my son, and family.



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ABSTRACT

The study sought to analyse the discourse features of President Akufo-Addo's news stories on *galamsey* in the *Daily Graphic* Newspaper from January 2021 to May, 2021. The study sought to identify power and ideology employed by President Akufo-Addo in the discourse of *galamsey* in the *Daily Graphic* Newspaper and to examine the issues communicated by the President's use of some grammatical constructions. Using Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis as a framework, the study found that Nana Addo projected himself as a man who is committed to changing the status quo in the fight against *galamsey*. The study also found that, power is exhibited in the news stories on President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo through the use of modal auxiliary verbs such as must, should and will. This signifies the call on audiences to duty in the fight against *galamsey*. The study concluded that language, which is the fundamental means by which to engage in socio-political discourse, can be viewed as a complicated tool having many uses. Again, the study affirmed the assertion that language has an ideological dimension and this dimension is not explicitly stated but implied. The study recommends that a critical attention should be given to language and power in the fight against *galamsey* and other political discourses. Again, it was recommended that politicians should move from rhetorics and talk about the effects of *galamsey* on the ordinary Ghanaian.



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Overview

This chapter provides an introduction to the study. It encompasses the following subtopics: background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives and research questions. It also includes significance of the study, delimitation, and the organisation of the rest of the chapters.

1.1. Background to the Study

Political speeches form part of the most influential and sought-after speeches in the world. They attract such enormous listeners because of the calibre of persons (political leaders) who make such speeches and the impact of their policies on the lives of citizens in general. Burns (1978) explains leadership over human beings is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize, in competition or conflict with others, institutional, political, psychological and other resources so as to arouse, engage, and satisfy the motives of followers. Socio-economic policies, plans and actions of these politicians are rooted in the particular political ideology of the political divide of the political actor. As Trosborg (2000) argued, it is neither the individual nor the situation that speaks, but the institution that does so. Trosborg (2000) further found that a president's speech has a genre character and other elements that distinguish it from other political rhetoric. According to Nyako (2013), the practice of politics is mainly anchored on speeches delivered by seekers of political power and directed at their supporters and society as a whole.

The main motivation of every politician is to impress his/her electorates and one of the means through which this can be done is the effective use of language or discourse. There is a relationship between language and various social issues, thereby

resulting in a connection between language and power in a number of ways: language indexes power, expresses social power, and is involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power (Wodak, 2001). The idea that there is a relationship between discourse and power is reinforced by Harvey (2006 as cited in Fairclough, 2010, p. 4) who argues that “power is partly discourse, and discourse is partly power, they are different but not discrete, they ‘flow into’ each other; discourse can be internalized in power and vice versa; complex realities of power relations are ‘condensed’ and simplified in discourses.” This means that within every discourse lies strategies embedded in “subtle ideological underpinnings, persuasive and authoritative (power) elements” intended for the audience (Nyako, 2013, p. 2).

According to Fairclough (1989) discourse is building block constructing the social identities, knowledge systems and beliefs of the individuals. Van Dijk (1998) believes that discourse is not basically an isolated textual or dialogical structure. But it is a complex communicative event that also represents a social situation, containing participants and their belongings. Fairclough (1992) highlighting the strong connection between discourse and society, maintains that, on one hand, discourse is formed and constrained by social structure in the widest sense and at all levels: by class and other social relations at a societal level by the relations specific to particular institutions such as law or education, by systems of taxonomy, by various standards and conventions of both a discursive and a non-discursive nature, and so forth.

Abrams and Harpham (2005) state that discourse analysis encompasses the use of language in a continuous discourse that includes the interaction between a writer and a reader within the limitations of a certain situational context as well as social and cultural traditions. Discourses may also be seen as social conceptions of reality; they are incorporated not just in users' knowledge of the language code, but also in their

knowledge of language use rules and norms, as well as their knowledge of the situation and the world (Fairclough, 1995; Litosseliti, 2006). This is particularly true when it comes to conversational interpretations, which are often socially established and shared. Political writings on illegal mining (*galamsey*) facilitate communication via the interaction between media organs and receivers. Ghana's small-scale gold mining industry is separated between registered operators (known as the 'Official System') and *galamsey* (known as the 'Unofficial System') (Hilson & Potter, 2003). *Galamsey* is a practice that involves the simplest form of carrying out mineral extraction, which is characterized by extreme labour-intensive procedures, unsafe working environments, and repeated negative human and environmental health impacts (Amankwah & Anim-Sackey, 2004; Amponsah-Tawiah & Dartey-Baah, 2011; Hilson & Banchirigah, 2009).

Thirty per cent of Ghana's total gold output is derived from the activities of an estimated one million small-scale miners, where most of them are *galamsey* operators who do not hold any form of mining permits (Ghana Chamber of Mines, 2002). Although small-scale miners need a license before they can operate, a large part of their mining activities are carried out without any legal permit. The activity, which has kept on attracting several thousands of local Ghanaians, particularly the youth, promises a quicker means of earning an income. Due to its subsistence nature, *galamsey* was not as environmentally devastating as is presently the case.

Since the early 2000s, about 50,000 Chinese gold miners have migrated to Ghana to engage in small-scale mining (locally known as *galamsey*), defined as the exploitation of mineral deposits through the use of rudimentary equipment and involving low levels of production with minimal capital investment, and by law reserved for only Ghanaians (Ahiadeke, Quartey, Bawakyillenuo & Aidam, 2013; Aryee, Ntibery & Atorkui, 2001; Botchwey, Crawford, Loubere & Lu, 2018; Kane,

2013; Minerals and Mining Policy of Ghana, 2014). Before the arrival and involvement of Chinese miners in this industry in Ghana, the sector was characterized by informalities and illegalities, where Ghanaians in mining communities usually extracted gold without a license, using rudimentary methods (Afriyie, Ganle & Adomako, 2016). In collaboration with local actors, however, the Chinese miners have imported more sophisticated machines that have gradually replaced the rudimentary methods and implements used by their Ghanaian counterparts (Boafo, Paolo & Dotsey, 2019).

The first and most common debate asserts that formal state institutions are weak or under-developed, and thus are unable to regulate the mining activities. Some scholars have argued that there is a lack of political will to fight illegal Chinese businesses, ostensibly because politicians and high ranked government officials also benefit from such illicit activities (Aidoo, 2016; Armah, Luginaah, Taabazuing & Odoi, 2013; Hess & Aidoo, 2010). Ross (2001) argues that countries recognised for depending heavily on the mining sectors have higher poverty rates than non-mineral dependent countries. Ghana's mineral exploration and mine development has traditionally been dominated and organised by foreign companies, with roughly 10 per cent owned and controlled by the central government (Ofosu-Mensah, 2010). Although smallscale mining is not precisely identical with illegal mining, the scope of operations of both legal and illegal miners are entwined with each other. *Galamsey* activities have continued to exist in the face of government regulations against their operations. These regulations to a larger extent have not been given any stern enforcement over the years.

Despite the enormous contribution of the *galamsey* industry in Ghana, some government institutions and protesters, including international and local environmentalists and agriculturalists, have called for a ban on *galamsey*. Apart from criticisms that *galamsey* operators engage in it to 'get rich quick', other specific

concerns are the loss of biodiversity, chemical contamination, inadequate safety design of mines, air and water pollution, land degradation and child labour (Akabzaa, Seyire, & Afriyie, 2007; Ofosu-Mensah, 2010; Yelapaala, 2004). In the process, the discourse on *galamsey* has become very partisan. Previous scholars have approached *galamsey* in Ghana from different theoretical and explanatory frameworks, including the role of structural reforms (Banchirigah, 2006; Hilson & Potter, 2003, 2005); equity and justice in natural resource governance and wealth sharing (Tschakert, 2009a); the role of land tenure practices (Nyame & Blocher, 2010); the role of regulatory failures and institutional corruption (Teschner, 2012); and more recently, the role of 'agricultural poverty', 'poverty traps' and livelihood insecurities (Hilson, 2010, 2012; Hilson, Amankwah, & Ofori-Sarpong, 2013; Hilson & Garforth, 2012, 2013).

Numerous studies have been conducted to demonstrate how media discourses disseminate ideological ideas in a number of countries and cultures (Hodge, 2012; Padila & vana, 2019; Thompson, 2013; Van Dijk, 2006; Wodak, 1996). Newspapers often deliver news in ways that seek to influence readers' ideological beliefs. Editorials, as personal opinion writings, on the other hand, are wonderful examples of political literature in which the writer presents his or her opinions clearly and often without hesitation. According to Adamu (2017), the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of great orators who instilled a feeling of nationalism and political consciousness in Africa via their oratory abilities. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo is noted for his brilliant speeches. His statements have earned him enormous acclaim not just in Ghana, but also across the world. The political ideals on which presidents strive to lead are exemplified in their speeches. In political campaigns, persuasion is a key purpose of speech, and speech writers employ language to persuade audiences to accept their

opinions (Taiwo, 2009). This explains why speeches have such powerful effects and are so important to human society.

The media has a significant impact on people's lives. Individuals learn habits, create attitudes, and build social norms via different types of media, as well as generate stereotyped images that impact their real-world actions. According to the media, President Akufo-Addo's comments have touched many people's hearts. The formation and interpretation of meaning in translation has been related to ideology, power, domination, and hierarchy. Changes in news translation, whether ideological or spatial/journalistic, raise the question of equivalence, since non-fictional materials are more subject to intervention than literary ones. In order to have the intended influence on the target audience, political language that must be compelling and feature strong rhetoric must be exceedingly intelligible.

Naturally, humans make use of language as one of their social needs. As a result, the power of language makes humans so distinct and different from all other creatures in the world (Agu, 2015). In this respect, language is seen as an indelible part of human activity and essentially, an inevitable component of human life. This means that in reality, language only exists with the people and the society that they live. The scope of every language used in context helps to “demonstrate sensitivities to the vagaries of social experience, and the need to comply with the cultural rules of communication” (Yankah, 1995). In essence, our social life as people is often preoccupied by a political thought. Within the political space, the core function of a language is to provide information on the ideas, and the policies of the political parties, whether in power or opposition, and also to serve as a source of propagandist’s tool to massage information to the people (Mpotsiah, Marfo, Forson & Fordjou, 2021).

As for political speeches, van Dijk (1997) claims that the study on political discourse analysis is not only concerned with the orators or speakers themselves, but also with the political and communicative events or encounters. van Dijk (1997) highlights the role played by the interaction between context and text, and occasions are important in the analysis of political speeches, such as “cabinet meetings, parliamentary sessions, election campaigns, rallies, interviews with media, bureaucratic practices, and protest demonstrations”. Relevant researches center on the following aspects: political talk and online discussion (Anastasia & Stamou, 2018; Magdalena & Diana, 2009), the relationship between politics, ideology, and the government (Fairclough, 1989; Hudson, 1978; van Dijk, 1997) political language as well as relevant theories and practices (Chilton, 2004; Cap, 2006; Wodak, 1989), political discourse as interdisciplinary topics (Kirvalidze, 2016; Reyes, 2011, Benson & Elisabeth, 2006; Bhatia, 2006). For Chilton & Schäffner (1997), what is ‘political’ is a matter of interpretation, and one focus of attention in PDA has been a critical reflection on the strategic use of political concepts, or keywords, for achieving specific political aims. According to Wilson (2001), “linguistic options for representing the world are clearly, then, central issues in political discourse; utterances within the context of political output are rarely isolated grammatical cases” (p. 404).

Wilson (2001) re-addresses the goal of political discourse analysis which is “to seek out the ways in which language choice is manipulated for specific political effect and almost all levels of linguistics are involved” (p. 410). Edelman (1988) also notes that the functions of political discourse is to present proposals concerning actions and policies that ought, should, or must be pursued as well as what future realities must be prevented and what future realities are desirable. Agreeing with Edelman, Dunmire (2005) posits a key ideological component of political discourse, that is, “its

construction and representation of future realities and the rhetorical function those representations serve in implicating more immediate material and discursive practices and actions” (p. 484). Therefore, Schäffner (1996), Sauer (1996), and Fairclough (1996) claim that the analysis of political speeches in political discourse should relate linguistic structures to larger contexts of communicative settings and political functions, and they recommend using critical discourse analysis (CDA) as the integrated approach.

CDA, as Fairclough (1996) claims, is “a perspective which is concerned with showing up often opaque connections between language and other aspects of society and culture” (p. 287). In addition, van Dijk (1993) suggests examining the style, rhetoric or meaning of texts for strategies that aim at the concealment of social power relations and the exercise of power. In order to obtain certain ideologies that the group with power wants to construct, the circumstances of text construction such as who, when, where, and how, and a deep analysis of the texts themselves cannot be ignored, as CDA suggests (Van Dijk, 1993). Critical discourse analysis deals with studying and analyzing written or spoken text to reveal the existence of power, dominance and inequality. It examines how the existence maintenance and reproduced in social, political and historical context (Fowler, 1991). CDA explores social context to embrace the socio-political conditions that shape discourse in order to analyze how power structures are constructed and analyzed (Van Dijk, 2003). As far as its methodology is concerned, CDA has been following critical linguistics methods proposed by Fowler, Hodge Kress and Trew (1979), who drew on Halliday’s systemic linguistics. Besides, Wodak (1995) assumes that CDA is a type of analysis that analyzes other ambiguous and unambiguous structural relationships of power, discrimination, control, and dominance, which can be found in language.

Regardless of the speaker's/ writer's attempt to concretize his/her speech/text, abstract conceptual terms serve as the basis for political language. As a result, political works are translated for practical purposes in environments inhabited by people from various cultures. What matters in the translation of political literature, both lexically and conceptually, is the choice of language in order to elicit the same behavioural change in the target reader/speaker group that the original author intended. Because the press plays an unquestionable role in teaching the public about social concerns, it is the major tool utilized by politicians, economists, non-governmental groups, and top governmental institutions, among others, to express their ideas to the public or various authorities. This use of media messages converts them into political texts with ideological overtones. This is why five Daily Graphic news articles on President Akufo Addo's fight against the galamsey problem in Ghana were selected for investigation of their discursive nature. The stories are:

1. *Let's discuss galamsey devoid of partisanship*, Jan. 6, 2021;
2. *Akufo-Addo touts successes chalked in galamsey fight*, Feb. 20, 2021;
3. *Galamsey fight demands consensus – President Akufo-Addo*, Apr - 15 – 2021;
4. *Gov't bent on ending galamsey – President*, April 24 – 2021;
5. *President Akufo-Addo endorses destruction of illegal mining excavators*, May, 26 – 2021.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

There have been studies into linguistic analysis of political speeches. Many have examined the political discourse for the communicative strategies employed in political processes and also on ideological underpinnings of such speeches. Relevant researches centre on the following aspects: political talk (Anastasia, 2018; Magdalena & Diana, 2009), the relationship between politics, ideology, and the government (Fairclough,

1915; Hudson, 1978; van Dijk, 1998), political language as well as relevant theories and practices (Chilton, 2004; Cap, 2006; Wodak, 2001), political discourse as interdisciplinary topics (Benson & Elisabeth, 2006; Bhatia, 2006; Kirvalidze, 2016; Reyes, 2011). Other major strands of research on political discourse are as follows: the systemic-functional and CDA perspective (Chonglong, 2018; Wang et al., 2011; Wei, 2016; Zhang & Shiguang, 2015), historical CDA approach (Lin & Xingwei, 2016), the translation approach (Dou & Wen, 2015), the cognitive-discourse perspective (Wang, 2010; Wang & Jing, 2016; Zhang & Guo, 2016), and other transdisciplinary methods or the combination of more than two approaches (Ju, 2020; Wang & Chunsong, 2007; Zhu, 2015).

Bhatia (2006) in a study using a CDA perspective analysed textual data from press conferences involving the former Chinese President Jiang Zemin and the US President George W. Bush, who come from different ideological backgrounds. Her findings revealed three major themes: positivity for the reinforcement of mutual trust, respect and progress; influence and power for subtle persuasion; and evasion to hedge or avoid responses to probing and inconvenient questions from the media. She concluded that CDA proves to be a useful tool in the analysis of the political press conferences because it allowed for the realization of the interdependency of language and ideology; ideology and socio-cultural practices; and socio-cultural politics. It also made it possible for the research to excavate meaning from underneath the surface level of utterances, enabling more accurate and informed interpretations of press conference statements. Reyes (2011) explained the specific linguistic ways in which language represents an instrument of control through examples of speeches given by leaders with differing ideologies. He concluded that social actors justify social practices through: (1) emotions (particularly fear), (2) a hypothetical future, (3) rationality, (4) voices of

expertise and (5) altruism. Using Critical Discourse Analysis, he indicated that employing rationality is culturally bound since what makes sense or sounds logical in one culture may not make sense in other cultures. Wodak (2001) interpret the term ‘Critical’ in CDA as the analysis and understanding of the language embedded in social, political and economic perspective. She is of the view that CDA tries to develop connections between the powers exerted through language with a wider socio-political context. The focus seems to be on text primitively because it reflects the ideological and identity basis which are constructed and produced through the social relations. Wang’s (2010) work on the features of Barack Obama’s speeches indicates how Obama uses simple language to persuade his audience to accept and support his stance. Using systematic functional grammar, and focusing on transitivity and modality, Wang (2010) reveals that Obama uses simpler, short sentences instead of complex ones, easy and colloquial language structure, which shorten the proximity between him and his audience.

These studies of the speeches of presidents have paid little attention to uncovering the processes and participant roles in transitivity analysis and how these are linked to ideology and power. Also, the studies had little to do with the fight against ills of society such as galamsey and the speeches studied had been limited to the political leaders in the Western countries. Again, in many of these studies, the central concern has been to unravel certain key elements of language that embody these speeches. A cursory search for scholarly works which focus on a president’s speech on ills of society shows that no study has focused on such works. The works found have focused on presidential inaugural speeches. A number of studies have been conducted on speeches of Ghanaian Presidents (e.g. Ankrah et al., 2018; Chinwendu & Botchwey, 2017; Partey et al., 2018). Ankrah et al. (2018) examined presidential speeches delivered by President

John Agyekum Kuffour and President John Evans Atta Mills. Their study was rooted in CDA and concluded that a critical analysis of such addresses, uncover several ideological standpoints expressed in more subtle and covert means by careful selection of linguistic choices that suit the celebratory nature of the political event of presidential inauguration. Chinwendu and Botchwey (2017) analysed President John Evans Atta Mills' 2009 and President John Dramani Mahama's 2013 speeches using an exploratory design. The study concludes that Presidential Inaugural Speeches (PIAs) are characterized by dominant performing of assertives and no declaratives. The acts, according to the authors, are indicated by the interplay of the time, the mood and the subject of the verb phrase of the proposition and the use of performative verbs. While Partey, et al. (2018) examined Nana Addo's 2017 State of the Nation Address, they concluded that he (Nana Addo) makes preponderance use of pledges in a bid to cause his listeners to appraise the vision and mission of his government. Both Chinwendu and Botchwey (2017), and Partey et al. (2018) employed Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1969) models of Speech Act Theory. Despite an extensive body of research on text as a separate kind of discourse investigations of presidential news items are uncommon. This assessment is important if we are to have a complete comprehension of the president's public statement on illegal mining (galamsey) in Ghana.

Analyzing and interpreting linguistic speeches from political or social perspectives calls for a systematic CDA approach. President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo has been instrumental in raising awareness and encouraging participation in the fight against the nation's galamsey pandemic via stories published by writers in the Daily Graphic newspaper. Studies that investigate how well linguistic study could be used to help create the course for enhancing linguistic encoding and decoding of messages correctly to foster socioeconomic development in Ghana, as well as that of

Africa in general are woefully minimal. While studies (Bondah, 2020; Kwateng, 2012; Owusu and Dwomoh, 2012; Sarfo, 2021) have been undertaken in Ghana on illicit mining, little or no study has been conducted on how often the Daily Graphic ran pieces on the president, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo, and the efforts being taken to battle such a scourge. Therefore, it is timely for this study to be conducted to bridge the gap in literature on ideological analysis of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo's stories on galamsey in the Daily Graphic newspaper.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

The primary objective of this study is to analyse the discourse features of President Akufo-Addo's news stories on *galamsey* in the *Daily Graphic* Newspaper, and the underlying motivations for posting them. Thus, the research aims to:

1. Identify power and ideology employed by President Akufo-Addo in the discourse of *galamsey* in the *Daily Graphic* Newspaper.
2. Examine the communicative functions of the grammatical constructions in the *galamsey* news stories on President Akufo-Addo.

1.4. Research Questions

In order to achieve the objectives of the study, the research sought answers the following specific questions:

1. How are power and ideology employed by President Akufo-Addo in the discourse of *galamsey* in the Daily Graphic Newspaper?
2. What are the communicative functions of the grammatical constructions in the *galamsey* news stories on President Akufo-Addo?

1.5. Significance of the Study

The study is significant to scholarly research for a number of reasons. This study will present both linguists and researchers in media and mass communication with a wider understanding of the discourse of text in the print media. This research may provide language learners with critical skills by analyzing structures and language features that reflect the speaker's ideology and intention by using CDA. The research findings will enlighten on perfect writing skills in commentary text and also to journalists, writers, grammarians and political scientists who seek to achieve the desired communicative goals.

The findings will contribute to the pool of knowledge in the linguistic discipline as well as generating new knowledge to other scholars. The scholarly insight from the study can be a stepping stone to other linguists, especially on discourse analysis.

1.6. Delimitations of the Study

In an attempt to arrive at valid conclusions, the study will be limited to the following areas. First, the present research will focus on texts on *galamsey* by President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo in the *Daily Graphic* newspaper. The *Daily Graphic* Newspaper was selected because of ease of accessibility and also it gives extensive coverage to the President than any other media outlet. Secondly, the study was limited to print media because there have been transcriptions of his messages already, hence the need not to use broadcast texts. (Karikari, 1994).

In the ideal situation, the researcher needs to collect the samples of speeches of President Nana Akufo-Addo made on all other occasions so as to examine all facets of language use. However, such a study is beyond the scope of the present work. The study was mainly concerned with reported speech and using CDA to unravel ideology and power embedded in the speeches. The study is further limited to a selected

representative set of stories from the *Daily Graphic* newspaper spanning 5 months on the fight against *galamsey*. The researcher applied the CDA approach to analyze these stories. The study was designed qualitatively incorporating Fairclough's three dimensions model of description, interpretation, and explanation to offer a deep understanding of the word choice and grammatical structures, on the one hand, and to explain their hidden meaning, on the other hand.

This study also focused mainly on analysing one perspective of President Akufo-Addo's stories in the *Daily Graphic newspaper* and it was not juxtaposed with any other newspaper. The backgrounds of the speeches, their contexts as well as the backgrounds of the speech maker were not analysed in this study. However, the results cannot be generalized over other socioeconomic stories by the president to fight a canker in society.

1.7. Definition of Terms

Certain key terms used in this study need to be clearly defined to enable us understand their relevance to this study. These key terms are:

Critical Discourse Analysis: The function of language as a social practice in a specific discourse which scrutinizes linguistic structures by making clear the representation of phenomena through language choices.

Discourse feature: Refers to a distinctive linguistic item or unit of a specific discourse (Fine, 1988). In this context, discourse feature is seen as a linguistic item that makes a particular discourse unique from other discourses.

Ideology: "A systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view" (Hodge & Kress, 1993, p.6). Ideology is the value systems and sets of beliefs shared by social groups and can be shown from specific linguistic practices in texts.

Media Depictions: The use of language to represent events in the print media through reportage; in this case *galamsey* activities as reported in the Daily Graphic.

Metaphor: A rhetorical figurative expression of similarity or dissimilarity in which a direct, non-literal substitution of identity is made between one thing and another (Myers & Simms, 1989, p.178).

1.8. Organisation of the Study

The study was organised into five chapters. Chapter One provided an overview of the background to the study which served as the basis for the entire study. This was followed by statement of the problem and objectives addressed as well as purpose of the study, and research questions and hypotheses answered and tested. The chapter was concluded with the significance and delimitation of the study.

Chapter Two provides a detailed discussion of both the literature review and the conceptual and theoretical framework. The review of related literature takes into account the critical discourse analysis. This was followed by a discussion of some empirical studies conducted in specific cultures. The chapter ended by discussing the conceptual and theoretical framework that undergird the present study.

In Chapter Three, the methodology employed in the study is discussed. The chapter described the sampling technique, data collection procedure and methods of data analysis. It concluded by highlighting the limitations encountered in the collection of data.

Chapter Four reported on the results stemming from the analysis of the data obtained from the field work. This was complemented by discussion of the results making reference to studies that support the findings of the current study. Here, a content analysis of the data was done.

The summary, key findings, implications drawn from the findings of the study and recommendations for future research were considered in Chapter Five.



CHAPTER TWO

INTRODUCTION

2.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the literature review and the theoretical framework. The key concepts within critical discourse analysis power and ideology are explained. I also present a review of studies of presidential speeches.

2.1. Political Discourse

As cited in Schiffrin, Tannen, and Hamilton (2001, p.399), the study of political discourse has been around for as long as politics itself. The emphasis the Greeks placed on rhetoric is a case in point. From Cicero (1971) to Aristotle (1991) the concern was basically with particular methods of social and political competence in achieving specific objectives. While Aristotle gave a more formal twist to these overall aims, the general principle of articulating information on policies and actions for the public good remained constant. This general approach is continued today. As cited in Schiffrin, Tannen, Hamilton (2001), Orwell (1969) first drew our attention to the political potential of language. This is seen in his classic article “Politics and the English Language,” where he considers the way in which language may be used to manipulate thought and suggests, for example, that “political speech and writing are largely the defence of the indefensible”.

As cited in Schiffrin, et al. (2001), the general principle here is one of transformation. Similar words and phrases may come to be reinterpreted within different ideological frameworks. Linked directly to this process is the concept of “representation.” Representation refers to the issue of how language is employed in different ways to represent what we can know, believe, and perhaps think. There are

basically two views of representation: the universalist and the relativist (Montgomery, 1992). The universalist view assumes that we understand our world in relation to a set of universal conceptual primes. Language, in this view, simply reflects these universal possibilities. Language is the vehicle for expressing our system of thought, with this system being independent of the language itself. The relativist position sees language and thought as inextricably intertwined. Our understanding of the world within a relativist perspective is affected by available linguistic resources.

The consequences here, within a political context, seem obvious enough. To have others believe you, do what you want them to do, and generally view the world in the way most favourable for your goals, you need to manipulate, or, at the very least, pay attention to the linguistic limits of forms of representation. As cited in Schiffrin, et al. (2001), everyday words, organized and structured in particular ways, may become politically implicated in directing thinking about particular issues, and with real and devastating effects. Even the process of uttering someone's name may become a political act.

As cited in Schiffrin, et al. (2001), similar words and phrases may come to be reinterpreted within different ideological frameworks. Linked directly to this process is the concept of "representation." Representation refers to the issue of how language is employed in different ways to represent what we can know, believe, and perhaps think. According to Schiffrin, et al., (2001), one of the core goals of political discourse analysis is to seek out the ways in which language choice is manipulated for specific political effect. Politicians argue for the adequacy of their future actions in response to explicit or anticipated criticism in which the quality of their political conduct is doubted (Andone, 2015). The political actors inform (or, rather, misinform; my own insertion) their audience and explain the proposed measures, plan and policies they hope to

execute when they come to power. In response to the politician's evaluation of his own future actions, doubt is expressed by the account-holder because, the electorate in Ghana has never seen, at least since the inception of the fourth republic in Ghana, any politician (Presidents and parliamentarians alike) execute the plans they outline at political campaigns and or discourses. This gives rise to differences of opinion. In this way, a mixed difference of opinion is created in which the account-holders, electorates, criticize politicians by pointing out why certain of the politician's decisions, policies or measures are not correct (Andone, 2015).

One purpose of this is to help maintain democracy by helping citizens to hold public and office holders accountable for their position(s) of service (Andone, 2015). In trying to achieve their purpose, politicians use persuasive argumentations to convince the electorates. In a society (and by extension, a country) where citizens are deeply divided on their ideological positions (as opposed to a more homogenous community), it is more likely that slippery slope arguments in particular and fallacies in general will be deployed and perhaps win the day (Ferretti & Rossi, 2013). Speeches (public speeches) are monologues addressed to a usually heterogeneous mass audience (Jorgensen 2014). Public discourse, therefore, involves argumentation and argumentations may involve fallacies. Argumentation is the art of persuading others to think or act in a definite way. It includes all writing and speaking which is persuasive in form (O'Keefe, 2011). Thus, the object of argumentation is not only to induce others to accept our opinions and beliefs in regard to any disputed matter, but to induce them to act in accordance with our opinions and beliefs (O'Keefe, 2011), and in this situation, for political purposes, to vote for our ideas. Again, notice, argumentation is meant to have effects both on mental states (opinions and beliefs) and on behaviour.

2.2. Political Discourse and Logical Reasoning

In the discipline of Logic, as has been discussed in my previous chapter, scholars have formally defined an argument as a set of given propositions labeled as conclusion and premise(s). The conclusion is an assertion put forward whereas the premises are issued to justify or prove this conclusion (Epstein and Kernberger, 2006). This definition often proves difficult to maintain when it comes to real-life socio-political discourses. The problem with regarding an argument in this formal sense is that, as some logicians observe, it fails to do justice to the socio-political dimension of argumentation (Walton, 2008). The socio-political dimension of argumentation has laid down rules that dictate the proper conduct of dialogue whether for persuasion, negotiation or even disputes. These rules could be moral principles in communication, legal rules, among others. The study of inference is of critical importance because its conduct and the influences on this conduct determine what meaning we make of life. The quality of your inferences affects your reasoning which externally affects your arguments.

Hence, other than your actions, the only way for another person to infer (come to know) your line of reasoning is through your arguments (Groarke & Tindale, 2004). Inferences may be made in two known ways - deductively or inductively. Deductions are arguments whose conclusions are logically inferred from their premise(s) and inductions are arguments whose premise(s) provide only some support for their conclusion (Walton, 2008). An inductive argument is termed weak when the probability involved in the conclusion is so low that its acceptance is a problem and strong if the support (from the premise or premises to the conclusion) is good enough to warrant the acceptance of the conclusion (Walton, 2008). So, to claim, deductively, for example, that either you are reading this in the library right now or in your car deductively implies

that you cannot be at both places right now. When a deductive argument is unsuccessful, it is called a non-sequitur (literally meaning ‘it does not follow’) or an invalid argument (Walton, 2008).

These unsuccessful arguments, however, have a pragmatic dimension and may be used to confuse, distract, delay, deceive, or generally, to place certain commitments upon your listeners, usually one they would autonomously decline (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004). There are certain rules, speaking to the issue at hand, respecting your audience and not taking them (your audience for granted) by sticking to facts as they are, etc., which govern the proper conduct of dialogue (Walton, 2008).

2.3. Ideology and Power

Thompson (2002) suggests that ideologies are representations of aspects of the world shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining, and changing social relation of power, domination and exploitation. Discourse is also defined as “a form of social philosophy in which practical elements are as prominent as theoretical ones. According to Britannica Online (2013), it is a system of ideas that aspires both to explain the world and to change it. This system is constructed by the ideas and ideals which forms the thinking manner of a particular group, a social class, or even an individual. The definitions suggest that ideologies are the ground by which realities are construed. In line with Thomson’s definition, Fairclough (1989) argues that ideology and power are closely related. The nature of ideological assumptions of certain conventions and the nature of the conventions depends on the underlying power relation of the conventions. These conventions are used as a means to legitimize the existing social relations, and differences of power. Thus, power relation is exercised through the reoccurring ordinary and familiar ways, so that the relations and power differences are taken for granted.

Power plays a crucial role in critical discourse analysis (CDA). Foucault has been credited with being the first to bring power to the discussion of discourse. Prior to Foucault, power was thought to be oppressive and asserted onto an individual or the result of economic circumstances. Foucault offered that there was a more productive side to power and that discourse was the vehicle by which power is revealed in social relations (Mills, 2004; Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Wodak and Meyer (2016) agree with Foucault's stance, adding that "Discourses are not only coherent and rational bodies of speech and writing, but play an important role as discursive formations in conveying and implementing power and domination in society" (p. 11). For critical discourse analysts, power, which is often invisible, can be made visible and analyzed through its appearance in discourse. CDA should be "fundamentally interested in analyzing hidden, opaque, and visible structures of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (p. 12). Critical approaches to research, such as CDA, ask very different questions than those that are descriptive because of the underlying assumption inherent in the framework.

According to van Dijk (1993), "the way we approach these questions and dimensions is by focusing on the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance" where dominance is social power (p. 249). We critically look at what is being said, what is not being said and what can be inferred. The discourse surrounding leadership and transition is by its very nature a political conversation laden with power and it emerges from a dominant, hierarchical traditional organization. This backdrop frames the discourse and studying this discursive event critically may lend insight into both overt and hidden meanings about leadership and higher education. CDA is not just the analysis of the words itself, but goes beyond to the "dialectical relations between discourse and other objects, elements or moments, as well as the analysis of the 'internal

relations' of discourse" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 4). It is concerned with the social construction of texts and their meanings in relationship to other elements. As Fairclough points out critiques are "grounded in values, in particular views of the 'good society' and of human well-being and flourishing...what ought to be just or fair" (p. 7). Power, inequality, culture, class, and politics are among the considerations when analyzing texts (Fairclough, 2010; van Dijk, 1993). A focus on power and doing so with a critical lens is fundamental to CDA, regardless of approach.

Ideology and power are inseparable, since ideology always works as a force used to exercise power or maintain the power. Pels (2002) explains that there is no separation between power and cognitive relatives, such as control, influence, and authority. Every society is ruled by the regulation of power. Power includes the capability of controlling, and influencing others. Power is derived from the will of a man. In this case, people with authority have the will to exercise and impose power over the others. Power is manifested in social structures and practices that construed the world through the underlying ideologies. Ideology is also perceived as political views that help people make sense and comprehend the political world which enable people to process political information, and determine their political position on various issues (Shalom, 2007). Jones and Peccei (2004) argue that politics is a matter of power used to make decision, control resources, control other people's behaviour, and values.

Humans have developed more ideas and methods in order to survive by attempting to gain more power or maintaining the power through the hegemony of beliefs and values. Ideology presents biased reality, since it sets the attitudes, values, and perception by which humans comprehend and represent the world. In this way, people do not see the world objectively neutral because the way people think is determined by the ideological assumption, as the result of ideological hegemony.

Bourdieu (1991) states that ideology does not only represent the characteristics of groups, but also functions as the specific interest of those who produce them to the specific logic of the field of production. In short, ideology is shaped based on special interest which relates to the power relations, to gain or to maintain the power. Therefore, the existence of ideology cannot be separated from the power dominance of the authority which imposes the beliefs and value systems. People communicate ideas, thoughts, and beliefs through language. In relation to power, language is used as a tool by which power is exercised in certain discursive events representing power distribution. The communication in which people are involved carries the imposition of ideas, beliefs, and value which influence the way people think and perceive the world.

Wodak and Meyer (2001) argue that language is intertwined in social power in several ways, i.e. by indexing and expressing power. It can be used to relate power of one group to another group, or merely to impose power from one group to the others. Text is the material representation of discourse, the choice of linguistic features can signal the exercise of power behind it. Van Dijk (1998) presents four analyses of how language relates to power. First, the specific forms of discourse are a power resource in which power manifests in genre of the discourse. Second, language allows the user to have control over the others by influencing other people to act in certain way according to what the speaker intends. Third, discourse might have indirect control upon people's actions through the influence of text and talk over the other people's mind. Fourth, when a discourse takes place in an uneven society, power is identified as the cause of the situation. Through the ideologies imposed in the discourse, discourse has the power to influence people. Fairclough (1995) suggests that ideologies invest language in various ways at various levels, both in the structure and events of the discourse.

Ideology is the property of structures which constitute the results of the present and past events. It manifests in the form of conventions, norms, and histories. Ideology is also the property of events, since events reproduce and transform in the structures of society. Ideology is possible to be transformed, and is open to various text interpretations. Ideology reveals both explicit and implicit meanings, intended or non-intended meanings. Wodak and Meyer (2009) suggests that ideology can be visible in a language even without contradiction. Fairclough (1995) argues that the richness of ideological elements in the producing and interpreting texts may be distributed in many different parts of the texts. This means that ideology always exists within the texts, since it is the base of the reality represented by the language in the text. However, the distribution of the ideology revealed in the texts can be found in different parts of the texts depending on the meanings represented through the text.

2.4. Texts, Ideology, Discourse and Power

In everyday use, a text would be taken to refer to a written document, such as a letter, a film script or a news report (Wooffitt, 2005). But in critical discourse analysis 'text' has a more complex meaning: it can refer to a speech or spoken discourse, written documents, visual images, or some combination of these three. Texts are regarded as multi-semiotic because many forms of representation may be combined in their construction. Take the example of a televised advertisement, in which spoken language, written words, visual images, music and special sound effects may all be used to portray a product, each of which adds layers of meaning and contributes to the sense or force of the advert. To obtain a rounded understanding of the production of meaning in texts it is thus necessary to extend the focus of analysis to include these kinds of non-linguistic representations.

It is argued that these ‘textural’ properties of texts must be included in analysis because they reflect broader cultural and social influences which in turn make them ‘extraordinarily sensitive indicators of sociocultural processes, relations and change’ (Fairclough, 1995). The concept of ideology is crucial in CDA. Ideologies are taken to be organized sets of beliefs which mobilise practices and viewpoints which sustain inequalities across society. Ideologies thus serve to protect the interests of powerful groups. They perform this function in subtle ways because they inform how we come to interpret the world around us: ideologies ensure that certain events, ways of acting and relationships come to be regarded as legitimate or appropriate. For example, in recent history, it is not hard to find instances of discriminatory social and legislative practices which are premised on the assumptions that heterosexuality is the ‘natural’ sexual orientation, or that women are ‘naturally’ more suited to child rearing and home making. Discourse and its texts are viewed as embodying ideological assumptions (Wodak, 2001.)

Thus, the ways in which we talk and write about the world reflect wider ideological pressures and, ultimately, particular constellations of power relations. Discourse, then, is the site of power. Fairclough (1989) has identified two aspects of the relationship between language and power. First there is power behind language. This points to the ways in which powerful groups can determine aspects of language. For example, he argues that the standardization of English pronunciation reflected the interests and influence of a merchant class which emerged in the southeast of England during the latter part of feudal society. They were able to define a particular way of speaking, their way, as the way of pronouncing English. This had important ramifications in Great Britain, the effects of which are still observable today. The very notion of a ‘regional’ accent to refer to non-standardized forms of speech assumes that

standardized forms of pronunciation were somehow unconnected to any specific part of the country, thus masking the disproportionate influence and power of a particular group with a clear geographical base.

It also established a benchmark by which other accents could be regarded as inferior. This is evident in many ways: for example, it is only in the past two or three decades that people with non-standardized accents have presented television programmes broadcast nationally in the UK. This in turn meant that people from outside the southeast of England were at a disadvantage in those social and work relationships and job interviews which tend to be conducted in middleclass London accents. Second, Fairclough identifies various ways in which power can work in language. In face-to-face or telephone interaction, there are constraints on the nature and extent of participation. There are constraints on content (what is said or done); constraints on the kinds of interpersonal relationships people enter when they engage in talk; and constraints on subject positions (the kinds of participatory roles which people can occupy in their discourse). In interaction between friends, these constraints may be flexible and relaxed, but in more formal encounters, a different set of assumptions become relevant. In doctor patient consultations, for example, it is likely that the patient will describe symptoms and the doctor will ask questions, offer a diagnosis and, if necessary, suggest a course of medical treatment. It is unlikely that either party will deviate from these normatively prescribed participatory roles without good reason.

2.5. Standards of Textuality

According to De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), textuality determined by some factors which depend on the participants, the intended message and the setting of occurrence... etc. Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) sum up these factors in five out of

the seven standards of textuality in which they can fulfill the communicative function of any text. These standards are:

Cohesion: It is the first standard of textuality, it refers to surface relations between the sentences that create a text, i.e., to create connected sentences within a sequence. The formal surface of the text components works according to grammatical forms and conventions. It helps the reader/hearer to sort out meaning and uses. According to Schiffrin, et al. (2001) cohesion is one aspect of the study of texture, which can be defined as the process whereby meaning is channelled into a digestible current of discourse “instead of spilling out formlessly in every possible direction” As shown in Halliday (1994), cohesion can be defined as the set of resources for constructing relations in discourse which transcend grammatical structure.

Coherence: It refers to the relation held between the under-surface text, which is made of concepts and relations and amount of their relevance to central thought of the text. Moreover, the concepts refer to the knowledge, which can be activated in the mind whereas relations refer to the connection between the surface texts (concept). According to Schiffrin, et al. (2001), texture is one aspect of the study of coherence, which can be thought of as the process whereby a reading position is naturalized by texts for listener/readers.

Intentionality: It refers to the text producer's attitudes that the set of linguistic resources of the text should handle the text in a way that fulfill the procedures intension and communicates the message to be conveyed in an appropriate and successful way.

Acceptability: It concerns to the text receiver's attitude that the set of linguistic resources of the text should provide the receiver with an ability to perceive any relevance of the text in question.

Informativity: It refers to all extent to which the presented information is known or not to the text receiver; i.e., it refers to the newness or the givenness of the information presented in the text. A text is said to be informative, no matter to its form and content.

2.6. Text and Context

According to Blommaert, (2005), critical trends in discourse analysis emphasis the connection between discourse and social structure. They locate the critical dimension of analysis in the interplay between discourse and society, and suggest ways in which features of social structure need to be treated as context in discourse analysis. For instance, in analyzing doctor and patient interaction, the facts that one participant is a doctor and another is a patient, and that this interaction consequently develops in an institutional environment, are crucial elements in understanding the power balance in that interaction. There will be a particular power dynamic because one is a doctor and another is a patient, and because this turns the particular interaction into an instance of an institutionalized genre.

Critical analysis is thus always and necessarily the analysis of situated, contextualized, language, and context itself becomes a crucial methodological and theoretical issue in the development of a critical study of language. There is a vast and significant literature on context (see, for example, Auer and Di Luzio, 1992; Duranti and Goodwin 1992), and the most general way of summarising it is to say that it addresses the way in which linguistic forms ‘text’ become part of, get integrated in, or become constitutive of larger activities in the social world. To some extent, this is self-evident: language is always produced by someone to someone else, at a particular time and place, with a purpose and so forth. But, given the history of linguistics as the study of an object defined as necessarily non-contextual and autonomous, attention to the

context-sensitive dimensions of language was something that required substantial argument.

2.6.1. Text Context of Situation:

According to Halliday and Hassan (1985), text cannot be approached without reference to the situation as the context "in which text unfolds and three situational parameters that help communicators make predictions about the kinds of meaning that are being exchanged. These are: field, tenor and mode of discourse. As stated in Weiss and Wodak, (2003, p.22), "our triangulatory approach is based on a concept of 'context' which takes into account four levels. The first level is descriptive, while the other three levels constitute part of our theories on context:

1. The immediate, language or text internal co-text.
2. The intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses.
3. The extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific 'context of situation' (middle-range theories).
4. The broader socio-political and historical contexts, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to.

As Cited in Deborah Tannen (2007), Becker captures the essentially relational nature of meaning in language by identifying six types of contextual relations that operate as constraints on text. These are:

1. structural relations (of parts to whole)
2. generic relations (of text to prior text)
3. medial relations (of text to medium)
4. interpersonal relations (of text to participants in a text-act)

5. referential relations (of text to nature and to “the world one believes to lie beyond language”)
6. silential relations (of text to the unsaid and unsayable).

2.7. Discourse and Media

According to Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton (2001), researchers often rely on sociolinguistic insights, either to characterize some dimension of media language, such as variation and style, or to inform related discourse level work, such as genre and register. According to Schiffrin et al. (2001) The discourse of the news media encapsulates two key components: the news story, or spoken or written text; and the process involved in producing the texts. The first dimension, that of the text, has been the primary focus of most media researchers to date, particularly as the text encodes values and ideologies that impact on and reflect the larger world. The second dimension, that of the process – including the norms and routines of the community of news practitioners – has been on the research agenda for the past several years, but to date no significant work has been completed.

According to Schiffrin et al. (2001), the ubiquity of media language and its easy accessibility make it a natural data source for linguists interested in the components of language and discourse and for other researchers interested in assessing the effects of language on culture. Given that the media is such a widespread purveyor of talk about our world and our position in it, it is a bit surprising that not more linguists attempt to work with it. However, those who have explored media discourse tend to select and utilize data that will allow answers to fundamental questions about language, about the nature of the news and the media, and about more abstract issues of language, action, thought, and society. According to Schiffrin, et al., (2001), unique distributions of discourse features occur in other media discourse, demonstrating more fully the range

of social and textual meanings implicit on the discourse level. Sentence-initial connectives in news stories show a communicative function overriding a prescriptive one (the “don’t start a sentence with a connective” rule).

Oratory: According to Altgeld (1901), Oratory is the greatest art known to man and embraces a number of great arts. He must furnish the ideas, he must clothe them in words, he must give these a rhythmic arrangement, and he must deliver them with care.

Knowledge: The orator must have a general knowledge of history, of literature, of religion, of the sciences, of human nature, and of affairs. He must have a full and special knowledge of the subject he attempts to discuss. He must present new ideas or old ideas in a new light. And they must be lofty ideas, that appeal to the nobler sentiments of men. Mind must commune with mind and soul must talk 'to soul, or there is no oratory. The soul of the speaker and the soul of audience must become one.

Language: His words must be simple, pure, chaste and crystalline- his sentences clear, epigrammatic and sparkling, and his arrangement logical, forceful and climacteric.

Arrangement: Arrangement is the third essential of oratory. Without it the effort is lost. The subject-matter should be treated from the point from which it naturally unfolds or develops.

Gesture: No rule can be given to determine when, where and how to gesture, except possibly the general one- be natural. Gesture is a part of the art of expression, and, when used without meaning, it simply mars the performance. Oratory is the masculine of music, and to a certain extent is governed by the same laws. It must have rhythm, cadence, measure, harmony and at times even melody.

Voice: Voice is as important to the orator it is the singer, and it must be trained with the same care. The speaker must be able to use his voice with the same facility that a singer does, or else his achievement will be meager.

Tone: In forming the voice, the principal object is to convert the breath into pure tone. Tone or sound travels with a velocity and acquires a power that impossible for breath. A man could hardly make his breathing heard twenty feet away; but vocalized it creates vibrations that travel to the question to the gates of eternity.

Articulation: Distinct articulation is the diamond of uttered speech. Without it there can be no sparking sentence and no flashing epigram. Without distinct articulation, it is difficult to understand a speaker even when nearby, and impossible to understand him when a little distance away.

2.8. Representing Background Knowledge

As mentioned in Brown and Yule (1983, p.236), background knowledge found in psychological and computational approaches to discourse understanding, are mainly used to account for the type of predictable information a writer/speaker can assume his hearer/listener has available whenever a particular situation is described. Given one particular situation, such as a restaurant scene, the writer/speaker should not have to inform his reader/hearer that there are tables and chairs in the restaurant, or that one orders and pays for the food consumed therein. Knowledge of this sort about restaurants is generally assumed. In representations of this knowledge, conventional aspects of a situation, such as the tables and chairs in a restaurant, can be treated as default elements. These default elements will be assumed to be present, even when not mentioned, unless the reader/hearer is specifically told otherwise. A good example of our ability as readers to provide default elements automatically was demonstrated in the consideration of the recipe text.

As cited in Brown and Yule (1983), Sanford and Garrod (1998) choose the term scenario to describe the 'extended domain of reference' which is used in interpreting written texts, 'since one can think of knowledge of settings and situations as constituting

the interpretative scenario behind a text'. Their aim is to 'establish the validity of the scenario account as a psychological theory'. According to the proposition-based approach, the existence of a *galamsey*, for example, in the mental representation which a reader has after reading a text about the mining industry, depends entirely on whether a *galamsey* was explicitly mentioned in the text. According to the scenario account, a text about curbing *galamsey* automatically brings a fight slot into the representation.

2.8.1. Schemata

Schemata are a general term for conventional knowledge structure that exists in memory. According to Brown and Yule (1983), one area of discourse studies, that related to story-grammars, in which appeal was made to the existence of a particular type of schema. For the proponents of story-grammars, there exists a socio-culturally determined story-schema, which has a fixed conventional structure containing a fixed set of elements. One of these elements is the 'setting' and an initial sentence of a simple story (e.g. President Akufo Addo goes tough on galamsey) can instantiate the setting element. It should be pointed out that, although a simple story may instantiate many elements in the story-schema, it is not suggested that the story has the schema. Rather, it is people who have schemata which they use to produce and comprehend simple stories, among many other things (e.g. place-descriptions in Brewer & Treyens, 1981).

Schemata are said to be 'higher-level complex (and even conventional or habitual) knowledge structures' (van Dijk, 1993), which function as 'ideational scaffolding' (Anderson, 1977) in the organization and interpretation of experience. In the strong view, schemata are considered to be deterministic, to predispose the experience to interpret his experience in a fixed way. We can think of racial prejudice, for example, as the manifestation of some fixed way of thinking about newly encountered individuals who are assigned undesirable attributes and motives on the

basis of an existing schema for members of the race. However, the general view taken of schemata in the analysis of discourse is much weaker. Rather than deterministic constraints on how we must interpret discourse, schemata can be seen as the organised background knowledge which leads us to expect or predict aspects in our interpretation of discourse.

2.9. The #StopGalamseyNow Campaign and the role of the Media

In 2017, the #StopGalamseyNow campaign, a campaign that was a culmination of efforts by members of the public to condemn galamsey, rose to prominence to place pressure on the government of Ghana to tackle the illegal practice. The hashtag would be utilized by non-profit groups, churches, and social organizations who mobilized around the fight to end galamsey activities. As Agobzo and Spassov (2019) note the media subsequently joined the cause by providing stories, photos, and videos on the damage caused by *galamsey*. A litany of media companies also banded together to place additional on the government to act (Agobzo & Spassov 2019). Moreover, a petition, which included signatures from key ministerial figures, was also presented to parliament. The #StopGalamsey campaign, in concert with extensive lobbying, helped to further embed notions of *galamsey* as inherently bad, and galvanize the Ghanaian citizenry to embrace the campaign and partake in calls to hold the Government accountable.

As Hilson (2017) states in his article titled Shootings and burning excavators: Some rapid reflections on the Government of Ghana's handling of the informal *Galamsey* mining 'menace', the Government of Ghana must evaluate its current approach to legalizing ASM and develop a new approach to the galamsey issue. Hilson's article critically examines the actions taken by the Government of Ghana to eliminate illegal small-scale and artisanal mining and the practice of *Galamsey*. He

postulates that the government's military and the police response to combat the illegal activity which has often been described as 'a menace', in the form of Operation Vanguard, will ultimately fail to eliminate illegal mining. At a time where many around the continent are debating on how to boost the Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining sector and harness the potential of the sector to improve rural livelihoods, the government seems to be doing the opposite. He states that using force to combat illegal mining is both inexplicable and unlawful as the armed forces and police often "take the law into their own hands, and their raids of communities always result in human rights abuses and the deaths of innocent people" and as a result, a police and military response will never work, nor has it ever worked (Hilson 2017, 114).

Instead, according to Hilson (2017), the focus must be on combatting the drivers of informality. Furthermore, he argues that the environmental issues surrounding *galamsey* need to be addressed in conjunction with efforts to understand the rapid growth of the *galamsey* sector. The #StopGalamsey campaign has had a significant effect on public perception of *galamsey* and how the *galamsey* operator has been framed, as the main cause of environmental degradation and the mass pollution of water bodies. The relationship between popular mainstream media and the Government of Ghana has been a unique relationship throughout Ghana's history. As Achiaa-Frimpong (2019) states, the media in Ghana has either functioned as a lapdog, providing support for the government, or as a watchdog, as an entity that acts to provide surveillance and demand for accountability on behalf of the citizens. Achiaa-Frimpong (2019) investigates the relationship between the two institutions examining the events about the rise of *galamsey* and studying the media's response.

Furthermore, she examines the role of the news media in Ghana through the utilization of the Media Coalition Against *Galamsey's* anti-*galamsey* campaign, the

significance of the campaign in the fight against galamsey, and how the Ghanaian media, in its role as the Fourth Estate, holds the government accountable. By analyzing the relationship between the media and government, and between journalist and politician, she demonstrates how both actors produce conceptualizations of the galamsey operators that depict them as a danger to the environment and the local communities that they inhabit. In her work, Achiaa-Frimpong (2019) investigates the role of the media as a fourth estate, as guaranteed under the Constitution of 1992. Under the 1992 Constitution, the media essentially acts as the “fourth arm of government” with the special right to constitute checks and balances over the other arms of government to ensure they do not abuse their powers (Achiaa-Frimpong 2019).

The media possesses the ability to empower, enlighten, and inform its citizens by addressing the social, political, and economic issues plaguing the country. By doing so, media narratives help to cultivate social movements and ultimately shape how popular opinion is formed, ballots are cast, and approval ratings fluctuate. This can also have a significant effect on communities and the challenges that they face. As issues such as poverty, unemployment, corruption, and infrastructure have significant impacts on the livelihoods of many, how the media chooses to develop and promulgates media narratives on said issues can influence popular opinion and drive support for or against government officials.

In Ghana’s case, Biney (2019) posits that the education of the citizenry by the media has strengthened activism within social circles, also acting as a catalyst in galvanizing and mobilizing the citizenry to rise against the operations and activities of galamsey operators. The environmental damage caused by both galamsey operators and large-scale mining operations has created an environment that is hosting the war

between the Government of Ghana, via operations such as “Operation Vanguard”, the media, and the *galamsey* operators themselves.

2.10. Empirical Review

2.10.1. Language in Discourse Analysis

Obeng’s (1997) study on language and politics discussed certain features of a text that make the text political. He outlines some contextual features such as content, purpose of the discourse, setting among others and, more importantly, rhetoric as major components in the area of politics. Obeng argues that an important aspect of political rhetoric is the ability of the politicians to communicatively ‘sell’ themselves, their ideologies or policies to the electorate. This suggests that to be a successful politician, the use of special arguments, speech forms and the art of persuasive language is key. Similarly, Wang’s (2010) work on the features of Barack Obama’s speeches indicates how Obama uses simple language to persuade his audience to accept and support his stance. Using systematic functional grammar, and focusing on transitivity and modality, Wang (2010) reveals that Obama uses simpler, short sentences instead of complex ones, easy and colloquial language structure, which shorten the proximity between him and his audience. Sarfo and Krampa’s (2013) study on “Language at war” examined six speeches of George Walker Bush and Barack Obama. The finding of this study shows that Bush and Obama projected terrorism negatively while anti-terrorism was projected positively, by carefully selecting emotionally charged vocabularies and expressions. In a similar study, Nyako (2013) analyses language, power and ideology, using critical discourse analysis of selected speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo and John Dramani Mahama. In the study, Nyako (2013) discusses how description, interpretation and explanation reveal the implicit underlying issues which the two presidential hopefuls employed to persuade their audience to validate their overt interest for power.

The findings of the study show that Nana Akufo-Addo and John Mahama utilised persuasive strategies such as self-projection, blurred agency, literary devices, intertextuality and speech acts to persuade their audience and by extension the electorate.

From the above, it is evident that language has an effect when it comes to discourse. It is significant to point out that language and politics meet at the threshold of power. Language is a powerful weapon and politics is itself concerned with the use of power. Indeed, men are engaged in politics as they try to define their positions in society, as they struggle for scarce resources and as they try to convince others to accept their point of view. We use language in ways which are subject to social convention, hence there is an internal and dialectical relationship between particular discursive practices and the specific fields of action (including situations, institutional frames and social structures), in which they are embedded. The situational, institutional and social settings shape and affect discourses, and on the other hand, discourses influence discursive as well as non-discursive social and political processes and actions. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects that are, they can help produce power or reproduce unequal power relations between social classes, women and men, and ethnic or cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people.

2.10.2. Power Relations

Opoku-Mensah's (2014) work on the "Rhetoric of Kwame Nkrumah" focused on the examination of the political speeches of Kwame Nkrumah. Anderson (2014) also analyzed some selected speeches of John Evans Atta Mills. The main focus of Anderson's work was to identify inherent stylistically significant features prevalent in the selected speeches to find a possible relationship between the background of the

political actor and the prevalent stylistic features. Utilising meta-function as postulated by Halliday (1970, 1978, 1985) and Onah's 'Concept of Peace' as perceived in the African traditional culture as frameworks, supported by Fairclough's (1989, 1995) three-dimensional model to the study of a text. The study showed that Atta Mills employed strategies such as repetition, positive self-projection and codeswitching as stylistic features. According to Anderson (2014), political actors use these stylistic features or strategies to present to their audience the kind of personality they would like to be associated with. Therefore, in order to achieve this goal, they develop a conception of themselves and present this to their audience. In the case of Atta Mills, he projected himself through his choice of words as a competent leader, one who has a grip of the country's economic situation and has the requisite solution to improve it and as selfless servant who is ready to sacrifice his all to the service of the country.

Ekwati (2019) attempted to reveal the relationship between language and power by using modal verbs in the Indonesian presidential speeches. She used Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA. Her findings showed that the president used modal verbs to construct an image about being a successful president. His discourse also contained some assumptions about social relations between the audience and his leadership. In the same vein, Unvar and Rahimi (2013) conducted a CDA study to investigate how certain ideologies are used and attitudes are produced through discourse. He analyzed the discursive structures in Obama's Victory Speech represented in the linguistic techniques of euphemization and derogation. The findings revealed that Obama chose certain words to express his desired ideology and point of view. Some terms emphasized the importance of being together and standing as a nation. Some others stressed the concept of 'US and Them', and showed how better 'WE' are as compared with Them.

Likewise, Al-Haq and Al-Sleibi (2015) conducted a critical discourse analysis study of three speeches of King Abdullah II. The aim of the study was to explore the linguistic strategies that King Abdullah II used in his speeches. He found that King Abdullah II uses creative expressions and intertextuality to persuade the American audience with his thoughts and ideas. He also used circumlocution to magnify and highlight a certain issue, namely, the American role in the peace process between Palestinians and Israelis. Houda (2016) examined the discursive structures in Hillary Clinton's 2016 presidential election campaign discourse. Fairclough's framework of critical discourse analysis was adopted. The study attempted to uncover the elements of gender references, rhetoric, frames and intertextuality. The findings revealed that Clinton's discourse contained elements that indicate gendered language, persuasive techniques, and framing that can all imply her ideology.

Power is central for understanding the dynamics and specifics of control (of action) in modern societies, but power remains mostly invisible. Power relations in society are often manifested in the use of language, text and talk, which are the primary media of social control and power. CDA sees power as a central condition in social life. When two people are engaged in conversation, each participant is concerned with how to make his viewpoint dominate the other. On the contrary, dominance may be enacted and reproduced by subtle, routine, everyday forms of text and talk that appear „natural and quite acceptable. Hence, CDA also needs to focus on the discursive strategies that legitimate, control, or otherwise „naturalize“ the social order and especially relations of inequality

Language and power are intimately related, as people influence others primarily through what they say and how they communicate. Language is entwined in social power in a number of ways: language indexes power expresses power, is involved

where there is contention over power and where power is challenged. Power does not derive from language but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distribution of power in the short and long term. language can also become a deliberate force in the hands of politicians who use them to shape social realities, to create new meanings, and to exercise power. Linguistic power breeds oppression in various ramifications and may lead to various forms of social inequality.

Hamood (2019) conducted a critical discourse analysis study of Trump's Discourse recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of occupation. The study aimed to find the influence of the American president official discourse on the identity of Jerusalem. In this study, Van Dijk thematic theory was applied to analyze the chosen speeches. The findings showed that Trump's decision was taken in isolation of others. Trump contradicted himself with regard to Palestinians and his local political considerations on a rational and realistic approach to external policy was uncovered. Lauritsen (2006) examined constructs of literacy and literacy education embedded in policy documents related to the United Nations Decades of Literacy (1990–2000 and 2003–2012) and argues that two important shifts related to discourse occur between the policies. The first shift is manifest in the construction of literacy as a concept and reflects the rising influence of New Literacy Studies (NLS), a body of research that emphasizes the plural, contextual, "ideological" (Street, 1993) nature of literacy as social practice. The second shift is marked by the intensification of the discourse of "new capitalism" (Fairclough, 2003; Gee, Hull, & Lankshear, 1996), which focuses on the societalization of economic globalization. In the "interdiscursive", Fairclough, (2003) assert the relationship between these two shifts, the discourse of new capitalism circumscribes features of the emerging "ideological" constructs of literacy, steering the policy's agenda toward neoliberalist ends. In clarifying discursive relationships in these influential policies, this

study contributes to an emerging body of scholarship (Street, 2003) that connects socio-cultural models of literacy to the discursive production of meaning in institutional literacy work. methodological path, a corpus of 24 academic articles published in this area is analyzed in relation to the recontextualization of socio-economic changes (presences and absences of social actors, processes and evaluation), the legitimation of educational goals through reference to these changes, the conceptualization of key terms (like culture, the other etc.), the implications of these theoretical decisions for the possibility of increased, mutual understanding and the form of academic writing (argumentation, debate, genre change). While the thesis aims to identify specific discursive and generic patterns, open them to contestation, and to explain their presence in these texts, it is also strongly normative and discusses questions related to the changing understanding of the nature, form and function of academic knowledge production in society.

CDA researchers are interested in the way discourse (re) produces social domination that is, the power abuse of one group over others, and how the dominated/oppressed groups may discursively resist such abuse. In essence, CDA aims at developing sensitivity and consciousness for text producers and consumers alike because at times even the dominant regime may equally be as unaware as the oppressed of the dominant potential of discourse. People usually view the text as the true reflections of realities and facts, hence, critical analysis of texts attempts to create awareness of the implicitly left, invisible sections of texts that tend towards misinformation, manipulation and misinterpretation. CDA sheds light on the fact that language is a very strong device in promoting certain ideologies, institutions and distorting realities hence, empowerment to the less privileged group to debunk the hidden messages through linguistic means.

One domain of discourse to which CDA has been applied so much in recent times is politics. The critical use of Discourse Analysis in applied linguistics is leading to the development of different approaches to understanding political messages, precisely campaign messages. On the international scene, researchers had investigated critically language, ideology, power and social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted and legitimized by language in use (Wodak, 2001). Issues like the environment or some ecological mess, taxes as well as good governance which can guarantee good jobs, among others, dominate political speeches. However, words are also misapplied adroitly in campaign speeches to hide truths.

2.10.3. Media Discourse and CDA

Language, as has been noted earlier, is a form of social practice by means of which power relations in society are reproduced or contested. In Newspaper Editorials, hidden ideological meanings are structured into the fabrics of the newspaper Editorials to project those whose interests are being served and those where interests are being undermined. Lagonikos (2005) carried out a research in *“ideology in Editorials: A comparison of Selected Editorials in English Medium Newspapers After September 11, 2011”*. The study applied Fairclough’s theory (1989) in conjunction with Systemic Functional Grammar. The analysis revealed the fact that the Editorials distinguish between us and them groups for the purposes of advancing and confirming in- group ideologies and agenda. This is achieved in each case through comparing the paper’s ideology with the opposing ideology which is presented as deviant and supportive of the in-group. The analysis of African Editorials, in particular, further levels the exploitation of this division for the purposes of promoting and interpreting local political and social issues. The current study is about power and unequal power relations in campaign texts and this makes it a different study from the one being reviewed. In

the same vein of comparison, Fruensgaard et al (2005) carried out a research on “*Critical Discourse Analysis of two articles from Time Magazine about George W. Bush jnr. Pre/Post Katrina* using Fairclough’s (1998) CDA theory. The findings reveal that the pre-suppositions made in *Person of the Year* imply a sense of righteousness and positive determination about the character and actions of George Bush presidency. In *Dipping his Toe into Disaster*, the ideological direction of the assumptions has taken a U-turn. In this article, the assumptions concerning values and the non-standard implicature are all negatively charged and all designed to support a discourse that is presenting Bush in a different way than the successful-man-of action – way in which he was presented in *Person of the Year*. The two researches reviewed above are ideologically driven and use Fairclough’s 1989 and 1998 CDA theory model respectively as their theoretical framework. The gap the present study intends to fill is in the investigation of power and unequal power relations in political discourse with particular reference to newspaper reports on Nana Addo’s speeches on fighting *galamsey* in Ghana which the previous studies have not covered. Also, the aspect of Fairclough’s Members’ Resources is very important in giving the background information of the texts. In looking at the methodology adopted by these two researchers, the present research will incorporate Fairclough’s CDA approach to establish the mental model representation involved which could lead to manipulation, influence or control of the dominated groups. Also, the work will consider, as well, the interpersonal relationship between the speaker and his audience; hence, the study also deploys Thompson’s Modes of Ideology.

In Africa, for instance, some scholars have employed linguistic and social approaches in their researches. Nasser and Marzieh (2010) applying Van Dijk’s (2004) politics, ideology and discourse framework analysed “*The Debates Between*

Republicans and Democrats over the Continuation of War in Iraq”, described how lexicalization, polarization and rhetoric were frequently used as effective devices in persuasion and justification of the proclaimed actions. Their study did not account for power relations and how each aspirant tries to manipulate or influence the electorate to win support. Khosravi Nik studied Iranian newspapers to show how political ideologies were produced and spread in texts in a covert way. He used four linguistic features, namely nominalization, active/passive, transactive/non-transactive and naming to show how language is manipulated to serve the goals of some political parties (137-63). He categorized and critically analysed them to prove how they are manipulated to serve the goals of certain political parties. Though Khosravi Nik’s study is ideologically driven and probes into the underlying intentions beneath the speaker’s/writer’s mind, it has not covered how texts work to (re) produce and legitimize power and dominance in society. Naz, Alvi and Baseer’s (125-141) studied “political language of Benazir Bhutto: A transitivity analysis of her speech *“Democratization in Pakistan”*” shows a linguistic spin in one of Benazir Bhutto’s political speeches. In her speech on September 25, 2007, the association between her linguistic form and function, and language manipulation, has been explored through the use of Hallidayian transitivity model. The study shows that she could employ linguistic choices quite perfectly according to situation. Her use of material processes shows her strong determination to re-establish democracy in an autocratic country. The mental processes ascertain her agony and anxiety seeing despotism. She won the heart of the people by using relational and behavioural processes. The use of spatial and temporal circumstances of manner gives weight and objectivity to her arguments.

The focus of this current study is the analysis of President Nana Akuffo Addo’s news stories on *galamsey* in the *Daily graphic Newspaper* Also, the present study

examines the most sensitive aspect of political discourse – presidential news stories and this is why it deploys Fairclough’s CDA approach to text analysis.

2.11. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study is critical discourse analysis and Thompson’s Modes of Ideology. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a branch of language study that has developed from discourse analysis (DA). The existence of CDA cannot be divorced from DA. Thompson distinguishes between two general types of conception of ideology. This distinction enables him to classify the various conceptions of ideology into two basic categories and serves as a springboard for the development of an alternative view. One general type is what he calls 'neutral conceptions of ideology'.

2.11.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse requires not only a local coherence within texts, but also an assessment of the significance or value of the global textual items within it (Sayer, 2006). However, the ability to understand the significance of items within a text is dependent upon the audience’s internal access to resources from outside the text. It is from within the audience’s notions of such social identity that coherence within the text can be constructed to narrate meaning via not only the selection and omission of textual items, but their evaluation as well. Additionally, within the narrative structures of discourse are the evaluative schemas by which narrators can convey ideological suppositions, reveal their degree of involvement within the action of the discourse and also confirm their recognition of audience expectations (Caldas-Coulthard, 1996).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) sees language as social practice (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), and considers the context of language use to be crucial. Thus, CDA

understands discourses as relatively stable uses of language serving the organization and structuring of social life. Within this understanding, the term ‘discourse’ is of course used very differently by different researchers and also in different academic cultures (Wodak, 2006a, b). Norman Fairclough is one of the most influential researchers in the domain of CDA taking a specific middle range theory based on Halliday’s systemic functional linguistics theory which denotes a “pragmatic, problem-oriented approach” (Meyer, 2001, p. 28). Based on Meyer (2001), Fairclough emphasizes on “social conflict in the Marxist tradition and tries to detect its linguistic manifestations in discourse in particular elements of dominance, difference and resistance” (p.22). Fairclough assumes a semiotic element for every social practice that is composed of dialectically related elements of “productive activity, the means of production, social relations, social identities, cultural values, consciousness and semiosis” (Fairclough, 2001b, p.122). In Fairclough’s view, CDA is the “analysis of the dialectical relationships between semiosis (including language) and other elements of social practices” (Fairclough, 2001b, p.123).

Genres and styles are the constituted elements composed of “these semiotic aspects of social practice” (Meyer, 2001, p. 22). Fairclough (2001a) called his particular method critical language study (CLS) and depicted it as “a contribution to the general raising of consciousness of exploitive social relations, through focusing upon language” (p.4). Chuliaraki and Fairclough (1999) consider CDA as an analytical approach that “brings social science and linguistics...together within a single theoretical and analytical framework, setting up a dialogue between them” (p.6). Systemic functional linguistics (SFL) is the base for most CDA approaches including Fairclough’s CLS (Fairclough, 2001a). Moreover, Foucault’s concept of orders of discourse, Gramsci’s

concept of hegemony and Habermas' concept of colonization of discourse are the theories that comprise the foundations of CLS (Fairclough, 2001a).

Based on Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), CDA is an approach that may theorize transformations and create “awareness of what is, how it has come to be, and what it might become, on the basis of what people may be able to make and remake their lives” (p. 113). They argued that CDA of a communicative interaction sets out to show that the semiotic and linguistic features of the interaction are systematically connected with what is going on what is going socially, and what is going on socially is indeed going on partly or wholly semiotically or linguistically. Put differently, CDA systematically charts relations of transformation between the symbolic and non-symbolic, between discourse and the non-discursive (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p.113). In analyzing any communicative event, CLS considers three simultaneous focuses: text, discourse practice and sociocultural practice (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Fairclough's method is similar to Van Dijk's model which is composed of three components of discourse, sociocognition and social analysis (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). The difference between Fairclough's and Van Dijk's models lies in the second part; in other words, Van Dijk assumes “social cognition and mental models as mediating between discourse and the society” (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 59), but Fairclough (2001a) considers discourse practice as the part which mediates between the other two parts.

Fairclough (1989, pp.14-15) assumes power, ideology, and language as a unitary system. He states: The gist of my position is that language connects with the social through being the primary domain of ideology, and through being a site of, and a stake in, struggles of power. In a nutshell, Fairclough's framework consists of three sections of “whatness”, “howness”, and “whyness”. Whatness refers to the description,

howness to the interpretation and whyness to the explanation. Fairclough's (2001a) analytical model is based on Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) that is composed of some "critical social theorists, such as Foucault (i.e. concept of orders of discourse), Gramsci (i.e. concept of hegemony), and Habermas (i.e. concept of colonization of discourse)", etc. Fairclough's model presented in following has three dimensions of "text", "interpretation", and "context". His approach assumes a dialectical relationship between language and other social elements. It means that there is an oscillation between text, interpretation, and context. A "text" is just a part of discourse. It means that "text", whether spoken or written, is the product of process, and the process has two dimensions of production and interpretation. In other words, "text" is the "product" of the "process of production", and the "resource" of the "process of interpretation" (Fairclough, 2001a, p.21). Discourse analysis regards the "formal properties of a text" as "traces in the productive process" and as "cues in the process of interpretation" (Fairclough, 2001a, p.21). Fairclough emphasizes on the interaction of text and "members resources (MR)". MR are composed of three subcategories of "social situation or immediate social environment", "social institution", and "the society".

Fairclough argues that the relationships existing between language and society are internal and dialectical; thus, language is woven in the society and is a part of it. It means that the way people speak, listen, read, or write is dictated by social issues, even in the situations in which people claim they keep their individualities (Fairclough, 2001a). It is worth mentioning that language is not only reflected and expressed by the social issues, but it also reflects and expresses social processes and practices (Fairclough, 2001a). It should be noted that language and society do not compose equal facets of a single whole but society comprises the single whole that language is a part of it (Fairclough, 2001a). In order to understand CDA in Fairclough's view, it is crucial

to have a vivid picture of the concept of discourse in Fairclough's three-dimensional model. Discourse refers to the whole process of communication (Fairclough, 2001a). This process pertains to “process of production” as well as “process of interpretation” (Fairclough, 2001a). Text comprises the product and resource of these two processes respectively (Fairclough, 2001a). Accordingly, discourse analysis is something more than text analysis. In other words, the formal features of the text are viewed as the traces and cues of these two processes respectively (Fairclough, 2001a).

Furthermore, an interaction between text and member resources is the chief characteristic of the “process of production” as well as “process of interpretation” (Fairclough, 2001a). In addition to these processes, an account of the way in which these processes are socially determined should be provided (Fairclough, 2001a). Hence, MR has two facets; on the one hand, it has a cognitive origin in the sense that it is shaped in the head of the speakers; on the other hand, they are shaped by social issues (Fairclough, 2001a). People incorporate socially produced practices, i.e. MR and make use of them to take part in discourse as a social practice (Fairclough, 2001a). Likewise, discourse entangles social conditions that pertain to “social conditions of production” and “social conditions of interpretation” (Fairclough, 2001a, p.20). These conditions have a connection with “three levels of social organization, [i.e.] the immediate social environment, the social institution, and society” (Fairclough, 2001a, p.20). Accordingly, social conditions determine the MR people resort to, in production or interpretation, and these MR dictate “the way in which texts are produced and interpreted” (Fairclough, 2001a, p.21). Thus, CLS emphasizes that since language is a social phenomenon, analysis of the text, processes of production and interpretation, as well as the relationship between texts, processes and their social conditions should be considered (Fairclough, 2001a).

Hence, in dealing with ideologies, CDA is an analytical research method that critically analyzes these natural and innate beliefs (Ho, 2009). It is worth emphasizing that CDA framework is not a new paradigm in which the relation between language and ideology is emphasized. In fact, Sapir and Whorf's (1956) theory of "linguistic determinism" was the beginning of the hypothesis that states the relationships between ideology and language (Sapir, 1929). Edward Sapire and Benjamin Whorf firstly introduced the theory of linguistic determinism—a theory that states that the social reality that people achieve is directed by the language they are communicating (Weatherall, 2002). In other words, it is argued that the theory of the impact of sexist language on thought and behavior is driven from Sapire and Whorf's hypothesis. Accordingly, language expresses, perpetuates, and establishes gender and even causes sexism as a social reality in the society (Weatherall, 2002). Hodge and Kress (1993) identify two kinds of ideology: "political ideology" and "global or neural ideology".

Hodge and Kress (1993) are among the ones who have introduced a model in investigating ideology. Their model presents a "syntagmatic" one, consisting of some assumptions in regard to the interaction of language, thought, ideology and a classification system. This model has two parts: actionals, i.e. transactive vs. non-transactive and relationals, i.e. equative vs. attributive (Hodge & Kress, 1993). CDA concerns about power and control as well as intertextuality and contextualization (Rahimi & Sahragard, 2007). In CDA, power means differences and the consequences of these differences in social structures; and so, language provides a means for challenging power—for example grammatical forms or persons' control of genre are contributed to some forms of power (Rahimi & Sahragard, 2007). It means that "discourses are ideological; accordingly the selected signs in any discourse are ideologically laden" (Rahimi & Sahragard, 2007). Fairclough (1995a) views "ideology"

as: Ideologies are not unalterable, sticky or unitary structures, rather, they are malleable substances prone to different arenas of interest and the social forces involved (p.17). It seems that Fairclough (1995a) regards consciousness of the role language plays in relation to dominance as a crucial aim of language education. He states that ideological structures are formed by power relations. In fact, ideologies are particular molds of thinking and actions that form people's understanding of the world around them (Fairclough, 1995a). He states that the unequal power relationships existing between social classes, women and men, as well as between ethnic or cultural majorities and minorities are the result of discursive practices. He assumes power as fulfilling two functions; on the one hand, it is influential as in advertising, politics, media and culture, on the other hand, it is instrumental as used in law, education, business and management, either overtly or covertly.

2.11.2. Approaches of CDA

In spite of the consensus that CDA as a discourse analytical research examines “the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (Van Dijk, 2001, p.352), it does not have a unitary theoretical framework. However, there are various approaches that are available to the critical discourse analyst who is able to take an explicit position to understand, unveil and resist social inequality (ibid). In the view of van Dijk (2001), the significant feature of CDA is to provide a kind of “mode” or “perspective” of theorizing, analysis, and application and this separates CDA from other areas such as pragmatics, sociolinguistics, rhetoric or media analysis. CDA is not a particular direction or a specialization that is akin to other approaches in discourse studies (van Dijk, 2001). Wodak (2011) points out that the approaches in CDA emerge from

different theoretical backgrounds and make use of different data and different methodologies.

There is a considerable variation that exists within the set of approaches to the study of discourse. According to Lukac (2011), there are six different approaches: Discourse Historical, Corpus Linguistics, Social Actors, Dispositive Analysis, Socio-cognitive and Dialectical Relational. Van Dijk (2007) identifies four approaches, while Fairclough, Mulderrig and Wodak (2011) elaborate on six approaches. However, the groundwork for CDA as the popular area of study was started by critical linguists. Critical linguistics (CL) as a new research paradigm came into the limelight during the 1970s. Citing Fairclough (2002), Chinwe (2013) lists CL scholars such as Roger Fowler, Robert Hodge, Tony Trew and Gunther Kress whose works have had a great influence on the CDA.

This approach was linked to systemic linguistic theory which stressed the practical ways of analyzing text. But their early works used transformational grammar as the analytic methodology. The proponents of this approach such as Fowler, Kress, Hodge and Trew (1979), Fowler (1991), and Kress and Hodge (1979) gave serious attention to the role of grammar as it related to ideological analysis. By that, CL alerted researchers to the ideological power of some grammatical features like passive constructions and nominalisation. Again, CL provided the guide that some linguistic forms and other features like metaphors, argumentative fallacies, rhetorical devices and presupposition are a fertile starting point for critical analysis of social injustice and inequality. The main point of the proponents was relying on the transformations to make it easier for analysts to reveal the intentions and deceptions that are cleverly covered up in complex structures. This approach of CDA is seen as an attempt to read off ideological analysis from such forms in order to make the description of the object under

study easy. The snag is that CL does not link the critical interpretation of ideology to the social context. But a precise approach in the study of discourse is Fairclough's (1989) views on language and society. This approach by Fairclough (1996) recognizes language, whether written or spoken, as a form of a social practice. Therefore, this CDA approach places language and society at the centre of the discussion.

Fairclough (1996) outlines three assumptions upon which this concept of CDA hinges. First, language is part of society. Linguistic phenomenon is also social phenomenon. At the same time, social phenomenon is also partly a linguistic phenomenon. Language, whether in speech or in writing, cannot be divorced from the society. When individuals or groups engage in writing or speaking, they are involved in social relationships. Language therefore cannot only be seen as a measure of the relationships, but also a yardstick of how the language affects the individuals in their maintenance or change of the relationships. Social phenomenon is linguistic phenomenon implies that language activity in the social context does not just project or express social processes or practices, but it is a significant part of those practices and processes. Second, language is a social process. Language becomes substantial only when it is in the form of text, spoken or written. In CDA, text is not discourse, but it is seen as a product of text production and the means of interpretation. In producing and interpreting text, speakers and analysts rely on what they have in mind, which will include knowledge of language, natural and social worlds, values, beliefs and assumptions and many others. In simple terms, Fairclough (2002) points out that text shows or connects with the productive process and interpretative process.

Third, language is a social practice determined by other factors in the society, that are not necessarily linguistic (Fairclough, 1989). Ordinarily, people imbibe what is socially produced and made available to them. They make use of what they acquire in

their social practices, of which discourse is part. Those who produce and interpret text rely on what they have in their mind and then what is socially generated and transmitted. What participants have in mind in producing and interpreting text are Member's Resources and they have cognitive and social features because they are generated from mind and society (Shayegh & Nafibar, 2012). The central point of this CDA approach is to blend the analysis of discourse within linguistic theory and social theory.

Again, it seeks to make the context of language use a very important part of CDA (Fairclough, 1996). This study takes a critical perspective of not only of abstract use of language but social and context of the president Akufo Addo's reported speeches on the fight against *Galamsey* in the *Daily Graphic Newspaper*. Fairclough's approach moves across other disciplinary areas to make use of the understandings of disciplines that are in contact. Having acquired the analytic methodology from the grammatical tools of Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar, this approach does not limit its analysis to only texts and specific discursive practices, but emphasizes the text as the result of the process in which discourse is interconnected to social structures in production and interpretation. This study follows the approach explained by Fairclough. The emancipatory goals of CDA notwithstanding, some scholars have critiqued how practitioners use CDA. What follows is a brief discussion of some of these critiques.

2.11.3. Criticisms against Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis has been criticized for philosophical and methodological reasons, by scholars who use other approaches to text analysis. Particularly, practitioners of Conversation Analysis (CA) have been the most critical of CDA approaches. Schegloff (2015), for instance, pits Conversational Analysis (CA) against CDA with the claim that CA is empirically grounded, avoids overt political motivations that move the analysis towards certain predetermined goals, and focuses on

the texts without political presuppositions. He advocates for a formalist approach that focuses on the text, without external considerations of any sort, as an initial attempt at arriving at the political goals of CDA. Further, he rejects the claim made by Critical Discourse analysts that it is important to approach an analysis by selecting salient contexts that make the analysis worthwhile. To Schegloff (2015), such arbitrary selection makes the methodology of CDA unscientific, and thus unreliable, and raises the question of whose text and whose context is important.

Schegloff's claim, and indeed that of CA in general, has been responded to by several analysts in the CDA tradition. Billig (1999), for example, has noted that CA is not ideologically neutral. The claim that CDA is politically motivated is as true of CA as it is of CDA. The analytic terms used by CA as well as the specialist terminologies employed by its analysts do not originate from the participants in a conversation, but rather are ideologically motivated and are assigned by those analysts. Billig (1999) argues, therefore, that the labelling of participants in CA is just as based on assumptions about what is useful for an analysis as when CDA explicitly identifies power as its goal. Billig (1999) posits, then, that there are probably more commonalities between the approaches than CA practitioners recognize. Another critique of CDA is the notion that contrary to its professed emancipatory goals, the analyses do very little in terms of improving socio-economic conditions.

In contrast to this claim, Fairclough (2015) argues that more than a critique of discourse, CDA aims to “analyze and criticize, and ultimately to change, the existing social reality in which such discourse is related in particular ways to other social elements such as power relations, ideologies, economic and political strategies and policies” (p. 5). His example about the nexus between the discourse of marketization of universities and neoliberal capitalism is an important case of how a politically oriented

analytical method such as CDA can become significant in advocacy for change in social practices and systems.

Finally, more recent criticisms of CDA have engaged gaps in CDA research, such as the neglect of the cognitive elements in discourse formation. Here, Chilton (2004), for example, has advocated for the inclusion of a cognitive dimension to CDA, since, according to him, it is mental schemas that determine how individuals first envision and then construct the world in talk and text. Further, Lazar's (2007) work has focused on feminist ideals in CDA research through her argument that feminism as a political cause is not accounted for in CDA research, although CDA, broadly construed, focuses on gender inequality as one of its political goals.

Feminist CDA, as Lazar calls her approach, could fill the gaps not addressed by the study of gender in CDA, for gender, according to Lazar, is not necessarily feminist. Criticisms like Chilton's (2004) and Lazar's (2007) enable us to envision how an interdisciplinary approach could help fill some of the gaps identified in CDA research. A combination of approaches provides an impetus for the rhetorical (critical) discourse analysis used in this research project.

2.12. Thompson's Modes of Ideology

Thompson (1990, p.56) calls his conception of ideology a 'critical conception of ideology' because he wants to reserve ideology for those meanings 'which serve to establish and sustain relations of domination'. In both *Studies in the Theory of Ideology* (1984) and *Ideology and Modern Culture* (1990), Thompson distinguishes five general modes through which ideology can operate: legitimation, dissimulation, unification, fragmentation, reification.

Legitimation: Relations of dominion may be established and sustained by being represented as legitimate, just, and worthy of support. The representation of relations

of domination as legitimate may be regarded as a claim to legitimacy that is based on certain grounds, expressed in certain symbolic forms and which may, in given circumstances, be more or less effective. Legitimacy may be based on rational grounds (appealing to the legality of enacted rules), traditional grounds (appealing to the sanctity of immemorial traditions) and charismatic grounds (appealing to the exceptional character of an individual person who exercises authority). Claims based on such grounds may be expressed in symbolic forms by means of certain typical strategies of symbolic construction. By means of this strategy, institutional arrangements which serve the interests of some individuals are represented as serving the interests of all, and these arrangements are regarded as being open in principle to anyone who has the ability and the inclination to succeed within them. Claims to legitimacy may also be expressed by means of the strategy of narrativization: claims are embedded in stories that recount the past and treat the present as part of a timeless and cherished tradition. Indeed, traditions are sometimes invented in order to create a sense of belonging to a community.

Dissimulation: Relations of domination may be established and sustained by being concealed, denied or obscured, or by being represented in a way which deflects attention from or glosses over existing relations or processes. Ideological dissimulation may be expressed in symbolic forms by means of a variety of different strategies. One such strategy is displacement which is used to refer to one object or individual is now used to refer to another; thereby the positive or negative connotations of the term are transferred to the other object or individual. Thompson (1990) assert that one can dissimulate social relations by confusing or inverting the social relations between for example particular groups and broader social and/or political groups.

Unification: Relations of domination or maintained by constructing at the symbolic level a form of unity that unites individuals in a collective identity despite differences that separate them. For example, using English as standardised national language creates collective identity.

Fragmentation: Fragmenting/dividing is done to groups or individuals that can threaten dominant groups. Under fragmentation, Thompson (1990) alludes to the fact that written text or language can be used for the expurgation of the other. He indicates that the construction of an enemy portrayed as evil and harmful and individuals are called on to unite and resist.

Reification: This is done by representing a transitory, historical state of affairs as if it were permanent and natural state of affairs (outside time). This involves the suppression, elimination, or obfuscation of social and historical nature of any event or process. The socially instituted division of labour between men and women is represented as a natural event, the inevitable outcome of natural characteristics

Thompson (1990) does not claim that these five modes are the only ways in which ideology operates, or that they always operate independently of one another. These modes may overlap and reinforce one another, and ideology may, in particular circumstances, operate in other ways. When he associates certain modes of operation with certain strategies of symbolic construction, he does not maintain that these strategies are uniquely associated with these modes, or that the strategies mentioned are the only relevant ones. What he says is that certain strategies are typically associated with certain modes.

In addition, he identifies different kinds of symbolic construction which are typically associated with each of these modes. In fact, what he is doing is identifying the linguistic and non-linguistic symbols which are regularly used to obtain particular

ideological effects. He is careful to limit his claims: these symbols are not only or always used for these purposes, nor are these modes of ideology only realised in these ways, nevertheless he gives us a useful way of thinking the relation between symbolic forms, including those that are linguistic, and social effect.

Ideology, then, can be mediated through language in use, for language is used in the process of communication to form ideas and beliefs. Language is thus not simply a structure for communication but “a social-historical phenomenon which is embroiled in human conflict” (Thompson, 1984, p. 2). Therefore, it is suggested that, instead of focusing on sentence structure and sign systems, an investigation of the interrelations of language and ideology is to look at how language expressions function as a means of social- historical production and reproduction (Thompson, 1984). Discourse in this sense refers to language in context and society, which manifests not only the linguistic features but also the interaction between the text and the world. As a term used in various disciplines with divergent meanings, discourse is defined and employed mainly in two fields, linguistics and social theory. In linguistics, discourse involves a range of language in use from spoken texts to types of language used in different social situations. In social theory, discourse is regarded as a means to represent as well as construct social practices and relations.

2.13. Relevance of the Theories to this Study

The analysis of news reports on *galamsey* in the Daily Graphic Newspaper with a focus on President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo warrants the use of such theories (Critical Discourse Analysis theory and Thompson’s Modes of Ideology). CDA as a framework affords the present work a number of advantages. It ascertains the view that linguistic relations establish relations of power and ideology. Fairclough’s (1989) model recognizes that CDA operates first with a dialectical relationship between micro

structures (linguistic features) and the macro structures of society (societal structures and ideology). In this vein, the micro-structures of discourse are a measure of macro-structures of society since the micro structures are able to reproduce larger social and ideological structures. The oppression, marginalization and other inequalities that are experienced by the vulnerable in society are reflected in the language of the powerful in society. In addition, CDA sees language as a form of social practice, and as such critical discourse studies show how language mediates and represents the world from different points of view. Fairclough (2003) says that language is not separated from sociological, psychological, and physical elements, but all have an influence on each other.

According to Fairclough, the sociological elements have institutional and organizational structures, procedures and rituals but include the institutional aspects of a political system. The psychological elements have to do with the set of knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and feelings that are expressed. The physical elements are the bodily actions that accompany the discourse and the environments within which the discourse is found. The last element of social practice is that language includes semiotics that has gestures and bodily actions and language itself, which can be written or spoken. One important feature of the Fairclough's approach to CDA is that it underscores the importance of the close analysis of texts. According to Jorgensen and Philips (2002), using Fairclough's toolbox makes it possible to discover a way of beginning the analysis. Also, many features that may go undetected in the ordinary reading can easily be identified in the text. This is because Fairclough's approach posits that any ideological analysis should rely on the evidence that will be drawn from the analysis of the text.

One of the tools recommended by Fairclough is the systematic linguistic analysis of the text. Chinwe (2013) notes that CDA scholars, in their work, take political stance explicitly and apply critique to the analysis of the oppressive, manipulative and repressive propaganda in language use. Such CDA studies, Martins (2007) claims, rely on the concept of social practice to examine language and its connection with power and ideology, and the language of those in power. CDA helps to question the language of the people responsible for the existence of inequalities and those who have the means to change the status quo. It evaluates how the exercise of power is effected through language since the production and reproduction of the social order is dependent on practice and processes of cultural nature, of which language is part and language as a social practice. In the sense, CDA sees language use as not divorced from physical, sociological and psychological underpinnings.

Thompson's theory of ideology will help in ascertaining the way the journalists cover and write stories on the president in relation to galamsey and the ideology behind such stories. The strength of Thompson's theory of ideology is that it provides CDA with powerful machinery for understanding the relationship between language, power and domination. Its weakness is that it does not provide a machinery for analysing the ways in which subordinated groups harness language to contest dominant practices.

2.14. Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented the theoretical framework and review of literature. The chapter dealt with the definitions of discourse and critical discourse analysis, the notion of power and ideology, previous studies on presidential speeches. The next chapter will describe the methodology.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

3.0. Introduction

This chapter describes the methods of data collection and analysis adopted in this study. It focuses on the Research approach and Research Design adopted for the study. The subject of study, sample and sampling procedures, choice of newspaper, unit of analysis, data collection methods were also discussed. Furthermore, the newspaper content analysis was employed to gather data. The chapter also contains the coding protocol, method of data analysis, discourse content analysis, thematic analysis and credibility of the research process.

3.1. Research Approach

The research employs the qualitative approach to research. This is due to the focus and goal of this approach. The qualitative method of analysis focuses on a holistic description of events, procedures, and philosophies occurring in natural settings with the aim of making accurate situational decisions (Stainback & Stainback, 1989). In this regard, culturally specific information about the values, opinions or behaviours of a given population within a particular social context are considered. Patton (2002) also reiterated that, a qualitative analysis aims at uncovering emerging themes, patterns, concepts, insights, and understandings. Reinard (1994) commenting about the nature of this approach also postulated that it uses descriptions of observation expressed in predominantly non-numerical terms. Stickdorn and Schneider's (2010), speaking about numbers, noted that even though they impress, they also conceal far more than they reveal. This implies that qualitative analysis applies tools which trigger an in-depth response to situation.

According to Patton (2002), the nature of the sources of data for qualitative analysis which include interviews, observations, survey questions, narrative scripts and documents, informs the types of questions asked. These questions are geared toward complex processes, exploration, and discovery. Patton (2002, p. 514), advised that since the product of exploration and discovering do not come easy, one must have multiple and diverse ways of thinking about a problem, engaging in what he calls “mental excursions” using multiple stimuli, “side-tracking” or “zigzagging,” altering patterns of thinking, drawing linkages between the “seemingly unconnected,” and “playing at it,” with the goal of “opening the world to us in some way” (p. 544). Qualitative data analysis also follows a general inductive approach since it does not impose explicit theories on the data to test a specific hypothesis. The data instead are permitted to speak for themselves through the use of conceptual categories and descriptive concepts. These themes are usually grounded in a framework of interconnected ideas that make sense. The conceptual framework is then interpreted by the researcher with reference to the given literature on the topic in an attempt to explain, with a theory, the phenomenon being studied. Many different interpretations are generally considered before the researcher builds a meaningful argument in the most transparent way possible (to help reveal how the conclusion was arrived at) so that others may judge the validity of the study.

This analytic procedure will be used in the current study because the research deals with written political speeches which will be appraised to bring to light the stylistically significant features as well as the contextual functions. This makes qualitative approach the most suitable for this work. According to Fairclough (2001), the analysis of a text consists of the study of the structures of language produced. In this regard some selected aspects of the data will be analysed using systemic functional

linguistics to unearth their syntactic patterns due to their potency in revealing the actors and the processes they undergo. The features of transitivity, voice and literary devices will therefore be analysed. The discursive analysis focuses on the production, consumption and reproduction of the text. Interpretation of the text is crucial at this stage and so the researcher will try to unravel the foregrounding elements or stylistically significant elements inherent in the text.

3.2. Research Design

This study employs a discourse-analytic framework that sheds light on how the discourses of galamsey by President Akufo-Addo are constructed by the *Daily Graphic Newspaper*. I proposed to undertake a critical discourse study of news stories of President Akufo-Addo's discourse on the galamsey menace in an effort to better understand how language and other semiotic signs impact the fight against galamsey. In so doing, I take the position of Fairclough (1989; 1992) and other critical discourse analysts (e.g., Wodak, 2001; Wodak & Meyer, 2009) who recognize that language use is a "form of social practice in which individuals act upon the world and especially upon each other" (Fairclough, 1992, p.63). Fairclough (1992, 1995, 2003) argued that through the close, careful study of language, it is possible to not only describe and interpret representations, but also to explain the formation of relationships, structures, and processes that affect individuals who are embedded in language.

CDA goes beyond traditional discourse analysis by not only seeking to describe language in use, but also to analyze, interpret and explain the significance of the relationship of representations embedded in discourse (Fairclough, 2001; Gee, 2005; Kress, 2010). The "critical" component to Fairclough's (2001) theoretical approach is concerned not only with overt or seemingly obvious representations in language, but also with obscured or opaque messages veiled or embedded when given only a cursory

overview. Methodologically, Fairclough (1992; 1993; 1995; 2001) provides an analytic framework researcher using CDA can employ to illuminate representations within the text. Fairclough's framework provides a systematic set of inquiries to analyze both textual and visual constructs in relation to social phenomena. Richardson (2007) points that CDA goes beyond a simple content analysis and strives to unearth the complex and varied processes of meaning-making manifested in and within texts. In essence, CDA allows for recursive movements between linguistic and social properties with a discursive set of inquiries that examine of textual and visual representations and the ability to examine micro-level representations in text that contribute to macro-level explanations of what the representations mean at a societal level (Rogers, 2004).

3.3. Subject of Study

The selection of newspaper stories on *galamsey* in the *Daily Graphic Newspaper* for this study is conversant by a number of considerations. Ofori-Birikorang (2009) posit that it is a major source of information in a developing country like Ghana where every event is documented and passed on to various audiences. Secondly, newspapers are one of the most accessible and inexpensive sources of information and found to be a strong source of information in shaping the opinions of society, are widely used and acceptable by researchers (Wasserman, 1999). Thirdly, newspapers are hands-on and are substantive value to research in framing (Valeda, 2002).

Ofori-Birikorang (2009) also acknowledged that the interest of the general public in connection with newspapers in Ghana has been heightened by radio stations as morning shows on television and radio stations discuss headlines and other topical issues in the newspapers. By inference, one can say that newspapers affect the views of people and encourage public discourse among Ghanaians. Other broadcast programmes such as late-night talk shows, weekend talk shows and afternoon drive-time shows,

discuss issues published in the newspapers. Researchers in communication, conflict and peace studies (Adisa et al. 2016; Galtung, 2010; Yang & Heng 2019) used newspapers for their studies. Since the current work looks at the fight against the menace of galamsey by Nana Akufo-Addo, newspaper reports are accessible as the suitable type to be used for the study.

3.4. Sample and Sampling Procedure

For the purpose of this study, five news stories were chosen, using the purposive sampling technique. The choice of this sampling technique was due to the fact that it aids in the selection of “those elements that satisfy certain requirements or criteria critical to the research purpose” (Nworgu, 2006, p.108). Mugenda (2011) observes that purposive sampling method is a technique that makes it possible for an investigator to study cases with required information. Subjects are hand-picked for the sole reason that they have the required characteristics. Sarantakos (1998) and Fraenkel and Wallen (2003) opined that “purposive sampling method allows the researcher to choose the subjects who in his opinion are relevant to the research topic”. To them, this calls for identification of the subjects. Since it is not practical to use all the people in the study area, it is prudent that a sample that is representative of the population is selected.

In purposive sampling, the researcher handpicks sample elements judged to be typical or representative from the population (Tuckman, 1994). In support of Tuckman’s assertion, Shaughnessy, Zechmeister and Zechmeister (2000) claim that in purposive sampling, the investigator selects the element to be included in the sample on the basis of their special characteristics. Purposive sampling was used in selecting the five (5) news stories on President Akufo-Addo’s fight against *galamsey* in the *Daily Graphic Newspaper*. Indeed, the researcher had no choice but to use all the sample involved in the study since they were small.

The purposive sampling was therefore chosen since it posits amongst other things that a previous knowledge of the data is required by the researcher. This promotes efficiency by ensuring that the data chosen is useful to the objectives of the research. Conversely, it also helps ensure that unwanted material does not interfere with the analysis. According to Patton (1990), the significance of purposeful sampling is embedded in selecting information-rich situations or samples (those that readers can learn a great deal about issues of significance to the purpose of the research) for study in depth. It must also be noted that some of the news stories were chosen due to the popularity they enjoyed and the impact they had on the citizenry at the particular time. The type of purposive sampling which encourages this approach is the theory-based or operational construct sampling. This allows the researcher to sample data based on the manifestations and revelations of a theoretical construct of interest so as to elaborate and examine the construct. In this sense, data is chosen to fit into or mimic a favoured phenomenon chosen by the researcher.

The sample for my study consisted of texts found in *The Daily Graphic Newspaper*. Selected news stories that contained discourses of galamsey by President Akufo Addo from January 2021 to May 2021, a period noted for the number of galamsey taskforce operations at vantage places in the country were sampled. By using texts from *The Daily Graphic Newspaper*, I covered a comprehensive range of news stories on galamsey by other government officials. This study provides “naturally occurring” texts, which according to Phillips and Hardy (2002) are those which “appear in the normal day-to-day activities of the research subjects” and are better for analysis since they “form part of the discourses that constitute the phenomenon under investigation” (p. 70-71). Data were collected from *The Daily Graphic Newspaper* which were purchased by the researcher. I searched for texts, with selected phrases and

keywords, developing a purposeful and meaningful sample of articles for data analysis. Given the volume of articles published by The *Daily Graphic Newspaper* relating to galamsey, the challenge, therefore, in collecting data for a critical discourse analysis study was producing a “manageable relatively limited corpus of texts that is helpful in exploring the construction of the object of analysis” (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 72).

3.4.1. Choice of Newspaper

The *Daily Graphic* is a 64-page state-owned daily newspaper published by Graphic Communication Group Limited. The *Daily Graphic* which has become synonymous with the newspaper provides information to the majority of newspaper readers, especially the elite. It is therefore important to assess what informs the choice of certain news items over others and why some news items are presented prominently on the front page over others since in the opinion of Reisner (1992, p.971), the front page of a newspaper is the most important page. The *Daily Graphic* has carved out a certain niche market based on its distinctive ‘house style’ (Hasty, 2006). The *Daily Graphic* has the largest nationwide readership which includes elites who influence government decisions and also make national policies (Nunoo, 2016). Though a state-owned newspaper, the *Daily Graphic* still operates as an independent newspaper. Appointment of the Board Chairman and the Board Members is however provided for in the Constitution of Ghana and it is done by the National Media Commission in conjunction with the Civil Services Secretariat.

The study uses stories written on president Akufo-Addo by the Presidential Correspondent for *Daily Graphic Newspaper*, Donald Ato Dapatem concerning the fight against galamsey. The stories of focus are:

1. *Let’s discuss galamsey devoid of partisanship*, Jan. 6, 2021;
2. *Akufo-Addo touts successes chalked in galamsey fight*, Feb. 20, 2021;

3. *Galamsey fight demands consensus – President Akufo-Addo*, Apr - 15 – 2021;
4. *Gov't bent on ending galamsey – President*, April 24 – 2021;
5. *President Akufo-Addo endorses destruction of illegal mining excavators*, May, 26 – 2021.

The hard copies of the stories have been attached (**Appendix A**).

3.4.2. The Justification for the Use Akufo Addo's Speeches in the Daily Graphic

In looking for a person or articles that will be suitable for this study, President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo's news reports on galamsey in the Daily Graphic Newspapers was considered. His Campaign messages have stressed the way 'galamsey' activities are destroying water bodies and having negative environmental impact on our environments. When he came into power, his government set up a task force to deal with individuals involved in *galamsey* activities. The news reports constitute not only the voice of Nana Akufo Addo as an individual who is playing a key role in ensuring that the galamsey menace is brought to the barest minimum, but also the voice of the members of the various communities that their water sources have been curtailed and their farmlands destroyed. Again, the reports are a reflection of the feelings, attitudes and reactions to the many dimensions of the events surrounding galamsey. This work is based on power and ideology in language and investigating the news reports of President Akufo Addo will portray how ideology and power are enacted in the political discourse.

3.5. Unit of Analysis

In providing a critical discourse analysis of President Nana Akufo-Addo's news stories on galamsey in the Daily Graphic written by Donald Ato Dapatem, stories found on the front page and page three (3) were included in the data set and it therefore

constituted the unit of analysis. Wimmer and Dominick (2003), note that the unit of analysis consists of lowest component of content analysis and it is the rudimentary part of the text to be classified by means of content analysis. The news articles in the study are related to only front-page and page 3 galamsey stories. It excludes editorials, opinion piece and feature articles. It involves five (5) stories published between January 2021 to May 2021, sampled and content analysed to established their inclusion.

3.6. Data Collection Method

The study employed qualitative content analysis as procedures for gathering the data. This method provided the researcher the means to gather appropriate data that can help in analysing the phenomenon under study. Qualitative content analysis of the newspaper facilitated the collection of needed data that helped in answering the research questions of the study.

3.6.1. Newspaper Content Analysis

Qualitative contents analysis of the newspaper stories served as the primary data for this study. The researcher bought the copies of the newspapers to sift through which story on galamsey to pick for the study. The researcher designed a data collation sheet that was used to identify selected stories under consideration. The data collation sheet helped to ensure that none of the issues were left out. The data for the study were assembled through a careful scrutiny of stories of the newspaper as the researcher read the articles captured from January 2021 to May 2021, analysed and interpreted them as stories that captured issues of galamsey as their subject matter. Every story captured was carefully examined and stories that were applicable directly were sampled. The researcher searched the news stories on galamsey to identify wide-ranging and

indicative terms. Examples of wide-ranging terms recognised included: galamsey, dialogue, illegal small-scale mining, policies, burning of equipment, changfan and Birim, Pra, Ankobra and other water bodies. These terms and overall themes of the news articles were used to update the succeeding phase of the data analysis, in which the news items were arranged into conflict relevant and irrelevant stories.

Criteria for inclusion were the news item's subject matter. After the initial process, the researcher then engaged in a carefully organized data census process-reading of the news stories one after the other. The heading of each news article was read and analysed. If the news heading analysed carefully does not show that the content of the news items has issues of galamsey, it was abandoned (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012).

Subsequently, the stories that were analysed and found to relate to issues of galamsey were probed further or read closely and rigorously. At this stage, the researcher focused on noticing underlying meanings of the words or content of the news item that relates to the issue at hand. A number of factors influenced this stage. Firstly, the extensive reading helped to established whether the news item's subject matter is related (directly or indirectly) to the menace of galamsey due to the subjective explanation of text data through the procedure of coding and identifying themes or patterns (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Secondly, this step helped to find themes the news articles addressed. The processes were followed prudently in analysing the content of each news story in the newspaper. The stories found in the newspaper and included in the data for the study were coded with the issue date, the subject matter of the story, the author as well as the content of the news article.

3.6.2. Coding Protocol

Once the data collection was complete, a coding method was applied. The coding method searched for collections of words or phrases that depicted and described how the stories were written and presented in the newspaper. The phrases selected were either in reference to a specific programme the reporter was covering in relation to galamsey and has the president as the proponent of the story. Phrases that were generalizations, vague or just were not included (i.e., “we have won the fight against galamsey” or “*galamsey* is here to stay”). The coding was done manually as every article was read thoroughly and terms were searched. How *galamsey* were discussed and the specific context allowed for the different themes to be uncovered. Although the titles of the articles generally gave an idea of its content, the analysis of *galamsey* and their positions in relation to the respective context gave greater insight into the story and relevance.

The researcher first established and validated a coding scheme during the initial process. The researcher read the stories and then proceeded in analysing the samples of data to develop a coding scheme. This coding scheme was tentative, bearing in mind that other themes may occur from the larger data. The researcher, from the onset of the process of content analysis, categorized the news stories related to galamsey. The analysis focus on the placing of news stories on galamsey written by Donald Ato Dapatem, the presidential correspondent for Daily Graphic Newspaper. The coding protocol guided the categorization of only galamsey related news stories on President Nana Akufo-Addo. Editorial and opinion pieces were excluded from it. The data for the study were coded with the issue date, nature of story and the writer of the news story. To ensure coding consistency of the data, the researcher checked the data. It is based on the fact that with the adoption of human

coding system, there are elements of fatigue and the likelihood of mistakes due to emergence of new codes in line with initial consistency check (Zhang & Wildermuth, 2009). Entman (1993) posits that there were certain places from where the codes could be identified and they included keywords, graphics, symbols, sources, and story structure. Tankard (2001), further mentions headline, subheads, photographs, leads, photo captions, source selections, quotes, statistics, pull quotes and logos as the key element in identifying and measuring news stories.

The adoption of a mixed inductive/deductive approach to coding means that certain codes were determined based on my expectations that stem from the scholarly literature presented in the literature review portion of this paper, while others were determined based on the recurring themes that emerged in the analysis. The codes that were developed as part of the deductive elements of my approach to coding included: menace, destruction (of environment and of equipment by law enforcement), survival, pollution, environment, criminal, deforestation, employment, and poverty. Throughout my analysis, several codes were also added. The codes included were employment, development, fight, water, and livelihood. Using coding, we can see a multitude of patterns emerging. Utilizing the codes mentioned allowed for the analysis to be effective in enabling me to identify common ‘themes’ that are embedded within the broader dominant public discourse.

3.7. Method of Data Analysis

Data analysis can follow several paths in a qualitative research study and the approach that is decided upon by the researcher should be outlined for the reader and detailed enough other researchers could build upon the work for future research. One challenge of critical discourse analysis is that no recipe or formula exists to follow allowing for a great deal of flexibility for those who choose to situate their research in

the space of critical discourse studies (CDS). Wodak and Meyer (2016) refer to CDS as “multifarious” and characterized by not having one set methodological approach.

Mills (2004) points out that this “freedom...does make the task of analysis somewhat daunting” (p. 74). However, the common ground that frames the area of study is based on a view that language via texts constructs reality, discursive structures used in the text inform us about that reality, and the context in which the discourse lives reveal to us issues of power or other ideological effects (Mills, 2004; Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Critical discourse analysis (CDA) asks very different questions than those that are descriptive because of the underlying assumption inherent in the framework. Descriptive discourse analysis is a basic, interpretive approach to the study of texts, which brings its own value in understanding how we shape language and how shapes us (Gee, 2014). However, this is not the only approach to discourse analysis. According to van Dijk (1993), “the way we approach these questions and dimensions is by focusing on the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance” where dominance is social power (p. 249). It is important to critically look at what is being said, what is not being said and what can be inferred. CDA is not just the analysis of the words itself, but goes beyond to the “dialectical relations between discourse and other objects, elements or moments, as well as the analysis of the ‘internal relations’ of discourse” (Fairclough, 2010, p. 4). It is concerned with the social construction of texts and their meanings in relationship to context with a critical perspective to those relationships against the discussion of power, status and ideology.

As Fairclough points out critiques are “grounded in values, in particular views of the ‘good society’ and of human well-being and flourishing...what ought to be just or fair” (p. 7). Power, inequality, culture, class, and politics are among the considerations when analyzing texts (Fairclough, 2010; van Dijk, 1993). Fairclough

considers CDA to be transdisciplinary and enables researchers from a variety of backgrounds to enter at many points into the field, which made this lens appropriate for pairing with identification of themes and images of leadership as framed by van Leeuwen's social actor theory elements (2008 and 2016).

3.7.1. Discourse Content Analysis

A discourse is referred to as a form of language, ideas or philosophical system of statements that produce a particular version of events (Burr, 1995; Parker, 1990). Through interaction and in using language people produce versions of particular events and thereby create their reality. Discourse analysis as an approach stems from post-modern and post-structural understandings of reality (O'Connor, 2006). Discourse analysis is a qualitative method that has been adopted and developed by constructionists (Fulcher 2010:1). Locke (2004:5) describes discourse as a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning. On the other hand, McGregor (2010:2) refers to discourse as expressing oneself using words. Van Dijk (2006:252) argues that critical discourse analysis requires true multidisciplinary and an account of intricate relationships between text, talk, social opinion, power, society and cultures. It is necessary for describing, interpreting, analysing, and critiquing social life reflected in text by using critical discourse analysis. Discourse analysis can be characterised as a way of approaching and thinking about a problem. It is making the world meaningful. Interpretation arises from an act of reading or analysing which makes meaning of a text. According to Fulcher (2010:7), discourse analysis can be seen as a way of understanding social interactions.

Fairclough (1995) argues that when analyzing a text, various elements like language function, lexicon, grammar, coherence and cohesion, and text structure

should be taken into consideration. He also advises extending the analysis to consider the language as a "social practice" that influences or shapes the language. Consequently, the speaker's intention as a product will be clearly identified. Mouton and Marais (1991) describe data analysis as the process whereby a phenomenon is broken down into its constituent parts in order for it to be understood better. In the social constructionist paradigm the method of discourse analysis has become common practice (Burns, 2006). In this research a discourse analysis methodology was used to analyze data and to understand the conditions behind a specific problem. Within discourse analysis the aim is to provide interpretative claims based on power relations within a particular historical context. Powers (2001) argues that discourse analysis focuses on power relations that are involved in the history and present functioning of a discourse.

Discourse always involves power, it is always connected to the past and the current context and it can be interpreted differently by people because each person has a different background, knowledge and power position (McGregor, 2007). It is for this particular reason that poststructuralists and discourse analysts contend that there is no "right" interpretation of any discourse but rather a more adequate interpretation (Neuman, 2000). According to Miller (2000) each context has contradictions and internally flawed discourses that present mixed messages. He argues further that it is therefore also common for people to choose to embrace certain aspects of the social discourse while subverting other discourses. Discourse analysis concerns itself with exploring the connotations and implications evoked by a particular text (Parker, 1992) and therefore when conducting discourse analysis it is important to identify the contradictions within a discourse.

The researcher at the beginning of the process, developed and validated a coding scheme. Zhang and Wildermuth (2009) posit that the finest assessment of precision and reliability of a category is to code a sample of the data collected. Premised on this, the researcher read and analysed samples of the data to develop a coding scheme. This coding scheme was tentative, bearing in mind that other themes may emerge from the larger data. At the beginning of the analysis, the researcher read through the collected data to get an overall sense of the data and to get a feel of the various codes. Again, the researcher identified common constructions or meanings that emerged from the different news stories on the fight on the menace of *galamsey*. The identified constructions were then deconstructed to gain a better understanding of each discourse as constructed by different individuals. During the deconstruction phase the researcher examined the text for contradictions, similarities and ambiguities emerging from the data. Deconstruction is a term that was coined by Jacques Derrida and was later used by Michel Foucault (Kotze & Kotze, 1997) and is described by Kotze and Kotze (1997) as an analysis of gaps, silences, ambiguities and power relations implicit within discourses.

After the discourses were deconstructed, the researcher searched for similarities and differences regarding the ways in which the writer wrote the stories to elicit a discourse. Following the process of categorizing and searching for differences and similarities, the researcher then integrated the different constructions. At this stage the researcher attempted to construct a holistic and comprehensive view of the emerging discourses or constructions. Gibbs (2002) states that qualitative data analysis is interactive and that it typically coincides with data collection.

3.7.2. Thematic Analysis

The data gathered were transcribed and analysed using thematic analysis proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006). It was done by coding the data collected into clusters of similar entities inductively, or conceptual groups and identifying constant patterns and links between themes in the news stories. This contributed in creating a realistic and logical chain of evidence in the news stories about the fight against the *galamsey* menace. Thematic analysis widely uses the qualitative analysis method within Psychology. Braun and Clarke (2006) analyze the content of the writing (news stories) by collecting similar thematic codes or patterns to applicable/ relevant groups of meaning. Hence, following this analysis, the implicit and explicit meanings of such writing can be categorized accordingly. That is to say, the codes of frequencies and occurrences of a particular group of messages can be traced and then common themes can be determined.

Braun and Clarke's (2013) skill of reading and interpreting the data through the theoretical lens, known as 'analytic sensibility', was held in mind by the researcher throughout the process of thematic analysis. It also refers to the ability to produce insights into the meaning of the data beyond the surface; to recognise patterns or meaning that links to broader psychological, social, or theoretical concerns. Drawing from social construction ideas on the constructive nature of language, language is seen as conveying an argument or particular viewpoint (Billig, 1991). Therefore, to encompass language, linguistic elements were incorporated into the coding. Smith (2008) suggests that researchers can attend to linguistic features such as use of pronouns, laughter, pauses, functional aspects of language, tone, repetition, and metaphor. The linguistic elements were seen as constructive to the participants'

perspectives. Extracts of data were highlighted and noted on post-it notes and clustered according to their similarity, which eventually created themes.

The themes were named according to the perceived meaning and representation of the codes. The analysis of the data was a recursive process, where there was a back and forth movement throughout all six phases (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Several themes were generated from the data and it was realised that some of them overlapped. After taking some time away from the data, it was revisited with a fresh mind, where four themes collapsed into two main themes with various subthemes each. It was important during the collapsing of themes that the ideas propounded by President Akufo-Addo were not lost; therefore, there was a constant revisiting of the transcripts and initial codes to ensure credibility.

3.8. Credibility of the Research Process

The rapid evolution of qualitative methods in research has led to debates about their quality and validity (Yardley, 2008). Yardley (2008) produced a framework that sets out four core recommendations for evaluating qualitative research: 'sensitivity to context', 'commitment and rigour', 'transparency and coherence', and 'impact and importance'. These principles are recognised and applied in this research. A researcher can show sensitivity to context in a number of ways, which include showing an awareness of the existing literature in the topic being studied, or from research that has employed similar methods. This has been demonstrated through the critical evaluation of the literature in the introduction and through the engagement of theoretical concepts discussed in relation to the data.

Throughout this study, the researcher took into consideration how her position as a researcher could influence the balance of power in her writings. Commitment and rigor were maintained during the analysis process through the degree of attentiveness

and sensitivity towards the data and continued care with each case. Transparency and coherence can be shown through a detailed description of each stage of the research and the decision made where each argument is presented, and the degree of fit between the research and the underlying theoretical assumptions of the approach implemented. Transparency was ensured through continuous reflexivity towards the research process.

According to some researchers, being transparent about the nature of the researcher's personal views through reflexivity is an important way that qualitative research achieves validity (Lawrence, 2012; Willig, 2008). The impact and importance of the study is demonstrated through whether the research reported interesting, useful, or important findings.

3.9. Chapter Summary

This chapter gave features of processes and measures adopted for the research. Using a qualitative approach and a discourse-analytic framework as a design, the data for the research was put together using newspaper documents. The fight against *galamsey* news stories written by Donald Ato Dapatem were purposively sampled and used for the study. Data analysis procedures used qualitative discourse analysis, thematic analysis, and measures were taken to ensure credibility of the research. The next chapter focuses on the analysis and discussion of findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0. Introduction

This chapter deals with the results from the data analysis as well as the discussion of the findings. In this section, I tend to answer the research objectives which are to: identify power and ideology employed by President Akufo-Addo in the discourse of galamsey in the *Daily Graphic* Newspaper; and examine the communicative functions of the grammatical constructions in the galamsey news stories on President Akufo-Addo. The selected news items were authored by Donald Ato Dapatem, a correspondent attached to the Presidency. The stories are:

1. *Let's discuss galamsey devoid of partisanship*, Jan. 6, 2021;
2. *Akufo-Addo touts successes chalked in galamsey fight*, Feb. 20, 2021;
3. *Galamsey fight demands consensus – President Akufo-Addo*, April 15, 2021;
4. *Gov't bent on ending galamsey – President*, April 24, 2021;
5. *President Akufo-Addo endorses destruction of illegal mining excavators*, May 26, 2021.

These news stories were easily accessible both online and in the printed newspaper. A very important reason for selecting these stories stemmed from the fact that the country at the time was fighting the upsurge of galamsey in some communities.

4.1. Research Question 1: How is power and ideology employed by President Akufo-Addo in the discourse of galamsey in the *Daily Graphic* Newspaper?

Fairclough (1989) considers the first level of analysis to include noticeable linguistic features in a discourse which seeks to help in subjecting it to various interpretations. The analysis of the president's news stories in the *Daily Graphic*

Newspaper involved the identification of headlines which makes the reader know that the story is about the president and his fight against galamsey. As a result, the first point of this analysis is to identify the headlines and the use of power in the fight against galamsey. According to Fairclough (1995), discourse analysts must be able to identify latent meanings of phrases and expressions and use them to form part of any interpretation they put on a text. This analysis ensured that the issue of galamsey news stories on President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo by Donald Ato Dapatem, the presidential correspondent at the Jubilee House, was dealt with in terms of power and ideology. Ideologies are depictions of aspects of the world that help to build, sustain, and change societal relations of power, dominance, and exploitation (Thompson, 2002). Fairclough (1989) argues that ideology and power are closely related. However, power plays a crucial role in critical discourse analysis.

4.1.1. Theme of Linguistic Features of Headlines in Presenting Ideologies

There are certain linguistic features of the headlines in the fight against galamsey which depicts power and ideologies. Topicalization is an important feature of news headline and it serves as a true marker for the depiction of the ideology of the newsmaker. In this study the headlines produced in the Daily Graphic Newspaper has depicted the elements of political inclinations and those words are used topicalized which serve the above mentioned purpose.

1. *Let's discuss galamsey devoid of partisanship*, Jan. 6, 2021;
2. *Akufo-Addo touts successes chalked in galamsey fight*, Feb. 20, 2021;
3. *Galamsey fight demands consensus – President Akufo-Addo*, April 15, 2021;
4. *Gov't bent on ending galamsey – President*, April 24, 2021;
5. *President Akufo-Addo endorses destruction of illegal mining excavators*, May 26, 2021.

Here the ideology of is to let the audience/reader know what exactly the government is doing or has done in the fight against the *galamsey* menace. Fairclough (1995a) regards consciousness of the role language plays in relation to dominance as a crucial aim of language education. For instance, an observation of the placements of the news items in the newspapers intimates that the news items are carefully selected and constructed for some purpose. A reader can go through the headlines for quick view of what is entailed in the news of the day (Ghannam, 2011). Newspaper editors work on societal values and develop their own beliefs and ideologies (Taiwo, 2009). Their ideology gets supported by the news headlines. Ghannam (2011) further explains that the headlines occupy textual space that restrict the author in terms of lay out and size of texts. A minimum number of words are used to capture the attention of the reader.

Headline 1: Akufo-Addo touts successes chalked in galamsey fight (Feb. 20, 2021)

By placing the story *Akufo-Addo touts successes chalked in galamsey fight*, the writer seeks to topicalize it to foreground the message. By this, Akufo Addo is telling the reader that over the years the fight against *galamsey* was receiving little attention but since he assumed office as the president of the nation, he is doing everything to clamp down the menace despite the teeming challenges associated with it. In this headline, the ideology that is posited is that the fight against *galamsey* is being won. This headline goes to confirm what Thompson (1990) said that ideology is a meaning in the service of power. This headline can be said to have some ideologies embedded in it that is meant to influence the reader that the fight is being won with the various mechanisms put in place. This also corroborates Thompson's (1990) stance that as technical and institutional actors that can reach across space and time, play a pivotal role in transmitting the symbolic and economic values underlying ideology.

Editors frame the news in such a way to make the reader emotional, or to make them annoyed against certain political figures. They construct headlines that have the ability to redefine and mould the audience's perceptions. According to Andone (2015) editors tend to inform or, rather, misinform. It can also be seen that this sounds quite misleading. *Headline: "Akufo-Addo touts successes chalked in galamsey fight"*. It reads:

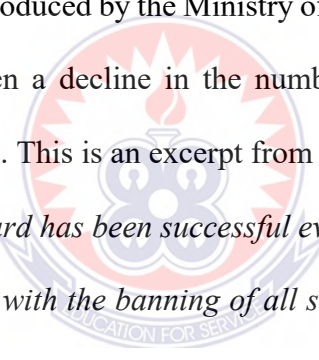
"President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo has said that the government's fight against illegal mining, popularly known as galamsey, has chalked some successes despite the challenges" (Daily Graphic, Feb. 20, 2021).

The editor clearly omitted the word "some" from the headline to assume that the fight against *galamsey* has been completely won, and that is why the president will be talking about his success. This exhudes power on the part of the editor. The findings of this data are in line with the Theory of critical discourse analysis by Foucault (1977) where discourse is established via the news reports that Donald Ato Dapentem of Daily Graphic wrote on the *galamsey* fight being championed by the President, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo. Thus, in answering the posed research objectives, this study affirms the ideology of news reports in fighting the canker of *galamsey*. The evidence presented in this thesis brings to light the need for governments and local authorities to upscale their fight to ensure total eradication of illegal mining in the country.

The texts are also written in initial capitals to give them prominence. These two examples represent what Dragas (2012) terms "semantic macrostructures" in that they are catchy, sensational and deal with an interesting topic. The texts show in the headlines, "President Akufo-Addo endorses destruction of illegal mining excavators"; "Let's discuss galamsey devoid of partisanship" are not limited to the fight on

galamsey alone but goes beyond to address the many problems in the country. This is a stepping stone to ward off any individual or entity that a societal menace will not be tolerated.

One can see the main ideology behind the text when we look at the intertextuality in the news items. The story comes at a time when Ghanaians are fed up with the rhetorics on the galamsey fight. Previous governments tried their best to curtail it but to no avail. This headline therefore comes as a surprise that with some few years in power, the Akufo Addo led government is chalking success in that area. The president said, the government's fight against illegal mining, popularly known as galamsey, has chalked some successes despite the challenges. According to him, the alternative livelihood programmes introduced by the Ministry of Local Government in areas where galamsey was rife has seen a decline in the number of deaths recorded due to the collapse of pits and tunnels. This is an excerpt from the news item:



“Operation Vanguard has been successful even though problems still remain. We started with the banning of all smallscale mining and by the end of the campaign; some rivers started showing signs of coming back to life” (Daily Graphic, Feb 20, 2021)

But the opposition party says the fight against galamsey is a failure. Further, the headline is couched in such a way as to make opposition of the government think that the newspaper was pro-government since the “success” was a collective effort of all Ghanaians including the government itself. All these, the researcher believes, influenced the newspaper to caption the topics the way they did. The headlines are presented in such a way that they portray the ideological perspective of the author. This represents van Dijk's (2011) assertion of representation. This is intended to send clear messages to the readers. CDA examines the contexts of discursive practices. Situational

variables affect what we say, how, when and why we say them. The “global” contexts include social, cultural and political as well as historical contexts in which a communicative event takes place.

Bringing the context models to bear on the headlines, it is realized that the umbrella domain of the discourse is media discourse, the action is one of touting a success achieved. The communicative event in the local context are the front pages of the Daily Graphic Newspaper and Graphisonline.com. The interactional roles are “touts success” and “galamsey fight” Complex mental structures are also presented in the cognitive dimension of the context. These include attitudes, opinions and ideologies as discussed earlier. Again, mental models presuppose that each discourse differs even in the social situation. Van Dijk (2003) says that CDA focuses on these complex series of links. Thus, the link between society and discourse is not linear. Discourse properties like intertextuality, power and ideologies are represented through personal and group knowledge. Ideology could be regarded as a study of ideas which tends to refer to people’s world view or opinion about the world and their ideal idea of living. ideologies can also be said to mean clusters of knowledge, values, norms and attitudes. These are shared by social groups and exhibited or manifested through discourse.

4.1.2. Lexis and Power

Media discourse differs from other discourses and scholars have overlooked the degree of discursive control editorial power holders exert on the selection or rejection of lexical items, particularly those of a controversial, emotive or loaded nature. The lexical options made in media discourse may not necessarily express the writer or speaker’s world. This theme looks at how vocabulary are used in the news stories to carry out its ideological strategies of power and control and how these are manifested in its discourse. When it comes to vocabulary, particularly in the representation of the

menace of galamsey, we are confronted with various discourses in the texts, both positive and negative.

“Mining becomes a danger to society when, after extracting the gold, diamond or other stones and minerals, the land is left degraded and poisoned with toxic materials, water bodies are turned into entities that can no longer support life and plants and fish cannot survive in our rivers” (Daily Graphic, April 15, 2021).

“the destruction of the equipment being used to pollute water bodies and destroy forest reserves will not cease till the criminal acts are halted” (Daily Graphic, May 26, 2021).

The *Daily Graphic* is to inform, educate and perform its watchdog role in bringing salient issues to the general attention of the public. Findings on the use of tones further establish that the Daily Graphic, through the framing process of selection and emphasis used salient negative stories in its coverage of illegal mining to inform the public. The analysis of the vocabulary in all the five (5) stories in the Daily Graphic newspaper revealed that Nana Addo projected himself as a man who is committed to changing the status quo in the fight against galamsey. This therefore exudes power which is corroborated by Fairclough and Thompson. This is evident from the tone of the stories. He reminds Ghanaians of his leadership credentials when he called for *“an impartial and non-partisan dialogue for the country to reach a consensus on a sustainable method of mining minerals”*. The tone used here is a political tone although it is subtle since one of the core goals of political discourse analysis is to look for the ways in which language choice is manipulated for specific political effect (Schiffrin et al., 2001). Politicians employ persuasive arguments to persuade their audience in order to achieve their goals.

However, power plays a crucial role in critical discourse analysis. According to Wodak and Meyer (2016), discourse is not just logical and rational bodies of speech and writing, but play a crucial role as discursive forms in transferring and executing power and control in society. For example, the headline: “President Akufo-Addo endorses destruction of illegal mining excavators” clearly shows power.

“I say with all the emphasis at my command, that no rights can accrue to or flow from the criminal venture of galamsey. The equipment which is being used for an illegal or criminal purpose cannot confirm on the owner or any other person any rights whatsoever” (Daily Graphic, May 26, 2021)

It is no surprise that the talk about leadership is political in nature, because it comes from a typical hierarchical organization that holds sway. Studying this discursive event critically can reveal both overt and hidden meanings regarding leadership and higher education in the context of this background. To understand CDA, one must go beyond a simple examination of the words themselves, and look at the "dialectical interactions between discourse and external objects" and the "internal relations" inside speech (Fairclough, 2010). Power, inequality, culture, class, and politics are among the considerations when analyzing texts (Fairclough, 2010).

The speaker’s opinions and plans are not presented straight away to the audience with examples or explanations which go to strengthen the basis of those arguments. What is observable is that the speaker presents an outline of his visions, plans and targets for the country (people).

“I strongly disagree and I would advise those who take a contrary view to go to court to vindicate their position, if they so wish. That is what the rule of law is all about” (Daily Graphic, May 26, 2021).

“Any person who, without a valid licence, conveyed any equipment onto a piece of land, purportedly to conduct activities, from the search, reconnaissance, prospecting, exploration to mining for a mineral, committed a grievous crime against the state” (Daily Graphic, May 26, 2021).

These are mostly made up of issues which are of high interest to everybody and catchy across board. While the issues succeed in performing the trick of capturing the readers into agreeing with the speaker’s opinions and sending them to the peak of their expectations, the speaker quickly presents the second part of his line of reasoning. These lines of reasoning normally come as the conditions necessary for the realization of the juicy plans presented in the first stage of argumentation. The condition is just the reader’s endorsement and support for the speaker’s bid to curb galamsey. In CDA, language both reflects and recreates power providing a useful starting point of knowledge for how power is exercised and practiced. It also involves knowledge, representation, ideas, cultural leadership and authority. Language, in this respect, is not simply a tool of communication, but a means by which people demonstrate their commitment, in one way or another, to certain ideologies. Birch (1991) affirmed such a view, arguing that language through saying, telling, showing, referring, controlling, doing and so on, is always about action and interaction, always about power and control. Power seems to be understood in broader symbolic terms, including the power to represent someone or something in a certain way, and the exercise of symbolic power through representational practices.

The statement *“I strongly disagree and I would advise those who take a contrary view to go to court to vindicate their position, if they so wish”* is an example of language and power. This confirms that the president has power at his disposal and can always

argue his stance in the law courts. Power is much more depicted in language use, its basic objective is to control and influence others behaviour and perspective by using the notion of language in discourse. According to Fairclough (1989), power is everywhere and no language in use can ever be 'neutral' or 'objective' and no discourse can ever be free of power and the exercise of power. Power is not derived from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to provide a finely articulated means for differences in power in social hierarchical structures. Thompson (1990) also points out that through, text placement, intonation, syntax, word order, many ideological opinions might be communicated. Ideologies of discourse are determined by the relationship of power in particular social institutions. Politicians are also expert at using various ways to deliver their ideologies, like using repetition, reference, implicature and speech act to presuppose power.

4.1.3. Symbolic Terms

Again, the theme of symbolic terms was captured during the coding stages. It emerged that commitment is symbolic to the president when it comes to the fight against *galamsey*. The news items indicated that the president is committed to banishing the spectre of *galamsey*, describing his commitment as “*resolute and immutable*”. This can be seen in the language used in the news items.

“In the weeks and months ahead, I expect to see optimal coordination amongst participating Ministries and the District Mining Committees, as well as close interaction with Operation Vanguard, small scale miners and the general public. I expect the Committee to receive regular reports from mining centers, so that illegal activities can be dealt with immediately” (Daily Graphic, April 15, 2021).

The importance of studying texts to uncover hidden ideologies and power is grounded in this notion. The statement above is a clear indication of what Schiffrin et al. (2001) stated that everyday words, organized and structured in particular ways, may become politically implicated in directing thoughts about particular issues, and with real and devastating effects. Language is the vehicle for expressing our system of thought, with this system being independent of the language itself. The relativist position sees language and thought as inextricably intertwined (Montgomery, 1992). The CDA of newspaper stories on President Akufo Addo's resolve in fighting the *galamsey* canker reflect how ideology works in the construction of print media discourse.

Another symbolic term was the notion of threat to the environment. Out of the 5 news articles that were analyzed, the code "*environment*" was flagged in 11 times. The code "pollution" appeared 3 times, and the code "water" appeared 21 times. The results indicate that whenever the *galamsey* issue is discussed by journalists, public or private officials, it is mainly the environmental factors associated with water pollution that are the subject of discourse. Many articles were found that reported various accidents and tragedies that led to casualties, and the mass arrests of *galamsey* operators working in various regions around the country.

*"the presence of changfan in **water** bodies and the use of excavators in protected forest zones were nothing short of evil and that no one should compromise in the efforts to protect the environment, forest Reserve and **water** bodies"* (Daily Graphic, May 26, 2021).

*"holding personal possession of a valid licence but undertaking mining in **water** bodies or mining unlawfully in protected forest zones was also an illegality"* (Daily Graphic, May 26, 2021).

*“Dealing with illegal mining was of great importance to him and expressed worry that great rivers such as the Birim, Pra, Ankobra and other **water** bodies were being destroyed, adding that the new fight would culminate in something positive”.* (Daily Graphic, April 24, 2021).

The results suggest the dominance of the environment frame of the *galamsey* operator in the media. The selection of articles written in 2021, as part of the sample analysed for this paper, would suggest that articles like *Galamsey fight demands consensus* serve as an example. This brings the ideology of the environment being spoilt by the nefarious acts. This goes to corroborate the stance of Thompson (1990) who indicates that claims to legitimacy may also be expressed by means of the strategy of narrativization. The narrative of how the country is losing its lands and water bodies is a wake-up call for all to ensure that the *galamsey* practices stops. The sample developed for this study also highlights major patterns with regards to which media outlets reinforce the dominant frames perpetuated within political and public discourse. The results of my analysis found that the articles written by the journalist primarily tended to focus on the environmental issues associated with *galamsey* in the country.

*“this time round, the government was investing dynamism and energy to reinvigorate the fight for the country to witness greater progress in saving the **environment**”* (Daily Graphic, April 24, 2021).

*“there had always been mining in the country but the problem had been the absence of modern technology, a situation that had led to resort to illegal mining methods which posed serious dangers to water bodies and the **environment**”.* (Daily Graphic, Jan. 6, 2021)

The President further stated in one of his campaigns (fight against *galamsey*) that the previous NDC government had given up the fight against *galamsey* but we determined that this was an intolerable situation and we owed it to generations unborn to tackle the problem and save our environment. In the extracts above, Nana Addo draws the attention of the Ghanaian about the effects of the *galamsey* to the society and how the country is spending to reinvigorate the environment. The practice of *galamsey* has become an occupation that has attracted those in need of a source of income, especially for those who do not have access to formal employment. However, those who decide to participate in the practice, often operate without a mining license. The involvement of Chinese natives and operatives in the *galamsey* has had negative socio-economic impacts, as well as, negative environmental impacts (Aidoo, 2016). Crawford et al. (2015) state that by 2013, the presence of Chinese citizens in informal gold mining in Ghana led to “increasingly hostile” media coverage of ‘illegal Chinese miners’ and the instances of local conflict that occurred.

Furthermore, it is also important to note that, throughout the years, the government’s stance on the *galamsey* issue has remained focused on fighting back against the “*menace*” that is the main cause of the pollution of water bodies and the erosion of ecosystems all of the country. In the analysis of the stories, it was found that, president Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo was arguing that to achieve the clampdown on *galamsey*, the environment and water bodies of the country must be protected from illegal miners who bring devastation to their land and pollution to their water bodies. One could argue that the anti-*galamsey* rhetoric of 2021 was buttressed by the government’s decision to impose a ban on *galamsey*.

*“I intend to do everything within my power in this second term to bring this galamsey **menace** to a conclusion in Ghana,” he assured the delegation. (Daily Graphic, April 24, 2021).*

*“The President called for a frank national dialogue to fashion concrete policies to deal decisively with the **menace** of illegal mining and its attendant repercussions on the environment, lives and livelihoods” (Daily Graphic, April 15, 2021).*

*“The devastating nature of illegal mining required from leaders the duty to take the subject out of the party-political arena and engage in an honest conversation about the **menace** for the sake of current and future generations” (Daily Graphic, Jan. 6, 2021).*

Theoretically, what ties my work together is a steadfast interest in comprehending how media and the public realm interact. Several of the most significant discussions on galamsey are informed by the idea of the public sphere. The public agenda, the people, problems, events, and subjects that are deemed to be important to society and of general interest, is set and shaped in large part by the media. The media is one of the main sources of knowledge on national politics; for the majority, it offers the best and only readily accessible approximation of the constantly shifting political realities. Critical discourse analysis studies discourse as social practice with the aim of understanding the power language exercises in society. It tries to uncover ways in which the dominant forces in a society create versions of reality that favor their interests through spoken or written language (McGregor, 2018). According to Fairclough (1995), relationships between the use of language and the exercise of power are often not apparent, and it is through CDA that the researcher can identify them.

The socio-cognitive approach advanced by van Dijk (2009), studies the relations between discourse and society as cognitively mediated. Between what people say or write and the sociocultural context within which discourse is produced, processes concerning ideologies, knowledge, and interpretation have a key role. For this part of the analysis, I relied on the structures of the news items and how galamsey forms a threat to the environment. Connell (2014) points to sentimentalism, sensationalism, and a populist style as the main features distinguishing tabloids from the soberer style of quality journalism.

Because of this fundamental difference in publication style and policy, the news articles necessarily approach the same news differently. At the same time, these differences are not always apparent when looking into word choices and semantics. Several scholars argue in fact that quality journalism is “softening” and undergoing processes of tabloidization, blurring the fine line that separates it, at least on paper, from popular press (Deuze, 2005; Connell, 2014; Otto et al., 2017). The language used by the journalists is charged with emotion, with words like environment and pollution and reveals a more neutral and formal tone of voice.

4.2. Research Question 2: What are the communicative functions of the grammatical constructions in the galamsey news stories by President Akufo-Addo?

This section of the analysis and discussion is concerned with the pronouns and grammatical constructions of necessity modals and comparative and superlative forms used by President Akufo Addo in the news stories being analysed. CDA focuses on how discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimise, reproduce or challenge relations of power and dominance in society (Van Dijk, 1998). A central notion in most critical works on discourse is that of power, and more specifically the social power. Power and

discourse are interrelated topics in the study of CDA. Power, in the domain of CDA, mainly refers to social power rather than narrator power. Social power involves control, namely, (members of) one group over (those of) other groups. Such control may pertain to action and cognition. That is to say, the power may limit the freedom of action of others, but also influences their minds (Li, 2016). Fairclough (2001) states that power is an ongoing process that takes place under conditions of social struggle exercised through coercion or consent. It can be won, exercised, sustained and lost in the course of social struggle.

4.2.1. Theme of Authority and Power

Fairclough (1989) opines that the use of modal auxiliaries by a speaker reveals the authority and power of the speaker in a given discourse. Modal auxiliary verbs include words such as *ought to*, *shall*, *should*, *will*, and *would*. These verbs do not change forms and could indicate possibility, capability, necessity, or willingness (Asare, 2017). According to Ekwati (2019) modalities come in three types namely, Epistemic modality; concerned with the theoretical possibility of propositions being true or not true (including likelihood and certainty). Two main modal auxiliary verbs – *shall/should and will* - are used in the speeches to show power relations, specifically, power in discourse and are discussed below.

4.2.1.1. Authority, Determination and Enforcement

Authority is one of the core constituents of the professional identity of the president and an essential guarantee of effective socio-economic management and instruction. Language plays an important role in authority construction. Sociolinguists believe that social identity is “in large part established and maintained through language” (Gumperz, 1982, p.7). Without communication, text and talk, power in

society can hardly be exercised and legitimated. As long as the main purpose of a critical analysis of discourse is the examination of the underlying ideologies and possible ideological inconsistencies and effects in these texts, there should be no obstacles to approaching this issue by utilising the same linguistic tools in a framework which would relate linguistic features to underlying ideological stances and attitudes. Modality was selected as the linguistic feature with such potential, and the third chapter attempted to provide an overview of those approaches which defined that linguistic notion together with the different groupings of its various manifestations. It was concluded that only a pragmatically oriented categorisation of modality which corresponds to the functional view of discourse discussed above would be of practical use.

4.2.1.1.1. Certainty and Truth

The basic difference between ‘shall’ and ‘should’ is that “should” is past tense of ‘shall’ but its usage is not as simple as using ‘should’ in place of ‘shall’ in the past tense in terms of meaning (Asare, 2017). Andrus (2013) explains the difference between shall and should and insist that ‘shall’ used to show intention and to make a polite or informal request, whilst ‘should’ indicates expectation, suggest advice and infer responsibility or obligation. ‘Should’ as a modal auxiliary is used to suggest advice or infer a responsibility or obligation. Where the narrator coerces the audience to think alike with him and to support his ideas. Such instances are exemplified in the excerpts that follows:

“The policies which should be arrived at on consensus would lead to the promotion of responsible, viable and environmentally sustainable small-scale mining that discarded the use of mercury, shanfan and excavators and the involvement of foreigners” (Daily Graphic, April 15, 2021).

With the excerpt above, the speaker was opening a two-day national consultative dialogue on small-scale mining to develop a blueprint to deal with galamsey and how to fashion best ways for small-scale mining in Accra where he used the opportunity to urge participants to ensure that the legislature on illegal mining in the country is passed. He does so successfully by the use of the modal auxiliary 'should' to infer an obligation:

*“No subject or person **should** be above critique. Politicians, traditional authorities, policy makers, the media, so-called influential people **should** all not be beyond your scrutiny”* (Daily Graphic, April 15, 2021).

“their monumental crimes should not be condoned in any shape or form” (Daily Graphic, May 26, 2021).

*“But for you, I would not be here as President. A lot of people do not know the Okyenhene is my younger brother. And it is for this reason that you **should** continue to support me to be successful”* (Daily Graphic, April 24, 2021).

In the extract above, the speaker uses 'should' to suggest or provide an advice to his audience on the need to recognize the danger that stares at them as a result of the degradation of their environments. Ekwati (2019) posits that the presence of the modal auxiliaries leads the audience to a hidden interpretation aspect of the discourse with regards to power. The use of these modal auxiliaries therefore conveys latent meanings rather than a surface expression and subject to interpretation. Collins (2009) stated that the modal *should* is an expression of medium strength modality. Meanwhile, Azar (2002) argued that advisability and certainty for future expectations can be expressed by the modal *should*. Akufo Addo used *should* which does not express strong obligation. Modality can be expressed by different linguistic means. In actual speech

all forms expressing modality work together to make the meaning clear. But in every case, there is some leading form that expresses the main attitude. In the examples above should sounds forceful, expressing strong obligation. It is therefore worthy to state here that the use of the modal verbs of obligation in the oral mode of speech delivery is more influential than in the written mode. Words have always been powerful and decisive.

4.2.1.1.2. Determination of Commitment

‘Will’ as a modal auxiliary is identifiable in the news stories to mark the certainty and truth of an idea. According to Ekwati (2019) ‘will’ exemplifies how sure a situation is or will be. Hence, when it is used in a declarative statement, it is accompanied by an authority that exerts power. The following are statements from the selected news texts when the modal auxiliary “will” has been used and could be interpreted differently in context.

*“The destruction of the equipment being used to pollute water bodies and destroy forest reserves **will** not cease till the criminal acts are halted”* (Daily Graphic, May 26, 2021).

*“Government **will** not weaken it’s stand and welcomes the continued support of the media coalition”* (Daily Graphic, Feb. 20, 2021)

As explicated by Asare (2017) ‘will’ as an auxiliary helps an authority to be certain about an idea or known truth. The narrator used ‘will’ to make known the intentions of the government and informs them on his vision and direction. The narrator by virtue of the power he wields as president is able to make all these predictions to his countrymen and all his audience. The linguistic modal *will*, that constitutes an epistemic assumptive modality, was always used by the president to buttress a point. The modal verb *will*, in the negation form or in its passive form, is dispersed in the texts. *Will* in the texts has reference to conditional consequences, central epistemic and futurity.

(Huddleston & Pullum 2002). It also implies the feeling of power. The results revealed that President Akufo Addo used the modal "will" quite frequently because he wanted to show that he is a powerful president who has a good experience which enable him to achieve the goals he set for himself. Furthermore, the use of will implies determination. However, the researcher noticed that none of the promises was fulfilled and this indicates President Akufo Addo's failure to handle the menace of galamsey. Most often, when he announces his resolve to fight the menace, it becomes strengthened the more and more sites are opened for the *galamseyers*.

4.2.1.1.3. Inclusiveness, Self-responsibility and Solidarity

The use of pronouns in political discourse has received some scholarly attention over the years. More than merely placeholders for nouns, pronouns are complex words that signal relationships between a speaker and an audience and are politically oriented towards the assignment of positions and the construct of representations of people. The personal pronouns "I", "we" and "they" was analysed in the selected texts. "We" appeared 12 times in the stories while "they" was 6 time. "I" also had 8 counts in the stories. Analysis of "we" is useful in uncovering the inclusivity and exclusivity of individuals in discourse since, even without the use of "they," "we" is one pronoun whose referent is often difficult to determine on the surface, and one that could be subtly used to exercise in-groupness and out-groupness. Helmbrecht (2002) indicates that the prototypical use of "we" is intended to create and reinforce group membership and social identity. Since the referent of "we," unlike other pronouns, cannot readily be determined merely by looking at the pronoun, the discursive context becomes significant. The fact that "we" could be inclusive or exclusive also means that it could be "referentially ambiguous".

“We cannot have one part of the political divide campaigning for galamsey in the bush and the other waging an official fight against galamsey in the open” (Daily Graphic, April 15, 2021).

“Should we allow or should we not allow galamsey, the illegal mining that leads to the pollution of our water bodies and the devastation of our landscape?” (Daily Graphic, Jan. 6, 2021).

“We, who are leaders, owe it to the country to take the subject out of the party-political arena, and have an honest conversation about this menace to our future” (Daily Graphic, Jan. 6, 2021).

The use of pronouns in political speeches goes beyond substitution of a noun in traditional grammar, but it is used to express inclusiveness, self-responsibility, solidarity or unity among others. Politicians’ use of pronouns to refer to themselves or their audience constitutes a significant part of their message intended to either to foreground responsibility and agency or obscure these. In the following excerpts, Nana Addo uses *I* to assume full responsibility of his utterance. That is, the function of this pronoun, within the context of his speech, is to inform the audience to trust him. For example:

“I say with all the emphasis at my command, that no rights can accrue to or flow from the criminal venture of galamsey. The equipment which is being used for an illegal or criminal purpose cannot confirm on the owner or any other person any rights whatsoever.” (Daily Graphic, May 26, 2021)

“I strongly disagree and I would advise those who take a contrary view to go to court to vindicate their position, if they so wish. That is what the rule of law is all about” (Daily Graphic, May 26, 2021)

The extracts above indicate that Nana Addo shared the same sentiments with Ghanaians in connection with the problem of *galamsey*. He identifies with the plight of the Ghanaian and suggests that he feels their pain. That is, we are in this together, which is an important way to show solidarity. This clearly portrays the kind of Ghana Nana Addo wants for the Ghanaian; a Ghana free from the illegal mining.

“I intend to do everything within my power in this second term to bring this galamsey menace to a conclusion in Ghana”

“But for you, I would not be here as President. A lot of people do not know the Okyenhene is my younger brother. And it is for this reason that you should continue to support me to be successful”.

The previous NDC government had given up the fight against galamsey but we determined that this was an intolerable situation and we owed it to generations unborn to tackle the problem and save our environment. I was therefore not under any illusion about the size and scope of the problem that we are taking on”.

To surmount the problem of *galamsey*, the President presents himself as a responsible leader to the Ghanaian in the quest to end the menace. He uses **“I”** to show some form of commitment. Again, in the excerpts above, the President was quoted directly by the writer in the use of “our” in the story. The use of “our” by the President is indicative of the fact that showing identification and solidarity with Ghanaians and hence his resolve to end *galamsey*. That is, he recognizes the fact that *galamsey* is a societal menace and everyone must be included in the fight against it. He places the audience within the same communicative situation by putting himself and the listeners on the same rank because they are all aware of the same problems. For instance, by using expressions such as **“our rivers”**, **“our water bodies** and the devastation of **our**

landscape” and “have an honest conversation about this menace to **our** future”, Nana Addo tries to connect and identify with the Ghanaian people to see the challenges of the country and rally behind him. Also, by using *our*, he reduces the personal distance between himself and his readers by including them within the context of his speech. That is, the readers are able to relate with his message.

This corresponds with Bibler et al.’s (2005) view that the 1st person plural *our* helps to create solidarity between the speaker and the recipient and also reduces the distance between them. Thus, Nana Addo employs “*our*” to signal to the reader that they are all part of grand agenda to salvage the country from the destroyers of the environment. The above discussion on the pronouns *I*, *you*, *our* and *we* have shown how Nana Addo uses language to create identification and show solidarity with his listeners.

4.2.2. Promotion of Critical Thinking

A linguistic device used in the reports was rhetorics. The rhetorics promoted critical thinking and produced a sharp effect on readers. The use of this device was more prominent in President Akufo Addo’s stories on Galamsey in the *Daily Graphic Newspaper*. Examples are in the excerpts below:

1. “We cannot have one part of the political divide campaigning for galamsey in the bush and the other waging an official fight against galamsey in the open.”
(Daily Graphic, April 15, 2021)
2. “No subject or person should be above critique. Politicians, traditional authorities, policy makers, the media, so-called influential people should all not be beyond your scrutiny,” he stressed. (Daily Graphic, April 15, 2021)
3. “I say with all the emphasis at my command, that no rights can accrue to or flow from the criminal venture of galamsey. The equipment which is being used for

an illegal or criminal purpose cannot confirm on the owner or any other person any rights whatsoever”. (Daily Graphic, May 26, 2021)

4. “I strongly disagree and I would advise those who take a contrary view to go to court to vindicate their position, if they so wish. That is what the rule of law is all about,” he challenged the opposers. (Daily Graphic, May 26, 2021)
5. “I intend to do everything within my power in this second term to bring this galamsey menace to a conclusion in Ghana”. (Daily Graphic, April 24, 2021)
6. “Should we allow or should we not allow galamsey, the illegal mining that leads to the pollution of our water bodies and the devastation of our landscape? As I have said often, the Almighty having blessed us with considerable deposits of precious minerals, there would always be mining in Ghana”. (Daily Graphic, Jan.6, 2021)
7. We, who are leaders, owe it to the country to take the subject out of the party-political arena, and have an honest conversation about this menace to our future.” (Daily Graphic, Jan.6, 2021)
8. “The threat posed to the future of our country by galamsey is grave and we cannot shirk our responsibilities in dealing with it. I’m appealing with the media coalition not to be daunted by the difficulties in the fight against galamsey. Government will not weaken it’s stand and welcomes the continued support of the media coalition”. (Daily Graphic, Feb. 20, 2020)

Clearly, rhetorics were used to influence readers and draw their attention to the state of affairs being discussed. The use of the device evokes emotional effects on the readers. The message is better drummed home with the use of this powerful communicative device as it emphasises the unpardonable nature of actions or inactions

and the extent of absurdity in the state of affairs being reported. The reader's sense of critical thinking is thus impressed upon by the writer's use of rhetorics.

4.3. Chapter Summary

This chapter presented findings and analysis on ideology, power and language in some selected newspaper reports on President Akuffo Addo in his quest to fight *galamsey* based on Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis. Based on the following thematic areas, Linguistic Features of Headlines in Presenting Ideologies; Lexis and Power; Symbolic Terms; Theme of Authority and Power; Authority, Determination and Enforcement; Certainty and Truth; Determination of Commitment; Inclusiveness, Self-responsibility and Solidarity; and Promotion of Critical Thinking the study was able to justify the use of power and ideologies in the discourse of Nana Addo's news stories on the fight against *galamsey*.

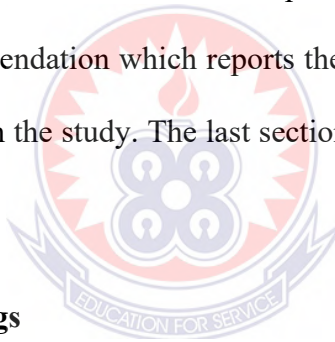


CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0. Introduction

This chapter of the study presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations from the findings in this thesis. It is the concluding chapter of the thesis. The chapter is structured in four parts or sections. The first section is presented as the summary of the study. This section provides the synopsis of the whole thesis including the key findings which emerged from the study. The conclusions which are drawn from the findings are captured under the conclusion section and it is second section. The conclusions are drawn from each specific objective. The third section of the chapter is the recommendation which reports the relevant suggestions and advices from the major findings in the study. The last section is the captured as the suggestion for further studies.



5.1. Summary of Findings

The overall focus of the study was a critical discourse analysis of President Akufo Addo's news stories on galamsey in the *Daily Graphic Newspaper*. To achieve the overall purpose, two research questions were formulated. The first research question was: How is power and ideology employed by President Akufo-Addo in the discourse of galamsey in the *Daily Graphic Newspaper*? The second one was: What are the communicative functions of the grammatical constructions in the galamsey news stories by President Akufo-Addo? Guided by Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (1995), the key concepts examined in the study were: Approaches of CDA, Political Discourse, Political discourse and logical reasoning, Standards of Textuality and Discourse and Media. The study used Critical discourse analysis to conduct the investigation.

Qualitative research approach was employed to support the design. The purposive sampling was therefore chosen to sample some news stories written by the presidential correspondent, Donald Ato Dapentem on the president's resolve to fight galamsey in the *Daily Graphic Newspaper*. Five news stories were used in the analysis.

5.1.1. Key Findings

Based on the analysis of data and discussion of the results, the following are the key findings. These findings are presented in relation to the two research questions.

The study revealed that topicalization is an important feature of news headline and it serves as a true marker for the depiction of the ideology of the newsmaker. The headlines are couched in such a way as to make opponents of the government think that the newspaper was pro-government since the "success" was a collective effort of all Ghanaians including the government itself. An observation of the placements of the news items in the newspapers intimates that the news items are carefully selected and constructed for some purpose. It was also found that headlines can be said to have some ideologies embedded in it that is meant to influence the reader that the fight is being won with the various mechanisms put in place and this was corroborated by Thompson's (1990) stance that as technical and institutional actors that can reach across space and time, play a pivotal role in transmitting the symbolic and economic values underlying ideology. However, in carrying out their roles as gatekeepers and power holders when it comes to lexicalization, editors and journalist write texts to show that they can project an ideology that the masses can buy into and help chart a course for the benefit of all. These can be seen in the headlines of the stories that were used in this study. Discourse properties like intertextuality, power and ideologies are represented through personal and group knowledge. Ideology could be regarded as a

study of ideas which tends to refer to people's world view or opinion about the world and their ideal idea of living.

Again, findings on the use of tones further establish that the Daily Graphic, through the framing process of selection and emphasis used salient negative stories in its coverage of illegal mining to inform the public. The analysis of the vocabulary in all the five (5) stories in the Daily Graphic newspaper revealed that Nana Addo projected himself as a man who is committed to changing the status quo in the fight against *galamsey*. However, power is not derived from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to provide a finely articulated means for differences in power in social hierarchical structures.

A theme that kept running through the text was the issue of commitment to symbolic terms such as 'environment' and 'menace'. The results of my analysis found that the articles written by the journalist primarily tended to focus on the environmental issues associated with *galamsey* in the country. This theme brought to the fore how the country is losing its lands and water bodies and it is a wake-up call for all to ensure that the *galamsey* practices stops. The sample developed for this study also highlights major patterns with regards to which media outlets reinforce the dominant frames perpetuated within political and public discourse. According to the key actor in the news stories, to achieve the clampdown on *galamasey*, the environment and water bodies of the country must be protected from illegal miners who bring devastation to their land and pollution to their water bodies.

The study also revealed that power in discourse is exhibited in the news stories on President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo through the use of modal auxiliary verbs such as must, should and will. This signifies the call on audiences to duty in the fight against *galamsey*. The use of modal auxiliaries exhibit power as used in the discourse

and affirmed by Fairclough (1995). Nana Addo uses I to assume full responsibility of his utterance. The president presents himself as a responsible leader to the Ghanaian in the quest to end the menace. He uses “*I*” to show some form of commitment.

Rhetorics were used to influence readers and draw their attention to the state of affairs being discussed. The use of the device evokes emotional effects on the readers. The results indicate that whenever the *galamsey* issue is discussed by journalists, public or private officials, it is mainly the environmental factors associated with water pollution that are the subject of discourse.

5.2. Conclusions

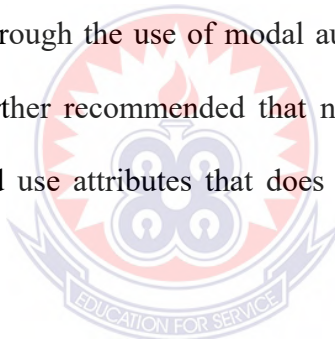
This study has indicated that discourse properties like intertextuality, power and ideologies are represented through personal and group knowledge. Ideology could be regarded as a study of ideas which tends to refer to people’s world view or opinion about the world and their ideal idea of living. It is therefore concluded that the use of language is a social practice and part of the larger society. The themes outlined under research question one clearly reflects the presence of language in the news stories on the fight against *galamsey*.

Secondly, the study affirms the assertion that language has an ideological dimension and whenever these dimensions are not explicitly stated, they are implied. The use of pronouns brought to light certain ideological dimensions against the fight of *galamsey*. It is also concluded that, based on this meaning of discourse, this work has shown how socio-political activists use fallacies, either calculatedly or inadvertently, to interact with their audience. The examples that have been discussed in this work on social discourse have been drawn mostly from the political perspective in the newspaper. Language, which is the fundamental means by which to engage in socio-political discourse, can be viewed as a complicated tool having many uses. In every

socio-political discourse, questions are asked, commands issued, appeals are made, prayers are raised, emotions expressed, definitions proposed, apologies are made, and rules and principles set forth.

5.3. Recommendations

1. It is recommended that critical attention is given to language and power use in the fight against galamsey by President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo in his future speeches.
2. It is also recommended that journalists should move from the rhetorics of newsmakers and focus on talking on the effects of the galamsey menace on the ordinary Ghanaian.
3. Since, speakers through the use of modal auxiliaries can exert power in their speeches, it is further recommended that news stories in the Daily Graphic Newspaper should use attributes that does not exert too much power on its audiences.



5.4. Suggestion for Future Study

It is recommended that future study investigate how media frames editorial discourse in the fight against galamsey.

It is also suggested that a quantitative study is conducted to know the extent to which presidential rhetorics on the fight against galamsey impacts the socio-political landscape in the country.

5.5. Chapter Summary

The chapter presented an overview of the study which focused on the purpose and research methodology employed in the study. It also summarized briefly the major research findings which were followed by conclusions to the study. Recommendations

in connection with the key findings were projected. Finally, suggestions for further research were proposed.



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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Galamsey fight demands consensus – President Akufo-Addo

Date: Apr - 15 - 2021 , 10:16 BY: Donald Ato Dapatem

President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo has called for an impartial and nonpartisan dialogue for the country to reach a consensus on a sustainable method of mining minerals.

President Akufo-Addo said there were things that could be discussed on partisan lines, but issues bordering on small-scale mining and the requirement to do away with illegalities in that sector should be beyond partisan politics.

“We cannot have one part of the political divide campaigning for galamsey in the bush and the other waging an official fight against galamsey in the open.” He therefore urged the forum to insist that illegal small-scale mining and matters relating to it should be one of such issues requiring national effort.

Consultative dialogue

President Akufo-Addo made the call when he opened a two-day national consultative dialogue on small-scale mining to develop a blueprint to deal with galamsey and how to fashion best ways for small-scale mining in Accra.

The conference, which is on the theme: “Sustainable small-scale mining for national development”, is being attended by all ministers of Lands and Natural Resources in the Fourth Republic, all political parties, parliamentary select committees, mining industry players, faith-based organisations and civil society organisations.

The first roundtable discussion, which will look at the topic: “Experience, challenges, successes and future outlook for the small-scale mining sector”, is to be chaired by a Lands and Natural Resources Minister in the erstwhile

Mahama administration, Mr Inusah Fuseini.

Candid

The President called for a frank national dialogue to fashion concrete policies to deal decisively with the menace of illegal mining and its attendant repercussions on the environment, lives and livelihoods.

He said the policies which should be arrived at on consensus would lead to the promotion of responsible, viable and environmentally sustainable small-scale mining that discarded the use of mercury, shanfan and excavators and the involvement of foreigners.

The President said it was crucial that deliberations at the consultative dialogue be candid and devoid of partisanship or narrow parochial interests.

He expressed the hope that in the end, they would be able to build a broad-based national consensus to stamp out the menace of illegal small-scale mining and see the need to support and grow responsible small-scale mining.

Support

President Akufo-Addo noted that the vision of what small-scale mining should be must have the support of the entire nation and urged the gathering to be bold and forthright in its deliberations.

“No subject or person should be above critique. Politicians, traditional authorities, policy makers, the media, so-called influential people should all not be beyond your scrutiny,” he stressed.

Touching on the menace, President Akufo-Addo noted that there was nothing wrong with mining, a sector that provided resources for national development and benefited families, adding, however, that it had become problematic and dangerous.

That, he said, was because the methods employed posed a danger to the land, water bodies and the very lives of the people.

“Mining becomes a danger to society when, after extracting the gold, diamond or other stones and minerals, the land is left degraded and poisoned with toxic materials, water bodies are turned into entities that can no longer support life and plants and fish cannot survive in our rivers,” he explained.

He bemoaned the fact that Ghana’s beautiful and majestic rivers and streams, as well as thick forests, could not be celebrated again due to unacceptable mining and logging practices that had laid them to waste.

Responsibility, progress

The President said the government was accountable for the stewardship of all other aspects of national life, including mining, and stressed his determination to enforce the laws on illegal mining, no matter who were involved, but would not base his actions on hearsay or mere allegations.

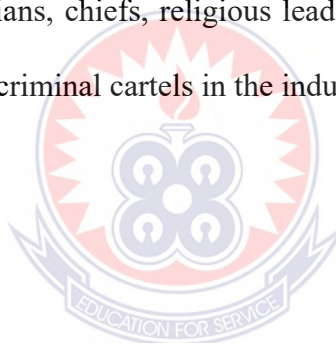
President Akufo-Addo, who waged a war against illegal mining in his first term after the media had highlighted its dire impact on the environment and water bodies, said the government wanted to build on the modest progress made in his first term, learn from the shortcomings and receive productive inputs from the forum for purposes of enhancing the regulation of the sector.

He expressed the hope that the maiden dialogue would build a national consensus around a national policy on small-scale mining that promoted a responsible, viable, environmentally sustainable small-scale mining industry.

Questions

The Minister of Lands and Natural Resources, Mr Samuel Abu Jinapor, said the forum was expected to provide answers to questions of how to effectively regulate the industry and how to deal with the financiers of illegal small-scale miners who put young men into mining pits, while they received the proceeds of such dangerous and criminal enterprises in the comfort of their homes. The minister said it would also look at ways to fashion alternative livelihoods for those who would inevitably fall out of the cracks, what could be learnt from international best standards and what kind of biting enforcement regime was required.

Mr Jinapor said the dialogue would also come up with a blueprint on how to name, shame and punish politicians, chiefs, religious leaders, the elite and rich people who influenced and promoted criminal cartels in the industry.



President Akufo-Addo endorses destruction of illegal mining excavators

Date: May - 26 - 2021 , 13:15

BY: Donald Ato Dapatem

President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo has publicly endorsed the destruction of equipment including excavators being used for illegal mining. He said the destruction of the equipment being used to pollute water bodies and destroy forest reserves will not cease till the criminal acts are halted.

He has therefore challenged those who think otherwise to go to the court of law. President Akufo-Addo was speaking at a sod cutting ceremony for the commencement of a Law Village Project in Accra Wednesday morning (May 26, 2021), reports Graphic Online's presidential reporter, Donald Ato Dapatem. President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo on Wednesday reaffirmed his determination to root out illegal mining and stated that the burning of equipment used for the pollution of water bodies and forest reserves will not cease till the criminal acts are halted.

He has therefore challenged those who think otherwise to go to the court of law.

“I say with all the emphasis at my command, that no rights can accrue to or flow from the criminal venture of galamsey. The equipment which is being used for an illegal or criminal purpose cannot confirm on the owner or any other person any rights whatsoever,” he said.

He added that the presence of changfan in water bodies and the use of excavators in protected forest zones were nothing short of evil and that no one should compromise in the efforts to protect the environment, forest Reserve and water bodies.

President Akufo-Addo was speaking at the sod cutting ceremony of the of the construction of the Law Village Project close to the University of Ghana and UPSA in Accra Wednesday.

Facilities

The Law Village will have a state-of-the-art 1,300-seater multi-purpose conference hall accessible to the public, two lecture halls with teleconferencing facilities, two 500-seater lecture theatres, two lecture rooms of 40-seater capacity each and two 50-seater mini-conference rooms (designed as flexible spaces to hold Alternative Dispute Resolution [ADR] sessions).

In addition, it will have a modern Law library complex with traditional and electronic archiving facilities and two moot courts accommodating 30 people.

'Go to court'

President Akufo-Addo said he was aware that some people were of the conviction that the move to rid water bodies and forest zones of harmful equipment and machinery was unlawful and, in some cases, harsh.

“I strongly disagree and I would advise those who take a contrary view to go to court to vindicate their position, if they so wish. That is what the rule of law is all about,” he challenged the opposers.

Personal experience

Touching on his personal experience, President Akufo-Addo, who practised law for over three decades, said the Ghana Law Reports of modern times were littered with cases in which his clients thought it necessary to challenge government actions.

He explained that in majority of the cases, the courts upheld his contention, but in a few others the courts did not.

“That is the rule of law, which does not recognise social status, religious persuasion, political affiliation, ethnic origins or regional adherence; merely the law and precedent, the ancient common law doctrine of ‘stare decisis’,” he added.

Law

Quoting from the Minerals and Mining Act 2006 (Act 703), President AkufoAddo said it was the vehicle through which a mineral licence was acquired and which also conferred mineral rights on the holder.

He added that any person who, without a valid licence, conveyed any equipment onto a piece of land, purportedly to conduct activities, from the search, reconnaissance, prospecting, exploration to mining for a mineral, committed a grievous crime against the state.

Indeed, he said, holding personal possession of a valid licence but undertaking mining in water bodies or mining unlawfully in protected forest zones was also an illegality.

The President stated that apart from the criminal violations of Act 703, the activities of such persons desecrated the environment, polluted water bodies and endangered the lives of present and future generations of Ghanaians, adding that “their monumental crimes should not be condoned in any shape or form”.

Appeal

President Akufo-Addo appealed to all Ghanaians to rally behind the government in its efforts to stamp out the illegality.

He said he swore an oath as President to be faithful and true to the Republic of Ghana, and that was exactly what he was doing in the fight against galamsey.

Military

The President, who is also the Commander-in-Chief of the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF), paid glowing tribute to the officers, men and women of the GAF who had stepped forward to perform their patriotic duties in the exercise to end illegal mining.

He said they deserved the loud praise of the nation for the work they were doing to rid the country of those destroying the water bodies and forest reserves.

Govt bent on ending galamsey - President

Date: Apr - 24 - 2021 , 10:46

BY: Donald Ato Dapatem

Category: General News

The government is injecting renewed vigour into the fight against illegal mining (galamsey) to bring an end to the disturbing development.

President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, who said this, indicated that in his first term, he had embarked on a fight to deal with the problem, but that did not attain the results the government wanted.

He said, however, that this time round, the government was investing dynamism and energy to reinvigorate the fight for the country to witness greater progress in saving the environment.

President Akufo-Addo, who gave the assurance when the Okyenhene,

Osagyefuo Amoatia Ofori Panin, led the members of the Akyem Abuakwa Traditional Council to pay a courtesy call on him at the Jubilee House in Accra yesterday, said by all means the country must do away with illegal mining.

“I intend to do everything within my power in this second term to bring this galamsey menace to a conclusion in Ghana,” he assured the delegation.

Importance

The President stated that dealing with illegal mining was of great importance to him and expressed worry that great rivers such as the Birim, Pra, Ankobra and other water bodies were being destroyed, adding that the new fight would culminate in something positive.

He noted that it was incumbent on the current generation to ensure that the water bodies, lands and other resources bequeathed to them were taken good care of, and that as beneficiaries, they should use them sustainably and leave them in a better state for future generations.

DCEs and development projects

Reacting to concerns raised by the chiefs about some district chief executives (DCEs) who undertook development projects without engaging the traditional authorities, President Akufo-Addo expressed surprise at the development. He stated that any DCE who did not collaborate and consult with the traditional authorities in his administration had failed woefully and asked the chiefs to let him know those DCEs who engaged in such acts, so that he would consider such an attitude when naming the next batch of DCEs.

“This is the essence of local government — consulting with the stakeholders on the ground and making sure that their concerns are addressed. So if you do not do that, then you have failed as a DCE,” he added.

President Akufo-Addo gave an assurance that the request for the dualisation of the Nsawam-Nkawaw stretch would be given greater attention.

Chiefs commended

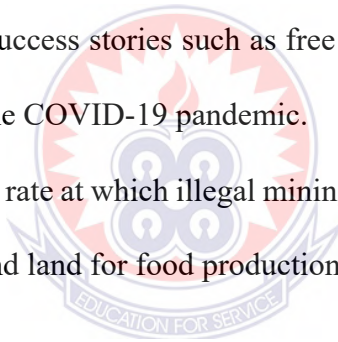
President Akufo-Addo, who is a Royal from Akyem Abuakwa, commended the chiefs and the people of Akyem Abuakwa for constantly supporting his bid to become President and ensuring that he also attained his second term.

“But for you, I would not be here as President. A lot of people do not know the Okyenhene is my younger brother. And it is for this reason that you should continue to support me to be successful,” he urged the chiefs.

Excellent job

The Gyasehene of Akyem Abuakwa, Daasebre Ayimedu Kantamanto, commended President Akufo-Addo for the excellent manner in which he executed his first term, which was marked with success stories such as free senior high school (SHS) and the aggressive fight against the COVID-19 pandemic.

He noted with concern the rate at which illegal mining was destroying the environment, especially water bodies and land for food production.



Let's discuss galamsey devoid of partisanship

Date: Jan - 06 - 2021 , 07:02

BY: Donald Ato Dapatem & Chris Nunoo

Category: General News

President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo has called for an open and dispassionate conversation about illegal mining and its future.

He said the devastating nature of illegal mining required from leaders the duty to take the subject out of the party-political arena and engage in an honest conversation about the menace for the sake of current and future generations.

“Should we allow or should we not allow galamsey, the illegal mining that leads to the pollution of our water bodies and the devastation of our landscape? As I have said often, the Almighty having blessed us with considerable deposits of precious minerals, there would always be mining in Ghana,” he observed. President Akufo-Addo made the call when he delivered a message on the state of the nation yesterday prior to the dissolution of the Seventh Parliament at midnight today. He will be sworn in for a second term at the same venue tomorrow.

Other dignitaries who graced the occasion aside from the Members of Parliament (MPs) from both sides of the divide included the First Lady, Mrs Rebecca Akufo-Addo, the Vice-President, Dr Alhaji Mahamudu Bawumia, and his wife Samira, former President J. A. Kufuor and some members of the Council of State.

The less than two-hour ceremony also attracted sitting and former ministers of state, former MPs, leaders of some political parties, members of the diplomatic corps, traditional rulers, service commanders and the clergy.

Minute's silence

Before he commenced his speech, President Akufo-Addo asked the gathering in a large tent erected at the precincts of Parliament to stand up for a minute's silence in memory of former President Jerry John Rawlings, who passed away on November 12, last year.

Action

On assumption of office in 2017, President Akufo-Addo commenced an action that reduced the activities of illegal mining (galamsey) following an aggressive media campaign.

A task force, made up of joint military and police personnel, was formed that moved to affected areas, seized equipment including excavators, and prosecuted those arrested for engaging in illegal mining.

The action led to a reduction in illegal mining activities and the destruction of the environment and water bodies but it also contributed to the governing New Patriotic Party (NPP) losing most of the seats it held in the mining communities. Although the government had commenced a sustainable means of mining which is termed Community Mining Programme, the presidential candidate of the NDC, Mr John Dramani Mahama, during the electioneering, promised to release all those incarcerated by the law courts for engaging in illegal mining.

Touching on the need for dialogue in the address to Parliament, President Akufo-Addo said there had always been mining in the country but the problem had been the absence of modern technology, a situation that had led to resort to illegal mining methods which posed serious dangers to water bodies and the environment.

He explained that the pollution of the rivers and water resources had been so acute that the Ghana Water Company Ltd was unable to afford the processing of water for safe drinking and stressed: "We have to talk about galamsey. We, who are leaders, owe it to

the country to take the subject out of the partypolitical arena, and have an honest conversation about this menace to our future.”

Gratitude

President Akufo-Addo expressed gratitude to God and Ghanaians for giving him another four years, a clear mandate and opportunity to complete tasks, consolidate some of the far-reaching measures “we have introduced, and initiate further changes and adjustments to policies and practices.”



Akuffo-Addo touts successes chalked in galamsey fight

Date: Feb - 20 - 2021, 16:10

BY: Getrude Ankah Nyavi

Category: Politics

President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo has said that the government's fight against illegal mining, popularly known as galamsey, has chalked some successes despite the challenges.

According to him, the alternative livelihood programmes introduced by the Ministry of Local Government in areas where galamsey was rife has seen a decline in the number of deaths recorded due to the collapse of pits and tunnels.

In the wake of missing seized equipment, the opposition National Democratic Congress has however, described the fight against galamsey as a failure.

But President Akufo-Addo in his 2020 State of the Nation Address to Parliament on Thursday said, "Operation Vanguard has been successful even though problems still remain. We started with the banning of all small-scale mining and by the end of the campaign; some rivers started showing signs of coming back to life."

Outlining some of the successes chalked, the President noted however that his government would not weaken its stance in the fight.

"When we came into office in January 2017, galamsey activities were rampant in many parts of the country. Our lands, forests and river bodies were being systematically degraded and destroyed without any care and this had been the case for several years.

The previous NDC government had given up the fight against galamsey but we determined that this was an intolerable situation and we owed it to generations unborn to tackle the problem and save our environment. I was therefore not under any illusion about the size and scope of the problem that we are taking on," he said.

He stated that “the interministerial committee against illegal mining has been working hard and has had some successes. Under the auspices of this committee, the Ministry of Local Government has formed and is implementing the alternative livelihood programme in 35 severely affected galamsey districts across the country.

“Mining with impunity on forest reserves and in water bodies has declined. More than 4000 miners have received training in sustainable mining. The number of individuals dying in collapsed mining tunnels and pits has reduced by 90 per cent. Operation Vanguard has been particularly effective in helping to restore the order which has permitted the reopening of the famous Obuasi mine of AngloGold Ashanti.”

“The community mining programme has been well received by the population and young men and women who did not have the resources to acquire concessions and excavators and other mining inputs and therefore had to do galamsey, have moved into legal community mining,” he added.

According to President Akufo-Addo, following the introduction of the community mining programme there have been no deaths due to the collapse of mining tunnels and pits.

He added that more than 20,000 individuals are earning their income legitimately in the community mines.

Nonetheless, President Akufo-Addo acknowledged that the threat posed by galamsey still lingered and urged the media coalition against galamsey not to relent on its effort to fight the menace.

“The threat posed to the future of our country by galamsey is grave and we cannot shirk our responsibilities in dealing with it. I’m appealing with the media coalition not to be daunted by the difficulties in the fight against galamsey.

Government will not weaken its stand and welcomes the continued support of the media coalition,” he said.

