Ideological Underpinnings in President John Dramani Mahama's 2013 State of the Nation Address: A Critical Discourse Analysis

Kojo Fenyi [(1)], Georgina Afeafa Sapaty [(2)]

[(1)] Department of Applied Linguistics, University of Education, Winneba, Ghana
fenyigh@gmail.com
[(2)] Department of Ewe Education, Colleges of Education, University of Education, Winneba, Ghana

Abstract

This study sets out to investigate, examine and understand the hidden ideologies and ideological structures/devices in the 2013 State of the Nation Address of President John Dramani Mahama. The study specifically aimed to (i) ascertain the ideologies embedded in the speech and (ii) investigate linguistic expressions and devices which carry these ideological colourations in the speech under review. It uses Critical Discourse Analysis as the theoretical framework to examine the role of language in creating ideology as well as the ideological structures in the speech. These hidden ideologies are created, enacted, and legitimated by the application of certain linguistic devices. The researchers deem a study of this nature important as it will expose hidden motives that Ghanaian presidents cloth in language in order to manipulate their audience through their speeches in order to win and/or sustain political power. Through thematic analysis, it was revealed that Mahama projected these ideologies in his speech: *ideology of positive self-representation, ideology of human value, ideology of economic difficulty, ideology of power relations,* and *ideology of urgency*. It also revealed that Mahama projects his ideologies through the following ideological discursive structures: *pronouns, biblical allusion,* and *metaphor*. The study has shown that language plays a crucial role in human existence as a means of socialisation. Language has been revealed as a means of communicating ideologies and events of the world. In the tradition of CDA, this study has confirmed that text and talk have social and cultural character and that discourse functions ideologically.

Keywords

ideologies, critical discourse analysis, state of the nation address

Introduction

Ideology is the collection or set of principles that the members of a group or party generally share a considerable level or measure of agreement – beliefs about the nature of present society, about the kind of society they want to create, about individuals in relation to society, and about the general values which they hold to be important (Al-Haq & Al-Sleibi, 2015; Darko, 2016). The concept of ideology is one of the features of Critical Discourse Analysis (Nuolija & Tiittula, 2011). According to Fairclough (1992b: 14), the term ideology refers to 'meaning in the service of power'. He indicates that ideologies 'are constructions of meaning that contribute to the production, reproduction and transformation of relations of domination'. The concept of ideology has both a positive and a negative connotation (Djabetey, 2013) According to Van Dijk (2006: 78) in his book titled 'Politics, Ideology and Discourse' published in 2006, the everyday usage of the term 'ideology' is 'largely negative, and it refers to the rigid, misguided, or partisan ideas of others'. In buttressing the pejorative connotation of ideology, Van Dijk associates it with the use of language to show power relations and domination. He indicates that the dominant groups have ideologies while the dominated, have truths. He indicates that this negative meaning goes back to Mark Engels, for whom ideologies were a form of 'false consciousness' (Van Dijk, 2006, p.728). Historically, ideology as a term did not have this negative meaning. 'Ideology' as a term was introduced by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy to denote a new discipline that would study 'ideas' (called in French as ideologie'). (Van Dijk, 2006, p.729).

According to Gyawali (2020), discourse is ideology. This is because both discourse and ideology are considered to be important 'complementary' means for establishing and maintaining unequal power relations. Gyawali (2020) is of the view that discourse takes some keen interest in the manner through which language mediates ideology in different social constructs. This shows that social constructs are shaped ideologically and through discourses. It is this same thinking that informs Van Dijk (2006: 729) that an ideology is 'the foundation of the social representations shared by a social group'. Fairclough (2003: 218) also adds that 'ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation'. Fairclough (1995) notes that there is a relationship between ideology and language. He indicates that these ideologies are located in the discursive event itself. For him, ideologies are embedded in social events and unless one reads critically the discursive formations through which they (ideologies) are maintained they may go unnoticed.

What Fairclough (1995: 71) says merits a full citation:

> … Ideologies reside in text. While it is true that the forms and content of texts do bear the imprints of ideological processes and structures, it is not possible to 'read off' ideological from text. This is because meanings are produced through interpretation of texts and texts are open to diverse interpretations and because ideologies processes appertain to discourse as whole social events …

Fairclough (1995: 71) further adds that 'ideology is located, then, both in structures which constitute the outcome of past events and the conditions for current events, and in events themselves as they reproduce and transform their conditioning structures'. He notes that discourse has social structure which defines the social relations between people. He opines that one aspect of this ideological processes in the social which is inherent to the notion of discourse is that language is a material form of ideology, and language is invested by ideology. Mullet (2018) believes that ideology has material effect as it contributes to the creation and constant recreation of social relations between and among people. For example, he remarks that the social world of the family is ideologically determined. The determination of the positions of the father, mother and children in the family structure are all shaped in the ideological processes of discourse in much the same way that the rulers and the ruled are sustained through ideological discursive formations which this study seeks to unravel.

Gyawali (2020) points out clearly that the formal features of texts at various levels may be ideologically invested. This implies that a critical and thorough investigation of textual features such as grammar, vocabulary, word order, sentence structure etc. will reveal hidden ideologies in the text. In this study, the concept of ideology refers to the manipulation of linguistic structures to control people's thoughts, feelings, desires, beliefs, perceptions, tastes and preferences etc., in order to dominate or influence them. In other words, ideology is the application of linguistic resources to manipulate people and influence their minds.

The theoretical framework on which this study is grounded is Critical Discourse Analysis (Schieble, 2012; Dadugblor, 2016; Mullet, 2018). According to Schieble (2012), Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) is a qualitative analytical methodology and approach to the study of discourse where discourses are critically described, interpreted and explained in a manner that establishes how power, identity, ideology and social inequalities are constructed, maintained and legitimised in society. History has it that (CDA) evolved in the late 1970s as a product of Critical Linguistics and it (CDA) has been made more prominent in the field of Linguistics with respect to the works of these five figures- Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Teun van Dijk, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak. Their position has been that text and talk have ideological implications. CDA scholars are therefore quite unanimous in their thinking that CDA analyses issues of power, ideology, and that CDA has the preoccupation of unravelling hidden meanings embedded in language. In this regard, Van Dijk (1998) states that CDA is a field that is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias. He maintains that CDA examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts.

For this study, CDA has been adopted as the framework for analyzing the speech of the president because CDA offers a critical means to reveal potential hidden ideologies that cannot be comprehended by the weak in society. In fact, one element of CDA which makes its analysis unique from other forms of discourse analysis is its attribute of 'critical'. 'Critical' implies showing connections and causes which are hidden; it also implies intervention, for example providing resources for those who may be

disadvantaged through change (Mullet, 2018). It is this quest to explore and make these hidden, 'critical' elements in text, exposed to the people involved and to enable them responds accordingly, that this study is concerned with.

Some studies have been conducted on political texts generally, and presidential speeches specifically, with the aim of unveiling hidden ideologies. Abdulwahid (2011), for example, critically analyzed the speeches of Obama and Rouhani which they delivered at UN. The basic aim of this research is to analyze how both political leaders manifest their power through speeches. The analysis was mainly conducted through the transitivity and modality system to show how the language performs its role to form an ideology and power in the speeches. And it was revealed that both speakers relied on personal pronouns to establish familiarity with audience. Again in 2011, Nuolija & Tiittula critically analyzed Joseph Conrad's text "Heart of Darkness". It was at understanding how ideologies were developed and what type of lexico-grammatical strategies were adopted to convey the ideological meaning.

Then, in 2015, Ademilokun investigated the discursive strategies in Nigerian political rallies towards the 2011 elections. He did it in a bid to unveil the hidden ideologies in those speeches. Then in 2016 too, Gameli & Angmorteh investigated the rhetorical strategies used in John Mahama's 2016 state of the Nation's address, in which study the analysed data revealed that Mahama relies heavily on linguistic resources such as transitions, modality and persuasive narratives to put his message across. Again in 2016, Abokoma & Alofa studied another presidential speech. It was Kwame Nkrumah's speech that he delivered on 6th March, 1957, independence day. Through rhetorical analysis, it was revealed that Nkrumah employed three means of persuasion- ethos, pathos and logos, to drive home the objective of his argument.

This study sets out to investigate, examine and understand the hidden ideologies in President John Dramani Mahama's 2013 State of the Nation Address. It uses Critical Discourse Analysis as the theoretical framework to examine the role of language in creating ideology as well as the ideological structures in the speech. These hidden ideologies are created, enacted and legitimized by the application of certain linguistic devices. The researchers attempt to unravel these hidden meanings and connotations of ideology in the selected political speech. The researchers deem a study of this nature important as it will expose hidden motives that Ghanaian presidents cloth in language in order to manipulate their audience through their speeches in order to win and/or sustain political power.

Method

In this study, the researchers adopted the qualitative research approach. The researchers used this design because of two main reasons. First, CDA itself as a method of analysis is qualitative in nature (Mullet, 2018). Second, qualitative research approach is a text oriented study which offers a highly systematic and robust description, analysis and interpretation of events which are discovered in real life situations (Marianne & Louise, 2002). The researchers adopted textual analysis as the research design for the study. The researcher used this textual analysis because it provides an excellent

discovery of the underlying messages that lie 'in' a text (Fairclough, 2012). The researchers used this textual analytical approach because this study analyses a political speech that is written and printed. The researchers engaged in a thorough verbal analysis of the written speeches to bring out the hidden meanings, which could not have come up.

After gaining access to the data, that is, the speech (SONA 2013), what the researchers did first was to do a general reading of the selected political speech. The purpose of the first reading was to get familiarised with the information in the speech. Then the researchers moved on to do a background study of the speech taking into consideration the background information of the speech, the purpose of the speech, the occasion and the period in which the speech was made.

Researchers in CDA indicate that CDA is a multidisciplinary approach which cannot be done by using one theoretical framework or analytical method (Marianne & Louise, 2002). They recommend for a multi method approach of analysis and levels of analysis. It is against this background that the researchers for this current study did a textual analysis and a social analysis on one hand, and a socio-cognitive interpretation on another level in the study. Thus, the first part of the analysis, textual, focused on Fairclough's three-dimensional model in which the linguistic features of the text were examined. The second stream of analysis focused on Van Dijk's socio-cognitive analysis which looks at social action such as power, ideology, identity etc. in text and talk. This study was therefore based on Fairclough's Member's Resource and Van Dijk (1995) socio-cognitive approach. Fairclough's analytical framework involves three major components – description, interpretation, and explanation, and the researchers went through all three stages in their analysis. The figure below illustrates Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA
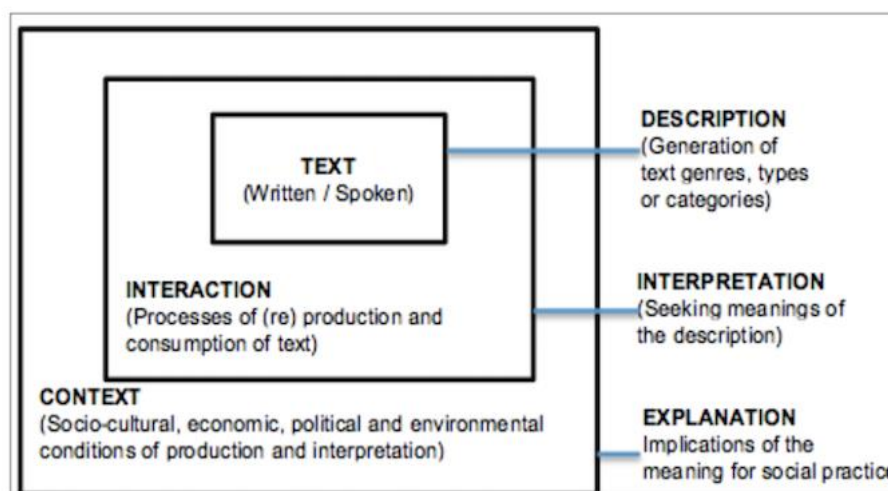

Figure 1. *Fairclough's three-dimensional framework for analysis of discourse*

The first stage, *description*, looked at the linguistic devices or (formal) features of the text such as vocabulary, syntax (grammar), mood, stress etc. The second stage of the analysis, *interpretation*, looked at intertextuality and member's resource (people's background

knowledge or information of a text which was ideologically brought into the current discourse for interpretation). Then there was the third level of analysis, *explanation*. This also looked at the analysis of the broader social implication of the text. It was at this level of analysis that the researchers looked at the interconnectedness between the discursive events and the social structure of the discourse under study.

The researchers have done the analysis cohesively since these three levels of analysis must be analysed interconnectedly in order to make a thorough critical discourse analysis. In this way, Fairclough indicates the need for a methodical means of investigating the link between discursive structures and the social structures. It makes a lot of sense to indicate that a mere analysis of the linguistic features of the speeches could not have helped in exposing the hidden ideologies in them. There was therefore the need for a critical reading of the linguistic structures in order to unearth these underlying communicative functions. It was this critical analysis that unearthed the power relations and ideologies in the selected speech. The researchers therefore added Van Dijk's mental model of analysis which helped us to uncover the hidden ideologies in the political speeches, especially, issues of power abuse and mental dominance.

Results & Discussion

The table 1 below shows a breakdown of the statistical data of John Mahama's State of the Nation Address 2013. The table reveals that the speech is made up of 10, 850 words spread across 22 pages. The relative lengthy nature of the speech is an indication that the president had many issues and themes to discuss and address. The State of the Nation Address is supposed to summarize all the developmental issues across all the sensitive sectors of the economy. It is therefore not surprising to have such a speech quite lengthy. The table again reveals that the speech has 180 paragraphs, 1, 087 lines and 58, 692 characters.

Table 1. Statistical Data of the SONA'13

Statistical Items	Number
Pages	22
Words	10, 850
Characters	58, 692
Lines	1,087
Paragraphs	180

Ideological Analysis

Ideology of Positive Self-representation

One of the hidden ideologies in the speech of John Dramani Mahama (JDM henceforth) is what Van Dijk (1997) refers to as positive self-representation (as opposed to negative other representation). The President takes advantage of his speech to project himself in a positive light to the people. Mahama presents himself as a politician with genuine intents to make Ghana a better place. For example, in extract 1 below, Mahama creates a brand effect for himself as a hardworking leader who wants to make a (positive) difference in the life of 'our' people. This can be seen in extract 1:

Extract 1

> *Mr. Speaker, I entered public service out of a genuine desire to help make a difference in the lives of our people. My vision for this country is to create a conducive national environment in which our children grow happily into responsible adults; where workers are proud to work and defend our national values; where improved maternal health reduces the hazards of childbearing; where teachers use their influence to positively mould the next generation; a Ghana in which we all create and share in the benefits.*

In projecting his positive self and motive to the people, the President also gives impression of the good things he intends to do for the Ghanaian people. Though 'realistic', he calls these good projects 'ambitious'. Even though the President consistently uses plural preforms like 'we' and 'our' in order to imply collective and shared responsibility, these pronouns inherently have elements of speaker's inclusion.

Extract 2

> ***We*** *will embark on an ambitious but realistic programme of building new roads and bridges; expand electricity generation to energize our economy; increase access to good drinking water and quality healthcare for our growing population; and improve sanitation and human security for all.* ***We*** *aim to transform* ***our*** *schools, colleges and universities to meet the demands of a new age with emphasis on technology and innovation.*

In extracts 1 and 2, it is obviously that President Mahama has projected himself in a positive light to the people. And, in the process of doing that, several implications, including running down his predecessor, are made. In political discourse, it is almost indispensable to establish oneself as having positive ambitions, genuine intentions and good heart for the people and at the same time project your opponent or predecessor as not having same so that the people will come to believe in you and bring or maintain you in power when the need arises (Marianne & Louise, 2002; Abdulwahid, 2011; Gameli & Angmorteh, 2016; Lawan, 2016). These are exactly what the President has done in extracts 1 and 2. In extract 1, the president uses expressions such as "*genuine desire*", "*make a difference in the lives of our people*" and "*to create a conducive national environment*". These expressions, when told a people, are likely to win their heart and trust. They also imply that the predecessor did not necessarily have genuine heart and did not make any difference in people's lives. The ideology of positive self-representation is therefore projected in the President's speech.

It is important to indicate that the President made use of ten (10) personal pronouns in the entire speech. These ten are *I, me, my, us, we, our, you, them, they* and *their*. Six of the ten pronouns are first person pronouns while the remaining four are second person pronouns. This emphasises the president's hidden ideology of projecting himself (and his group) over other parties and people. The table below gives a breakdown of the usage of the pronouns

***Table 2**. The usage of the pronouns*

Pronouns	First Person	Second Person
Singular	I, Me, My	You
Plural	We, Us, Our	You, them, they, their

It is also imperative to note that these personal pronouns, all together, were used 476 times in the speech. Out of the 476 times, the first person pronouns were used 430 times representing 90.33% while the second person pronouns were used 46 times representing 09.77%. These figures reveal how and the extent to which the president focusses on himself and imposes himself on the people by drawing attention to himself and the (good) things he does through the numerous use of the first person pronouns.

Ideology of Human Value

Another ideology that is heavily projected in the speech is the premium that is placed on the lives of the people. In this light, the presidents indicates that, "*we* [himself and his government] *put people first".* In fact, JDM, the president, refers to the people, in the extract below, as 'our most treasured asset'. In a country that boasts of a lot of treasures and resources like gold, timber, salt, cocoa, oil and other assets to the envy of most countries, it takes a President who really values the lives of the people, above all these valuables, to still see the people/citizen as the most treasured asset. More so, the president emphasised his agenda to protect the most vulnerable such as women, children, the aged and people with disabilities. This is illustrated in Extract 3 below

Extract 3

Mr. Speaker, as a Social Democratic Party, we put people first. We believe that our people are our most treasured asset and this is what informs our social development agenda. The thrust of our social policy and human development programme revolves around education, healthcare, social security and protection for the vulnerable- women, children, the aged and people with disabilities. We will focus on and emphasize the productive and reproductive capabilities of these social groupings, while ensuring at the same time that the most vulnerable in our society are effectively protected

Extract 4

My vision for this country is to create a conducive national environment in which our children grow happily into responsible adults; where workers are proud to work and defend our national values; where improved maternal health reduces the hazards of childbearing; where teachers use

their influence to positively mould the next generation; a Ghana in which we all create and share in the benefits.

In extract 4 above, still on the ideology of human values, the president various categories of people in the country and shows some concern and good intents for them. For children, he indicates that they would *"grow happily into responsible adults"*. For workers, he indicates that they would be "*proud to work"*, in other words, conducive working environment and good conditions of service would be given them to be able to work well. For mothers and pregnant women, he indicates that he would *"improve maternal health to reduce the hazards of childbearing"*. All these corroborates the ideology of placing human values over any other thing.

Ideology of Economic Difficulty

Economic difficulty has been one of the major challenges which most (developing) countries have had to deal with. It is therefore not surprising that the president, in the SONA'13, as evidenced in Extract 5 below, considers it expedient to touch on it and actually metaphorically describes the economy thus *"the meat is now down to the bones, and it is time for serious rethinking..."*. He goes further to indicate that the problem has to be tackled very technically and decisively.

Extract 5

Mr. Speaker, the rate of growth of the wage bill has reached a point where they are squeezing out critical investments in the budgetary allocation of goods and services and capital expenditures. Unless we tackle this issue decisively, we may soon reach a point where not much will be left to provide the much-needed roads, bridges, ports, schools, clinics and water infrastructure we need to develop our economy. Mr. Speaker, the meat is now down to the bones, and it is time for serious rethinking about the level of wages in relation to our national competitiveness and the related productivity issues. It is said, "to whom much is given, much is expected" (pg. 9)

In the extract, the president is clear that, due to the current economic difficulty, if care is not taken and critical decisions are taken in such moments, it would be difficult for him "*to provide the much-needed roads, bridges, ports, schools, clinics and water infrastructure we need to develop our economy"*.

These listed infrastructural and developmental projects are essential and needed for the growth of every economy, especially, developing economies like Ghana. However, the president, sublimely, impresses upon the people to reduce their expectations of him in that regard because he is faced with serious economic challenges which he must tackle first.

Ideology of Power Relations

Power is the enforcing of one's will over others (Wodak, 1989). Politics is associated with power (Fairclough, 2001a). In the speech, it is seen that Mahama deploys power as a tool of dominance, persuasion and manipulation. It shows his supremacy, authority and control over his audience and the citizens. Sometimes too, he shows his power over

certain issues and phenomena in the society. In Extracts 6-13 below, the repetitive use of the personal pronoun 'I' points to the fact that the president has allotted every power unto to himself and is not ready to share with anyone else. He makes the position personal and his repetitive use of "I" goes to remind the people that he is the one in charge. The verbs, which he employs after the personal pronouns, are also significant and meaning carrying. Expressions such as *"I have", "I can", "I request", "I shall", "I lead",* as seen in the extracts below, attest to the claim, use and demand for power, dominance and authority.

In fact, in Extract 13, he emphatically states that *"I lead a nation...".* This is ideologically loaded. He makes it undoubtable that he is the leader of the country and not some other person. Extracts in which power is manifested can be seen below:

Extract 6

> *I have clear plans...*

Extract 7

> *I can confidently say to them today, ...*

Extract 8

> *I have devoted considerable energy to solving...*

Extract 9

> *I have therefore instructed the Cabinet office to ensure that...*

Extract 10

> *I request all officials engaged in tackling this menace to maintain a high sense of integrity in order to win this battle...*

Extract 11

> *I have pledged at the Africa Union and the United Nations, that Ghana will not serve as a haven to destabilize any of our neighbours...*

Extract 12

> *I shall work to ensure that every household in this country will soon enjoy uninterrupted water and power supply...*

Extract 13

> *I lead a nation of great people...*

Ideology of Urgency

The use of some lexical items employed by the President in the SONA'13 creates the impression of urgency. He paints the picture that there is the immediate need to embark on meaningful projects which will inure to the benefit of the Ghanaian people. The President's use of explicit items like "urgent needs" (pg. 2) and "sense of urgency" (pg. 3) points to the ideology of urgency in his speech. However, there are many of such lexical items which are verbal elements and adjectival elements.

Even though there are non-action verbs such as copular/linking verbs and stative verbs, the President intentionally makes good use of action-carrying verbs which, ideologically, are loaded with the sense of action and urgency. Such action verbs employed by the President are "*start*" (pg. 2), "*directed*" (pg. 3), "*construct*" (pg. 4), "*establish*" (pg. 7), "*revamp*" (pg. 8), "*use*" (pg. 11), "*bring*" (pg. 13), "*create*" (pg. 15).

In fact, even in the use of adjectives, the President makes use of adjectivals whose root words are verbs. Examples of adjectivals who root words carry some element of action and urgency used by the President include, but not limited to, *"urgent" need (pg. 2) "existing" public schools (pg. 4), "ongoing" review (pg. 6), "fragmented" programmes (pg. 7), "clear" plans (pg. 13), "Broadcasting" Bill (pg. 19), "The needed" Regulations (pg. 20), "Implementation" Committee (pg. 20).*

Discursive Tools and Devices

The Use of Pronouns

A careful analysis of the SONA'13 reveals that pronouns have been used quite predominantly. It could also be observed that these pronouns have been used quite technically and ideologically to carry meanings beyond their traditional 'syntactic' functions in sentences. The pro-forms that are extensively employed in the speech are the first person singular subjective pronoun "*I*", third person plural subjective pronoun "*we*" and first person possessive plural pronoun "*our*". These pronouns have been used strategically to carry meanings and hidden messages to the audience. As explained in extracts 6-13 above, "I" has been used by the President normally to entrust unto himself (alone) power, authority and ability. He uses the pronoun when he talks about himself as doing something positive and wielding power. Therefore, beyond the syntactic role of "I" as the subject of sentences, the President uses it to carry power and impose himself on the people.

With the President's use of the personal plural subjective pronoun "we", many of the times, the verbs he has used to collocate with the pronoun has been positive. Ideologically, it implies that, with any group or persons which he (the president) is personally involved, they have tended to do only positive things, for the people of Ghana. Extracts 14-19 below speak to this fact.

Extract 14

> ***We*** *will initiate...*

Extract 15

*Mr. Speaker, as **we** forge ahead in social development and economic transformation …*

Extract 16

***we** are mindful…*

Extract 17

***we** are taking the difficult but necessary…*

Extract 18

***We** will use Government's significant procurement power to benefit…*

Extract 19

*This year **we** expect to bring to a significant point of completion many of the ongoing road projects…*

Table 3. *number of times in which the personal pronouns have been used.*

First person	number	Second person	number
I	63	You	4
My	23	Them	7
Me	08	They	12
Us	24	Their	23
We	143		
Our	169		
Total	**430**		**46**

Table 3 above reveals that the first person pronouns have been used 430 times while the second person pronouns have been used 46 times. Beyond their traditional syntactic roles of representing nouns, the use of the pronouns have some ideological underpinnings. It is obvious that these pronouns carry the ideology of power. The use and seeming emphasis on the first person pronoun in the speech reveal the extent to which the president focusses on himself and projects himself superior to others. He wants his audience and the Ghanaian people to know that he is the person around whom everything else revolves. Therefore, every praise or credit, including voting him again to sustain power, must be given him. Out of the 430 first person pronoun use, 336 representing 78.14% are in the plural form while the remaining 94 representing 21.86%

are in the singular form. This shows the president is more interested in projecting his group (his party in government) and giving us a sense of belongingness.

The Use of Biblical Allusion

Ghana touts herself as a Christian country. In that, she relies on the Grace and Mercies of God for most of the things she possesses and does. It is argued that about 70% of the nation's population is Christian. Therefore, in the speech, Mahama makes reference to God, his abilities and the trust he reposes in God. This is done with some hidden ideology-basically, to convince the Christian group of his fond affinity with them. The first of such allusions could be found in **Extract 20** below

Extract 20

> "...to whom much is given, much is expected"

This extract is in direct reference to Luke 12:48 which states,

> "...for unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required: and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more".

In the President's speech, he was admitting that the economy has grown very tough and things were not going as easy as anyone would anticipate. But, he still feels that when one is reposed or entrusted with a great task, then much is equally expected in the delivery of such task. He says this to acknowledge the fact that Ghanaians have entrusted into his hands the whole of the country to run and hence, he, together with his government, are equally expected to deliver.

Extract 21

> In all this we acknowledge our abundant faith in God and his bountiful mercies on our nation. God's divine favour is on Ghana. We have no cause to fear. With God in our boat we smile at the storm

In Extract 21 above, the President talks about his faith in God and the divine favour which God has given Ghana. He says this to show that anything he does or has done is not coming from his own might or strength but through the strength and favour of God. Ideologically, the President's reference to God and the acknowledgement of his favour on Ghana is a subtle way of appealing to the Christian community. In the extract, he says when God is in the boat, one is bound to smile at the storm. This is a direct reference to the biblical narrative in Mark 4: 38-40, where Jesus, with his disciples were travelling to the "the other side" but were met in the middle of the sea with a heavy storm that nearly overturned the boat. Upon waking Jesus up, he spoke to the storm and it calmed down. The President's reference to this scripture is an indication and admission that the country is hit with "storm" or difficult times but Jesus would come in a settle everything

In the extract, Mahama also recounts that God will not fail us. By this, he alludes to the infinite strength and the dependableness of God who is able to do everything.

I know we will not fail our country and I know the Good Lord will not fail us either

Creativity and Metaphors as Discursive Devices

Although creativity and metaphor are somehow unique strategies which are different from one another, they are oriented towards the same tool, creative words. So that, it is worthy to discuss them altogether in order to shape the findings in a more concise way of representation. As regards metaphor, linguists state that metaphors involve a semantic mapping from one conceptual domain to another, often using anomalous or deviant language (Crystal, 1994). In employing metaphors, political actors use a word or phrase to establish a comparison between one idea and another (Marianne & Louise, 2002; Ademilokum, 2015; Al-Haq & Al-Sleibi, 2015; Gameli & Angmorteh, 2016)

According to Lakoff & Mark (1980), metaphor is a persuasive device. Some speakers do not speak literally but in hidden messages. The study revealed that Mahama relies on metaphor to project his ideologies. In the extracts below, how the President uses metaphor (think and talk one thing in terms of another) for ideological motivations have been provided and discussed.

Extract 22

Mr. Speaker, our quest to build an equitable society...

The society, which is an abstract concept, is presented in the extract as though it were a physical material that can be "built" (with bricks and mortar). This is a creative use of language to create a sense of "physical effort" on the part of the President to ensure that the society is conducive and habitable for all to live in.

Extract 23

...and cut the rate of new infections by half...

In the extract above, the President was referring to the HIV/AIDS disease and his readiness to combat it. Mahama uses the verb "cut", which normally collocates with objects of sharp edges, in order to represent how drastic and "sharp" he is dealing with the menace.

Extract 24

The fruits of economic growth shall be equitably shared for the benefit of our population...

Fruits are normally associated with trees and crops. They are the produce or harvests a farmer gets when he tilts the land well and nurtures his crops well. The President has used the term "fruits" metaphorically here to associate with "economic growth". Ideologically, he has projected himself as a farmer who is working very hard so that when his efforts yield bountifully, every Ghanaian will "benefit".

In Extract 25, the concept of public private partnership has been presented as a thing that possesses a *spirit* metaphorically. Spirit is associated with a "being", which has three

important components- the body, the soul, the spirit. Therefore, for the President to make a (business) concept appear as though it were a "being" that possesses spirit, he has ideologically persuaded his audience to believe that he has attached every seriousness to it just as any human would attach a great deal of seriousness to his "being". In orders words, he has personified (made it a person) the concept of public-private partnership concept.

Extract 25

> *In the spirit of Public-Private Partnership,…*

In similar vein, Extract 26 below also has attributed a human quality to a wage bill. Growth is often associated with a living thing. It takes the living to grow (in the traditional sense of the word) since all the essential factors for growth like air, food, etc. can only be utilized by the living. However, Mahama speaks of the wage bill as that which has grown. Ideologically, this is a persuasive tool he has employed to convince his audience that through his efforts, the living conditions of the Ghanaian people have become better.

Extract 26

> *Mr. Speaker, the rate of growth of the wage bill has reached a point…*

Conclusion

This study attempted a critical discourse analysis to investigate hidden ideologies and ideological structures/devices in the 2013 State of the Nation Address of President John Dramani Mahama.

The study specifically aimed to (i) ascertain the ideologies embedded in the speech (ii) investigate linguistic expressions and devices which carry these ideological colourations in the speech under review.

First, the study found out that the speech of the President carries some ideological positions. Thus, after a critical investigation of the speech, it was revealed that Mahama projected these ideologies in his speech: ideology of positive self-representation, ideology of human value, ideology of economic difficulty, ideology of power relations and ideology of urgency.

Second, the study revealed that ideologies were discursively concealed in some linguistic devices and structures. Thus, the study showed that Mahama projects his ideologies through the following ideological discursive structures: pronouns, biblical allusion and metaphor.

The study has shown that language plays a crucial role in human existence as a means of socialisation. Language has been revealed as a means of communicating ideologies and events of the world. In the tradition of CDA, this study has confirmed that text and talk have social and cultural character and that discourse functions ideologically.

Limitations & Recommendations

The study confined itself to President John Dramani Mahama's State of the Nation Address which he delivered in 2013. It looked at ideologies embedded in the speech and the linguistic devices which he used to carry them. It is recommended that, further and future studies, in the area of Critical Discourse Analysis could do a comparative study of two presidents or two eras. This will expand perspectives and reveal how two presidents or the same president in two different dispensations/eras dealt with ideologies in their speeches.

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