



**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF  
JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION**

**Critical Discourse Analyses of Selected African Union  
Chairpersons' Speech (2015-2019)**

Thesis Submitted to the School of Journalism and Communication of  
Addis Ababa University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication

**BY**

**Molla Alemayehu**

**ADVISER**

**Mekuria Mekasha (Asst. Prof)**

**March, 2021**

**Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**

Critical Discourse Analyses of Selected African Union  
Chairpersons' Speech (2015-2019)

BY

Molla Alemayhu

A Thesis Proposal Submitted to the School of Journalism and Communication of  
Addis Ababa University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication

ADVISOR

Mekuria Mekasha (Asst.Prof)

**March, 2021**

**Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND  
COMMUNICATION**

**Critical Discourse Analyses of Selected African Union  
Chairpersons' Speech (2015-2019)**

**BY**

**Molla Alemayehu**

**Approved by Examining Board**

_____	_____	_____
Advisor	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Internal Examiner	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
External Examiner	Date	Signature

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I have been benefited from the support and contribution of many individuals.

My gratitude goes to my adviser Mekuria Mekasha (Assistant Professor) I am very much thankful to your concern and swift response.

My wife Wubegzer Derese and my child Fikir Molla you are always on my side during the painstaking journey love you.

My friends you have always been there for me. My sincere gratitude in this regard goes to Eyasu H/Michael and Meselu Beyene.

I would be remiss if I fail to express my thanks to Ato Birhane (former CEO for EBC) who arranged the opportunity of learning for the staffs. Thanks. And, many more others who participate in the data collection process. Thank You.

## **Abbreviations & Acronyms**

AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
CD	Critical Discourse
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
EU	European Union
WHO	World Health Organization
UN	United Nations

## ***Abstract***

*The purpose of this study was to examine the acceptance speech of African Union Heads of States from 2015 to 2019. The acceptance speech examined included Robert Mugabe (2015) , Iddris Debby(2016) ,Alpha Conde (2017), Paul Kagame (2018) ,and Al Sisi (2019). qualitative method was used to explore and analyses the efforts made to consolidate democratization by AU Chairperson's Acceptance Speech and its correlation with development, historical instruments of the regional geo-political, ideological socio-economic discourses and political (ideological-views) manifestations and its implication on the democratization of the continent .In addressing the common view and variance asked in the research problem. The finding of the analyses in each of the acceptance of the heads of state indicated that the leaders have focused more on peace and security, the dichotomy of Us and Them, representation at UN, peace and security, youth, migration and youth. Gaps were further found on efforts towards democratisation because of the summit chairperson power is ceremonial and state have no intention of loosing sovereignty, less effort to widen common African media, priorities of the Heads of State more than what the continent needs.*

***Key Words: Acceptance speech, Ideological views, Democratization, Media***

# Table of Contents

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	i
Abbreviations & Acronyms .....	ii
<i>Abstract</i> .....	iii
Table of Contents .....	iv
Chapter One .....	1
1. Introduction .....	1
1.1. Background of the study .....	1
1.2. Statement of the problem .....	4
1.3. Objective of the study .....	6
1.4. Research Questions .....	6
1.5. Significance of the Study .....	6
1.6. Delimitation of the Study .....	7
1.7. Limitation of the Study .....	7
1.8. Organization of the thesis .....	8
Chapter Two .....	9
2. Review of Related Literature .....	9
2.1. Institutionalism .....	9
2.2. Understanding Africa and its Regional Organizations .....	13
2.3. AU and its new Structure .....	15
2.4. Democratic Institutions .....	18
2.5. Democratization in Africa .....	18
2.5.1. Independent Media and Press .....	20
2.6. Rising Developments .....	20
2.6.1. Pan Africanism .....	20
2.6.2. Africa Rising .....	21
2.6.3. Terrorism .....	22
2.7. Theoretical Frameworks .....	22
2.7.1. The Theoretical and Concept of Discourse .....	22
2.7.2. Discourse theory .....	23
2.7.3. Kinds of Discourse Analysis .....	25

2.7.3.1. Linguistic discourse analyses.....	25
2.7.3.2. Theory of Persuasion .....	25
2.8. Critical discourse analyses .....	26
2.8.1. Central Approaches of CDA.....	27
2.8.1.1. Fairclough’s Socio-cultural Approach.....	27
2.8.1.2. Wodak’s Discourse- Historical Approach (DHA) .....	29
2.8.1.3. Van Dijk’s “Theory of ideology” .....	29
2.8.1.4. Post-structuralist discourse theory .....	30
Chapter Three.....	37
3. Research Design and Methodology .....	37
3.1. Approaches of the Study .....	37
3.2. Method.....	37
3.3. Methods of Data Collection .....	38
3.4. Method of Data Analysis and Interpretation .....	38
Chapter Four .....	40
4. Finding and Analysis .....	40
4.1. The African Union meetings since 2015.....	40
4.1.1. Analysis of Mugabe’s Speech at AU summit 2015.....	40
4.1.2. Analysis on Idriss Deby Itno speech of AU summitry 2016.....	47
4.1.3. Analysis of Alpha Conde’s Speech at AU summit 2017.....	52
4.1.4. Analysis of Paul Kagame’s Speech at AU summit 2018 .....	55
4.1.5. Analysis of AL SISI’s Speech at AU summit 2019 .....	59
4.2. Lessons with drawn From Acceptance speech of AU.....	62
4.3. The Role of Media in African Democratization.....	63
Chapter Five.....	66
5. Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation.....	66
5.1. Summary of the Major Findings .....	66
5.2. Conclusion.....	69
5.3 Recommendations .....	70
Reference .....	72
Annex of the research .....	79



## **Chapter One**

### **1. Introduction**

#### **1.1. Background of the study**

Human beings adopt various attitudes towards events because the world is full of different dynamic events. Besides, the events and ways of understanding the world are related, maintained maneuvered by social process and activities (Burr 1995; Gergen, 1985). In addition people use language in order to describe their perspectives to indicate variance in their opinions. According to Bayrat (2010), Language plays a crucial role in social, cognitive development and in shaping and expressing human identities. Based on this, in specific actions or writing people draw structures otherwise the speech are assumed as meaningless. In studying language and its use, it is reflection of human, mind, social dynamisms and thoughts. Language use is taken as a major instrument for making, assessments, and evaluations of a social context (Masson & Platt, 2006; Post, 2009). The communication, the idea reflected through the language use could also reflects and shapes the world view developed in a given group, domain or context (Strauss & Feiz, 2014). This indicates public speeches are filled with world view or belief of the speaker or writer (Shakoury, 2018).

Further, the senders (the individuals) use the discourse for various purposes of communications. The individual can also become a ‘medium for the culture and its language’ (Kvale, 1992) or the self no longer uses language or the society uses the self as a means of medium of sending a message through a person (Ibid). Thus, the idea, or ideology which is reflected recognition of the real social relations.

Further, language is used as primary means of communication for the purpose of making meaning in between the sender and receiver. These mutual ways of exchanging idea are created and exchanged in every day discursive practices. Therefore stress is needed for systematic empirical analysis of people’s talk and written language such as in mass media speeches, declarations and interviews. Empirical studies indicate that the aforesaid discourses which are specifically rhetoric’s of leaders, representatives, participants of different organizations likewise UN,WHO,AU, Group Seven ,Group Twenty, common wealth are subject to political, economic,

social and military dynamism. The rhetoric's on podiums are mainly either to indicate a common world view ideology or else is to show alteration.

Moreover the political discourses are identified by their actors, authors and politicians. It also emanates from text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions such as presidents, prime ministers, other officials both at local, national and international levels meetings (van Dijk, 2015). These politicians especially at intergovernmental or inter-regional organizations reflect not only single but also equivocal, speeches. The political actors likely the designated officials, political actors make different sorts of speech have to express political developments, political processes, political systems, political ideologies and political relations. The officials at regional level likewise EU,AU, Sinopec and others make opening statements at their inauguration based on the objective and principles of their union or regional organization.

In line with these the second largest continent Africa has passed through different historical foundations. After the people in the continent gained political independence from long racial barbaric colonization system, the Organization of African Union (OAU) was placed at front (Edo,v & Olanrewaju M. ,2012) .However the OAU was inefficient in many aspects of security, democratization, conflict prevention and even further, it had belittled efforts to prevent the human security of the people at grave instances of civil wars and genocide. The period of OAU was full of earnest desire for the prompt and permanent pacification with interstate activities than intrastate activities. It was due to OAU's principle of non-interference (Da Silva,I ,2013) .Rwandan genocide that occurred in1994 is a good example of OAU's principle of noninterference. Thus it was necessary to repeal OAU by AU (Taylor & Terror, 2002). After many courses of discussion the continent had repealed OAU by African Union with new objectives and principles.

Then, beginning in 2000, the member states began to change OAU's pillars and principles from non-interference towards common vivid reformed principle of AU that greatly encouraged such effort with common secular deepened regional integration and cooperation (Tsegaye, 2016). The reason for this change is not difficult to perceive. The Africa Union is one of the inter-governmental organizations in the continent found in 2002. This Union has established and produced variety of instruments, structures, protocols and mechanisms. It is to address the democratic governance of the region and the Union itself. One of the organ of organized and

latter formed is the Assembly of the Union (Union, 2002). According to the constitutive Act Article six (6) the Assembly of the Union is the supreme organ of the AU and consists of the Heads of States or government or their appropriately a created representatives (Union, 2000). In addition, Article six provisions this assembly at least to meet once in a year in ordinary session and may have extra ordinary sessions at the request of any member state and on approval by two-thirds majority (Union, 2002). It, further determines the AU's policies, establishes its priorities, adopts its annual programme and monitors the implementation of its policies and decisions. At this level, the assembly elects the chairperson and deputy chairperson of AUC. As aforementioned above the assembly mostly would be held once a year (Union Book, 2019). Based on this, the assembly elects chairpersons of the Union on the principle of rotation.

Recalling the principle of rotation, the Union has elected 16 chairpersons since 2002. In line with this, Robert Mugabe from Zimbabwe, Idriss DebyItno from Chad, Alpha Conde from Guinea and Paul Kagame from Rwanda and Alsisi from Egypt chaired the Union, since January 2015 to 2019 respectively in one year interval. Even if the leaders presented their acceptance each year there are many arguments and statements trailed on with the inertia characteristics of all such disagreements, but there are many who recognized and accepted Head of State's speech as a part of strategic planning and regional leadership. However, analyses on the speeches of the chairpersons and on the way of disseminating it to create awareness to the general public or mass were not done. Therefore, this study focuses on making critical discourse analyses on the speeches of the heads of states (Chairperson's) to assess the ideal promises, comments, views and practiced efforts. Besides, it looks to assess the message and efforts presented in opening speeches.

Having the above mentioned explanations in mind, discourse analysis which is a detailed exploration of political, personal, media or academic "talk" and 'writing' about a subject, designed to reveal how knowledge are organized and carried and reproduced in particular ways through particular institutions (Potter and Wetherell, 1994) like AU needs to be critically analyzed. The final research will come up with explanations about the discourses made and the effort of the media to broadcast the acceptance speeches of the Head of States. In overall, the main purpose of this study is to emphasize advantage of investigation on critical discourse analyses of officials at AU and make analyses on what chairperson's declared, persuaded at the regional assembly to widen democratization. The inherent requirements of the acceptance speech

is valued when it reach the mass and brings change towards to shared values. Thus, this study attempts on assessing the gap caused due to lack of medium of channel to distribute the acceptance speech. Hence it will also assess the relation in between the spoken discourses and efforts made towards shared values of democratization likewise Agenda 2063 of the continent.

## **1.2. Statement of the problem**

Evidences indicate on how lack of efficient implementation of spoken discourses made at yearly AU General Assembly meeting affects the political, economic social activities like peace, security and development of the African continent and the wider world. These include but are not only limited to the insufficient practice of the idea chairperson discourse but also to the effects it brings among state-union relations and vice versa. Beyond this it was difficult to find similar literature conducted particularly in African Union. However, many related topics regarding discourse analyses are found. Even though the topics are not exactly the same topics as this study, most of the research (studies) contributed on discourse analyses largely. In addition, the literature which was assessed for this particular topic of study has contributed as commencement stage for identifying the research topic as well as the research questions.

In the literature that was assessed for this research topic, it was possible to find papers on critical discourse analyses like Shakoury (2018) and others see the critical discourse analysis (CDA) of Iranian Presidents' addresses to UN General Assembly. Shakoury's study Using Van Dijk's 25 discursive devices disclose use of discursive devices like consensus illustration, hyperbole and polarization, lexicalization and vagueness with two different ideological stances (Positive self – representation and negative representation)( Ibid).

Other Scholarly work of Beatrice Fraccholla (2011) in her study titled “*Politeness as a strategy of attack in a gendered political debate The Royal –Sarkozy*”[Italics used on original Article ] conducted discourse analysis on the debate to identify the context, linguistic characteristics of the debate, politeness and gender strategies in a political debate. Other study conducted by Teresa Autida van der zee (2013) makes critical discourse analyses of the speeches' of President of Philippines Benigion Aquino III. In this study the structural analysis showed that different ideologies and unmasked the hidden motives of the speaker by emphasizing on the positive and good actions of their societal positions. And, the manifestations of authority and dominance through the manipulative words proved that the language was indeed powerful.

The aim of critical discourse analysis is to express on the linguistic discursive dimension of social and cultural phenomena and process of change in the late modernity. Studies were conducted in the areas in critical discourse analysis likewise organizational analysis (Mumby and Clair, 1997) mass communication and racism, nationalism and identity (e.g. Chouliaraki, 1999; van Dijk 1991; Wodak et al., 1999) mass communication and economy (Richardson, 1998), the spread of market practices (Fairclough, 1993) , A discourse analysis of Aljazeera's Documentary "Struggle over the Nile" was conducted by Dejene Sojato in 2015, discourse and European integration by Ruth Wodak was presented in 2018 ; on the other hand mass communication, democracy and politics was presented (ibid). The focuses of the above studies were not predominantly about African Union or democratization or else media's role in democratization. Even though there are many good researchers, most of the studies that found were conducted at presidential and prime-minister speeches at various stages, election debate, and United Nations General Assembly discussion as indicated above. Nonetheless, this research will be conducted on the nexus between African Union Heads of States discourse (Acceptance Letter) presented and the efforts made to deepen democratization and assess efforts made to deepen to the general public through media.

As stated earlier in the background, Africa has no common or regional media that works to foster regional integration and harness common ideology to broaden what the Heads of states declared at their acceptance. Besides media have the power in constructing and shaping reality and plays critical roles in deducing and declaring statements, declarations, acceptance speeches made by different groups (Dejene, 2015) .In comparison to Africa, Assemblies of other regions have medium of channel which broadcast and give full coverage of their assemblies. For example ,G7 or G8 Conference News are covered by BBC or CNN given full cover whereas European Union's Assembly ' news are channeled and given detailed explanations by Euro News, in the same manner Sinopec's meetings are covered by CCTV on the traditional media. To this end, currently African Union and its member state are with no common voice and media platform which could disseminate or broadcast the speeches or declarations of the Union. As a result, the African Union's declarations and discourse are not relatively covering democratization throughout Africa.

Hence, based on the rationale stated above, the present study examines the significance of media utilization and lack of common channel that encourages asserting the declared discourse of the Heads of State in Africa Union since 2015 until now.

### **1.3. Objective of the study**

Generally, this study aims to analyze the discourse of AU's heads of state critically.

#### **1.3.1. Specific Objective of the study**

- Analyze the speech of the Head of States if made to deepen efforts of democratization
- Explore the frameworks, policies and strategies reflected by the new chairperson's of the Union taking awareness raise of the population and the outside world.
- Assess attempts to abridge African Union and other stakeholders to abridge the communication gap in between AU and the people.
- Identify alternative readings or texts that could be produced by different social groups.

### **1.4. Research Questions**

The nature of the analytical focus will be preliminary determined in the following research questions .For that reason, this **research tries to answer the following main questions:**

1. What is explained in the speech of the Head of States to deepen efforts of democratization?
2. What kind of framework, policies and strategies the newly elected AU chairpersons reflected to raise the level of awareness of the African's and the wider world relation.
3. How can African Union and other stakeholders attempt to abridge the communiqué gap in between AU and the Mass?
4. What alternative readings (texts) might be made by different social groups?

### **1.5. Significance of the Study**

Research that assessing the discourse analyses of AU chairpersons' out comes beyond the speeches that could reflect Assembly Chairperson's opening speech with regions dynamic activities of political, economic, social and military as well as it is a timely endeavor to do so, thus the study tries to fill the gap of knowledge by studying the Speeches' of the AU chairperson's. Hence there is a little literature study and remarkable reason which has identified

the discourses used and social phenomenon's related with process of democratization and factors like the regional, geopolitical, ideological, socio-economical discourses (Macro-level). Thus, this study has become very significant and adds literature in the existing ones. It also serves as a springboard for educators, politicians, Academicians (political science and language students), the African Union, Head of States journalists, future researchers and the general readers to understand the issue at hand.

### **1.6. Delimitation of the Study**

Delimitation of research study is narrowing the scope and focusing on the core and theme of the research problem, to the manageable size of realities (Desta, 2017). This study is limited in its scope in analyzing the relation in articulation of AU chairpersons acceptance and thereby the boundaries of democratic process. Nowadays there are many researches being conducted in the area of African Union declarations, statements, treaties and protocols, mechanism. However this study differently and newly focuses on Critical Discourse Analyses of Africa Union Chairpersons' acceptance speech to deepen democratization using common means of channel. Consequently, nevertheless the critical analysis discourses are different kind likewise semantic, social discourse, ideology historical (CAD) the researcher attempted to examine the on acceptance speeches of African Heads of states of the Union since 2015.

It includes the speeches Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Idriss DebyItno of Chad, Alpha Conde of Guinea and Paul Kagame of Rwanda and Al Sisi of Egypt, excluding the current Chairman of the Union. Similarities, differences and efforts made to deepen democratization in Africa through possible media outlets are the focus of this study. It is noticeable that the research could be more reliable if all the acceptance speeches of African Union is included because of time and cost constraints the researcher did not attempt to cover all the acceptance speeches made since 2002.

### **1.7 Limitation of the Study**

There are many kinds of limitations in research activities. Some of the facts are that a research can be affected by which the researcher is not in control of them. This study is limited with only the head of states acceptance speeches besides they made different speeches in their appointee time as a chairperson of the African Union. The reason why is the acceptance speeches taken as a plan for their stay as the chairperson of the union.

## **1.8 Organization of the thesis**

This paper *will* have five separate chapters. The first chapter briefly introduces the background, statement of the problem, research questions and objectives of the study. The second chapter is dedicated to the overview of the study topic and theoretical framework of African Union and discourse made by Assembly elects since 2015 at summitry. The third chapter describes the research design, methodology and methods of data collection and interpretations. Whereas the four chapters are devoted to presentation and analysis of the data using the CDA approach based on the objectives of the study. The last chapter ends with some concluding remarks and recommendations.



# Chapter Two

## 2. Review of Related Literature

In this chapter general summary of concepts, contexts, facts, knowledge and understandings in the area of the topic of different studies were reviewed .It is made because it supports to make critical review of what different scholars have accumulated, concluded, suggested, expressed in the areas of critical discourse analyses made before in relation with the topic of this study.

### 2.1. Institutionalism

Globalization trends have dominated much of the news media in the past twenty years as well many studies have documented the drivers and the process of the economic integration or in its widest sense; globalization or regional integration (Grenvilee, 2004). Globalization means the erosion of national boundaries and reduced significance of national governments. It also is appearing with different features like cooperative power, corporate power, people power and regionalism. The sovereign equality of states, improvements in communication and transport with complexity of the agenda, localization and importance of new technology are some basic features of the Globalization. Globalization is not uniform all over the world and contrasts form one part of the world to the other with its effects as well as it is a process of historical change rather than a specific condition (O'brien and Williams, 2016). As it is known the discourse of globalization is articulated with advanced technology, communications and transportations (ibid).

Regional Integration refers to the process of states coming together to make pacts to work, cooperate in certain areas in common areas due to the strong influences come from most international economic organizations and international political institutions. These liberal institutions place considerable prominence on domestic-international or regional interaction for better political and economic development. Robert Keohane explains the interaction among liberalism and institutions. For him institutions are related sets of rules that prescribe behavioral roles, constraint activity and shape expectations (Keohane, 1989). In addition these institutions include international organizations (IOs), international Regimes, and international conventions.

Interdependence or mutual dependence that occurs among states of a region or global political economy advancing in transportation, communications, and technology has eroded the sharp

distinction between internal and external policies of states and limits the ability of states to achieve irrespective of their preservation of sovereignty (Cooper, 1968). Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) wrote in his famous book foresaw an era of perpetual peace “Perpetual Peace” that ‘the spirit of free trade or commerce sooner or later takes hold of every people and coalition of republican states would bring an era of calm and prosperity. ’’ and Keohane and Nye (1989) state complex interdependence between two countries. The complex interdependence gains multiple channels through engagement of governmental and non- governmental that connects societies. To the contrary the significant interdependence could have troublesome events because the greater the interdependence, the greater the compulsion for elites to take action. The action could be defensive or conflictual and collaborative or cooperative (Cohen,1990).

Within the study of International Relations, liberal theories of world politics and of political economy share assumptions concerning the pluralist nature of the international system and feasibility of cooperation. Following many courses of efforts towards integration, nowadays there are various webs of international organizations with rising intense international interdependence. One of the international organizations is the United Nations (UN, after here). UN is a symbol of international order and global identity to deepen democracy, peace and security with its structures all over the world with many hundred structures and departments all over the world. The UN has major international organs like the UN’s specialized agencies like General Assembly and Security Council or the veto powers that make international law, compelling states to respond to its wishes.

After the cold war and decolonization took place on the global politics, premature liberalization, structural adjustment programs, emergence of liberal and authoritarian competition in global south have emerged in the global south. The Regional integration is a process in which units move from a condition of total or partial isolation towards a complete or partial unification (Van Langenhove, 2005). And commonly is defined in terms of EU-style institutionalization (Beslin et al., 2002).

It is a large process which is step by step transformations in which a group of states centrally on their geographical proximity quest closer cooperation and integration and the products of that process (Murray & Warleigh-Lack, 2013). For instance, European Union, African Union are formed by a common political leadership. Political leadership is sets of behaviors, actions, and

decisions of an actor (at individual or state level) in formal or informal position of authority to use available power to drive towards a common goal (Dent, 2012). The political leadership encompasses the behaviors, actions, and decisions of political leaders in giving directions, bringing about changes, guiding followers and supporters, and providing solutions to common problems (Matti, 1991). In addition a political leader must be willing to provide leadership when there is no other actor willing to be in a leadership (ibid). For the study at hand, Political leadership is very important in regional community in regional community –building in order to provide appropriate responses to challenges and problems; follow in policy implementation and in deciding on the future direction of regional community- thinking.

Further, the political leader must have the capabilities of political skills like persuasion, mediation, personal experiences and organizational knowledge (Treadway, 2012; Young, 1991) to practice leadership since leadership is an act that involves a common goal attainment. In summary, the role of political leadership in a regional context needs political will, the capacity of individual leaders, state capacity, legitimacy and summitry. On the other hand Mitrany (1943) recommends strategies for achieving peace, by focusing on the essential functions of the international system towards human security. However; the Neo-functionalism focuses on the interaction of political actors in the process of regional integration and sees political actors or elites as major players to advance the regional integration process (Jensen, 2010). This is elucidated as when the political actors or elites cooperate towards accomplishment of attained goal the popular mass would follow accordingly.

As well as constructivism theory of political leadership the notion of ideational forces and material forces, regulate the behaviors of international actors in thesis of constructivism. Central to the theories of constructivism material forces remain important, inter-subjective factors including norms, ideas, culture and identities of international relations play a role in shaping the identities and interest of states. The constructivism argues that regional integration is a process that focuses on the origin of reconstruction of identities, the impact of rules and norms, and role of language and political discourse (Rosamond, 2007). Acharya (2001) states that constructivists put forward that norms are not just away to regulate state behavior ,but also a way to redefine national interest and to develop collective identities like African Union (Achariya, 2001) . Identity also denotes ‘a sense of belonging to some type of citizenship or population (Roberts, 2012) and shared identity denotes to the importance of collective belonging (Achariya, 2001).

For them political leadership is important as norm producers actively provide appropriate and desirable means to change behavior of other international social settings to their organizations

The political leaders make different presentations or speech on different podiums. The political leaders use persuasion as the most operational approach to get responsiveness of followers than control (Collins, 2000) or coercion (Nye,2003). Therefore political leaders should make arrangement to lead with audacity and well –founded commitment to play leadership roles, setting agendas and goals or sometimes it is possible to apply art of influence (ibid). By presenting political leadership, this study will discuss how a leader can construct or deconstruct democratization and need of democratic institutions in Africa.

Leaders are expected to be pioneering to new ideas, positions, perceptions and motivations as well as take commitment and audacity as above-mentioned to secure new agenda and policies as well as in ruling conciliations and solutions to fundamental defies and problems(Grint, 2005).The leaders who are considered agents must defend the remunerations of regional integration as and the national interest of member states (ibid). Hence, political leadership in regional community building is determined by those constraints and opportunities and also by individual leadership to address crucial role as initiator and driver of a region. For instance EU has got individual political leaders that can set the political agenda, advance creative progress and ensure progress.

Summitry is another significant factor in political leadership. It is meetings among incumbent heads of states or heads of government or political leaders including international organization representatives (Mellisen, 2003).Largely, summitry is very important for two different reasons: First, these meetings are symbol of engagement (Murray, 2010) and it is where top leaders of countries represent to take part and make final decisions(Indorf, 1978). Second, it is where future benefits and directions for the integration and development of the region conjured up (Ibid).Here again , it provides policy guidance to achieve the stated vision as well as responding to current regional and global developments. Likewise, summitries are applicable space where leaders get the best chance to practice leadership to discuss fundamental factors that underlie regional political dynamics and policies. But specifically, it cultivates the political leaders' chairing skills, mediation and persuasion skills, knowledge and expertise at the meetings (Dinan, 2010;

Thayer,2012). And together, these factors shape the regional policy making processes including policy formulation, policy implementation and policy evaluation

Overall, first, the individual level is on political will and capability of the individual leader which includes the personalities, visions, and abilities of individual leaders. It is analyzed with the determination of political leaders to act, to embark on bold move(s) and to take risks, as well as sustained commitment to the regional integration Union. This is directly related with the studies main research questions in which it will be connected with CDA approaches later. Beside the capacity individual leaders, the ability, skills, and organizational knowledge and experience to influence and persuade others towards mutually desired outcomes and shaping outcomes. The willingness of state capacity is helpful to utilize tangible and intangible and institutional power resources for combination of states to be able to effectively lead regional initiatives. Good example here is the leadership of strong countries Nigeria and South Africa and their heads of state play great role in maintaining democratization and development of African Union. Second, state level (state capacity).Third, system or institutional acts like rules, principles, norms and values are pivotal in driving the development in a region. And the Summitry is very crucial in strengthening regional integration. Summitry is high-level meetings of heads of states of a regional body .In the next section it is elucidated about African and its regional Organizations.

## **2.2. Understanding Africa and its Regional Organizations**

Africa is the second largest continent of the world and with its approximately one billion people. The continent has significant natural resources and wealth (Rodrik, 2016; Eyasu, 2018).This continent is home to world's largest landmass, second and largest rivers like Nile and Congo with immense unexploited mineral, wealth resources such as: 7 % natural gas, 8 % oil reserves and high amount of minerals to be extracted. In contrast, the continent has experienced numerous challenges likewise civil war and displacement. Violent conflicts further have exacerbated in one type or another and have troubled Africa that demanded a heavy toll on African societies. As a result it has affected the political economy of Africans by exacerbating hindering factors on potential development and democratic possibilities (Zezeza, 2008; Tewodros, 2016).

Furthermore the main challenge for African countries remains how to sustain positive socioeconomic outcomes that are resulting from the structural transformations process (ECA, 2018).In order to accelerate and sustain Africa's efforts towards social and economic

development, there needs critical efforts to build good governance through robust governance institutions to fight malpractices like corruption that could heighten conflict. There are certain countries, which enjoyed structural changes in their economies from 2000 onwards whereas the paradigm translation has been slow and limited as a number of countries have not been able to sustain growth and demonstrate people- centered inclusive development and democracy in the continent. (ECA & African Union, 2015)

More over; Africa itself also has passed many courses of transformation in its history. It has a history of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. The pre-colonial history of Africa had different indigenous economic, political and social institutions and native African Governments (Ayitey, 2003). However, these institutions were not continent wide or continental in their formation. The pre-colonial as its name indicates has been retracted by the arrival of European colonizer with the emergence of colonial period. This horrific period is pictured for its inhuman scramble of Africa by European nations. In this period Africans had fought to get independence from European colonization. This era was known for the struggle of independence of African by Africans. These movements of freedom weren't only in Africa but also they were grounded outside the continent. The Africans had great battles, combats; civil obedience strife and revolts against the colonizers (Young, 2006). In addition the Africans had coordinated movements against the backdrop of the European colonizers by guerilla wars, peaceful demonstrations, armed conflicts and overthrow of the colonizers (Eyasu, 2018). These movements were supported by Pan-Africanism and newly organized political parties and associations (Ibid).

After the end of the colonial period Africans have been trying to form alliance and integration. The OAU was established in 1963 by agreement of the 32 African States that had achieved independence at that time. Gradually, the other 21 member states joined after gaining independence from Europeans (AU-Handbook, 2018). OAU was established with objective of promotion of unity and solidarity of African States; coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve better life for the peoples of Africa; safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Member States; rid the continent of colonization and apartheid; promote international cooperation within the United Nations framework; and harmonize members' political, economic, diplomatic, educational, cultural, health ,welfare, scientific ,technical and defense policies (OAU,1963) .

OAU, after the fall of Apartheid regime in 1994, was applauded for having successfully achieved its primary aims; to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa. Then OAU was replaced by AU. The transformation of OAU to African Union (AU) is attributable to the changes in political peace and security as well (APSA, Handbook, 2002). OAU's principle aforesaid above had prevented Africans from working towards better functional integration. On the other hand AU was challenged to intervene in internal disputes and systematic violations of human rights due to the principle of non-interference in the other member internal disputes and systematic violations. OAU's one of foundational principle Article III forbids other member states and the Union from intervening had intensified emergence of grave human security violations in African member States with the banner of National Security of States(Ibid). The inability of AU and Member States to mediate or prevent grave human massacre, Genocide and killing has affected many of the countries. Some of the African internal conflicts such as the Congo conflict (1960-65) has estimated fatalities of 110,000; Biafra-Nigeria secessionary War (1967-70) almost has 1.2 million estimated fatalities; Rwandan Civil war and Genocide (1990-1994) has killed 800,000+, and Second Sudan Civil war (1983-2010) has estimated fatalities round 1.5 million to two million(Global War Index, 2010) .

Thus, in order to accelerate the process of integration in Africa, address multifaceted social, economic and political problems facing the continent, the AU was launched in Durban 2002 and it convened with formations of significant number of new organs and principle that could forge better regional integration.

### **2.3. AU and its new Structure**

The African Union was established based on the AU Constitutive Act (2002). AU provides creation of an Assembly that constituted Assembly of Heads of States and Government as the supreme organ of the Union. Besides, the heads quarter in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia is venues for dialogue, discussion and consultation of numerous meetings. For instance the Executive Council of AU(Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Member States meet once in a year in ordinary session. At regional level , the African Union have various stages of operations likewise the Peace and Security Council , Pan African Parliament and African Court of justice ,Economic ,Social and Cultural Council(ECOSOCC)( cited from AU-profile,2020; APSA-Handout, 2009) .AU 2002 act creates secretariat, known as the commission, in charge of the day to day activities of the

Union. This commission is headed by a chairperson, who is elected by the Assembly of the Heads of States (Ibid)

African Union is organized with Constitutive Act of 2002 towards improving the human security of African citizenries. The African Union has included fundamental principles of democratization, elections, good governance and other major principles. Moreover; has changed the need for national security and human security. At the heart of constitutive Act of African Union and the 2002 protocol relating to the establishment of the Peace and Security Council (PSC) was established. The AU recognizes eight RECs, like Community of Sahel-States, Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), East African Community (EAC), Inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), Southern African Development Community (SADC) and Union du Maghreb Arabia (UMA).

African Union basically works to sustainable peace and security in Africa by implementing progressive activities like mediation and preventive diplomacy ; affirmative action on gender; disarmament-demobilization and reintegration (DDR);Security Sector Reform(SSR) ,Maritime safety and security; Counter-terrorism climate change and security; AU programs through capacity-building(APSA, 2002) . All these activities of the Union go to the supreme decision making organ and comprises Heads of States and government from all Member States. It determines the AU's policies, establishes its priorities, adopts its annual programme and monitors the implementation of its policies and decisions (AU-Profile, 2015).This Assembly is mandated to accelerate the political and socioeconomic integration of the African Continent as well as it may give Executive Council and Peace and Security Council on the management of conflicts ,war, acts of terrorism, emergency situations and the restoration of peace .The Assembly may further decide on intervention in or sanctions against Member States according to specific circumstances provided for in the AU constitutive Act(Ibid).

Further, the Assembly works to appoint the Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson of the AU Commission Appoints the Commission Commissioners and determines their functions and terms of office, considers requests for AU membership. Further the Assembly makes its meetings annually based on Article 6 of the AU Constitutive Act provides that the Assembly must meet ordinary session at least once a year. At its 2004 Summit, the Assembly decided to meet in every January and July (Assembly/AU.Dec.53 (III)).



The Assembly Chairperson is a head of State or Government elected by Member States each year (Constitutive Act, article 6). While these ACT provides for 14 vice chairpersons, in practice, the chairperson is usually assisted by a smaller bureau of four vice chairpersons and rapporteur. Under rule of Article 15 of the Assembly's, Rules of Procedure, the chairperson is elected on the basis of rotation and agreed criteria to work for the Union for one year period as well to represent the Assembly at global forums. The Chairperson who is elected to hold office makes acceptance speeches at the summitry that could explain the strategies frameworks and policies to be put in practice. The newly elected Assembly Chairperson makes acceptance speeches immediate after election about numerous political, economic, social, peace and security of the Continent, among member states, Regional Economic Organizations (RECs) and the other world. But critically he or she is expected to forward their vision with establishment of new collaborations and agreements relating to current issues under debate or take role of agenda setter ;the broker; or AU representative. In line with this most of the Assembly heads of States focus on Corruption, elections, good governance, peace and security of the region and institutionalism.

With regards to deepening and widening democratization process, Africa needs to establish common media access. In addition, it is helpful to strengthen the regions aspirations stated in Agenda 2063. The Aspirations stated in "Africa we want" or Agenda 2063 is a prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development; An integrated continent, politically united and based on the ideas of Pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa's renaissance; A peaceful and secure Africa; An Africa with strong cultural identity, common heritage, shared values and ethics; development which is people-driven in order to see Africa as strong, united and influential global player and partner. However, the Aspirations included in acceptance speeches of the Chairperson of the Union every time has no means of disseminating means likewise common media instruments compared with others parts of world. For instance, European Union Meetings, assembly declarations and decisions made are broadcasted on Euro news channels and the big News channels like BBC or CNN. The other emerging continents of Asian intergovernmental news are televised on CCTV or RT today. Thus, to transform Africa from its diverse problems and modify the continent organization of institutions that support democracy and Good governance should be part of discourses made on acceptance of speech in Africa.

## **2.4. Democratic Institutions**

Definition of democracy is contested notion of political idea (Hoffman, 1988; Mangu, 2014) and is full offsets of practices. This term is opposite of monarchy, Aristocracy and dictatorship (Wiseman, 1996). Democracy is depicted as a political system where governance is based on legitimacy or authority given from the people in the principles of democracy and representation to lead and take the leadership constitutionally or by the rule of law to lead and take leadership in accountability (Yio, 2012; Odo, 2015). For the realization of citizen participation, human security, equality constitutionalism and functional integration of African Union states formation of democratic Institutions such as Independent media, constitutionalism, political parties, civil right organizations, Human right (OMUBUDUSMAN), electoral board (commission) are pivotal.

Then the regional leaders need to work for the true recognition of the aforesaid democratic institutions not only being most active, open and globalized leaders but also recognized for persuasion and mediation skills on condition that great results in a certain region. The leaders of regional body most likely present agenda's, policy guidance for the future democratic and development of the organization and region present at summit meetings. These meetings are different from correspondence, telephonic conversation or direct talks (Mellisen, 2003). The function of summits are irregular from region to region however summitry is an significant factor that can heighten regional integration. The most developed overtime function of summitry is making appointments to key power holders, acquainting heads of states and governments; providing strategic direction; discussing contemporary regional affair (Dinana, 2010). The degree to which leaders' political will to progress or impede the progress of regional integration requires assistance by digital and print media given to the summit meetings.

## **2.5. Democratization in Africa**

The African continent is a diverse continent where democracy building and development challenges are interlinked and mutually reinforcing. In addition the main challenges to democracy building in Africa must be understood in aforementioned three sequences (slave trade, colonialism, and neo-colonialism) that allowed to administrative and institutional structure clashes with promotion of sustainable development and democracy building (IDEA, 2009). The colonial nations have weakened divided Africa even the basic doctrines of effective democracy building (public administration and education). But the Africa

and its regional Union has been impacted by the overwhelming obstruction on democratic building.

Immediate after the end of the Cold War renewed African states have shifted to practice of elections in the continent. Thus Holistic and multi-stakeholders approaches are not always pursued to address the development challenges of the continent (IDEA, 2010). And Africa Union (AU) is in the process of allowing an institutional body that can represent the continent, and articulate its needs ,views and position on important issues with a ‘single voice ‘ or with one single voice like other continental organizations such as ASEAN or EU. In addition, AU has produced advances to play a similar role to represent African states as EU represents its member States.

Nonetheless, democracy in Africa is young and member states refusing to submit their sovereignty. Moreover; low capacity and institutional deficits, the process of representation is slowed because of causes similar to supposed lack of political will to permit for enhanced continental integration, increased coherence in policy formulation and empowerment of continental and regional organizations and institutions as well as the subsequent exercise of supranational powers (Ibid). Further, the existence of coinciding regional integration organizations, involvement of illiberal or communist ideology led countries like China could impose and deter establishment of a ‘unified and single voice’ for Africa or to enhanced continental integration.

It is well known that the process of democratization or democracy building is an all-encompassing and holistic process that requires active engagement of all actors. These actors are of two kinds. They are: State actors and Non-state actors. The non-states actors include private sectors, economic and social partners, diaspora, women and largely independent media. In contrary, Africans states and the Union have limited promotion of democratization of Africa. It is because many African states see democratization as elections and electoral process, farther, education isn’t given towards regional integration (Fukuyama, 2018) . Thus in order to create accountable political leadership, effective multi-party system in the continent, African Union needs to establish An African Means of communication or media.

Of many mechanisms Africa Union produced instruments, today Africa faces many challenges. Africa has limited capacities and institutional deficits for promoting democracy building in

accordance with the principles, objectives and requirements of these agreements. Therefore African Heads of states need to understand this challenge and promote formation of An African Media center that can enhance Africanism, Pan-Africanism. Further any African Media could enhance continental-wide initiatives for example, African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) as a conflict prevention tool and African Charter on Democracy, Election and Governance (ACDEG) or democratic Charter 2007 that is State reporting system. Thus for the purpose of this study, media and Independent media will be reviewed in the study.

### **2.5.1. Independent Media and Press**

Media is the main mass communication instrument which includes broadcasting, publishing and the social media via internet. It is also a communication channel through which news, entertainment, education, data are disseminated. This basic mechanism or institutions is helpful in building the aspired Agenda 2063 of the Union. A large group of scholars has explored how a given regions political, economic and social activities are represented by the media. In line with this independent media plays major role in extending regional values in fields of information, politics, education and culture to sustain, advance the interest, direct relations with the people of the continent. The effort of strategic planning and execution of information, culture and declaration, instruments enables the leaders to address the public.

With respect to European Union external communication, it has been convincingly developed that it is trying to identify one single message of EU to the world (Missiroli and Lynch, 2005) .In briefing the core messages of the EU like external policies and internal policies the communicative cohesion in the EU principles and activities, there are many efforts made to show to the external actors the diversity in EU bond (ibid). On contrary, the media is used to hinder the voice and accountability of good governance, efforts made towards strong regional integrations.

## **2.6. Rising Developments**

### **2.6.1. Pan Africanism**

Pan Africanism movement and ideology can be said to be one of the greatest contributions of to the efforts of African unification as one regional continent by African descent and later by Africans who suffered indignities of slavery and colonization (Ketema, 2009). Pan Africanism largely plays in bringing together people of Africans and Africa origin using ideology that has left a deep imprint on African political, cultural and economic dimensions of the content's global

standing(Mkawndawire,2008).In search for the question “Is Pan-Africanism necessary today?” in *New vision* article in 2012 , there were many issues discussed. It is the Pan- Africanism movement that affirmed the continent’s commitment put forth the notion of a “Pan African International Political economy” including the African Economic Community, the Continental Free trade Area, and Agenda 2063 African Political Union in a common continental governance and democracy (New Vision, 2012).

To help advance the aforementioned principles guided by new Pan- Africanism by philosophies like Ubuntu and Ujama are not only being exercised to form a hybrid *glocal* interaction led by indigenous African culture, but it is newly expressed more democratically from the perspectives of African social forces and the empowered African individual awarded with social, political and economic rights (Chabal, 2009). In 2013 African Union articulated and underscored that the role of culture for African regional and global economic integration: “Culture, heritage, and a common identity and destiny will be [at] the center of African strategies to facilitate for a Pan African approach and the African Renaissance” (AU Agenda 2063).

### **2.6.2. Africa Rising**

The Africa rising narrative is an example of ‘Other’ applaud to African Unification or development or is an example of externally derived liberal optimist narrative of African political economy (Eddozie, 2017). This narrative much criticized by African scholars for its hidden meaning and ideology and shows the degree of considerable variance in the way Africa’s economic and political-economic and development is analyzed. “Africa Rising” narrative is the neoliberal development narrative .The discourse of the neoliberal narrative celebrates the economic growth in the continent and acclaims the rapid development due to foreign investment (Ncube and Lufumpa, 2015).

The discourse of African integration falsely represented because it is believed that, the discourse or the narrative of ‘Africa Rising’ is about growth in Africa’s GDPs and fostering new economic opportunities for investors in to the continent (Ian Taylor, 2014). These narratives largely asserts that the recent economic growth reports are based on the product of commodities boom ,soaring exports of high-value primary commodities likewise oil, natural gas, coal and metal ores (Ncube and Lufumba,2015).

In a paradoxically way, the Continent's Major African regional and Pan African Organization, the African collective governance institutions is less convinced that emerging markets represents appoint of celebrations at the time(Edozie, 2017) .AU argues that Africa's share in world trade is about 3% on average and is only about 10%-12% of African trade is with African nations. Thus it is opposite as Mengisteab and Amin assert "delinking and auto-centricity' intra-regionalism, and equitable globalism.' Furthermore Makawidre (2008) argues that in the hostility of neo-liberalism to regionalism and continued tensions between intra-continental economic objectives and externally-oriented, global –African economic objectives, Africa needs to wake its civil societies and capitalist classes to work for pan-Africanism than Africa Rising discourse (Makandawire,2008).

### **2.6.3. Terrorism**

Human societies have institutions that regulate and socialize individuals in their relation with one another and member of outside groups (Alagaw, 2015). Nevertheless, most of human formed institutions promote more often violent culture than peace culture (De Rivera, 2004). And this horrific conflicts such as civil wars, terrorism, genocide, wit, different challenges in minorities and environment .Recently, terrorism after 9/11 incident has become a global threat to the well-being of humanity. The African Region is one of the prone areas of the global political economy where the African Union and its RECs and Members States felt the impact of terrorism in places like Libya, Nigeria, Somalia and Sahel. The developed activity of terrorism acts are getting more refined through consuming numerous high-tech products, more capacitated in terms of finance and personnel and lengthening their treat in different parts of the region and working together with other international terrorist (see Collins, 2004). These factors indicate that some urgent and tough measures to be taken.

## **2.7. Theoretical Frameworks**

### **2.7.1. The Theoretical and Concept of Discourse**

The focus of this party of the study is to show the theories and theoretical frameworks that could support the data analysis and presentation to be used in order to answer the research questions asked in chapter one. As aforementioned in the introduction part of this study, the basic notion of this thesis is to examine the role of African Union Assembly leaders and their efforts and emphasis to widen democratization in the strategies on their acceptance speech at AU Assembly

meetings. Within this section different discourse theories are introduced as well as in turn their relation with the concept of regional integration, Media and Democratization is explained.

### **2.7.2. Discourse theory**

The concept of discourse has different definitions. Fairclough (2001) defined discourse ‘as a form of social practice’ (Fairclough, 2001) whereas the other scholar in the field, Wodak (2009) asserted that ‘discourse is about constructivist view (Social and Political order)’. Discursive practices through which texts are created and consumed that mean received and interpreted are viewed as necessary form of social practice which adds to the composition of the social identities and social relations (Ibid). It also includes written and spoken language.

Discourse Studies (Hereafter DS) is a heterogeneous field involving scholars from a range of disciplines that incorporates from trans-disciplinary to post-disciplinary projects (Anger Muller et al, 2014). The post-disciplinary project has division of knowledge into specialized disciplines and sub-disciplines (Ibid). Most Scholar use ‘discourse’ in two different ways: First, as a realistic understanding, predominant among linguistic and micro-sociological discourse analysts consider discourse as a process of contextualizing texts, language in use. Second, a socio-historical understanding, preferred by more macro-sociological discourse theorists interested in power, for whom ‘discourse’ refers to the verbal and nonverbal practices of large social communities (Wodak, 2018).

Discourse Studies is considered as one of the debatable theoretical underpinning in the social sciences and humanities. As a result both discourse theory and discourse analysis need emphasis in practice of discourse research. Wodak (2018) describes DS have not been only a methodological innovation but also closes the gap in between the theoretical and practice or else epistemological and empirical, objected-oriented sense of large-scale quantitative corpus analysis or qualitative (micro-sociological) studies of the practices (Ibid). This indicates, DS can add to the constructivist view that ‘all social and political order is constructed and reconstructed in communication’. In categorizing discourses there are five major kinds, shapes and reflecting different traditions, disciplines and ontologies (Torring, 2005). They are Linguistic discourse analysis, critical linguistics, discursive psychology, critical discourse analyses and poststructuralist discourse theory.

The two major sub fields of DS, Discourse Analyses (here after DA) and Critical Discourse analysis (Here after CDA) are two different approaches. DA is wider than CDA. DA is an interdisciplinary approaches used to analyze numerous social domains in many different types of studies (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). Hence, DA can be used in different areas of research with a method of analysis, which involves doing syntax, semantics and pragmatism. Wodak(2001) assert that the difference between CDA and other DA, pragmatic and socio linguistics approaches may be most clearly establish with regard to the general principles of CDA (Amoussou & Allageb, 2018, Dejene, 2015). While Rogers (2004) claims CDA differs from other DAs methods for its possession of description and interpretation of discourse in context and offering explanation of why and how discourses work(ibid).

Critical Discourse Analysis is a very significant in this study. CDA is a multi-discipline started in early century of 20<sup>th</sup> century by scholars like Teun van Dijk, Ruth Wodak, and Norman Fairclough (Wodak & Meyer, 2001) .It is an interdisciplinary approach which can be used by professionals from a variety of backgrounds such as historians, business institutions, lawyers, politicians to investigate social, economic and political challenges (Bloor and Bloor, 2007). The CDA makes itself different from DS for constitutive problem oriented interdisciplinary approach. As aforesaid DS focuses on linguistics units like sentence structure, metaphors, pronouns whereas CDA focuses on Social Phenomenon which are necessarily complex and thus acquire a multi-disciplinary interdisciplinary ,trans- boundary and multi- method approach (Wodak, 2018)

The word ‘critical’ used on CDA does not mean ‘negative’ as in common usage (Chilton et al. 2010). It is used to show the emphasis given on a situated discourse practices. CDA is a branch of discourse analysis that goes beyond *how* and *why* discourse cumulatively contributes to the reproduction of macro-structures and highlights the traces of cultural and ideological meaning(Ibid). Moreover; CDA is often used to political discourse analysis including the public speech (Wang,2010) that assumes the language use as social practice. VanDijk (2001) claims that “CDA focuses on social problems, and especially on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination. As explained above the five kinds of discourses are explained below to show the prospective they have got in making the elucidations. For the famous critical discourse analyst, Fairclough, CDA aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of opaque relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices, events, texts and wider social and cultural structures ,relations and processes; to



investigate how such practices ,events and texts are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power and to explore how the capacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (Fairclough, 1993).

### **2.7.3. Kinds of Discourse Analysis**

#### **2.7.3.1. Linguistic discourse analyses**

Linguists mostly prefer to use the Linguistic discourse analysis in the sociological research, socio-linguistic analyses and content analyses (Dejene, 2015) by socio linguist to make analyses on the linguistic structure (the level of the text), interactional control of the relationship between speakers, including the questions of who sets the conversational agenda how identities are constructed through language and aspects of the body, wording, grammar (Fairclough, 1992). In addition, Socio-linguistic analyses is used to show the societal interaction in between different people in the context of socio-economic status, vocabulary and linguistic code whereas content analysis focuses on our usage of particular words, word classes and word combinations (Torfing,2000).

Discourse analysis is a textual unit larger than a sentence in linguistic .Here again; the concept discourse takes definition “Spoken, written language and aims to identify patterns in a given language.” And this theory is regarded inefficient to make analysis within the framework of sociological research because it doesn’t address the relation between power and use of language. The then relating and integrating theories within discourse made at acceptance speech of AU Assembly leaders which detail on social, political and democratization is not well expressed by linguistic analysis with in sociological research since it does not expand on the interaction between power and the use of language. Thus use of linguistic discourse theory is not helpful to describe such social phenomenon which are necessarily complex of this thesis type fully and make critical analysis.

#### **2.7.3.2. Theory of Persuasion**

The motives underlying attitude change in message based persuasion paradigms have been recently studied. And the ancient rhetoricians believed that language was a potent force for persuasion. Persuasion is an instance of speech making or oratory or tactical function of language use. This theory is about how we get what we want, using just our words. Camille A .Langston describes the fundamentals of deliberative rhetoric and shares some tips for appealing

to an audience's ethos, logos and pathos in a text speech(2016).According to Aristotle Rhetoric's is an art of seeing the available means of persuasion. Persuasive speaking seeks to influence the beliefs, attitudes, values or behaviors of audience members.

Rhetorical theory has also seen as a shift away from strict focus on persuasion as the central focus of rhetoric to an interest in all of the reasons for which humans create rhetoric. Today's it is applied in different sectors. Among the different kinds of persuasion deliberative Rhetoric or symbolic focuses on the future. It is used by activities, politicians with possible future and try to enlist their help by avoiding them. For the purpose of this study we use persuasive speeches defined as "a speech if the speaker is trying to prove why his or her point of view is right, and by extension, persuade the audience to embrace that point of view. A persuasive speech can be successful or not, regardless of how well written and factual presented it is. In addition the speaker needs to connect the information with the audience as well as most persuasive speeches rely on some degree of informing to authenticate the reasoning (Glinview, 1968). In identifying whether a given speech is more informative or persuasive, three areas are used to determine. These are speaker purpose, function of information, and audience perception.

## **2.8. Critical discourse analyses**

CDA is an approach that provides theories and methods for the empirical study of the relations between discourse, social and cultural developments in different social domains(Phillips & Jørgensen, 1999).At the same time the aim of CDA is to shed light on the linguistic discursive dimensions of social and cultural phenomenon and process of change in late modernity(Ibid). CDA is fundamentally interested in analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control when these are manifested in language (Torfing, 2005). That means CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, and legitimized by language use (Wodak, 2006). CDA also explores the connections between the use of language and the social and political contexts in which it occurs. As well it explores gender, ethnicity, cultural differences, ideology and identity and how these are both constructed and reflected in the texts (Phillips&Jørgensen1999).

In CDA, it is claimed that discursive practices contribute to *ideological effects* or to the creation and reproduction of unequal power relations between social groups such as women and men, poor and rich, majority and minority, settlers and indigenes (Torfing,2005).Further, it contributes

to the shaping and reshaping of social structures and reflects them (ibid). These approach founded by Fairclough, asserts, that discourse is a form of social practice which both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices. For van Dijk, (2001), states CDA focuses on social problems and particularly on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination and sets up interaction between language and power (van Dijk, 2001) while Wodak (2001) looks CDA as fundamentally concerned with analyzing structural relationship of dominance, discrimination, power and control in a given language use. As stated above, there are different ranges of approaches to CDA made by scholars however the following review presents the different theories and approaches to CDA as articulated for the elucidation of the study by Fairlough, van Dijk and Wodaks' approaches.

## **2.8.1. Central Approaches of CDA**

### **2.8.1.1. Fairclough's Socio-cultural Approach**

For Fairclough, discourse analysis is a multidisciplinary that could involve sociology, psychology or politics (Fairclough, 1992). The social theory of discourse is linguistically-oriented as it aims at analyzing social and political event in society (Ramanathan & Hoon , 2015) . In this theory, discourse is viewed as a social practice which establishes power between various entities (ibid). Apparently, this leads to the emergence of power and ideological practice in society which provide power in discourse and signifies various world views from different perspectives. Faircolugh's system of DA has three dimensions for the analysis of text and discourse where he relates his interrelated dimensions of discourse; They are, first, the linguistic *description* [Italics in the original] of the formal properties of the text or a focus on the text to ascertain ways in which it discursively positions readers via what Janks and Ivans (1992) term its preferred reading. Second; interpretation of the relationship between the *discursive processes* that involves the production and consumption the text or else focus on the way in which the text has been produced and interpreted by human subjects. In third place, the wider social practice to which the communicative event belongs or explanation of the relationship between discourse, social and cultural reality or *social practice* (Faiclough, 1992). This model is an analytical framework for empirical research on communication and society corresponding to three functions and dimensions of languages: identity, ideational and relational functions.

Fairclough (1992) adopted the three meta functions of language developed by Halliday(1985).The ideational, interpersonal and textual in order to express the discourse contributions to social identities, social relationships, systems of knowledge and belief(Locke,2004).For Fairclough, discourse is not an individual activity rather it is social practice and adopts Halliday's, meta-functions but separates interpersonal in to an identity function and a relational function.

The Meta-function of language is categorized in to ideology and political practice (Fairclough, 1992) .The discourse as mentioned earlier is constitutive and is constituted for Fairclough and it constitutes, naturalizes, sustains and changes significations of the worldview in different positions of power relations(Dejene, 2015).The ideology and political practice are directly related and proportional and exist dependently. It means the three sets of analysis developed like social, discourse and text are intertwined (with no demarcation lines).The social practices can be seen in articulations of action and interaction, social relations, person(belief, attitude, history) ,material world. On the other hand social research issues include News, ideology, the public sphere, Globalization and disembodiment .This kind of social practices allow politics and ideology to exist one another in every social relations are generated with in power relations in exercising of power and struggle to gain control of power (Torring, 2005).

For Fairclough, the main purposes of CDA is to explore the relations between language use and social practice as well as the communicative events shape and are shaped by the social practice. This mode of action (discourse) can help people to act each other and mode of representation. In addition discourse details are shaped the dialectical relationship between social practice and social structure. According to Weber (1964) every system of authority attempts to launch and cultivate the belief in its legitimacy. The legitimacy provides the explanations and justifications of the elements of institutions .For instance, social structures like education, assemblies, legislatures, declarations shape such discourses. On the contrary, Halliday's form permitted Fairclough to suggest the discourse as a political practice is not only for power competition but also by itself is part of power competition (Torring, 2005).

Further, Fairclough have defined hegemony for elaborating theories. He defines hegemony as "leadership as much in sectors of economic, socio-political and ideological domains of a society (Fairclough ,1992).Hegemony is about power leadership where different groups, individuals and institutions of or formation of alliances and simply dominating the other subordinate classes to

win consent of them. For instance, Western leaders and states exert their influence up on the weak or global south countries to accept the ideology of liberalization towards integration. The Chinese and Americans power competition is also one good example of constant struggle to hold on the statuesque of Hegemony. Different blocs, alliances and power competitions groups go to make, sustain or demolish fracture alliances and relations of dominations or subordination in factors like ideology, economy and political forms (Ibid). Over all social theory of discourse is concerned with how discourse relations bond a society whereas it focuses on interaction pattern between participants, social goals and types of social events.

### **2.8.1.2. Wodak's Discourse- Historical Approach (DHA)**

This discourse approach views discourse as a form of social practice. The DHA is widely applied in research areas of politics, populism, discriminatory, rhetoric and so on and permits the systematic relating of relating of macro-and micro levels of two levels. Wodak (2001) uses CDA as an interdisciplinary study approach, because the problems a society are much in number and includes crisis that has grown worse. Thus there are multitude factors to explain the objective under investigation and the good news is that one needs to integrate diverse theories and methods. That will mean studies in CDA are diverse, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds, oriented towards different data and methodologies (Wodak, 2001).

When it comes to the precise explanation of CDA that all discourse are historical and can only be understood with historical underpinnings (Wodak, 2009; Meyer, 2001). This approach provides a mean to view power dynamics and range of potential in agents because it integrates and triangulates knowledge about historical, inter- textual sources. Together, the discourse is connected synchronically and diachronically, and is connected with other potentially numerous communicative events that occurring and have happened before at the same time. The very good Wodak notion of context is crucial for CDA because, it obviously includes socio- psychological and ideological, political and ideological components and there by postulates an interdisciplinary procedure (ibid).

### **2.8.1.3. Van Dijk's "Theory of ideology"**

Ideology is a contested concept and is used to relate in between discourse and political science that is the basic outline for establishing multiple ideological concepts (Torfing, 2005) .The theory of ideology is central approach to see manifold social concepts that include political

discourses. People use ideology in order to control the thoughts of other social groups with numerous ways such as idea, power, and media by involving cognitive and social factors. Van Dijk (1995) claimed that social cognition is a system with common socio-cultural knowledge by members of a specific group culture or society. The social ideology arrangement can create common groups of people to share their ideas or views on a given objective or principles. Hence, the common objectives or principles lead to emergence of new ideology through long term process than overnight. For example, Organization of African Union was established after the Casablanca and Monrovia groups came in to existence. And OAU was an idea or belief or shared agenda of African independence period leaders in the 1950's and 1960's. The many courses of discussion by Africans have permitted cognition of common social principle in social information processing and realized Pan-Africanism in the continent.

The much known CD analyst Van Dijk (2005) proclaims that when social understanding appears on beliefs, sets of objectives or on principles in between members of specific groups, society or a given culture with common shared idea or belief ideology could take place. As data is changed into information, the shared idea transforms in to social information processing in the long run to be assumed ideology. Ideological representation creating the dichotomy of "Us" and "Them" ,with the property of inclusion and exclusion or superiority or inferiority respectively enhances ideological properties (Van Dijk, 1995). The ideological representation is accompanied with involvement of experienced *models* or people as well as the Models have got extraordinary position or personal knowledge. Van Dijk (2000) formulated an ideological squares or conceptual square that allows making ideological analyses to express a number of ideological positions. They are: Emphasis positive things about US; Emphasis negative things about them; De-emphasis positive things about US; and De-emphasis negative things about them.

#### **2.8.1.4. Post-structuralist discourse theory**

The following section provides the relevant analytical instrument of the post-structural discourse theory namely discourse, hegemony and ideology. Post- structural discourse theory states that discourse constructs explains the social world in meaning and owing to fundamental instability of language, meaning can never be permanently fixed or no discourse is a closed object (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). This theory is founded on Laclau's and Mouffe's work named "*Hegemony and socialist strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*" (1985). Both

Laclau's and Mouffe's work developed discourse theory, building on Post-Marxism and Post-structuralism and have constructed their theory by combining and modifying two major theoretical traditions: Marxism and Structuralism (Dejene, 2015). Marxism provides ground for discussion about the social whereas the Structuralism provides a theory of meaning. The two scholars have fused the two traditional theories to in to single post- structuralism.

Structuralism is a set of abstract rules underlying the surface variety of human life structures are relatively stable and universal .On the other hand the post structural school that comes from French Philosophy and culture studies stress on how 'reality' is interpreted in different ways or interpretative constructivism because it draws on linguistic theories of interpretation (Chekel, 2004). Post –structuralism theory has transformed itself from an intellectual interest towards political science focusing on studying relation between identity politics and discourse. The way people use language shapes their understanding and actions in the world as well as the way the speaker or writer sends to the mass (Besley, 2002). In addition, discourse is spoken, writing or visual images, to communicate the thoughts and represent reality with existence of small degree of difference in meaning.

### **Concepts in Post- structural Discourse Analyses**

#### **Ideology, Hegemony and Discourse**

Much works in the fields of CDA especially focus on fundamental ideologies, theta play a role of the reproduction of or resistance against dominance or inequality. Ideology is construction of realities that are built on forms of discursive practices and contributes to production or transformation of relation of domination (Fairclough 1992). Ideology is an idea that addresses thoughts about how the human (interactions between people), human made (physical creation of people likewise cities and industries) and natural worlds (physical environment of plants and animals) do or should operate. They are thoughts or mental pictures about how the world works. Ideology or ideas are worldview and are assumptions about forces that drive human nature and what constitutes appropriate action as well as sets of principles which guide human action in diverse situations. These large-scale political projects are such as communism, socialism, conservatism, developmental state or libertarianism.

In discourse analysis the ideological control of a given group's belief and view are used to point out on socio-political and socio-economic ground (Van Dijk, 2005). That meaning derived for

example from Marxism interpretation of ideology as part of superstructure serving to oppress the working class introduced its negative perception as a deceptive and intolerant perspective of one group in a society (Shakoury, 2018; van Dijk, 2005). The way a group articulates has a key role in exchange of values and practices of different speeches. All ideologies be responsible for clarification of the present-day and a view of an anticipated future. This desired futures are oriented toward the masses in which an individual or a group grow to have as propensity to perpetually depicted as materially better than the present day and as an attainable within a single lifetime (Baradat, 2000).

Further “ideology” has got numerous definitions. In politics it refers to sets of conventions and opinions of a political system (Van Dijk, 2005), while ideology in the framework of discourse is an indispensable tool for the power group to maintain supremacy of opinion over its counterpart (Post, 2009, cited in Sharoukey, 2018). Van Dijk states that if the political field or stage is systematically ideological, at that point the political practices and the discourses are related directly (Van Dijk, 2005). Moreover; ideology paves platform for political activities overtly and equally to factors like election and its process, democratization, good governance, peace and security. But then again the actors express them discreetly in rhetoric (Sharoukey, 2018).

As above-mentioned discourse is the transformation of political dominance, political hegemony, power abuse and legitimization or de-legitimization of a social phenomenon like political summits (Shakoury, 2018; Bello, 2013; Van Dijk, 1993). As politics is defined in the context of use, production and redistribution of resources (Left witch, 1996) the political representatives whether formal or informal, legal or legitimate search for ways to persuade and influence others. Most summits are places where leaders seek ways to overcome competing powerful ideas otherwise, set guidelines on the principles using their ideology or belief. Van Dijk specifies politics as a part of social field political groups compete to convince others in order to appeal to the masses (Van Dijk 2005 as cited in Sharouky, 2018).

The political discourses emanate from what the different leaders and groups think and transform them in to practice. In addition these leaders or groups all think how to influence about and getting in to action within great degree of variance to which ideas are politicized depend on the relationship and material interest they have. The 21<sup>st</sup> century which consists of different key



political spectrums have evolved with great influence that stretch from one extreme change to another extreme change or political spectrum line consisting of superficial change: Radical, liberal, moderate, conservative, reactionary and it also moves from liberal and conservative-constructivist approaches to critical approaches ,which link ideas to interests, to post-structural or interpretive –constructivist strategies which begin with ideas and language as the basis for all understanding and action.

As politicians use discourse, they use ideological expression in the practice to gain goals. Political discourses are socially constituted set of genres, related with social domain or field (Van Dijk, 2014) and is an instrument or mechanism that a given representative of a political position or political leader uses to address the intended listeners or achieve for his or her audience .They make efforts these politicians make to persuade the masses to follow their track and assert organizational principles or objectives. More over; a political discourse looks for the circumstances, interactions and relationships and is thematic and pertinent (Schaffner, 1996). Political leaders have to use their leadership skills like persuasion, mediation and organizational knowledge to make valid arrangement to reach the public. Therefore there is a great deal of literature on different organizational leadership and a wealth of architectural materials of groups like African Union ,European Union , ASEAN with variant modes and functions on peace and security ; elections ,treaties ,laws and regulations. For example, regional institutions like AU, EU and ASEAN Heads of states in their assemblies provides policy guidance’s, sets long term agendas and make nominations to the position of the Assembly leadership in every given period.

As explained in numerous parts of this study, the Assembly leaders of AU and AUC commissioners attend different gatherings from the top declared United Nations General Assembly to the small Regional Economic Organizations (RECs) summits and conferences. A political leadership in region-building context needs well-articulated discourse that drives and removes impediments the progress of regional community-building efforts. Regional organizations assign political leaders or agency by individual political leader in order to framework to produce effective outcomes. Assemblies of African Union or European Union give role of agency representation to individuals and the representatives take institutional settings to contribute and enhance, make progress in the regional community-building efforts. The

Assemblies' leaders in Africa Union are employing discourse to articulate to work with shared balance of political leadership have influence others in the decision making process.

As main focus of this study at hand, it is mainly focused on making critical discourse analysis on acceptance speeches of Heads of states elected each year, it focuses on analysis of acceptance speeches of African Union at high level meetings of the heads of government or the heads of states of AU. The acceptance discourses made in summits provide a platform where the newly designated Head of states can demonstrate a particular dedication, commitment and leadership skills (Perro, 2016) .Hence the analysis of how the political leadership pertains to how power and influence may be exercised in ways that invoke acceptance by other fellow, support and work on democracy by developing continent wide (regional) media is very crucial.

Epistemic communities' discourses can be mentioned with regards to realization of ideas. The ideology or idea significances is expressed by groups like epistemic communities who are a network of professionals with recognized expertise knowledge by articulating conceptions of problems and propose solutions scientifically(Hass, 1992). For instance, they are engaged in global warming science and they are attacked by skeptics groups and anti-global climate groups like oil companies and permit disagreements in between WTO, US, China, Russia and EU (Skogstad, 2001).These groups largely contributed to what constructivists argue in regional integration of the today's global political economy. The constructivists claim that meaningful behavior is possible only within an inter-subjective social context (Hopf, 1998).Normative structures give material power meaning and affect actor's interests and identities. The conventional constructivism focus on how norms and identities shape international politics (Checkel, 2004).

While rationalist approaches tend to give predominance to material structures and to consider norms, rules and institutions as by- product *Neo-Gramscian* authors have linked ideas with class interest. They claim that powerful actors will find sets of theories to their linkage although the weak are likely to find comfort in other theories. For example, Most African states compared with the developed world come at crossroads in their domestic democratization. Even if they sign, ratify and deposit the application of regional or international norm or instruments that force to practice free, fair and universal elections likewise Democratization Charter 2007, most of

them are except to countries like Ghana are not in conformity .Therefore, when such challenge over ideas occur in between developed and undeveloped; poor and rich; big or small states the influence of the one well performing state could bring guidance to cooperate one another with resultant of Hegemonic solidity and aspiration over idea and power regionally and globally.

Hegemonic stability asserts that the international system is more likely to be open and stable when a dominant or hegemonic state is *willing* and *able* to provide leadership and when most other major states view the hegemon's policies as beneficial (Cohen, 2016).

In global politics the discourse is defined in various ways. Neo-mercantilists define hegemony as an extremely unequal distribution of power, in which 'a single powerful state controls or dominates the lesser states in the system. The critical theorist Immanuel Wallenstein defines Hegemony to a relationship between states one can largely impose its rules and wishes. *Gramscian* theorists use the term in a cultural sense to connote the ideas social groups use to exert their authority. The concept of Hegemony is used to explain regional between big and small states and allows these relations between big and small states and allows these relations to be described in terms of hierarchical systems. Realists define Hegemony as "the ultimate possible achievement of actors building a unipolar international system." Nonetheless unipolarity is never stable. Rendering to neo- liberalism, the aim of international actors is the maximization of political, economic and social integration than military. As said above according to *Gramscian* theories, hegemony is expressed through universal norms, institutions and mechanisms, which are established through three types of structures –social, economic and political.

Regional studies likewise European studies have started to incorporate traditional content-analysis while analyzing quality media and policy papers (Hurtter et al. , 2016) or speeches and other genres in the political field(Wiener, 2008). Torfing (2005) states "post-structuralist discourse theory has transformed itself an intellectual interest to a well-established research. Based on the relation between identity politics and discourse from a 'Post-Marxist' perspective, Laclau (1995) explained the emergence and transformation of political identities in contemporary global societies (Wodak, 2018). For him the articulation of discursive practices capable of establishing, challenging and dismantling relations among discursive elements.

On the other hand the process of re-constructing and legitimizing Regional-polity that identity of regional projects in places like Europe and Africa is constructed or reconstructed and reformulated(Ibid). It is reformed from nation to region; from state to cosmopolitanism .Further, the ‘projected talks of regionalism’ is mainly regarded by two dimensions: of ideational dimension (for example, making meaning of Europe) is idea of region ,essence, substance, meaning so to speak and of organizational dimension (organizing a region) that reflects how a given region shall be organized, which institutional forms of decision making and political framework are appropriate for the future (Weiss, 2002, Wodak, 2019).

# Chapter Three

## 3. Research Design and Methodology

Research design is strategy that justifies the logic structure and the principles of the research methodology and methods and how these relate to the research questions, hypothesis or proposition (Jupp, 2000). Making an effective research design will help to demonstrate that the research will produce valid and credible conclusions that flow logically from the evidence generated (ibid). In this part of the study the research methodology opted is explained. Because Research methodology is an overall decision that involves which design should be used to study (Cresswell,2007). Therefore the world view assumptions of the researcher; strategies; specific data collection, analysis and interpretation of the study could be conducted.

### 3.1. Approaches of the Study

This study explores and analyses the efforts made to consolidate democratization by AU Chairperson's Acceptance Speech and its correlation with development, historical instruments of the regional geo-political, ideological socio-economic discourses and political (ideological-views) manifestations and its implication on the Agenda 2063. In addressing the common view and variance asked in the research problem, it will employ qualitative research approach. This is because use of the qualitative research approach will provide use of data from different sources and allows providing an interpretive and holistic understanding of the issue under study (Cresswell , 2007). Nowadays majority of contemporary discourse analytical approaches follow Foucault's conception of discourse analyse. "Power or Knowledge" .In other way the discursive dimension and other dimensions of social practice is analysed. Whereas Fairclough's suggests research methods for the analysis of discourse as text, discursive practice and social practice.

### 3.2. Method

The following sub sections of the proposal deal with the different methods of data to be gathered. The methodology is a philosophical stance or worldview that underlies and informs a style of research (Hammersely, 1993) opted to be applied in this study is qualitative data collection. In order to address the research questions in the study, the researcher practices the use of descriptive qualitative methodologies in this study as Creswell, (2007) asserts that it allows drawing up on qualitative methodological approaches to answer a particular research question.

Hence application of the qualitative method allows making interpretation to answer the above-mentioned questions.

### **3.3. Methods of Data Collection**

The Acceptance Speech of the Head of States is downloaded from the African Union Website for the purpose of this study. Since the talk is used as material, it needs to be transcribed. Norman Fairclough's (1992b) asserts that a researcher (study conductor) is expected to decide which method suits to answer the research questions. Based on his study discourse contributes to the construction of social identities, social relations and helps to has function of relational function, ideational function and identity function. Plus the order of discourse is reviewed. In order to achieve the aim of this study it is critical in the sense that it aims to reveal the role of discursive practice in the maintenance of the social world such as political democratization.

In addition to the acceptance speech collected in data collection method the researchers also used data from secondary sources including published report, magazines, books and articles written about implementation (compliance) of statements and practice.

#### **Primary Data Collection**

Primary data is original, problem or project specific and collected for the specific objectives and needs spelt out by the researcher. For the purpose of this study the acceptance speeches of the Heads of the state were collected from Africa Union websites. The videos were down loaded from internet and the speech analyzed thematically. Since the study is dependent on document analyses it has been conducted on the acceptance speeches of the leaders only. As document review is made all available documents were analyzed. The data (the videos of the acceptance) are triangulated with secondary sources.

### **3.4. Method of Data Analysis and Interpretation**

Critical discourse analysis is “critical” in the way it reflects the role of discursive practice in the maintenance of the social world even with those of unequal in status .As Fairclough (1992b)states discourse has three functions; an identity function, a “relational function’, and ‘ideational function “.And subjects use of two dimension of discourse. The first point is that the communicative event that an instant of language use likewise newspaper article, a video, an interview or a political speech. The second point is the order of discourse. As result it is the

configuration of all the discourse types which are used within a social institution or a social field (ibid). As well, the method of data analysis of this study will use the discourse analyses approach formulated by Fairclough (ibid) primarily focusing on the discursive practice and social practice (Macro level).

### **Ethical Considerations**

Major efforts were made to make the research process professional and ethical. While the speech is transcribed with no bias as well as used to refer the documents only. There are many researchers conducted about discourse or speeches in the field of journalism and communication fields of study. Then this research focuses only in examining the Critical discourse analyses of African Union chairpersons' speech from 2015 to 2019. This study has focused on using sociocultural practice and discursive practice dependent on Fairclough's CDA model, 1995.

### **Validity and Reliability of the study**

Research studies using discourse analyses approaches make claims about phenomena or issues based on interpretation of written or spoken text, images, ideology, and context. To check the face validity Key scholars were asked and invited to present, comment on the parameters and speeches. The student researchers' advisor have shaped and commented to focus on the parameters of speech analysis .Based on the comments and reflections made the parameters are reshaped.

# Chapter Four

## 4. Finding and Analysis

For the purpose of this study the term summitry is defined as a high level meetings of the heads of government or heads of state of regional body. These meetings are platforms to set agenda for future development of the organization, the region and solving existing regional challenges. Moreover, the meetings involve discussion, interaction of heads of States once in a year and underlie regional political, economic, social and regional dynamics of institutions and structures are discussed below.

Summitry include making appointments of the heads of State and government presents his or her acceptance provides direction, deliberating focus area and policy guidance and make decisions on key points referring to the realization of AU's principles and objectives. They are written provided to the Heads of State by themselves or Assistances. This study examines how the acceptance speeches made by the leaders are effective and included democratization.

### 4.1. The African Union meetings since 2015

This part of the study examines AU's heads of state acceptance speech since 2015. The heads of the State were Robert Mugabe (2015), Iddris Debby (2016), Alpha Conde (2017), Paul Kagame (2018), and Al Sisi (2019). Furthermore, this paper analyzes the efforts made to deepen democratization and rhetoric used in African Union Heads of State Speeches.

#### 4.1.1. Analysis of Mugabe's Speech at AU summit 2015

The speech analyzed under this part is Robert Mugabe's acceptance speech at the 26<sup>th</sup> AU Assembly of African Union. The 26<sup>th</sup> Assembly of African's ordinary summit was convened under the Theme "*African year of Human rights with a particular focus on the rights of women*". Mugabe's Speech (2015) was conveyed after the representative of Palestine spoke on the podium. He opens the speech very strongly when he states to continue what has been addressed earlier that helped to draw the attention of the Summit participants. On other hand he continued without framing directly however, the frame of his speech as a reflection stage for the purpose of the speech. It is where to ask necessary questions of the continent. On the grounds of Palestinian leaders presentation Mugabe who took the stage, opened his speech with emotive speech to connect his speech with the audience and points the speech of Palestine leader and



used to describe it as “welling speech”, “crime speech” and describes the repression using Asyndeton speech when he points out that;

*“A repeat of what has happened before, it happened last year, it happened the year before, it happened the year before, it happened in 1963 .the voice of Palestinians being expressed here, the cry of Palestinians, reaching the ear of Palestinians”.*

The negative relation of colonialism or powerful states has not been totally removed from the world. Along with this it helped him to summon great attention from the audience. The repercussions are still reality .Hence; it becomes clear that the Palestinian problem is like Africans’ experience where they suffered before. By stating numerous problems Mugabe underlines need to be given for Palestinians.

Further, continuing he makes different rhetorical questions to the audience;

*“For how long are we going to listen to leader of bureau? And “When shall we listen to the president of the state of Palestinian?, “When shall that ever come Mr. Banki moon ?” You are living us, living before the settlement of Palestinians. When shall this arrest ceases?” Along his statement he makes rhetorical question “Who of us came straight from an independent state” and answer none.*

It is asked the plight of the Palestinians and He explains the challenges Palestinians faces. Mugabe uses the rhetorical questions to remind the receiver (Banki Moon) to work and be fighter for the weak or small states. Thus repression or dictation is up on the weak and states and burden of the white men up on others.

Besides, talking about colonization he uses Rule of three, “We were once if not slaves but servants of colonials, servants of imperials, disadvantaged people [Rule of Three] to remind the way of life for Africans before to feel emotional or develop belongingness of the problems. Here he uses rule of three and historical explanations to remind the bad relation of Africans and Europeans life across the Atlantic Ocean and uses phrases like “Our forefathers taken and dragged going across and across to a country, where they labored, toiled, and died for. They are

no better .he told this piece of true aspect fact as a evidence to support the historical foundation of colonialism and its result.

Mugabe again makes rhetorical questions asking about dichotomy of “Us” and “them” thesis and questions “What is he? (Angrily asking about Barak Obama), a voice made to speak their language [uses a Metaphor], to act their act, and not our act but their act[uses an Antithesis], they are still spear yes and make [uses emotive language] but they instead they want to talk about us[uses Inclusive Us and exclusive them], and uses the Us and them dichotomy between Africans and colonizers. And again makes rhetorical questions “What help is coming from them? And suggests that the 54 countries need to be free we are independent hails.

He tried to use persuasion speech of that quality in order to convince the participants of the summitry .He used the Us versus them identity marker to remind the past experience as well it is noticed for embracing of some key “*us/ them*” pronominal polarization and inclusion “We” and exclusive “Them” dichotomy of identity. Mugabe starts with the “We” and “They” isolation to identify and explain the hidden and challenged relation in between Europeans and American (Western nations) with Africa. The way he produced the speech was with critical tone and negative even the effect of colonialism and how disadvantaged Africa in in the speech and added how it has also impacted Africa from the past to the today’s world. The isolation device used in his speech is applied in order to reflect the bumpy road African had that emerges from colonial history of Africa. Mugabe has used the contrast of “Us” and “THEM” in his speech and make compare: Words like;

*“us and them”, “We and they”, “Blacks and Whites”, “Africans and Westerners”, “These countries and those countries”, “Ghosts and the living”, “Slaves and Free born”, “Artificial members and Natural members”, “Harassed and the Harassers””, “Inequality and equality”.*

It is used in such a way to indicate the segregation made on Africans and blacks in different parts of the world. He has tried to reflect the exclusionary behavior of the other world led by the international superpowers.

Mugabe uses the podium to express the injustice of United Nations representation and points “we come to United Nations ceremonial every year”, “we are there in September”; “we pay lots of money to go there and we make speeches at general Assembly but the bosses in the Security

Council say “You shall never have the power as we have as permanent members[ smile] and we have asked and asked, asked, Reform, Reform, Reform [Repetition] the Security Council and Mugabe uses direct address to Banki Moon and continues “We can make you a fighter, that’s not your mission.”[Anti-thesis] He uses the word fight again and again “We will fight for our identity, for our integrity, for our personality as African .We are Africans! In his speech of noninterference or equal opportunity he emphasized on “Evading old Bretton Woods Institutions, Colonial institutions domination from Africa” and “Equality of nations and solidarity among all states”

Regarding the inequality in United Nations veto power, Mugabe used [Warning] “*If we decide as we shall certainly, that down of UN we are artificial members of we cannot continue, if UN needs to survive, it should be equal. When we can say we are true members, respected honored*” Thus it shows that UN has no equal treatment of Africans and others. The overview of his speech implies something wrong in the political spheres objectively and the speaker was against the Westerner’s attitude particularly in the United Nations Security Council and it was against the well stated and reflected the effort of Western Institutions interfering in Africa with the conception of Human Right, rule of law, good governance, election and democracy.

He reminds the historical movements against the colonial fight [*Historical explanation*] historically how the Blacks were abused by the triangular trade across the Atlantic Ocean and lamented. At this part of the speech he talks about the racial division and reality of Black communities and Whites (Describing the segregation against the black community) .He also distinguishes the category of “Whites” and “Blacks”. He states how Obama is representing the will of whites denying the blacks and questions the disparaged representation of Obama as a black in Whitehouse of the super power countries. He quotes;

*“Obama acts their acts.” Here he categorizes the white from the blacks. In addition he explains the “Blacks, when you go to Harlem,, you’ll shed tears. There is no education for all. No health (care) for all. Blacks in the streets and nobody seem to talk about it. But they (whites) instead, still want to talk about us. They are everywhere in Africa. If not physically through NGOs and through spies But today instead they want to talk about us. And they are controlling Africa*

*indirectly (through spies, pretenders” and they try to assist.us. What help is coming from them? Regime Change.*

Mugabe also used how Europeans are interfering in the internal matters of the Africans through the process called “Democracy”. He denounces the function of the west oriented democratic system that comes with conditioned and stringent aid. He details that the elections are ways to put puppet or new rulers who could give their natural resources. The rally he made have exposed to the Western Worlds dishonesty with their international relations with Africans. It is clear that the west has no intention of supporting Africans and their ideologies are wrong for Africans and Washington Tailored policy. The faults of the West were presented to African in the rhetoric to the participants of the summitry. Further, the question of Africans to get equal representation at United Nation’s Veto power was presented. Mugabe directly addresses the UN general secretary and referred to the democratic practices o UN that denied in United Nation is itself “*Undemocratic” in its nature.*” His speech in the above quote points the racism and stigmatization of blacks and denial of education for black children, the denial of movement of Africans from Africa to other places and he asks for freedom of Africans and equal representation of Africans in the global diplomatic sphere. And then he asks them “*There should be real equality in the Security Council*”. And *the Honor of equality in the Security Council, nonsense!*”

Mugabe further questions the long effect of exclusion of Africans with convincing statement “*bête noire*” (democracy) untraditional way to control Africans’ through it in which by itself is not African. It expresses. Mugabe who was a longtime critic of the United Nations received a standing ovation from delegates at AU summit. His speech mainly focused on UN and the “whites”(All Africa.Com, 2016). In the words of Benoit (1995) he has accentuated what he views as his opponent’s weakness. Further, the daily Observer has (2016) asserted that the 26<sup>th</sup> Ordinary session of Au summit opened and stated for Reformation of United Nation to include Africans.” He also lamented the continued dominance of the developed countries over the global politics and lack of Africans at the Security Council. And he told the Secretary of United Nations not to hesitate to pull out of the United Nations if steps to reform the international Security Council or failure by the UN to reform per Africa’s request could be followed by exodus.

Further; Mugabe' has made discursive constructions of social identities. His speech was welcomed for denouncing the ills of the African society with applause in the summitry. In addition, Mugabe distances himself and the AU from the international community though naming the west "*These champions of called human right*". According to the diplomat (2015) this is a powerful tactic when constituting an audience, by making "*who we are*" and "*who they are*" and leaves impression of "*Us and them*" and it indicates the skepticism towards the international community and necessity of African unity are similar to the rhetoric that was dominant when the OAU was established in 1963 reclaiming the collective identity from 1963 as a reality today and makes himself a spokesperson for the UA's forbearers. Within this frame work he has created the challenges of African opponents that are not favorable to the audience thus undermining their credibility. The "US and Them" dichotomy has indicated the gap in exercise of Africans rule with European once.

Mugabe has denounced the western spearheaded democratic practice which is very Eurocentric quoting with rhetorical question "Is that democracy?" and questions whether there is true democracy or not. And he uses an imperative "Do not disturb us with your nonsense help." He concluded with the phrase, "There is no democracy at all." His statement has been taken as Harsh on Europeans but it is true what the West has done to Africa. The historical, neo- colonial activities and the current interference of the western institutional and ideological interference has made Africa safe haven for white dominion.

In conclusion of his speech, his speech which is externalizing the problem of African .On other hand the practice of the collective union (UN) is empty, hollow and wrong. His statement was an arrow that has challenged the inequality observed in United Nation's representation. His speech was also followed with mixed reaction from Africans and other world nonetheless; it has tried to challenge Bretton Woods's institutions.

For most critics Mugabe's Speeches were rhetorical strategies and the AU platform was used to maximize reputation after an attack is made on Him by the Britain and its supporters. The Rhetorical strategies comprised of denial, evasion of responsibility, reduction of offensiveness, corrective action and degradation. In Mugabe's Speech much is included the rhetoric of Accused and Accuser. Mugabe has focused and directed attention to the inadequacies of the opponents rather than revealing his weaknesses Africa's weakness.

Mugabe has denied the internal challenges of democratization. He could have talked much on ways forward to establish Africa that could minimize absence of effective political institutions which should be strong, adaptable, coherent political institutions. The phrase ‘Regime Change’ he told has been a contested conception. Regarding democratic regime change one is changed though real democracy where popular rule or a system where rulers require the legitimacy to rule based on regular and competitive elections based on universal suffrage (Owens, 2003). However, Africa has no such good practices of free, fair and universal elections. At the time Mugabe became the Chairman; his country was under sanctions from westerners for evicting white commercial settlers. Besides; the benefit Africa gaining from the Western Institutions aforementioned above were not supportive of Africans need. The Washington consensus imperatives Africans to liberalize, privatize and make tough monetary and fiscal matters were not welcomed by Africans. Mugabe has viewed and continued to view these reforms mentioned above as am means employed by the former colonial powers to limit sovereign independence of African and their union.

However, the African experience of “Democracy” was not presented at the acceptance speech of Robert Mugabe. The theme of 2016 “*African year of Human rights with a particular focus on the rights of women*” was the acceptance of the speech but the speaker has forgotten to present it. Furthermore, he has reflected in internal democracy and efforts of democratic process to be organized like democratic practices, election, political parties. He has focused on attacking the Western institutions and their role in detrimental of its kind. Africans focused on continental issue he has not raised issues that could unite all Africa and deepen integration among the organization and member states; Africa Union and its member’s states. In addition Mugabe could have told the ways to resolute challenges of peace and security like completion and, the rising politics of us and them in the era of globalization or formation of United States of Africa (USA). Nigtsi (2016) state the speech of Mugabe have been reflection of how African people felt by the intrusion of imposition by the traditional powers. In addition His speech should have included suggestions to African leaders to more responsible to forge democratic inclusive governance and cling to power. In order to practice democratic governance in the continent independent or interdependent, Africans should stop third termism and should take the role of supporting one another deepening pluralism by integration in economy, politics and through

coordinated media. His speech was characterized with the Bond, 2006 *“Talking Left and Walking Right”*(2006).

#### **4.1.2. Analysis on Idriss Deby Itno speech of AU summitry 2016**

In 2016 AU proposed on the Theme *“African Year of Human Rights with a particular focus on the Rights of Women and Ten Year implementation Plan of Agenda 2063.”* At this year AU has elected Idriss DebyItno (Hereafter Deby) of Chad as leader of the Regional Organization (AU). He used a mix of persuasion and informative speech and promised to ensure the implementation of AU Member states of the Theme 2016. He further mobilized the continent to implement the AU Agenda 2063 with the view to place Africa as a key player in the World arena.

Deby used a very short speech than the previous one. His speech commences with *“Imperatives statements likewise *“failing to change things, I at least have the latitude to tell you what I believe is useful for Africa and for Africans, even if this must be achieved in the very long term”*”*. He brings new idea to be discussed with change of existing Programs.

Deby stresses on explaining on changes or transformation needed to be brought in such plans like Agenda 2063 of AU as well as Africa needs change. Because the function of the Union is to function as it was before 20 and 30 years ago. Thus making real change in AU is timely. He frames his speech as persuasion and informative in which the purpose of the speech is centered on making Change. Talking the regional Organizations change or performance Deby uses [Inclusive We] when he points out an Anti-thesis, *“We meet too often”*, *“We always talk too much”*, *“We still write a lot”* but we do not do enough and *sometimes at all*. Deby points the anti-thesis speech to indicate the valueless ceremonial activity in which African are not represented. Hence, it shows that the practice of decisions, self-sufficiency needs to come and make immediate change in order to have equal status of collective security.

On the other hand speaking about collective security in Africa Deby uses *“Inclusive We”* devices when he points collective unity *“We must collectively derive maximum benefit from...”*, *“We need to adapt the new global dynamic where solidarity and complementarity are best weapons against poverty and transnational threat of all kinds”*. It is clear that Africans are in the midst of global period to grow collectively. Therefore, it becomes clear that the change needs to take place. Using the various reasons likewise derive for maximum benefit and emergence of new global dynamic Deby emphasizes on changes on restructuring of the African Union. Deby

mentioned the regional Union very goal to unite Africans as well as he explains the ways Organization for African Unity (OAU) went to achieve the today's African Union. As mentioned in the background of the study, the African Union is dependent on solidarity with respect of Human security to stimulate this dynamic of Unity, of Human, political and economic integration.

Following the above statement Deby uses two Historical Explanations that prevented restructuring of AU and he points out that “*We had built it on ashes of the organization of African Unity.*”. It is to point that the difference on implementation of OAU and AU principles with stagnant sovereignty ownership that mitigated the jurisdictions of common value or African common treaty under one umbrella because the state are not willing to do so. And However, it could be inferred that change have to take place. Subsequently, Deby explains “*We, the States, have not given it the means to achieve the objective that we have assigned to it.*” It is true that sovereignty of the member states has prevented from formation of African Union that is with full power. It is known African Union member countries are not able to work like European Union for inability to give their Sovereignty. One of the reasons that could possibly explains the fact is a relation lack of attention given to regional leadership in Africa. For instance, European Union emphasizes supranational characteristics such as legal forms, agreements, contracts, institutions and structures (Stubbs, 2014) and EU is a global actor representing member States actively promoting democracy, human rights and peaceful cooperation around the globe. In contrast AU is founded on the grounds of member's states and pivotal value than itself. Yet lack of AU heads of States lack to have power and influence to exercise in ways that invoke acceptance by other fellow member states to follow, support, and work together the achievement of the Union. In order to practice good governance practices such as peace and security activities, democratic process, and elections need to be supported as well. However, he has not discussed how the donor assistance to the AU reached an unprecedented level in 2015, when it counted for 71.8% of the Union's over estimated budget.

In means of forwarding scenarios that could help support the success of the project Deby uses Opinion and Hyperboles (a deliberate exaggerations for effect) and starts with “For my part,” “From my point of view” to suggest needed changes and to show his position regarding the financing of AU and alternative sources of financing from outside supposed to put an end to this addiction stalls.



Concerning the Theme of the year, Deby elucidates about human rights and emphasizes on the promises of new concept Human right that could benefit the future generation .Here he uses “*Imperative devices*” like “We must”, “We have to” to explain on preventing crises in Africa use of diplomacy or force to put an end the tragedies of the past. He also uses parallelism and imperatives with warning and worried tone to elucidate the African Solution to African Problem using words like ‘*Active (Main actors), Not passive observers of solutions, “..take an initiative”*’ to indicate more participatory African platform provided to serve Africans which is positive and promising than the former activities un able to cushioned from others like the case of Libya’s conflict and interference of the Westerners .Here Deby indicated that the Af SoL needs to be effective in order to secure African nations collective security as well wait for others to make solutions which is non-African in its behavior.

Next to the above, imperative devices he focuses on common value or uses “*inclusive we*” to fight the rise of terrorism united with phrases “*ensure its own security*” “*Africa to take its destiny*”. In addition he gives examples of terror activities and describes the impact the terrorism caused in the Sahel, Lake Chad and Horn of Africa with fertile ground for expansion of the terrorist phenomenon. He further gives example using third person narrator in which a women who is omniscient narrator .It is about women’s right taking an experience of a woman from Nigeria where she is manipulated by the terrorist sect Boko Haram in the Lake Chad Region as she was about to detonate the charge she was carrying on her and Narration device “*I was told that, I will go to paradise and then I would have latitude to choose me even my husband.*” He uses this example to convince and persuade the summitry participants to see the challenge of Women as subject of violence of all kinds and convey his messages.

Deby further, informs the leaders of the summitry to focus on gaining power internationally while the United Nation makes its reform in the continent. In addition he encourages for a deepened and broadened relation with global community. Here he uses words play or pun devices again like “*Changes*” “*Reforms*”, “*injustice*”, “*Legitimate right*”, “*Reform acceleration*” to show the need for new global trend and inclusion of Africa represented in the United Nations. Deby, who understood the effect of global political economy and its effect on people, societies and states today all over the world has called up on. In the globalization that works in broadening the geographic extension of linkages to all major societies and states, thus his recommendation is about developing the lower per capita incomes, developing in adequate

infrastructure like transportation and communication and widening Africa with advanced technology. Deby's statement quoted is not only about Africa's role in the global sphere but it is also about benefit to get from the multi-polarized world.

When it comes to African Union dependency he emphasized up on Pun [or play with words] used in "We have to change ourselves", "We have to think African ", "Act African", "Speak African", "Consume" ,"Dress" "have fun" in African. He used all this parallelism to show common personality to be developed in order to lay ground work for the changes Africa need in the future.

Consequently Deby addressed the "*One Passport*" issue with metonymy stated "*....The Union that we are calling for would be meaningless if Africans do not move freely, if they do not hold a single passport.*" The effort of "*One passport*" that could bring Africa in one common integrated region was anticipated. The idea of one pass port which is copied from the other regional organization of European Union is too ambitious of integrating the diversified, economically variant and is a short talk that could come later because the continent needs to have strong stability or practice of democratization.

In 2013, African countries and institutions (AU) passed anew 50 year strategic vision and Plan (Agenda 2063) for an "integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in international area(AU, Agenda, 2063). Thus Deby stated some repercussions of: These are financing of AU and the other is functioning of AU. Beyond the report the consensual adoption of the reform agenda, its implementation should be given detailed discussion.

Having stalled peace process in Africa which is mitigating the agreements produced in Africa, it is difficult to application and effectiveness of Africa centered solutions. Truly Africa at the time had continued to face cases of stalled or collapse peace processes, including some of the peace deals reached in 2016 and those related with major armed conflicts in the continent. On these grounds Deby stated:

*"On the grounds of issues like Human right, Agenda 2063 and Ten Year Action plan of Agenda 2063 , they could not be possible and be futile and without real impact on our States and out populations if we allow crises to continue in Africa."*

Deby forgot to mention Africa's Solution to Africa's problem directly. However he has further stated to ride of conflicts and wars in Africa. It was expressed to use of force or diplomacy to deepen peace on the spectrum of the crisis and told the summit member's to be active. In addition to, reminded the missed case of Libyan intervention by others. . Deby's argument it is clearly stated that African solution for African Solution is told for the participants. With this regard the speaker has not given concern how to engaged different conflicting members exception to the building block members and strengthens to work in cooperation together with United Nation Special envoy.

The other global challenge which is disturbing Africa was also spoken by Deby. He proclaimed to work together and to join forces. He uttered "We must be united in action as in reflections." And he was specific on poverty that could be fertile for terrorist expansion. But the speaker has not told the summit member show deterrence and preemption can be difficult against transnational terrorist as well as he has not formally addressed way to ensure and minimize like socio factors or political and economic factors and has not called up on negotiation among the government and terrorists. It should never be forgotten to describe the dichotomy of "*Terrorist and Freedom Fighter*". It is also the definition of Terrorist by Webster's Dictionary as "*The state of fear and submission produced; terrorist governing or of revisiting a government, and the systematic use of terror especially as a means of gaining some political end(2003)*" hence the speaker could have spoken of democratic governance in fight against as panacea for the causes. And the African Stand by Force is mobilized to ensure the mobility of the continent. Nonetheless, yet, political will of states to give their sovereignty is brought being an obstacle in order to give substance to this force.

Deby has uttered a lot but he misused the podium to use strategically to talk about democracy, media and women and other issues. He focused on globalization, Terrorism, African Stand by Force. Nevertheless; he could have established his speech in expressing African democratization before joining to one passport and before realization of African union with common governance like European Union. Thus African union Heads of State should give priority to deepen peace and security in the continent to practice of democratic election in the member's states and working to minimize sustainable goals Agenda 2063. Therefore Acceptance speeches in such podiums or platforms should include democratic practices, good governance, and election in order to prevent terrorism. Deby also mentioned use of force to avoid crisis .This is also another

factor that could instigate regional causalities that could involve others. The speaker has also forgotten to include practices of the youth and job opportunity and prevention of migration. The speaker should have included about the darker side of migration through Mediterranean (Libya) route, live slave auctions, appalling conditions in detention groups in detention camps, physical and sexual abuse of African migrants seeking to cross in to Europe and needed to ask footage triggered additional policy attention and response.

#### **4.1.3. Analysis of Alpha Conde's Speech at AU summit 2017**

The acceptance speech of Alpha Conde, president of the Republic of Guinea and new chair Person of the African union (2017) made on Theme: "Capitalizing on the demographic dividend by investing in youth." Conde delivers very well organized speech which is short in its length but wide in its content. Differing from other Heads of State he opens his speech very strongly with Historical explanation of the Organization "Unity of our continent and the solidarity among its leaders was the ideal that inspired the founding Fathers of OAU". He further, strengthens his speech on working integration of African States and uses imperative devices "*We must work to achieve the integration of our peoples.*" And he emphasized his purpose of speech as persuasion and informative.

Conde frames his speech as platform to address his presidency and priorities of the AU. Conde welcomes and addresses the UN secretary General Guterres and uses [consonance devices] "*man of action and conviction*", "who struggle for '*Equity and Equality*'" to point out the low representation of African in the United Nation. It is the question of many Africans to be well represented in UN with at least two Veto power. Hence, Africa needs representation at the UN.

Conde's, speech included the belief of pan Africanism and states he is convinced of strong union in Africa with articulation, "The more united we are, the stronger we will be and will make ourselves heard more from the rest of the world." He further request for more integration of Africa than any time. And uses [Anadiplosis] "I am convinced that the more united we are, the stronger we will be and we will make ourselves heard more to the rest of the world".

Conde said that he prioritize to work to speed up and meet target and initiatives set by his predecessor among others fighting against challenges such as threats of terrorism, Migration and to make the continent independent and equal with others. He pledged to further mobilize the

continent in implementing the AU Agenda 2063 with a view to placing Africa as a key player in the international relations.

Conde also focused on the two remarkable issues of Kigali decisions: They were the structural change which focused on “*Reforming the Union and on the other hand at finding alternatives sources of funding for its activities, represent major progress that should be welcomed*”. The discourse made represents and relates the ambition of African Union heads of states in which they plan to deepen theory of ideology by Van Dijk’s where the leaders use the belief in order to control the thoughts of social cognition. The social cognition or social ideology arrangement can create common groups of people to share the same or common ideas. Therefore Conde has reflected up on it for the purpose of creating a common belief where African with no common governance could envision promoting strong relation.

Besides he raises the same question where he asks for the Africans injustice question raised by other African leaders before him. He states in a very polite way expressing “*Africa is counting on your commitment and determination to help correct many injustices including its absence from the Security Council as a permanent member, and the low representation of its leaders in United Nation’s forums*”.

And he articulates and appreciates the UN secretary Antonio Guterees. He summons UN to think of the idea of giving voice to Africa and stands against the unfair treatment of Africans and shows the working system of the UN is with gap of inclusion. As said in the literature part, Hegemonic stability in international system which is likely to be open and stable when a dominant state is willing and be able to provide leadership with view of other’s the policies as beneficial (Cohen ,2016) . But, Africans has not viewed and accepted the Hegemonic stability of the veto powers. Thus they question for more freedom and inclusion of the global system. Conde was more critics of the unequal distribution of power. As further explained in the review part Gramscian thought or institutionalism, assumption that national governments always seek to increase their wealth and power. This could bring formation of stable regime in order to successful collective learning and shared understanding of policy problems.

The speaker differently has focused on issues like Agenda 2030 and Paris agreement. Both development projects are well effectuated in the speakers discourse. As result, he asserts that even though the continent is in very dynamic change the growth has not necessarily translated in

to improvement in the living conditions of Africans. Despite the fact he has tried to put effort on diverse and many faceted sets of poverty. But focus should have been given on ways to solve poverty. Poverty eradication and social transformation tried by AU and UN should be related with human rights and violence in the continent. The epistemologies of the South which has arisen with the overall framework of the global justice movement (Tabb, 2003) should have been given emphasis. Moreover, the 2017 meeting could have mentioned the concept of poverty. The poverty could lead towards to change or revolution of a statuesque and it is the very evil of societal illness. Conde having the Chance to deepen on poverty reduction he slightly skimmed the basic idea.

In the same vein, he farther grapples to suggest improvement of African's living conditions and promising prospects to the African young people. He appreciates the need for effective implementation of the 2016 political declaration on the end of AIDS and official launch of Ebola haermorrhagic. Institutions like African Union commission to learn from management of newly emerged Ebola. The discourse by Conde pleaded for immediate solution of Africans to committee themselves to reaching the target populations by 2020. The acceptance missed to include the very factual matters like imperative for preventive ways such as education, socio economic poverty reduction, equality and institutionalization and technology advancement.

According to the acceptance speech, the industrialization and structural transformation that Africa needs is attached with electrification. The acceptance included at the ends of it the investment on youth. He told “ *It is through identifying how poverty, unemployment, and crises of numerous kinds comprising terrorism, migration ,diseases, depriving our continent of the arms and brains that can validly contribute to its development.*” In his speech he said “*Africa has been one of the most dynamic continents in the world with an average growth rate of about 5 percent, making it a booming economic region with favorable prospects for Sustainable Development.*” The process of African Union and cooperation one another have a potential to advance counter hegemonic paradigms and alternatives of a systematic characteristics. The Africa has become the destiny of investment but it does not state what the growth poses as challenge to the current geo political competition up on the continent. It is worth noting in this context that, the declarations on the acceptance issued in this summit in Addis Ababa are essentially slightly reworked versions of the kind of communiqué one should expect from other continents or similar to exercise in state or regional rhetoric in the context of UN summit,

encompassed by the same kinds of discourses and tropes which typically characterize reports issued by the World Bank and IMF.

In contrast the African Union summit acceptance speech, Conde has valued the demographic dividend and putting the end of the suicidal adventures across the Sahara and in water of Mediterranean and intergenerational achievement for the youth in the continent. At the end of his speech, the speaker has stated with phrase “I welcome the choice of our theme for 2017: *“Capitalizing on the demographic dividend by investing in youth.”*”

According to Sanusi(2017) despite the sheer demographic strength , very few African young people are able to access the formal political, economic and governance election. Deby has not included working on preventing causes of poverty and violence and abuse of human right. Sanusi adds that youth participation in governance, election and decision making process is not uttered. Here in line AU 2017 Theme stated above have been supported by different normative context of African Union. Besides this meaningful participation of the youth have hampered by numerous factors that limit the full implementation and attainment of the aims and objectives of regional documents.

Africa has the potential to reap democratization dividends leveraging the youth bulge and creating job opportunity. His speech was too generalized and has not focused on many gaps to be addressed in Africa. Specifically, the acceptance speech could have comprised of economic advantage than simple rhetoric. Nonetheless, it could have included the phrase “*taking advantage of this opening lays meaningful participation of young people by policy directives, incentivization, and intergenerational engagements.*” The speaker has also slightly passed from emphasizing Youth politics and participation. Here the writer has squandered from addressing such a continent strategy to be intertwined with normative and African initiatives to ensure an enabling spaces for youth energies creativity and passion to be channeled to coordinated efforts aimed at deepening democratization in the continent. Further, the theme has not been well explained about investments to be made to support and scale up impactful youth initiatives and programs at national, regional and continental levels (Sanusi, 2017).

#### **4.1.4. Analysis of Paul Kagame’s Speech at AU summit 2018**

Acceptance remarks by President Kagame at opening ceremony of the 30<sup>th</sup> African Union Summit assembled under the theme “*Winning the fight against Corruption: Sustainable path to*

*Africa's Transformation.*”. He focused on creating a single continental market, integrate their infrastructure and infuse their economies with technology and stay together. In addition he focused on AU flagship initiatives like Agenda 2063, free movement of people in the continent with one passport.

At introduction of his speech is a very well organized speech. He opens the speech with “*understatement phrase*” to describe his capacity and be more humble and uses phrases like “*I am lucky “I had a lot of wisdom flowing from them.”*” Where he created affection and drawn the summit members to focus on his speech immediately. He further, again uses flashback and Historical explanation “*I wish to pay tribute to previous leaders of the African Union, and to former Heads of States, for paving the way forward.*”, Because of their foresight , we are in a position to adopt three historic agreements”

This opening has allowed him to get hilarity and amusement from the audience. Here he has expressed he has learned a lot from his predecessors a lot. Kagame frames his speech as an informative speech that emphasizes the purpose of the speech as learning opportunity from his predecessors “*I have learned from him*”, “*Thank you for your double trust*”, “*I will need your support*” “*I have been lucky to work with his predecessor*”. With this thesis statement, Kagame conveyed his attention in a very organized method and effective manner drawing fully the focus of the summit participants. In addition he introduces reminder of the past in which he told the summit participants to make changes. He uses informative speeches to define the purpose of the speech detailed with a hyperbole statement “*Africa's defining challenge is to create a pathway to prosperity for our people, especially young people.*” Since his new primary message that comprised word play or Pun devices, “*Change*”, “*Create a single Market,*” “*integrate our infrastructure*”, “*Infuse our economies with technology*” could make the members of the summitry skeptical or cynical of his idea, he strategically manages to assure them that to be functional and united together as well he uses an imperative by foreshadowing with restatements like “*We have to be Functional*” and “*We have to stay together.*” as well as he urges to make institutional and financial reform of the AU drives all of its urgency.

He further, grapples to state the transformation from agrarian life to industrialization and accelerate .Thus he state to follow new strategy to Africa's and assert that formation of single continental market of Africa to integrate our infrastructure and infuse our economies with



technology. He also asserts the functional and states integrated to work for common success. Subsequently, Africa needs to make reform at financial and institutional reform of the African Union to meet the gap of advancing Africa's technology and industries.

On the other hand Kagame uses the metonyms to refer to the other world "*elsewhere*", "*no other region of the world*", "*Beyond*" to indicate the other parts world like Asia or Europe through industrialization. Kagame talks about the new trends in the today's time where technology advanced while the continent is late and at this stage he uses imperative devices to inform, warn and remind the leaders and the participants and uses the phrase "*We are running out of time,*", "*we must act now to save Africa*". He is strongly giving emphasis on the performance of Africa as a continent. Besides, he uses emotive speeches like "*continental changes need to happen,*", "*Break down these barriers*". "None of us would be wrong to feel angry," It is used because, there are many narratives going round that could hamper the future activities.

In talking about the continental branding there are views that assume Africa as a "Problem". To the contrary it needs to change the continental image by making change. Here in line, the narratives developed in Africa misrepresented it with understatement "*Africa is a burden*" rhetoric needs or this thinking has to be improved and therefore, Kagame used Antimetabolite '*fixing it won't take a year but it need not take more decades either.*' And continues to use flash forwarding, flashback and flash shadowing "*We have in some way, in the past..*" ,*None of us would be wrong to feel angry ,about the time and potential we have lost, in regard to who we are and should be.*"

Kagame intended to focus on the point of African Unity not only rhetoric but also the practical need to work together to realize concrete improvements in the well-being of and security to the Africans. He further stated the inefficient bureaucracy, lack of implementation of and inadequate funding were among the main issues of the summit.

Kagame's has been able to push a number of initiatives likewise financing the AU through the 0.2 % tax on eligible imports in to member states , reducing the number of AU Commission departments from eight to six, and the plan to reduce the number of AU summits. However the request of him to reform plans, AU has rejected the recommendation to empower the chair of AU commission to appoint his or her own commissioners as commissioners, as this has been pushing member state sovereignty to drive the institution. In summary the AU is undergoing

reform process, because of its inefficient bureaucracy, lack of implementation of decisions, funding and overlapping institutional mandates.

The African Agenda 2063 contained provisions relevant to addressing and overcoming structural vulnerabilities to violent conflict. In identifying Kagame presented six areas including the clarification of continental priorities (political affairs and peace and security, economic integration and the relationship between the AU and regional institutions); the realignment of continental institutions' and their mandates; and connecting the AU to African citizens (see African Union, 2017).

Kagame's description was well related with the purpose of uniting Africa Union and African. The six areas identification presented are very supportive of realization of AU. His speech to redefine African's plans and ambitions in continental terms brings to change and integrate more of Africa through assets it has and strengths to build on with tangible commitment to unity. He used restatement " ....*Unity must be our starting point, as we do the necessary work of redefining our plans and ambitions, in continental term.*" The reform areas and the priorities if practiced and fully implemented will facilitates and accelerate progress in AU in the implementation of its Agenda 2063. It also helps to strengthen the continent as well as in order to deepen democracy and economic integrations..

In addition, His speech has focused on economic integration. He also stated the highest building of Africa's common wealth through building single African Air Transport Market. This initiative and encouragement made was a great leap forward move to integrate the continent. And he asks for adoption of Continental Free trade Area. It is really appreciated to raise questions like who champion important themes. Through careful integration with regional and national developments plans, resource mobilization capacity review and reform of continental organs and institutions, the Agenda 2063 is a bold attempt at addressing the socio- economic, political and development deficits in Africa (seat AU commission report, 2015). Kagame has reflected the integration on the basis of continental free trade area, African Passport, free movement of people, a pan-African e- network, and an African Commodity Strategy. It is well articulated in his speech in 2018 is more of economic dynamism to largely integrated area.

The acceptance speech of Kagame has tried to include many of African issues and he has been able to push a number of initiatives in this respect. This includes measures such as financing in to

member states, reducing the number of AU commission departments from eight to six and the plan to reduce the number of AU summits. Kagame has focused on “crisis of implementation” of the rhetoric in Africa. He adds that the institutions responsible to enhance guidelines and ensuring compliances are either too weak or non- existence where statis approach impacts than regional development. For instance the weak organizational structures of African Union like African Union Commission and the Pan- African Parliament (PAP) have no significant power.

Kagame’s period was initiation of reform of African Union. Kagame who focused on common market, financing, free market has overviewed to call up on democratization and common interest at the real life of Africans. The number of violent conflicts greatly increased in 2018 and 2017 are not given emphasis compared with speech of Mugabe, Conde and Deby. Kagame has not given concern and emphasis with reoccurring or relapsing conflicts in Africa.

#### **4.1.5. Analysis of AL SISI’s Speech at AU summit 2019**

The African Union Summit is held in 2019, under the theme “*Refugees, Returnees, and Internally Displaced Persons: Towards Durable Solutions to Forced Displacements in Africa*”. Al sisi delivered a well-organized speech. Andas well he opens the speech very strongly greeting and welcoming the leaders when he states – the purpose of his speech.

Al sisi established his speech with historical explanations of the Union stating a facts by using Gamal Abdel Nasser’s speech; “*This will be a charter for Africa, meetings will be held on all official and popular levels and let’s start our path in the economic cooperation towards a joint African market*”, or using phrases like “*more than half a century had passed since the meeting of the founding fathers who together laid the foundation stone of AU in Addis Ababa*”, “*Since this historical moment until now[ flashback device]*has opened his statement in order to point out that the forefathers of Africa have sought to create a common market which is even a challenge. In addition he mentioned Nkrumah’s speech “*Our division is our weakness but by our unity, Africa will be one of the greatest powers in the world*”. He pointed it because he needed to explain pan Africanism through his leadership as well as is used to pave way to the next part of speech as “Historical explanation”.

Further, he uses “Anti-thesis speech devices” of phrases to show the changes in the continental Unity likewise “*We have overcome most of the obstacles, faced new challenges ,get rid of*

*colonialism but still its aftermaths*”, “*We are still working hard to strengthen bases of peace, security and stability..*”. Such repetition phrases are used to show the transformation the regional organization is in progress however, has mitigated the continental aspiration.

With relation to African solution to African Problem (AfSoL), Al Sisi stresses and informs how to solve conflicts that occur in the continent. He uses parallelism such as “*We face,*” “*Africans,*”, “*People’s interest*”, “*common challenges*”, “*Painful page of the disputes history in Africa*” to point out that Africa’s complicated challenges Africans commonly face to get remedies and real solutions. As well, AfSol has acclaimed for its some sort of manifestations that could avoid manipulations or interference from foreign entities (Lory and Fana, 2019). AfSOL appreciated for preventing foreign interference.

Along with speaking about the issues of silencing the Guns he signposts [uses a signposting speech device], “*In addition to our ambitious plans to silence guns all over the continent by the year 2020, it is no secret that the way is too long to end fighting in Africa*”. Here it is reviled the agenda to silence guns all over the continent is too ambitious and needs more efforts to deepen and widen it. With regards to the principle of “silencing guns in 2020” which is over ambitious plan of Africa, there many conflicts happening in Africa. However, Al sisi called up on ways to seek an end to the painful page for the disputes that could impact the development of the continent.

Moreover, Al sisi spoke about necessity of protecting African by development shield to prevent causes of the treats basically through developing and enhancing the African peace and security comprehensively. Talking about “Terrorism “AlSisi used a metaphor “*is considered a cancer that infiltrates inside the bodies of our African homelands*” he indicated it occurs indifferent parts of the continent which is not a specific that needs comprehensive activity. Describing identification of terror, he [Consonants] urged “*to categorize its supporters, financiers and face it together*”, “enhance complete awareness of the challenge and eradicate the terrorism roots and get rid of it.”

Al Sisi uses flash forwarding and warns future challenges in Africa such as “several diseases as the spread of conflicts, brutality of terrorism, barbarity of extremism, climate change, severity of poverty, water scarcity and drought are factors that combine to force people to leave their homes.” Having these all in mind, they have contributed a lot in increased amount of crises.

Illustrating the effect of these crises statically which are obvious in Africa as a number of refugees about eight million (90%) of whom refugees are within the continent and number of displaced people is about 18 million.

Al Sisi gives detailed and addresses women and addresses women direct address and indirectly. He addressed the Women “*African women*”, “*I tell you, ‘women of Africa’*”, that “*you have unlimited opportunities and nothing would prevent you from realizing your hopes and asserting your leadership*”. Here he has used direct speech to address women of Africa and expressed that all women in the continent are affected due to scourge of war. And he uses to encourage “you have to continue your efforts, and have knowledge and will to have hopes and dreams.

Addressing the youth of Africa, Al Sisi uses metaphors such as “the strong heart”, “*youthful arms of the continent*” “that they are resources of the continent to achieve its planned instruments.

His speech has covered wide portion of activities and strategies to run the Union in 2019. Sisi expressed the region as “*with growing challenges that face the concept of state of nation temporarily the people’s aspiration grow.*” On the grounds he uttered many of the obstacles and challenges Africa have overcome and new threats in African schemes and get rid of colonialism but still its aftermaths. Sis has expressed his intentions to consolidate these measures by outlining the six priorities areas of his chairmanship. They are building bridges of cultural and civil communication among Africa people; reinforcing cooperation between the AU and its partners, as well as between the AU peace and security mechanism, pushing ahead with the institutional and financial reform of the AU and expediting the operationalization of the African Continental Free trade Area (AFTCFA)

Al Sisi focused on peace and security and stability .He states “*we are working hard to strengthen bases of peace and security and achieving the economic and continental integration for the advantage of our countries and peoples to build the African human being.*” Here the speaker has focused to deepen African unity through mutual understanding and mutual respect and asks for unity quoting Nukuroma’s speech. According to Acemoglu, Daron and Robinsnson (2005) the statistical link between the likelihood of civil war and the absence of strong democratic institutions suggests that the establishment of such institutions can reduce the incidence of violent civil conflict in Africa. In addition, the chairman should have provisioned adherence to democratic principles in African countries.

Al Sisi raised six priority areas of his chairmanship. His presentation was a critically focused on persuasion. They were building bridges of cultural and civil communication among African people; reinforcing cooperation between the AU and its partners , reinforce African mechanisms for post- conflict reconstruction and development, pushing ahead with the institutional and financial reform of the AU and Economic and regional Integration ( expenditure the operationalization of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) and Economic and social development .He also urged heads of state to strengthen the basis of sustainable development to provide more jobs to strengthen the basis and opportunities for youth as the best mechanism of tackling high levels of emigration. According to Babatunde Fagbayibo (2019) Sisi's chairmanship is not a tonic the AU currently needs.

#### **4.2. Lessons with drawn From Acceptance speech of AU**

The legitimacy of the AU and its ongoing reform efforts ultimately rest on how it is capable to project itself as an organization committed to democratic efforts across the continent. Although the chairmanship position is largely ceremonial, it is quiet symbolic as it speaks to organizational values and the high politics of driving these values. It is therefore understood Africa needs to be more practical to consider effective demonstrated actions of respect for fundamental rights than rhetoric of other issues those emerge from democracy. If Democratic process is not given in a given acceptance it, is a cynically to see the realization of peace and security, respect for human rights, civil organizations, Media. And yet there is a hidden crisis of governance in many African countries followed by the cause of economic decline, the crisis is nonetheless exogenous. In the above discourse it is elapsed improving governance simultaneously for market reform and economic development as indicated by Kagame, Conde, Sisi and Deby. Mugabe who took pan-Africanism has made most challenges towards interference.

At the time such as this, Globalization including the world, Africa has practices of the 20<sup>th</sup> century where practices of democratization are immature. Besides, African Union is in reform of financing the AU, recruitment process of the leadership of the AU commission, the empowering Au organs such as the Pan-African Parliament, free Trade; however, the AU's human rights and democracy protection mechanisms remain delicate and dysfunctional, and thus necessitate a competent support structure (FAGBAYIBO, 2019).

Likely African heads of state are not heard on the way to practice democratization. The acceptance speech of the above five heads of state have pointed the demean degree of consent to democracy or its process. They neither spoke about democracy, rule of law nor even mentioned the word democracy in positive way even at once. The problems of the African States that are being articulated are not explicitly told. Causes of African problems are lack of democratization related with nature of African states, equity, economic disparities and other issues like corruption where not given emphasis , lack of legitimacy due to unpopular governance and intolerance of diversity, lack of capacity and will for performance to deliver public goods, external interference are not explained and undemocratic political system African rulers practice.

The acceptance speech of African Union Chairmen have not included how to minimize the incomplete nature of democratization process in Africa to a certain extent they have pay attention on post conflict phases. But African heads who take chairmanship have to give precedence to democracy and good governance. The imperfect nature of democratization process in Africa is refused by the people and has allowed intervention of others in African affairs in contemporarily. Nonetheless, it is rejected to claim for its exercises. The increasingly illegitimate, continues military intervention, regular elections and cynical power transfer and coups, democratic rollback and hybrid regimes, endemic corruption ethnic voting, sedative laws on civil societies, uneven development, mixed commitment of donor commitment are not given focus (Lynch and Crawford, 2011). However, in order to widen democratic process in Africa little efforts are observed in Africa and the democratic role of media is to act as a check on the excesses of the state.

#### **4.3. The Role of Media in African Democratization**

As mentioned above in the review of this study it, democracy is young and member states refuse to submit their sovereignty. In addition the Chairmen have forgotten or excluded the practices of democratic governance in their speech in which AU is established based on the Act of 2002. This Act has included fundamental principles of democratization, elections, good governance and other major principles. And the leaders have excluded of the purpose and principles in their speech. Around 2006 , new discourse of started concerning overthrowing the African Union and repealing it with a single African government for the new United States of Africa that would help African leaders to come together and discuss forming a union that would help Africa

flourish in this world of increasing globalization (Soarsen, 2007). Thus to achieve democratization in Africa it needs giving priority to democracy and its means of media to widen the political spaces that could allow pluralism than dictatorship.

One among the ways to deepen and widen democracy in Africa is use of media and creation of Common Media in the continent. Media plays a crucial role in shaping a healthy democracy. As well as it helps to show numerous social, political and economical activities happening around the world and Africa too. According Agenda 2063 Aspiration 3 a specific goal provisions “Democratic values, practices, universal principles of human rights, justice and rule of law entrenched” as one of its priority areas to be realized by 2063. This to be ensuring that at least 70 % of the people recognize the press and exchange information is free and the freedom of expression win through. However, the continental organizations have less prioritized democratization and the theme of formation of Media which is continental.

The role of media as a motor of integration is related with Public Sphere and media is responsible for the lack of social cohesion and alienation of public in modern societies. The political integration of Africa has not been able to be advanced like the rhetoric’s made in Africa. It is because of lack of common media that is used to integrate Africa and deepen Africanism, pan Africanism, and while the political authority has gradually shifted integration of Africa in Economy than other political, social and cultural integration. The national state have taken more role than the AU whereas the Pro AU common media is not given priority by Chairmen or State leaders and AU has failed to form an Africa media that serves to serve as platform to deepen and broaden democratization. The acceptance of the AU chairperson analyzed above has not included to give prioritize the Democracy and media. In the speeches of the above five leaders, no one of them have raised the issue of democracy and media.

On the other hand Recently, in Egypt 2019 African ministers responsible for communication, and information and communication technologies was adopted that puts special focus on African Digital Transformation Strategy (DTS) and African Union Communication and Advocacy Strategy (CAS), as well as the Union’s and communication Style guideline.

The CAS for the period 2018- 2023, identifies and priorities the key activities to be implemented to ensure that the AU is seen as a ‘People Centered Organization and the truly pan-African organization working c to ensure inclusive and sustainable growth for the African continent and



its citizens. Among the decisions made at the aforementioned meeting it was decided that to encourage national broadcasters to disseminate content produced by the AU, including the editing of AU produced films to make them available in national and local language in order to reach the widest audiences. Here again, it is forgotten to reflect on establishment of common media that works to democratization. As said in the earlier, Africa has no common media it disseminates, teaches, broadcasts its values and connected with the people of the continent. Like the European Union, it has got its own council and channels. The European have got channels like Euro news, which is a 24/7 news channel in seven languages of Europe, CNBC Europe is a 24/7 business and financial news channel broadcast in Europe and Reuters Television Sky News and to the most Europe by Satellite (EBS) is the EU news agency. EBS broadcasts by satellite by internet in broadcast quality the news, images and sounds of all EU institutions as well it gives much time in press release of the EU. In the same manner AU needs to have its own channel to close the gap in between Africans and its people.

To conclude, African Union head of state taking the leadership since 2015 have not focused on democratization and human rights. The leaders were not able to use the exercise of media and democratic leadership as AU's flagship initiative and priority. The agenda of western aid agencies in Africa blamed by Mugabe, in particular the thesis of "Us" and "Them" failed to produce the upturns in efforts made to democratization. On the other hand most of the leaders have not even cite democracy even once but they grappled to focus on economic integration ,peace and security, veto power representation and the like.

## Chapter Five

### 5. Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation

This chapter deals with the summary of major findings, conclusion drawn from findings and recommendations that the researcher suggests an assume operational in improving the acceptance speech of African Heads of state under different themes towards inclusion of democratic priortisation and common African media.

#### 5.1. Summary of the Major Findings

In previous chapters the Finding and nalysis on the acceptance speech of AU chairperson since 2015 to 2019 were analysed. The main purpose of the study was to examine acceptance speech of African Heads of state under different themes towards inclusion of democratic priortisation and common African media. In order to address the aim of the study the folowing basic research questiones were stated and answered :

- What is explained in the speech of the Head of States to deepen efforts of democratization?
- What kind of framework, policies and strategies the newly elected AU chairpersons reflected to raise the level of awareness of the African's and the wider world relation.
- How can African Union and other stakeholders attempt to abridge the communiqué gap in between AU and the Mass?
- What alternative readings (texts) might be made by different social groups?

Summitry or high level meetings of the heads of government or heads of state of regional body are platforms to set agenda for future development of the orgnization , the region and solving existing regional challenges. Moreover , the meetings involve discussion , interaction of heads of States once in a year and underlie regional politcal, economic, social and regional dynamics of instituions and structures are disscussed below. Summitry include making appointments of the heads of State and government presents his or her acceptance provides direction, deliberating focus area and policy guidance and make decisions on key points referring to the realization of AU's principles and objectives. They are written provided to the Heads of State by themselves or Assistances. Hence, the speech of the chairperson where analyzed. To get answers for the

above basic four questions the study was conducted on five acceptance speeches made from 2015-2019 at African Union hall.

Mugabe acceptance speech created mixed reactions to the summitry. The dichotomy of us and them was used to question Africa's equal partnership in the Security Council and asked equal representation of the continent and attacked the unbearable debt by Western institutions. It is also found that Mugabe asked for democratic practices not dictated and non-interfered by Europeans and others. However to the division of US and them, in the speech, Mugabe covered the practices of democracy in Africa as well as the acceptance speech was different of context or the given theme convened in the period. As well, the African experience of "Democracy" was not presented at the acceptance speech of Robert Mugabe. The theme of 2016 "*African year of Human rights with a particular focus on the rights of women*" was the acceptance of the speech but the speaker has forgotten to present it. The acceptance speech should have included ways to deepen and widen democracy in the continent.

President Deby highlighted in his acceptance speech the major programs to be taken during his mandate. He promised to ensure the implementation of AU Member states of the Theme 2016: African Year of Human Rights with a particular focus on the Rights of Women and the Ten Year implementation Plan of Agenda 2063. He further mobilized the continent to implement the AU Agenda 2063 with the view to place Africa as a key player in the World arena. Here again Deby has not prioritized democracy and Media as instrument of the Union for the period he was elected.

Whereas Conde The acceptance speech of Alpha Conde, president of the Republic of Guinea and new chair Person of the African union (2017) made titled "Capitalizing on the demographic dividend by investing in youth." Conde said that he prioritize to work to speed up and meet target and initiatives set by his predecessor among others fighting against challenges such as threats of terrorism, Migration and to make the continent independent and equal with others. He pledged to further mobilize the continent in implementing the AU Agenda 2063 with a view to placing Africa as a key player in the international relations. Conde also focused on the two remarkable issues of Kigali decisions: They were the structural change which focused on "*Reforming the Union and on the other hand at finding alternatives sources of funding for its activities, represent major progress that should be welcomed*". However Deby has not included

working on preventing causes of poverty and violence and abuse of human right, democratization and common media.

Acceptance remarks by president Kagame at opening ceremony of the 30<sup>th</sup> African Union Summit assembled under the theme “*Winning the fight against Corruption: Sustainable path to Africa’s Transformation.*” He focused on creating a single continental market, integrate their infrastructure and infuse their economies with technology and stay together. In addition he focused on AU flagship initiatives like Agenda 2063, free movement of people in the continent with one passport. The acceptance speech of Kagame has tried to include many of African issues and he has been able to push a number of initiatives in this respect. This includes measures such as financing in to member states, reducing the number of AU commission departments from eight to six and the plan to reduce the number of AU summits. Kagame has focused on “crisis of implementation” of the rhetoric in Africa. He adds that the institutions responsible to enhance guidelines and ensuring compliances are either too weak or non- existence where states approach impacts than regional development. For instance the weak organizational structures of African Union like African Union Commission and the Pan- African Parliament (PAP) have no significant power. Kagame’s period was initiation of reform of African Union. Kagame who focused on common market, financing, free market has overviewed to call up on democratization and common interest at the real life of Africans. The number of violent conflicts greatly increased in 2018 and 2017 are not given emphasis compared with speech of Mugabe, Conde and Deby. Kagame has not given concern and emphasis with reoccurring or relapsing conflicts in Africa too.

The African Union Summit is held in 2019, under the theme “*Refugees, Returnees, and Internally Displaced Persons: Towards Durable Solutions to Forced Displacements in Africa.*” The newly elected Heads of state Chairperson was Al Sisi of Egypt raised six priority areas of his chairmanship. They were building bridges of cultural and civil communication among African people; reinforcing cooperation between the AU and its partners , reinforce African mechanisms for post- conflict reconstruction and development, pushing ahead with the institutional and financial reform of the AU and Economic and regional Integration ( expenditure the operationalization of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) and Economic and social development .He also urged heads of state to strengthen the basis of sustainable development to provide more jobs to strengthen the basis and opportunities for youth as the best

mechanism of tackling high levels of emigration. However Al sisi was very far from mentioning democratic process and enlarging Media.

Over all African heads of state are not heard on the way to practice democratization. The acceptance speech of the above five heads of state have pointed the demean degree of consent to democracy or its process. They neither spoke about democracy, rule of law nor even mentioned the word democracy in positive way even at once. The problems of the African States that are being articulated are not explicitly told. This indicates that the acceptance or priorities told have fallen apart from the process. The legitimacy of AU and ongoing progress reform efforts ultimately rest on how it is able to project itself as an organization committed to democratic efforts across the continent. It needs a political leadership more than rhetoric but effective commitment and given r priority.

## **5.2. Conclusion**

The acceptance speech of the heads of the state should strive towards developing democracy in the continent and have priorities it. In this study it is found that the instruments produced by AU are dynamic and the summitries are having different continued speeches but less practical. The summitry are used to develop the “Us and them” dichotomy by Mugabe, and giving less degree of attention of democracy, integration and belittled need to loose sovereignty. In addition the AU makes contempt of its supposed foundational ethos, and once again, for an indefinite period defers the existence of a truly democratic AU.

The efforts of African heads of state at the summit have less degree of focus to deepen democracy. Democracy is very necessary to a given organizations presence and effective work achievement of its purpose or vision. Therefore AU itself gives priority to AU’s organizational formation that could represent the continent. The leaders themselves need to be democratically elected in their home country before they come to represent the continent

Moreover; the heads of state were not expressing the need for democratic governance and refusing the interference from other part of the world. Therefore, in order to achieve or nurture the young democratic process in the continent from where most of the state found in pseudo democratic involvement. Hence, the accepted leaders need to focus on expanding democracy or put it’s a major priority because it is am means to prevent challenges happening in the continent.

The heads of State at their acceptance speech spoke on different socio- economic speeches than internal democracy, African solutions to African problems, common Media where democratic process are conveyed. Thus they need to include the practices of Agenda 2063 with democratic process in the continent. African heads of State need to bridge the gap with international organizations. The acceptance speech needs to be way forward and place where Africa needs to integrate itself with other world. Even if it is a political field where the leaders discuss, they need to disseminate the information to the general public through ways like African Union Media, or forming regional media owned by the union and its partners.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

Acceptance speeches at summitry are kind of speeches in Africa which need much careful preparations and in summits like African Union the Heads of state need to present the priorities. Therefore, the heads of States should give much attention for acceptance of speech they prepare. Thus this study focused on acceptance speech and priorities presented by AU heads of State. Therefore, based on the findings of the study the following basic recommendations are forwarded.

1. The efforts of African heads of state at the summit have less degree of focus to deepen democracy. Democracy is very necessary to a given organizations presence and effective work achievement of its purpose or vision. Therefore AU itself gives priority to AU's organizational formation that could represent the continent. The leaders themselves need to be democratically elected in their home country before they come to represent the continent
2. The heads of state were not expressing the need for democratic governance and refusing the interference from other part of the world. Thus in order to achieve or nurture the young democratic process in the continent from where most of the state found in pseudo democratic involvement. Hence, the accepted leaders need to focus on expanding democracy or put it's a major priority because it is am means to prevent challenges happening in the continent.
3. The heads of State at their acceptance speech spoke on different socio- economic speeches than internal democracy, African solutions to African problems, common Media where democratic process are conveyed. Thus they need to include the practices of Agenda 2063 with democratic process in the continent.
4. African heads of State need to bridge the gap with international organizations. The acceptance speech needs to be way forward and place where Africa needs to integrate itself

with other world. Even if it is a political field where the leaders discuss, they need to disseminate the information to the general public through ways like African Union Media, or forming regional media owned by the union and its partners.

## Reference

### Books

- Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S., & Robinson, J. A. (2005). Institutions as a fundamental cause of long-run growth. *Handbook of economic growth, 1*, 385-472.
- Acharya, A. (2011). Engagement or entrapment? Scholarship and policymaking on Asian regionalism. *International Studies Review, 13*(1), 12-17.
- Acharya, A., & Buzan, B. (2007). Why is there no non-Western international relations theory? An introduction. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, 7*(3), 287-312.
- Balanovsky, O., Dibirova, K., Dybo, A., Mudrak, O., Frolova, S., Pocheshkhova, E., & Kuznetsova, M. (2011). Parallel evolution of genes and languages in the Caucasus region. *Molecular biology and evolution, 28*(10), 2905-2920.
- Banégas, R., Pommerolle, M. E., & Siméant, J. (2010). Fighting in Africa. *Genèses, (4)*, 2-4.
- Barbey, A. K., Colom, R., & Grafman, J. (2014). Neural mechanisms of discourse comprehension: a human lesion study. *Brain, 137*(1), 277-287.
- Breslin, F. C., Polzer, J., MacEachen, E., Morrongiello, B., & Shannon, H. (2007). Workplace injury or “part of the job”? Towards a gendered understanding of injuries and complaints among young workers. *Social Science & Medicine, 64*(4), 782-793.
- Burr, V. (1998). Overview: Realism, relativism, social constructionism and discourse. *Social constructionism, discourse and realism, 13-26*.
- Cheru, F. (2012). Democracy and People Power in Africa: still searching for the ‘political kingdom’. *Third World Quarterly, 33*(2), 265-291.
- Chouliaraki, L. (2004). Watching 11 September: the politics of pity. *Discourse & Society, 15*(2-3), 185-198.
- Chouliaraki, L., & Fairclough, N. (1999). *Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking critical discourse analysis*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Crystal, D. (2006). *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. (6<sup>th</sup> ed.). London: Blackwell Publishing.
- Da Silva, I. C. (2013). From OAU to AU: 50 Years of African Continentals.



- De Lombaerde, P., & Van Langenhove, L. (2005). Indicators of regional integration: Methodological issues.
- DeNardis, L. (2014). *The global war for internet governance*. Yale University Press.
- Desta Beyore (2018) *primary schools principals' effectiveness in implementing sip in Addis Ababa*.
- Edo, V. O., & Olanrewaju, M. A. (2012). An Assessment of the Transformation Of The Organization of African Unity (OAU) To The African Union (AU), 1963-2007. *Journal of the historical society of Nigeria*, 41-69.
- Eyasu Hailemichael (2018) *African Union Charter on Democratization, Election and Governance and Democratization in Ethiopia* ; African and Asian Studies.
- Fagbayibo, B. (2018). From OAU to AU: Rethinking Supranational Governance in Africa. In *The Palgrave Handbook of African Politics, Governance and Development* (pp. 771-782). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Fagbayibo, B. (2018). Nkrumahism, Agenda 2063, and the role of intergovernmental institutions in fast-tracking continental unity. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 53(4), 629-642.
- Fagbayibo, B. O. (2010). *A politico-legal framework for integration in Africa: exploring the attainability of a supranational African Union* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pretoria).
- Fairclough, N. (1993). Critical discourse analysis and the marketization of public discourse: The universities. *Discourse & society*, 4(2), 133-168.
- Farrell, M., Gavin, B. & De Souza, E. (2005). Global politics of regionalism: theory and practice.
- Ferris, G. R., & Treadway, D. C. (Eds.). (2012). *Politics in organizations: Theory and research considerations*. Routledge.
- Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge: Translated from the French by AM Sheridan Smith*. Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge* (London, Tavistock). HACKER, S. (1981) *The culture of engineering: women, workplace and machine, Women's Studies International*.
- Fracchiolla, B. (2016). *From Aggression To Verbal Violence, From Ethology To Anthropology*.

- Gebremichael, D. S. (2015). A Discourse Analysis of Aljazeera's Documentary 'Struggle over the Nile'.
- Gee, J. P. (1989). Literacy, discourse, and linguistics: Introduction. *Journal of education*, 171(1), 5-17.
- Gergen, K. J. (1985). Social constructionist inquiry: Context and implications. In *The social construction of the person* (pp. 3-18). Springer, New York, NY.
- Gergen, K. J. (1985). Social constructionist inquiry: Context and implications. In *The social construction of the person* (pp. 3-18). Springer, New York, NY.
- Grenville, S. (2004). Policy dialogue in East Asia: Principles for success. *Financial Governance in East Asia: Policy Dialogue, Surveillance and Cooperation*, 16-37.
- Griggs, R. A. (2003). Geopolitical discourse, global actors and the spatial construction of African union. *Geopolitics*, 8(2), 69-98.
- H. Hamilton (Eds.), *Handbook of discourse analysis*. (pp. 352-371). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Haglund Morrissey, A. (2008). Transforming an EU foreign policy initiative into a 'shared policy' of equal partners: The 'new' northern dimension. *Humanitas Journal of European Studies (HJES)*, 2(1), 55-77.
- Help Age International Africa Regional Development Centre and the African Union: Nairobi: Kenya Help Age International.*
- Jones, J. J. (2015). Talk like a man-The linguistic appeal of Hillary Rodham Clinton. *Western Political Science Association*. Retrieved May, 17, 2019. from [https://wpsa.research.pdx.edu/papers/.../jjjones\\_HRC\\_talk\\_like\\_a\\_man\\_3\\_30\\_15.pdf](https://wpsa.research.pdx.edu/papers/.../jjjones_HRC_talk_like_a_man_3_30_15.pdf)
- Kant, I. (2020). *Perpetual peace*. BoD—Books on Demand.
- Keohane, R. O. (1989). International Institution and State Power. *Boulder: Westview*, 3-4.
- Keohane, R. O., Nye, J. S., & Hoffmann, S. (Eds.). (1993). *After the Cold War: international institutions and state strategies in Europe, 1989-1991*. Harvard University Press.
- Krzyżanowski, M., Triandafyllidou, A., & Wodak, R. (2018). The medicalization and the politicization of the “refugee crisis” in Europe.
- Kvale, S. (Ed.). (1992). *Psychology and postmodernism* (Vol. 9). Sage.

- Lansford, T. (Ed.). (2019). *Political Handbook of the World 2018-2019*. CQ Press.
- Matti, S. (2006). *The imagined environmental citizen: exploring the state-individual relationship in Swedish environmental policy* (Doctoral dissertation, Luleå Tekniska Universitet).
- Mayr, A. (2008). Introduction: Power, discourse and institutions. *Language and power: An introduction to institutional discourse*, 1-25.
- Mills, S. (1997) *Discourse*. London: Routledge
- Mitrany, D. (1943). *A Working Peace System* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs).
- Mumby, D. K. (1997). Organizational Discourse Dennis K. Mumby and Robin P. Clair. *Discourse as social interaction*, 2, 181.
- Mumby, D. K., & Robin, P. Clair. 1997. Organizational discourse. *Discourse as social interaction*, 181-205.
- Murray, P., & Warleigh-Lack, A. (2013). Europe-Asia studies: The contribution of comparative regional integration. In *The palgrave handbook of EU-Asia relations* (pp. 108-123). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Murray, P., Warleigh-Lack, A., & He, B. (2014). Awkward states and regional organizations: The United Kingdom and Australia compared. *Comparative European Politics*, 12(3), 279-300.
- Nesbitt-Larking, P., & Kinnvall, C. (2012). The discursive frames of political psychology. *Political Psychology*, 33(1), 45-59.
- Packer, C. A., & Rukare, D. (2002). The new African Union and its constitutive act. *American Journal of International Law*, 365-379.
- Platt, D., & Turney, D. (2014). Making threshold decisions in child protection: A conceptual analysis. *British Journal of Social Work*, 44(6), 1472-1490.
- Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1994). Analyzing discourse. *Analyzing qualitative data*, 47-66.
- Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1994). Analyzing discourse. *Analyzing qualitative data*, 47-66.
- Potter, J. and Wetherell, M. (1994) 'Analysing discourse', in A Brymann and R. Burgess (eds), *Analyzing Quantitative Data*, London: Routledge.
- Rodrik, D. (2018). An African growth miracle?. *Journal of African Economies*, 27(1), 10-27.

- Rosamond, B. (2005). Conceptualizing the EU model of governance in world politics. *Eur. Foreign Aff. Rev.*, 10, 463.
- Ruth(2013). *Corporate Discourse*. London: Bloomsbury Academic. ISBN978-1-4411-7753-7. OCLC852898361 (<https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/852898361>).
- Sabelis, I., Keenoy, T., Oswick, C., & Ybema, S. (2005). Introduction to time and discourse: Time, text and tuning.
- Seltzer, J., & Bass, B. M. (1990). Transformational leadership: Beyond initiation and consideration. *Journal of management*, 16(4), 693-703.
- Shakoury, K. (2018). *Critical Discourse Analysis of Iranian Presidents' Addresses to the United Nations General Assembly (2007-2016)* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Saskatchewan).
- Shakoury, K. (2018). *Critical Discourse Analysis of Iranian Presidents' Addresses to the United Nations General Assembly (2007-2016)* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Saskatchewan).
- Strauss, S., Feiz, P., & Xiang, X. (2018). *Grammar, meaning, and concepts: A discourse-based approach to English grammar*. Routledge.
- Taylor, C., & as Terror, C. S. (2002). The Rwandan Genocide of 1994. *Annihilating Difference: The Anthropology of Genocide*, 3, 137.
- Tendi, B. M. (2010). *Making History in Mugabe's Zimbabwe: politics, intellectuals, and the media* (Vol. 4). Peter Lang.
- Tensen, A., & Spaling, H. (1994). Word And Deed Among The Krim In Sierra Leone: Integrated Mission Or Mission Impossible?.
- Tewodros Mebrhatu (2014) causes of conflict role and actors in the current South Sudan conflict
- Treadway, D. C. (2012). Political will in organizations.
- Tsegaye, K. K. (2016). The Cultural Agenda of the OAU/AU Since 1963. *Journal of Pan African Studies*, 9(7).
- Van Dijk, A. (2006). *Ideology and discourse analysis*. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 11(2), p. 115-140.
- Van Dijk, A. (2015). Critical discourse analysis. *The handbook of discourse analysis*, 466-485.

- Van Dijk, A. (2015). *Racism and the Press*. Routledge
- Van Dijk, A.(1987). Episodic models in discourse processing. In:R. Horowitz& VanDijk, A. (1995). Discourseanalysisasideologyanalysis.*LanguageandPeace.10,47-142*.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2003). 18 Critical discourse analysis. In D. Tannen, D. Schiffrin &
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2015). 22 Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse analysis*, 466.
- Van Ham, P. (1994). After the Cold War: international institutions and state strategies in Europe, 1989 1991.
- Van Leeuwen, T., & Wodak, R. (1999).Legitimizing immigration control: A discourse-historical analysis. *Discourse studies, 1*(1), 83-118.
- VanDijk,A.(2000).*IdeologyandDiscourse:AmultidisciplinaryIntroduction*.Barcelona.
- VanDijk, T.A. (2009).Critical discourse studies: A socio-cognitive approach. *Methods of critical discourse analysis.2*(1),62-86.
- Wodak & Meyer(2nded).Methodsofcriticaldiscourseanalysis,(pp62-86).ThousandOaks:Sage.
- Wodak, R. (1999). Critical discourse analysis at the end of the 20th century. *Research on Language & Social Interaction, 32*(1-2), 185-193.
- Wodak, R.& Meyer, M.(2009). Critical discourse studies: A socio-cognitive approach.
- Yeraswork, A. (2010). *Social Research Methods*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press.
- Young, C. (2006). The heart of the African conflict zone: Democratization, ethnicity, civil conflict, and the Great Lakes crisis. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci., 9*, 301-328.

### **Protocols**

- African Union.(2014). African Union handbook 2019.
- Charter, O. A. U., & African Union Commission.(1963). Addis Ababa.
- Da Silva, I. C. (2013). From OAU to AU: 50 Years of African Continentalism.
- Onslow, S., & Plaut, M. (2018).*Robert Mugabe*. Ohio University Press.
- Union, A. (2002). African Union Constitutive Act. *Addis Ababa: African Union*.

Union, A. (2002). AU policy framework and plan of action on ageing. *Cooperation between*

Union, A. (2014). African Union handbook 2019. *Ethiopia: African Union Commission and New Zealand Crown.*

### **Websites**

<http://www.thepatrioticvanguard.com/mugabe-s-finest-hour>

<https://au.int/en/cpau17>

<https://au.int/en/speeches/20160130-1>

<https://au.int/en/speeches/20170130/acceptance-speech-he-alpha-conde-president-republic-guinea-and-new-chairperson>

<https://au.int/en/speeches/20180128/acceptance-remarks-president-kagame-opening-ceremony-30th-african-union-summit>

<https://au.int/en/speeches/8%2B1456>

<https://www.africportal.org/features/isis-chairmanship-isnt-tonic-african-union-currently-needs/>

<https://www.diplomacy.edu/blog/guest-blog-president-mugabe%E2%80%99s-rhetoric-african-union-chairperson>

<https://www.google.com/search?q=Kagame+acceptance+speech+African+Union&oq=kagame&aqs=chrome.0.69i59j46j0l3j69i60l2j69i61.4045j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>

<https://www.sis.gov.eg/Story/140635/President-Abdel-Fattah-El-Sisi's-Statement-in-the-African-Union-Extraordinary-Summit-in-Niamey?lang=en-us>

## Annex of the research

The following Annex's were comprised and used as devices of speech in the analysis of the five heads of state in Africa since 2015 to 2019.

1. **Alliteration:** The repetition of a sound in the first syllable of each phrase
2. **Anecdote:** It is a personal story or experience that could be used to illustrate or explain a given point to audience
3. **Anadiplosis:** The last word or phrase is repeated to begin the next
4. **Antimetabole:** The repetition of words or phrases in successive clauses, but in reverse order
5. **Antithesis:** A word, phrase or sentence opposes the original proposition.
6. **Asyndeton:** Omits conjunctions, which helps to increase the tempo and highlight a specific idea.
7. **Diacope:** A repeated word or phrase split up by other words; typically used to express a strong emotion.
8. **Direct Address:** The use of the third person pronoun "You", that allows the speaker to speak directly to the audience
9. **Emotive Language:** It is any vocabulary that invokes an emotion within audience to be angry, inspired, feel guilty. It is experience influence with a choice of words
10. **Fact:** It is information known or proven to be true or support their point.
11. **Metaphor:** An analogy that compares one thing or idea to another, using a term or phrase, it literally is not to suggest similarity.
12. **Opinion:** It is the opposite of fact, which is some body's point of view.
13. **Repetition:** It is use of the same word ,phrase, clause is used several times to emphasize to make a stand out of the audience
14. **Rhetorical Question:** This is when a question is paused to the audience to make a point and it does not need require an answer. They are made to get an audience thinking about a particular idea.
15. **Simile:** A comparison between two unlike things, usually using the words "as" or "like"
16. **Statistics:** They are basically facts with numbers .They include percentages, fractions, survey data used to reinforce the perception of the audience.